A History of Race and Gender at the University of Florida Levin College of Law 1909-2001

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ESSAY

A HISTORY OF RACE AND GENDER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LEVIN COLLEGE OF LAW 1909-2001

Betty W. Taylor*

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I. NATIVE AMERICANS

Long before the Spanish first settled in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, Native Americans roamed the area now occupied by the University of Florida Levin College of Law. Located about 100 yards west of our campus and south of Southwest Second Avenue "is an aboriginal burial mound built ca. A.D. 1000 by Alachua tradition peoples, ancestors of the Potano Indians who lived in Alachua County in the 16th and 17th centuries." A historical marker on our site describes the "Law School Mound." First dug in 1881 by a local Gainesville resident, the mound and earlier campsite were excavated by Florida State Museum [Tallahassee] archaeologists and students in 1976. Originally the mound may have been eight feet high; however, today it is barely visible.

Canoes found on the shores of Newnan's Lake in the year 2000 constitute further evidence of the existence of Native Americans living in this general area of Florida.

II. WHITE MALE STUDENTS

The University of Florida traces its history back to 1853 when a private school, Kingsbury Academy, located in Ocala, was acquired by the state and renamed East Florida Seminary. After the Civil War, the seminary moved to Gainesville and was consolidated with the state's land-grant Florida Agricultural College, based in Lake City, to become the University of Florida in 1905.

The University of Florida was established by the Legislature on June 5, 1905 under what is popularly known as the Buckman Act. The law specified three departments that the University may create and also provided for "such other departments as may from time to time be

2. Id.
3. Id.
4. Id.
5. See id.; see also Historic Marker on corner of S.W. 2nd Avenue and Village Drive, Gainesville, Alachua County, Florida.
8. UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA ALUMNI DIRECTORY 2000 iv (Harris Publishing 2000); Kreher, supra note 7, at 6-7.
9. 1905 Fla. Laws ch. 5384 § 12. The name was changed from the State University of Florida to University of Florida. Id.
determined upon and added at any joint meeting of the State Board of Education with the said Board of Control.\textsuperscript{10} The law also specified that the University of Florida shall admit "no person . . . except white male students."\textsuperscript{11} White females were eligible for admission only to Florida State College for Women\textsuperscript{12} and colored persons were eligible to attend the Colored Normal School for Colored Teachers.\textsuperscript{13} University of Florida classes began on September 26, 1906 with the admission of 102 white male students.\textsuperscript{14}

Three years later, in 1909, the State Board of Education and the Board of Control, Chaired by Nathan Philemon Bryan, approved the proposal to establish the Department of Law under the School of Language and Literature at the University of Florida.\textsuperscript{15} A new president, Dr. Albert A. Murphree, took office in July 1909, and together with the first dean, Albert J. Farrah, they created the College of Law.\textsuperscript{16} The first permanent building occupied by the College was later named Bryan Hall in honor of Nathan Bryan who was considered the "father of the law school."\textsuperscript{17}

Since Dean Farrah held the deanship at Stetson University for nine years before coming to the University of Florida, he was an ideal choice for the position.\textsuperscript{18} He brought with him a faculty member, Harry R. Trusler, who had also served at Stetson for one year, 1908-1909.\textsuperscript{19} After the resignations of Dean Farrah and Dean Thomas Hughes, Professor Harry W. Trusler was appointed Dean at the age of thirty-three.\textsuperscript{20} Since he had taught one year at Stetson University and six years at the University of Florida, he too was a good match for the law school.

The University of Florida College of Law attracted 38 students the first year,\textsuperscript{21} of whom three white males that transferred from Stetson Law

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item 10. \textit{Id.} \textsuperscript{\textcircled{21}}.
\item 11. \textit{Id.} \textsuperscript{\textcircled{23}}.
\item 12. \textit{Id.} \textsuperscript{\textcircled{22}}.
\item 13. \textit{Id.} \textsuperscript{\textcircled{16}}. The name was changed to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negros, 1909 Fla. Laws, ch. 5925.
\item 14. UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA ALUMNI DIRECTORY 2000 vi (Harris Publishing 2000). \textit{But see} KREHER, \textit{supra} note 7, at 6-7 (stating that classes began on Sept. 4, 1906).
\item 16. \textit{Id.}
\item 17. Letter from Bryan Simpson, Judge, Fifth Judicial Circuit Court of Appeals, to Dean Joseph R. Julin, (Apr. 19, 1971) (on file with author) (recounting Dean Trusler's statements regarding Nathan Bryan's accomplishments in creating the law school). Bryan's portrait is hanging on the third floor of Holland Hall at the Levin College of Law, Gainesville, Alachua County, Florida.
\item 18. University of Florida Catalog 1908-1909, Announcements, 2 UNIVERSITY RECORD 120 (1910).
\item 19. \textit{Id.}
\item 20. \textit{Id.}
\item 21. SAMUEL PROCTOR & WRIGHT LANGLEY, GATOR HISTORY: A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE
\end{thebibliography}
School and one other male that transferred from St. Paul College of Law graduated in 1910.22 Attendance increased over the years as the popularity of the only public law school increased. During the years of World War I, the University of Florida campus became a military training area for men who served in the Students Army Training Corps,23 but accommodations were made for World War I students to enroll in credit courses in law.24 During that period, fourteen law schools in the country closed for lack of students.25 Law school attendance at the University of Florida dropped to forty-six students in 1917-1918 during World War I, and forty-three students in 1944-1945 during World War II, but, fortunately, the state continued to support the institution.26

Following World War II, the G.I. Bill enabled discharged military men and women to attend college, and large numbers took advantage of this opportunity.27 The male population at the University of Florida overflowed the facilities in Gainesville and when no more men could be accommodated they were redirected to Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee.28 In 1946 for the first time in Florida, both schools admitted large numbers of men and some women.29 In 1947 the Legislature legalized the co-education of men and women in both institutions,30 and the road between Gainesville and Tallahassee was crowded on the weekends with students going back and forth.

In 2000, 445 white male students were enrolled in the law school constituting 77.3% of all males enrolled and 32.1 % of the student body.31

III. WHITE FEMALE STUDENTS

Dean Harry Trusler’s teaching at Stetson Law School convinced him that women could attend a law school program without disrupting the learning process.32 From its founding in 1900, Stetson University had admitted women to the law school; thus, he was accustomed to having

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22. THE SEMINOLE 38-42 (1910).
25. Id. at 161.
27. PROCTOR & LANGLEY, supra note 21, at 38.
28. Id. at 39.
29. Id.
32. Trusler, supra note 24, at 161.
women in the classroom. After he became Dean at Florida, he began to advocate legalizing the admission of women to the University of Florida College of Law.\textsuperscript{33} He wrote:

\begin{quote}
The State at present offers to women no opportunity for legal training. In view of the cultural and practical value of such training and the demonstrated capacity of women to profit by it, the failure of the State to offer women an opportunity to study law appears to be a regrettable discrimination.\textsuperscript{34}
\end{quote}

Continuing in his 1920 Biennial Report to the President and Board of Control, he cited to the recent action of the Business and Professional Clubs of Florida:

\begin{quote}
At the State convention ... held in June, 1920, a resolution in favor of admitting women to the university was adopted. The college, therefore, recommends that the admission of women to the State Law School be brought to the attention of the Legislature, believing that there is no just reason for refusing equal opportunities to women for a legal education. Were admission limited to women who had received a diploma or degree, it could not even be argued that any other State school would be deprived of a single student.\textsuperscript{35}
\end{quote}

The only precedent for admission of women to the University of Florida was the permission to attend the Normal School (later known as the College of Education) in the Summer Sessions.\textsuperscript{36}

Gradually, the pressure brought about a significant change in the law.\textsuperscript{37} In the meantime the first woman, Stella Biddle (Fisher) applied for admission to the law school in 1924.\textsuperscript{38} After denying the application, Dean Trusler permitted her to attend classes as a visitor.\textsuperscript{39} She did not graduate from the law school but did pass the Florida Bar Examination and was admitted to practice in 1924.\textsuperscript{40}

Ms. Fisher was recording secretary of the Florida State Senate in the regular session of 1919, and assistant secretary to the

\textsuperscript{33} Id. at 161.
\textsuperscript{34} Id.
\textsuperscript{35} Id.
\textsuperscript{36} PROCTOR & LANGLEY, supra note 21, at 39.
\textsuperscript{37} See WENDY S. LOQUASTO, CELEBRATING FLORIDA’S FIRST 150 WOMEN LAWYERS 23 (2000).
\textsuperscript{38} Id.
\textsuperscript{39} PROCTOR & LANGLEY, supra note 21, at 39.
\textsuperscript{40} LOQUASTO, supra note 37, at 23.
secretary of the Senate in the extra session, June 6, 1925. . . . [S]he practiced law in Gainesville beginning in 1928 . . . [and] was active in the Eighth Judicial Circuit Bar Association. . . . [Also, s]he was secretary of the University of Florida College of Law Alumni Association.41

In 1925 the Florida Legislature enacted a law permitting women to attend the University of Florida College of Law provided that if they were:

twenty-one years of age and [had] received credit from a reputable educational institution in at least sixty semester hours of academic college work [then they] shall be eligible to enroll as students in the University of Florida in such subjects and courses as they are unable to obtain in any other institution under the supervision of the Board of Control, provided they are able in every way, regardless of sex to meet the admission and eligibility requirements of students of said University.42

Alma Spencer Slagle, wife of a law professor, graduated in 1928 with an LL.B.43 It is unknown if she ever was admitted to the The Florida Bar or practiced law.

Clara Floyd Gehan, one of the first women to complete the law school program, graduated in 1933 and became an active member of the Florida Bar.44 A graduate of Brenau College in Georgia, she returned home to Gainesville to teach High School Latin.45 She inquired about entering graduate school at the University of Florida, however, she was not permitted to do so because the courses that interested her were also taught at Florida State College for Women. Therefore she was not eligible to enroll at the University of Florida.46

In a chance encounter with a law professor, she was encouraged to pursue her interest in law.47 While it was permissible to attend law school at that time if a similar course was not taught at Florida State College for Women, women were discouraged from attending.48 However, Dean Trusler approved her application and invited her to enroll.49

41. Id.
42. 1925 Fla. Laws ch. 10288 § 1; see also FLA. STAT. ch. 631 (1925).
43. THE SEMINOLE 58 (1928).
44. LOQUASTO, supra note 37, at 58-61 (providing a more extensive biography than the excerpts cited here).
45. Id. at 58.
46. Id.
47. Id.
48. Id.
49. Id.
Clara Floyd Gehan, in a biography, describes her first day experience at the law school as "quite stressful as all the students (male) lined up outside the law school building and formed two lines through which she had to traverse in order to enter."\(^{50}\) Being one of three women in law school, she was always visible.\(^{51}\) She graduated with honors in 1933, and received the Harrison Award for the highest overall average.\(^{52}\)

In 1933, Clara Floyd Gehan was admitted to practice under the diploma privilege and was a member of The Florida Bar for more than fifty years.\(^{53}\) Eventually, she set up her own practice in the early 1960s primarily in real property and probate law, but with a mission to assist the poor.\(^{54}\) Ms. Gehan was well-known and loved by the Gainesville community. She became the role model for women who followed her in the practice.\(^{55}\)

She freely gave advice and counsel to [those] young women lawyers to aid in their acceptance by the legal community.....She was respected and admired by lawyers in the community for her knowledge of the law, legal skills, high ethical standards, and her sensitivity to the needs of the less-fortunate.\(^{56}\)

She played a major role in desegregating public accommodations through her Chairmanship of the Gainesville Advisory Bi-Racial Committee.\(^{57}\) In 1979, Clara Floyd Gehan was recognized as a distinguished alumni of the University of Florida.\(^{58}\)

By way of her will, Clara Floyd Gehan set up the Floyd-Gehan Scholarship fund at the University of Florida College of Law\(^{59}\) for deserving high school graduates who are residents of Alachua County, with preference given to graduates of Gainesville and Hawthorne High Schools and to black students. Financial need and high academic performance are also given due consideration.\(^{60}\)


\(^{51}\) LOQUASTO, supra note 37, at 58.

\(^{52}\) Id.

\(^{53}\) Id.

\(^{54}\) Id. at 59.

\(^{55}\) Id.

\(^{56}\) Id.

\(^{57}\) Id.

\(^{58}\) Information available at the University of Florida Office of Development & Alumni Affairs.

\(^{59}\) LOQUASTO, supra note 37, at 60.

Between 1933 and 1942, eight women graduated from the law school and were recognized as among the first 150 women admitted to The Florida Bar.\(^6\)

Another woman highly respected in the law school was Ila Rountree Pridgen.\(^6\) Appointed Assistant Law Librarian in 1929, she also held the title of Secretary to the Dean from 1929 to 1939, Executive Secretary from 1939 to 1941, and Administrative Assistant from 1941 to 1946.\(^6\) During this time she also served as Librarian.\(^6\) While employed, she began to take law courses.\(^6\) At exam time, she would accept a handwritten exam from a professor, take the exam herself, and then type it for distribution to other students in the class. She graduated in 1943 with an honor point average of 3.9, the highest honor point average of all graduates from the University of Florida that year. Since 1943 was at the height of World War II, and since attendance was down to forty-eight students with several faculty and students serving in the war, Mrs. Pridgen taught several classes.\(^6\) After serving the law school in several capacities in administration, in the library, and in “mothering her boys” (law students), Mrs. Pridgen retired in 1955 after twenty-six years at the law school.\(^6\)

As noted above, life at the law school changed dramatically following the end of World War II.\(^6\) Supported by the G.I. Bill, the returning service personnel, women included, began or re-entered law school.\(^6\) These matured students were intent on going straight through college, including summer school, and entering the profession rapidly to make up for the years dedicated to serving their country. Many were married, some had families, and a few students even met and married during law school. Students who were enrolled in the College and left before or during the war when there was a two-year program were given special exemptions from the three-year program and permitted to graduate early.\(^7\)

But as quickly as the number of women enrolled in the college increased in the period between 1946-1950, the number of women declined in the following years. In the decades of the 1950s and 1960s the percentage of

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61. See LOQUASTO, supra note 37, at 68, 89, 90, 92, 99. These women were Rebecca Bowles Marks (admitted in 1935), Lucille Cairns (George) (admitted in 1940), Jeanette Edythe Teselle (Plump) (admitted in 1940), Lois Ellen Thacker (Graessle) (admitted in 1941), Mary Frances Dewell (admitted in 1942) and the three already mentioned. Id.

62. Id. at 103.

63. Id.

64. Id.

65. Id.

66. Id.

67. Id.

68. See supra text accompanying notes 23-29.

69. See supra note 23-29 and accompanying text.

70. Trusler, supra note 24, at 160.
women students at the University of Florida law school averaged about 2% of the total student body.\textsuperscript{71} Some schools, such as the prestigious Harvard Law School, did not admit women until after 1950.\textsuperscript{72}

With women becoming politically active, inspired by the Equal Rights Amendment, more emphasis was placed on recruiting women into law school, demonstrating that the legal profession did not discriminate against women. Gradually, the numbers increased after intense efforts to attract women to law school. However, this brought about unexpected changes in the environment. Once women entered, male faculty and students were compelled to become more sensitive to the presence of women. Faculty accustomed to addressing classes as “Gentlemen” had to remember to correct that salutation after years of an established habit. Some greeted a class with “Good Morning, Lady and Gentlemen.” But since that was awkward for the women, the formality was eventually dropped. Male students had to be more careful using the shuffle (shuffling their shoes back and forth on the floor making sufficient noise to silence the speaker) in class or the library as women did not fully agree with sending messages that were embarrassing to students who asked irrelevant questions, or talked too long or were trying to make an impression on classmates. Often when women from outside the law school walked into the library, they were shuffled by the male students noting their presence. Most women fled, intimidated by the shuffle. Very frequently campus professors called the librarians to inquire about women students being permitted to conduct research in the law library.

Soon the male students began to realize that women classmates were not attending law school merely to acquire an education or a husband, but were going to be competitive in the job market. Frequently, women were earning high grades which further energized the male students to meet the challenge to hold their own. Some resented the women competing for jobs as the job market was limited and, particularly the married men, felt they should have priority in employment opportunities.

Job interviewers, some of whom were lawyers with years of experience, had to learn the new rules about appropriate questions to ask female candidates. At first they inquired about intent to marry, birth control, pregnancies, and special needs. Often women in law firms were channeled into duties that can be classified as “paraprofessional” type work or into Estates and Trusts or Probate Law—nothing involving trial practice. One

\textsuperscript{71} The author compiled this figure based upon data reported in the Annual Review of Legal Education (1950-69), published annually by The Section of Legal Education and Admission to the Bar of the American Bar Association.

local lawyer informed the writer that he would not try a case against a woman lawyer in court because she might break down and cry.

The architects and law school administrators who designed the law school buildings in the 1960-1970 period failed to plan for an influx of law students, particularly female students. As a consequence, the presence of more law students, especially women, who currently represent nearly half of the student body, has led to extensive renovations to law school buildings with special attention to lavatories. Some schools are planning for entirely new buildings with appropriate accommodations.

In August 1972, two women law students about to graduate wrote about their law school experiences. "We never went to a law review or fraternity party. We never served on a JMBAA or faculty committee or played pingpong in the student lounge. We did play soft ball for the Devil's Advocates and cooked JMBAA burgers..."73 In the Fall of 1971,

[t]he Women's Law Association was created by . . . 22 women law students . . . who felt a need for closer interaction with each other and a desire to use their legal knowledge for the benefit of other women. Members agreed upon two projects for the year—to lobby for a credit course dealing with the peculiar relationship of law and women and to sponsor a day-long symposium to interest more women in the study of law.74

Dean Julin approved the course to be taught in the Spring of 1972 by four Senior women under the guidance of Professor Walter Weyrauch.75 "That Spring also saw the first Women and the Law Day [conference], funded jointly by JMBAA and the ABA-LSD. Practicing women attorneys came to explain the opportunities for women in law to undergraduate women and to our male colleagues."76 Over 300 men and women attended.77

By 1974 women students had formed a support group named LAW (Law Association for Women).78 This organization "was formed . . . to further the interests of women law students, both in relation to their needs as students and their future in the community and the legal profession."79

74. Id.
75. Id.
76. Id.
77. Id.
In the last few years women have constituted close to 50% of the law school population. This assures that there are equal opportunities to serve in a number of student organizations in the law school and on campus. As the numbers of women in the legal profession have increased, acceptance of women as equals has improved, and gradually most women have overcome the barriers of the past. At the same time, female students number between 452 and 569, which constitutes between 41% and 49.7% of the student body.\(^{80}\)

A chapter of Phi Delta Delta National Legal Fraternity, a women's organization, was established at the law school after World War II. Mrs. Ila Pridgen served as the first faculty adviser,\(^{81}\) succeeded by Ms. Betty W. Taylor. After Phi Alpha Delta began to admit women, Phi Delta Delta went out of existence.

IV. WHITE FEMALE FACULTY

In the 1950s and into the middle 1960s, with so few women students enrolled, there was little or no thought about mentoring women law students and no consideration of hiring women faculty as role models. In the late 1960s, as more women enrolled in law school, graduated, and practiced law, more women were qualified to serve as faculty. It then became difficult to hire well-qualified women for the faculty because the pool was limited by the low numbers of graduating women who elected to teach rather than practice, and the even lower number of women who would teach after gaining some practice experience. As stated previously, Mrs. Ila Rountree Pridgen served as the first woman to teach law courses in 1943 when there was a shortage of male faculty during World War II.\(^{82}\) However, she was not given a faculty title. When the faculty returned, Mrs. Pridgen resumed her full-time status as Secretary and Librarian.\(^{83}\)

Betty W. Taylor, a Law Librarian who received a J.D. in 1962 from the University of Florida College of Law, began teaching the Legal Bibliography course in 1962 and continued for a number of years. In 1972 she was designated with a faculty title of Interim Instructor of Law, which was changed to Professor of Law in 1976. In 1982 she was assigned to teach a Seminar on Computers and the Law and has continued to teach the seminar annually.

Anita Louise Morse was hired in 1969 as an Assistant Professor and was the first full-time female faculty member. She had earned a B.S. in 1962 from Purdue University, a J.D. in 1968 from Indiana University,
Bloomington, and was working on an LL.M. which she earned in 1971 from George Washington University. She was admitted to the Indiana Bar in 1968 and served as an attorney with the F.T.C. in Washington, D.C. from 1968-1969. After teaching for one year at Florida, she was granted a leave of absence to become a fellow in the S.J.D. program at Columbia University. She returned to the University of Florida and taught in the summer of 1971 before she left permanently.

Margaret K. Wright, an alumnus of the University of Florida College of law, served as Interim Instructor of Law from 1971 to 1973.

Mrs. Hemda Golan, the second woman to serve full-time on the faculty, was hired in the academic year of 1971-72 as a Visiting Professor of Law. She was born in France and became a citizen of Israel. She had earned an LL.M. from Hebrew University in Jerusalem. She accompanied her husband, who was hired for a year as a guest professor in the University of Florida Mathematics Department. Ms. Golan taught the Human Rights Seminar, and International Human Rights, a new course offering at the University of Florida Holland Law Center. Before coming to this country, she held the position of Principal Assistant to the Legal Advisor in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Prior to serving in that position, she participated as personal assistant to Attorney General Gideon Hauser at the trial of Adolph Eichman. After teaching for a year in Montreal, Canada, the couple returned to Israel.

Mary Ellen Caldwell was hired as Professor of Law in 1974, and Kathryn L. Powers was hired as Associate Professor of Law in 1977. In the meantime, three women served in interim or visiting positions. In 1979 four more women faculty were hired to fill permanent positions.

The numbers of women faculty hired have improved gradually over the years, and in the last four years (1998-2001) women on the faculty have numbered between twenty-four and twenty-seven, which equals between 31% and 35% of the full-time faculty.

84. Visiting Professors, LAW CENTER NEWS, Spring 1972, at 8.
85. Id.
86. Id.
87. Id.
88. Id.
89. Id.
90. Id.
91. Id. at 9.
V. AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

While women struggled to gain admittance to the University of Florida College of Law, eventually succeeding in 1925, African Americans faced an almost impossible task in gaining admittance, requiring nearly nine years of litigation to compel their admittance to the College of Law. Unfortunately, the one man who carried the burden of this litigation, Virgil D. Hawkins, was never admitted to the University of Florida College of Law.93

In 1946, two African Americans, Ulysses Kenisy and Elliott Robbins, applied for admission to the law school.94 They were told that they could not be admitted to the University of Florida, according to Florida law, but there were state scholarships available for out-of-state tuition.95

In the Spring of 1949, Virgil D. Hawkins and William T. Lewis also applied for admission to the law school, along with four other African American students applying to graduate programs at the University.96 All applications were denied by the University and the applicants were advised to apply for state scholarships to attend colleges outside of Florida.97

Virgil D. Hawkins, an African American male, age forty-two, applied for admission to the University of Florida College of Law because his ambition since childhood was to become a lawyer to help the downtrodden, the poor, and those in need.98 He earned an undergraduate degree at Bethune-Cookman College, a historically African American college in Daytona Beach, and also had worked as an insurance salesman and a teacher before he became public relations director, first at Edward Waters College and later at Bethune-Cookman.99

Upon appeal, the Florida Board of Control denied the applications on May 13, 1949.100 Virgil Hawkins and the other applicants, with the aid of the NAACP and a white lawyer from Orlando, commenced a legal campaign for admission to the University of Florida College of Law. That campaign continued for nine years.101 At the end, Virgil Hawkins was the

94. PROCTOR & LANGLEY, supra note 21, at 47.
95. Id.
96. Id.
97. Id.
98. Dubin, supra note 93, at 914.
100. Dubin, supra note 93, at 916.
101. Id. at 922.
only person remaining in the litigation; the others had withdrawn from the suit.\textsuperscript{102}

After the Florida Supreme Court upheld the denial of admission in 1950,\textsuperscript{103} Hawkins decided to appeal his case based upon precedents set by the United States Supreme Court in decisions for admission of black applicants to law schools.\textsuperscript{104}

In 1956 the United States Supreme Court ordered Hawkins' admission to the law school,\textsuperscript{105} but the Florida Supreme Court again refused to do so by a 5-2 vote, stating that the order "presents grave and serious problems affecting the welfare of all students and the institutions themselves and will require numerous adjustments and changes."\textsuperscript{106}

The case went to the United States Supreme Court three times.\textsuperscript{107} On appeal to the Fifth Circuit, three federal judges overruled the Florida Supreme Court's decision.\textsuperscript{108} Finally, on June 18, 1958, Judge DeVane issued an injunction prohibiting the University of Florida from limiting its graduate and graduate professional schools enrollment on the basis of race.\textsuperscript{109}

Admission requirements for the law school were raised during this period; therefore, Virgil Hawkins, who was eligible when he first applied for admission, was never admitted to the University of Florida College of Law.\textsuperscript{110} In the meantime, the Florida Legislature authorized the establishment of a law school at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University in Tallahassee in 1951 and funded the construction of a separate building for the law school.\textsuperscript{111} Hawkins was offered an opportunity to attend the University of Florida as a Florida A&M University student while the construction was under way.\textsuperscript{112} He turned down the offer and instead enrolled at Boston University for a masters degree in public relations.\textsuperscript{113} Thereafter, he enrolled in New England School of Law in Boston.\textsuperscript{114} Finally, Virgil Hawkins was admitted to the Florida Bar, but did not begin
practicing law until he was seventy. 115 He later surrendered his license to practice law, but was reinstated posthumously. 116

A plaque unveiled on September 15, 1998 outside Bryan Hall, the site of the University of Florida law school until 1969, honored Hawkins and those who entered the University of Florida as a result of his legal battle. 117

Virgil D. Hawkins was awarded an honorary Doctor of Law degree posthumously on May 5, 2001 at the University of Florida university-wide Commencement. 118 He was honored again at the Levin College of Law Commencement on May 19, 2001. Ms. Halle Williams, Virgil Hawkins’ niece, speaking eloquently on behalf of her Uncle, closed with: “Justice delayed is still justice.”

Ten Virgil Hawkins Scholarships are awarded annually to the University of Florida and to Florida State University to help African Americans attend law school.

The Virgil Hawkins Clinic 119 was named in memory of Virgil Darnell Hawkins, whose crusade for civil rights helped to open the doors of legal education to people of all races. The Clinic was dedicated on July 7, 1989 in ceremonies held at the College of Law. W. George Allen, the first African American to graduate from the law school, spoke at the ceremonies. 120

The University of Florida College of Law, the only state-supported law school in Florida at the time, was prohibited from denying applicants on the basis of race and was under scrutiny for many years to assure that its mandate to integrate was carried out properly.

George Starke became the first African American student to enroll at the University of Florida and arrived under considerable publicity as he entered the University of Florida College of Law on September 15, 1958. For the first few weeks he was under protection of two Florida Highway Patrol officers when at the law school. He seemed to be adjusting to law school; however, being the only African American in law school, combined with the normal pressures that freshmen law students experience, led to his withdrawal after three semesters.

George Allen was the first African American student to complete law school. He enrolled in September 1960 and graduated in December 1962. Allen has reported that he endured racial discrimination throughout his law

115. Id. at 946-47.
116. Id. at 954.
119. 1989 Fla. Laws ch. 89-393 (The Virgil Darnell Hawkins Civil Legal Clinic).
school career. Undaunted by the adversities, he set out to encourage more African Americans to come to the University of Florida. Successful in the practice of law and a loyal supporter of the law school, Allen was recognized as a Distinguished Alumnus by the University of Florida in 2000.121 He has also served as President of the National Bar Association.

By September 1962, nine of the students Allen recruited had enrolled in the University of Florida. One of these students was Stephan Mickle, a local resident, who completed his undergraduate degree at the University of Florida and became the second African American to graduate from the law school in 1970. He is now a federal district court judge in the Northern District of Florida and also teaches at the law school, and has been recognized as a Distinguished Alumnus of the University of Florida in 1999.122

Hazel Land was the first African American female to graduate from the University of Florida College of Law. She attended the College of Law from 1970 to 1973, when only six African Americans were enrolled. She was honored as a distinguished alumnus at the Black Law Student Association’s (BLSA) thirtieth annual reunion in March 2001.

Over the years the enrollment of African Americans in the College of Law has increased.123 At the end of the 2001 summer term, the African American alumni numbered 628.124

In 1970 the African American students joined together to form an association, BLSA, to provide academic and social support for African American law students and other minorities, which today represent about 12% of the law school student body. Each year BLSA holds a reunion of African American law graduates, and has been very active in promoting awareness and discussion of diversity issues among students and faculty. In March 2001 the organization celebrated its 30th anniversary in conjunction with its annual reunion. The national BLSA organization has over 200 chapters, representing more than 6,000 law students.125

The Center for Race and Race Relations was established to create an interdisciplinary program designed to explore issues of race and race

121. Information available at the University of Florida Office of Development & Alumni Affairs.
122. Id.
123. FLORIDA: NEWS FOR ALUMNI AND FRIENDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA 15 (July 2001) (citing U.S. News and World Report’s diversity index ranking the University of Florida among the 25 most racially diverse law schools). For a discussion of obtaining diversity in law faculties and in law school admissions at the University of Florida, see Jon Mills, Diversity in Law Schools: Where Are We Headed in the 21st Century?, U. Tol. L. Rev. (Forthcoming __).
124. Information available at the University of Florida Office of Development & Alumni Affairs.
relations and to promote racial tolerance and understanding, interracial dispute resolution, racial equality and racial healing. The Center sponsors an annual conference and special programs, promotes interdisciplinary research on current racial relations issues, develops partnerships with public institutions, and organizes a host of other activities.

VI. AFRICAN AMERICAN FACULTY

As was true with white female faculty, African American faculty candidates were limited in numbers and highly sought after by law schools throughout the country. Again, it was difficult to entice African Americans, some of whom were highly paid lawyers or other law professionals, to enter the teaching profession.

A total of twelve African American faculty members have been hired at the University of Florida College of Law since 1969: eight men and four women.

In the Spring of 1969, Visiting Professor Spencer Boyer was the first African American hired to teach at the law school. Just a short time into his teaching he was subjected to threatening actions and telephone calls and decided it was not safe for him or his family to remain in Gainesville. In spite of urging from the administration, he left abruptly.

In 1970 William Miller Jenkins II, a former dean at the Florida A&M law school, was invited to join the faculty but he declined.

In 1972 Stephan Mickle, the second African American student to graduate from the law school, joined the faculty as an Assistant Professor, the second African American on the faculty. He continues to teach today, even as he serves as a federal judge.

Three African American professors have been teaching at the law school for some time. Winston Nagan, the fourth African American law professor to come to the law school, arrived in 1975, having earned degrees at the University of South Africa, Oxford University, Duke University, and Yale University. He is a Professor of Law, a Trustee Research Fellow, and an Affiliate Professor of Anthropology, has written numerous publications, is a frequent speaker, and is active in international organizations. He also serves on the Board of Amnesty International USA. His specialties

127. Note that this was the era of protesting in colleges and universities across the United States, and University of Florida's President O'Connell was experiencing sit-ins in his office. It was only three years after George Allen was the first black law student to graduate.
129. Id.
include Conflict of Laws, International Law, Human Rights, and Jurisprudence.\textsuperscript{130}

Kenneth Nunn, Professor of Law, and the eighth African American professor at the University of Florida Levin College of Law, has been on the faculty since 1990.\textsuperscript{131} He earned degrees from Stanford University and University of California, Berkeley, and worked as a public defender in San Francisco and the District of Columbia.\textsuperscript{132} He has served as Associate Dean for Law Center Affairs.\textsuperscript{133} His expertise includes Criminal Law & Procedure, Race Relations, Critical Race Theory, Legal Semiotics, and Law & Cultural Studies.\textsuperscript{134} He is involved at state and national levels in minority law school enrollment and public interest law placements.\textsuperscript{135} He serves on the Executive Committee of the National Association for Public Interest Law, and is frequently called upon as a consultant in high profile criminal cases.\textsuperscript{136}

Michelle Jacobs, Professor of Law, the ninth African American law professor, began teaching at the law school in 1993 after earning degrees from Princeton University and Rutgers University, and practicing law in New York City.\textsuperscript{137} She was also Supervising Attorney in the Urban Legal Clinic at Rutgers University, Newark, for three years.\textsuperscript{138} Her specialties include Criminal Law, Criminal Litigation and Criminal Clinic.\textsuperscript{139} Currently she is a visiting professor at Howard University.\textsuperscript{140}

Assistant Professor, Sherri Russell-Brown, began teaching at the law school in the fall of 2001.\textsuperscript{141} She earned degrees from Columbia and formerly served as Blackmun Fellow at the Center for Reproductive Law & Policy, and as a Clerk in a U.S. District Court.\textsuperscript{142} Her teaching area includes Torts, Evidence, Environmental Law, and International Law.\textsuperscript{143}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{130} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{131} University of Florida Levin College of Law website, available at http://www.law.ufl.edu/faculty/nunn/index.shtml (providing faculty profiles).
\item \textsuperscript{132} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{133} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{134} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{135} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{136} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{137} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{138} University of Florida Levin College of Law website, available at http://www.law.ufl.edu/faculty/jacobs/index.shtml (providing faculty profiles).
\item \textsuperscript{139} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{140} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{141} University of Florida Levin College of Law website, available at http://www.law.ufl.edu/faculty/russell-brown/index.shtml (providing faculty profiles).
\item \textsuperscript{142} Resume of Sherrie Russell-Brown, available at http://lic.law.ufl.edu/~russellb/Resume.htm.
\item \textsuperscript{143} Supra note 141.
\end{itemize}
The minority faculty at the law school in the last four years (from 1997 to 2000) have numbered between six and nine, constituting between 7% and 12% of the faculty. At the same time the minority students numbered between 259 and 321, constituting between 24% to 28% of the student body. In the fall of 2000, African American students numbered 125 constituting 11% of the student body.

VII. HISPANIC STUDENTS

Students with Spanish names have been enrolled in the College since its founding in 1909. Whether or not these students are of Spanish or Hispanic origin is unknown. Therefore, it is impossible to identify “Hispanics” until the entering students were requested to declare their ethnicity. The college has undertaken an active recruitment role to encourage Hispanics to attend the College of Law, resulting in increasing numbers of Hispanic students being admitted to the college.

The College of Law is ranked by Hispanic Business as fourth among law schools in the country in Hispanic graduate student enrollment at 147 students, constituting 12% of the student body. A total of forty degrees were awarded at the University of Florida College of Law to Hispanics in the year 2000, constituting 10% of the total degrees awarded.

The College of Law was recognized for its:

Admissions Office [which has] a full-time Spanish-speaking staff member who spends considerable time recruiting Hispanic students and attends recruiting events in cities with large Hispanic populations. Spanish-speaking professors at the school advise student organizations, including the Caribbean and Spanish American Law Students Association[s]. Faculty diversity is supported by faculty exchange and other programs in conjunction with Latin American institutions, and the university boasts a strong Latin American Studies Department.

144. OFFICIAL AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION GUIDE TO APPROVED LAW SCHOOLS 2001 (Rick L. Morgan & Kurt Snyder eds., 2000).
145. Id.
146. Id.
149. Lopezlira, supra note 147, at 62.
Over the years the enrollment of Hispanic students has increased. At the end of the summer term 2001, the Hispanic alumni numbered 485.150 The latest figures (2000) indicate that there are presently 134 Hispanic students enrolled in the law school.151 In 1974 Hispanic students formed a student organization, the Spanish American Law Student Association (SALSA), which plans events for Hispanic students as well as for the general student body. One of their more popular annual events is the footrace, the "Race Judicata," a race around campus. The race is a club fundraiser open to the College community.

VIII. HISPANIC FACULTY

In the past the College of Law did not specifically recruit Hispanics as faculty members; however, the faculty has recently hired four Hispanic faculty members. Juan Perea, the Cone, Wagner, Nugent, Johnson, Hazouri & Roth Professor of Law, came to the law school in 1990, having earned degrees from the University of Maryland and Boston College, and having done graduate work at Smith College.152 He clerked in the United States Court of Appeals, practiced law in Boston, and was an attorney with the N.L.R.B. before accepting a teaching position at Florida.153 He has won honors for his book: Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigration Impulse in the United States, published in 1997.154 His Race and Races: Cases and Resources for a Diverse America was published in 2000.155 He is a leading authority and educator in Legal History of Race and Race Relations, Immigration History, Constitutional Law, and Employment Discrimination.156

Pedro Malavet, an Associate Professor, arrived in 1995.157 He earned degrees from Emory and Georgetown.158 He is one of the first faculty members to introduce technology in the classroom. His specialties include

150. Information available at the University of Florida Office of Development & Alumni Affairs.
151. OFFICIAL AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION GUIDE TO APPROVED LAW SCHOOLS 2001 (Rick L. Morgan & Kurt Snyder eds., 2000).
153. Id.
155. Id.
156. University of Florida Levin College of Law website, supra note 152.
158. Id.
Critical Race Theory, Comparative Law, Civil Law, and European Union Law.\textsuperscript{159}

Berta Esperanza Hernandez-Truyol, the Levin, Mabie & Levin Professor of Law, joined the faculty in 1999. She earned degrees at Cornell University, Albany Law School, and New York University.\textsuperscript{160} She is widely published in law reviews and journals on International Law, International Human Rights, and Issues of Race, Gender, and Culture in the Law.\textsuperscript{161}

Valerie Sanchez, Assistant Professor of Law and Associate Director of the Institute for Dispute Resolution, is the newest faculty member. She began teaching in fall 2001.\textsuperscript{162} She holds degrees from Harvard-Radcliffe College and Harvard Law School, and was a Research Scholar and Graduate Fellow at Harvard.\textsuperscript{163} Alternative Dispute Resolution and Labor and Property Law are her areas of expertise.\textsuperscript{164}

The four Hispanic professors constitute 5\% of the faculty as compared to the 134 Hispanic students enrolled, which constitutes 11.7\% of the student body.\textsuperscript{165}

IX. HISPANIC LAWYERS

The College of Law community became aware of the plight of Cuban lawyers following the mass exodus of Cubans to Florida after the rise of the Castro regime in the 1960s. Practicing Cuban lawyers educated in Civil Law, arrived in Florida with no money or possessions, and their only means of earning a living was practicing law. Forming the National Association of Cuban Lawyers, Inc., its Ad Hoc Committee petitioned the Supreme Court of Florida for permission for its members to take the Florida Bar examination. A Commissioner was appointed by the Court to conduct hearings, take testimony and render findings and recommendations to the Court.

On July 31, 1973 the Florida Supreme Court issued an opinion amending the Rule of the Court Relating to Admission to the Bar so that a limited number of Cuban lawyers who had practiced law in Cuba prior to December 31, 1960, could substitute their legal education and practice in Cuba for the first year of the required three-year legal education in an

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{159} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{160} UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LEVIN COLLEGE OF LAW STUDENT HANDBOOK AND HONOR SYSTEM 2001-2002, at 71.
\item \textsuperscript{161} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{162} \textit{Id.} at 80.
\item \textsuperscript{163} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{164} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{165} OFFICIAL AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION GUIDE TO APPROVED LAW SCHOOLS 2001 (Rick L. Morgan & Kurt Snyder eds., 2000).
\end{itemize}
approved Florida law school. The Court was informed that there were about 350,000 Cuban refugees in the state of whom an average of 7,000 per year were receiving American citizenship. Of those there were about 250 Cuban lawyers in Florida who could qualify for a special two-year course of study that would lead to their application to take the Florida Bar Exam. At the time there were approximately forty attorneys who were fluent in Spanish in the South Florida area.

The University of Florida and University of Miami developed the courses designed to meet the curricular requirements to take the Florida Bar exam. In order to be admitted to the program, the candidates were required to demonstrate an English language proficiency; graduation from the University of Habana, Jose Marti University, St. Thomas of Villanova Law School, or Ceriente University; establish “as an attorney in good standing and in the active practice of law in the Republic of Cuba prior to December 32, 1960,” and pass a character review. The Florida course started in October 1973.

### A. U.F. Formulates Course

In accordance with the request from the Supreme Court of Florida, the University of Florida College of Law faculty began to develop the guidelines for the first class entering in September 1973. The program of instruction was taught by regular professional faculty of the University of Florida College of Law. Only those candidates who held law degrees were enrolled. Students paid full fees and tuition, and regularly studied two courses each quarter. Each course met regularly three hours per week for ten sessions per quarter, the equivalent of six quarter hours of study per quarter.

Not many people come to the University of Florida to “unlearn” a subject, but for 250 Cuban-American law students enrolled in a special law school program, “unlearning” will be necessary for them to become practicing Florida attorneys.

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166. *In Re Proposed Amendment to Article IV, Section 22, Rules of the Supreme Court Relating to the Admission to the Bar, 324 So. 2d 33 (1975).*

167. *Cuban Lawyers Petition Supreme Court to Take Florida Bar Examination, 47 Fla. B.J. 32 (Jan. 1973); Universities of Miami and Florida Start Special Two-Year Course for Cuban Lawyers, 47 Fla. B.J. 582 (Oct. 1973).*

168. *Civil for Common Law: Cuban Lawyers Re-enter Their Possession, 10 LAW CENTER NEWS 14 (1974).* The following description of the Cuban Lawyers' course was selected from in-house papers on the program.

169. *Id.*

170. *Id.*

171. *Id.*

172. *Id.*
University of Florida Professor Julian C. Juergensmeyer is the Director of the program designed to prepare the mostly middle-aged Cuban refugees for the Florida Bar Exam.\textsuperscript{173}

The total program spans seven quarters. Students will take two courses each quarter and will be allowed to advance to the next quarter upon passing the two examinations at the end of each course, gaining a total of 60 quarter hours.

The 21-month-long program originated by the urging of the Florida Supreme Court ruling that refugees could attend special refresher courses to prepare them for the bar exam, and upon passage could be admitted to the Florida Bar. . . .

The University of Florida was the \textit{first} in the United States to implement such a program.\textsuperscript{174}

The University of Miami established a condensed version of the program. For the first class, the Cuban lawyers chartered a plane to fly into Gainesville; however, they eventually negotiated with the faculty for the faculty to fly down to Miami instead.

The classes have been divided somewhat due to [the] geographical location. [About 25 students] are attending the sessions here at the University of Florida Law School and the remaining are going to those taught at the University of Miami [but University of Florida classes are held at the Florida International University]. . . .

Each of the former attorneys had to take and pass an English proficiency test before being admitted to the course. Other requirements included: American citizenship and a demonstration of high moral character. . . .

Presently enrolled in the program, in addition to the Cuban refugees, are one Pakistani and one Israeli. [Before the end of the program there were additional enrollees from Mexico, Columbia, Italy, Spain and Latin America.] This was by the approval of the Florida Supreme Court.\textsuperscript{175}

\textbf{B. Certificates Awarded}

On June 14, 1975, the first class of 209 Cuban lawyers completed the twenty-one months of training in the program and celebrated with a formal

\textsuperscript{173} Ages ranged from 36 to 72, about 12\% of the students enrolled were female. Professors Michael Gordon, Fletcher Baldwin, David Smith, and Darryl Deaktor also participated in the program.

\textsuperscript{174} \textit{Civil for Common Law: Cuban Lawyers Re-enter Their Possessions}, \textit{10 LAW CENTER NEWS} 14 (1974).

\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Id.}
ceremony in the auditorium of Holland Hall. Accompanied by loud applause and cheers from family and friends, each candidate walked up on the stage to receive a “Certificate of Dean of Law School” certifying that the candidate had successfully completed the Holland Law Center’s Cuban American Lawyers’ program. This represented the completion of another step toward the goal of becoming a bona fide lawyer in Florida. It was a joyous day for many people.

C. Second Class

“With the approval of the Supreme Court a second class of about 100 was allowed to begin a new sequence in July 1974 [with a completion date of February 1976].” Those 104 students who successfully completed the program received their certificates in Spring 1976.

D. Successful Candidate Honored in 2000

On May 26, 2000, one of the successful candidates from the 1973 program, Raul E. Valdes-Fauli, was honored by the University of Florida’s Levin College of Law for his accomplishments in the field of law in two countries.

“We are pleased to honor Raul E. Valdes-Fauli for his initiative and pioneering efforts in leading a distinguished group of Cuban attorneys who overcame difficult times and many obstacles more than 20 years ago to become exemplary practitioners of law in America,” said Jon Mills, UF law school interim dean, and CGR founder/Director.

The award presented to Valdes-Fauli reads, in part, (to honor him) as representative of the many Cuban lawyers who came to Florida seeking the right to freely practice law . . . and who serve as a reminder of the efforts of lawyers of two nations to work together to assure adequate legal services are available to all.

X. OTHER STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

The Levin College of Law maintains a diverse and well-qualified student body. Students come from throughout Florida, the United States, and many

177. *Id.*
179. *Id.*
foreign countries, as well as from all social and economic sectors, and with
a wide array of experience and interests. This diversity is also reflected in
the development of student organizations in the law school. Students have
an opportunity to join organizations that match their interests. Two of these
include the Asian and Pacific-American Law Students Association, and the
Caribbean Law Student Association, in addition to many other different
interest groups as identified in the 2001-2002 Prospectus, published by the

In the fall 2001 term, forty-four Asian students and nine American
Indians were enrolled, constituting 5\% of the total student body.\footnote{OFFICIAL AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION GUIDE TO APPROVED LAW SCHOOLS 2001 (Rick L. Morgan & Kurt Snyder eds., 2000).}

XI. COMPARATIVE LAW STUDENTS

The LL.M. in Comparative Law Program at the University of Florida
Fredric G. Levin College of Law is designed for foreign law school
graduates who want to hone their skills, gain detailed knowledge in fields
of United States law of special interest to them and experience living and
studying in a community uniquely suited for academic pursuits.\footnote{University of Florida Levin College of Law website, \textit{available at} http://www.law.ufl.edu/academics/comparative (discussing the school’s LL.M. in Comparative Law).}

Since the program’s inception in 1994, more than sixty foreign lawyers
from Brazil, Cameroon, China, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Ecuador,
France, Georgia, Germany, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Korea,
Lithuania, Morocco, Poland, Slovenia, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, United
Kingdom, Uganda and Venezuela have graduated. These graduates have
gone on to a variety of promising careers in private, public, and academic
sectors.

Comparative Law students may take advantage of the full College of
Law J.D. curriculum, which includes more than 100 courses and seminars,
and may explore areas of particular interest while closely interacting with
faculty and students in the J.D. program.\footnote{Id.}

XII. VISITING PROFESSORS

College of Law policy encourages faculty to visit other law schools and
to encourage faculty from exchange schools, often from other universities
around the world, to visit the University of Florida. In nearly every
semester at least one visiting professor resides at the law school for a
period of several weeks or for an entire semester. This program has been successful as well as enriching for the home faculty and students.

Similar to the representation of the Comparative Law students, visiting professors with exchange programs or other arrangements with the College of Law have come from many countries throughout the world.

XIII. SUMMARY

The evolution from an all-white male law school to the current diverse student body and faculty has been slow, deliberate, and often-times painful. This is true even for those who were successful in gaining admission or employment, and even more excruciating to those who were unsuccessful in achieving their goals. Barriers to those individuals who were not white males reflected the Southern society mores of the early years of our history that were super-imposed upon the law school. No one at the law school today would take pride in the fact that it took fourteen years of cajoling and pressuring by Dean Harry Trusler to open the law school to white women students in 1925, or that it required twelve years of testing the admission standards, litigation, and legislation to open the doors to African American students and faculty in 1958.

In evolving from a closed-door policy to an open-door policy, the aggressive recruiting has introduced the law school community to new and varied approaches to law and society. The globally diverse student body and faculty intermingling here and abroad have been enriched by the interchange of ideas, literature, culture, and technology.

Dean Frank Maloney, reporting to the Florida Bar on the occasion of the law school’s fiftieth anniversary wrote that “[w]hen the hundredth anniversary report is prepared by the then dean of the college, we hope that with the continued help and cooperation of The Florida Bar it will measure up to the accomplishments achieved during the College of Law’s first 50 years.”\textsuperscript{184} As the College approaches the century mark, the students, faculty, alumni, and friends of the Levin College of Law may take great pride in the accomplishments of the last fifty years, although they will be in dramatic contrast to those of the first fifty years as we live in interesting times, different from those than even Dean Frank Maloney could have envisioned only fifty years ago.