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National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOCUMENTATION FORM

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

__x__ New Submission _____ Amended

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

FLORIDA'S NEW DEAL RESOURCES

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

The New Deal in Florida, 1933-1943

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Johnston, Sidney, historian

organization West Volusia Historical Society, Inc. **date** 5/14/2004

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in **36 CFR Part 60** and the **Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.** (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Barbara C. Mattick, DSHPO for Survey & Registration 3/9/05
Signature and title of certifying official Date

State Historic Preservation Officer, Division of Historical Resources
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

for Daniel J. Vivian 4/21/05
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below

INTRODUCTION

This section provides a context outlining the development of New Deal resources in Florida during the Great Depression. Documenting the significant activities and personalities of the New Deal, the narrative discusses the significant "alphabet agencies" implemented by the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and their effect on Florida's landscape. A research tool and predictive model to help identify potential resources built in association with New Deal dollars in the state's urban centers, towns, and communities, this section provides the necessary historical context for the listing of Florida's New Deal resources in the National Register of Historic Places.

NEW DEAL HISTORIC CONTEXT, 1933-1943

The collapse of the Florida land boom in the mid-1920s resulted in Florida's entering an economic depression while much of the rest of the country enjoyed several more years of sustained economic prosperity. In 1926, forty banks closed throughout the state, numerous hotels were shuttered and entered foreclosure, and hundreds of light manufacturing jobs were lost in the printing, railroad, and turpentine industries. Hurricanes that struck south Florida in 1926 and 1928 helped precipitate the end of the land boom. Although several south Florida cities experienced a mild resurgence of construction following the hurricanes, most development simply repaired public facilities and replaced destroyed commercial buildings and dwellings, rather than providing places of business and homes to new entrepreneurs and residents. Real estate assessments statewide plummeted by $182,000,000 between 1926 and 1930, and building permits went into steep declines in Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa. In Miami, building permits reached the $60,000,000 mark in 1925 and fell under $5,000,000 in 1928, a level maintained until 1937. Infestation by Mediterranean fruit flies resulted in Florida's citrus farmers harvesting 14,000,000 fewer boxes of fruit in the 1928 season than in the previous year. By the time the Great Depression struck in 1929, Florida had entered its own economic depression.[1]

The nation's era of prosperity began to tumble in September 1929, and then fell with devastating results on 29 October 1929, historically known as "Black Tuesday." Between September and November 1929, the Dow Jones Industrial Index lost one-half of its value, falling from 452 to 224; in July 1932, the nadir of the depression, the index stood at fifty-eight. During the ensuing decade, the population of Florida rose from 1,568,211 in 1930, to 1,606,842 in 1935, and reached 1,897,414 in 1940. Most cities experienced a population increase, with the largest growth occurring in southeast Florida. The administration of Governor Doyle Carlton, who took office in January 1929, was dominated by the Great Depression, the full brunt of which made its impact in Florida in the early-1930s. In 1930, Florida's unemployment rate stood at 5.5 percent; its urban population totaled fifty-two percent, the highest urban rate in the South. The state's unemployment rate reached its highest levels in urban areas, with Miami at 11.5 percent and Tampa at 9.2 percent. Rural Florida registered an average unemployment rate of 2.9 percent. Prohibited

[1]William Frazer and John J. Guthrie, Jr., *The Florida Land Boom: Speculation, Money, and the Banks* (Westport and London: Quorum Books, 1995), 37-38, 143-145; Charlton Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), 385-387, 394.

constitutionally from emergency borrowing, Governor Carlton experienced little success addressing concerns over unemployment, finances, and taxation. He repeatedly recommended streamlining government functions, retiring bonded municipal debts, and increasing agricultural experimental and extension work to improve farm output. Carlton found himself at odds with the legislature over pari-mutuel betting at horse tracks, school finance, and inheritance taxes. In 1931, he signed into law legislation that allocated one-half of the sixth cent of the state's gasoline tax to retire the debts of Florida's counties, and doubled state aid to public schools.[2]

Partly because of Carlton's conservatism, the state government made little effort to assist the unemployed beyond those nascent attempts at relief. Some municipal governments responded more quickly to the financial crisis. In February 1931, seventeen Florida counties reported local public welfare programs, which increasingly were beset with finding the unemployed jobs. Although no cities possessed sufficient resources to contend with their specific economic emergencies, municipal governments at Daytona Beach, Ft. Myers, Jacksonville, Lakeland, Lake Worth, Orlando, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Tampa, and West Palm Beach took some steps to provide a measure of relief to the afflicted. In 1931, Josiah Fitch, the mayor of Ft. Myers, established a municipal employment bureau, which helped the local unemployed locate jobs in the sugar mills of nearby Clewiston. One of the state's largest private welfare programs occurred in Jacksonville, where millionaire Alfred I. DuPont contributed private funds to employ workers in the city's public parks. In July 1932, after President Hoover extended the policies of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), Governor Carlton requested $500,000, which was used for welfare assistance. Later that year, thirty-six percent of the state's African-American families and twenty-two percent of the state's white population enjoyed some public assistance.[3]

Despite these fledgling attempts at reform and welfare assistance, 85,000 Floridians remained unemployed in November 1933. One hundred and forty-eight of Florida's state and national banks collapsed between 1929 and 1933. Deposits and investments plummeted, and, by 1940, 157 state banks had closed statewide. After building hundreds of miles of new mainline and double tracking rights-of-way in the 1920s, both the Florida East Coast Railway Company and the Seaboard Air Line Railway Company became bankrupt. Both transportation companies eventually abandoned some of their mainline tracks and ended service into many small Florida communities. In most cities and towns, development experienced steep declines between 1929 and 1934. Florida's state and municipal relief actions of the early 1930s affected a relatively small number of people. Annual income per capita declined from $510 to $289, and approximately one out of four Floridians received some type of public relief and assistance by 1933.[4]

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[2]Tebeau, *Florida,* 395-399; Michael Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 304-305; Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1971), 144-145.

[3]Tebeau, *Florida,* 395-399, 408; Gannon, *New Florida History,* 305-306; R. Lyn Rainard, "Ready Cash on Easy Terms: Local Responses to the Depression in Lee County," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (January 1986), 284-285.

[4]Flynt, *Fletcher,* 184-185; *Haines City Herald,* August 11, September 22, 1932; Tebeau, *Florida,* 394-401; Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census, 1950, *Population* (Washington, 1952), 10-13.

In 1932, at his acceptance speech as nominee of the Democratic Party by the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Franklin D. Roosevelt inadvertently named and briefly touched upon his emergent philosophy of government. Delivering the first acceptance speech of a nominee to a nominating convention in American political history, Roosevelt promised to "break foolish traditions" and declared "I pledge you...I pledge myself...to a new deal for the American people. This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms." The following day, an astute cartoonist launched the "New Deal" onto America's political landscape, seizing upon Roosevelt's words to which the candidate allegedly had attached no special significance. Following in a rich American tradition of political neologisms and labeling presidential programs, such as the earlier New Nationalism and New Freedom of the Progressive Era, the New Deal became the doctrine most closely associated with Roosevelt's campaign of "relief, reform, and recovery" to combat the deleterious effects of the Great Depression.[5]

Between 6 March and 16 June 1933, during a special session of the Congress often referred to as the "Hundred Days," Roosevelt's administration worked closely with the Congress to enact fifteen major pieces of legislation, an unsurpassed record in the annals of American history. A dizzying number of bureaus and agencies covered nearly every aspect of the American economy, and established the foundation for a welfare state. The series of federal programs became the so-called "alphabet agencies," a derisive term for the acronyms assigned to them by later opponents of the New Deal. Created to assist federal, state, and local governments in a host of projects, the New Deal provided regulation and relief in the areas of agriculture, banking, finance, housing, industry, labor, public utilities, securities, and transportation. Largely guided by a vision of job creation, economic reform, and temporary welfare, the New Deal spawned a significant bureaucracy that improved the lives of millions of Americans, but created a federalism that cut unequally across gender and race lines. Although African Americans and women received some assistance through various programs, most common wage labor jobs went to white men. Irrational hatred of Roosevelt and the New Deal manifested itself in various ways. In Florida, an assassin attempted to kill Roosevelt in 1933 at Miami's Bayfront Park. Five shots fired by Guiseppe Zangara, a strange and demented unemployed bricklayer, missed the president, but wounded several others. Eventually, Anton Cermak, Chicago's mayor, died of his wound.[6]

Countless "alphabet agencies" were created, revised, or abolished in a drive to construct buildings, conserve natural resources, create recreational facilities, and improve infrastructure through outright grants, loans, and matching funds. Other programs regulated financial institutions and industries, or provided cash payments to citizens who met various criteria. Nearly two dozen agencies became known to millions by familiar initials, including the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Civil Works Administration (CWA), Federal Art Project (FAP), Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), Federal Emergency Relief Agency (FERA), Federal Housing Administration (FHA), Federal Reserve Board (FRB), Federal Writers' Project (FWP),

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[5]William Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1963), 8.

[6]Gannon, *New History of Florida,* 309-310; Paul Boller, Jr., *Congressional Anecdotes* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 268-269; Nathan Shappee, "Zangara's Attempted Assassination of Franklin D. Roosevelt," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (October 1958), 101-110.

National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), National Recovery Administration (NRA), National Youth Administration (NYA), Public Works Administration (PWA), Rural Electrification Administration (REA), Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Soil Conservation Service (SCS), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and U.S. Housing Authority (USHA). In 1938, cartoonist Clifford Berryman lampooned Roosevelt as a schoolmarm encircled by children with New Deal acronyms stenciled on their shirts and the caption "Ring around a Roosevelt, Pockets full of dough." Some bemused writers thought the dizzying array of initials and acronyms amounted to little more than alphabet soup.[7]

Critics and detractors of the New Deal often recast the initials of the alphabet agencies into dysphemisms to deride their respective intended functions, such as "we poke along" for the WPA and "Negroes ruined again" for the NRA. Blasting its policies of guaranteeing collective bargaining and price controls, William Randolph Hearst condemned the NRA as state socialism and added that its initials really meant "no recovery allowed." The distinctive blue eagle so closely associated with the NRA was described by one African-American writer as a predatory bird that swept away jobs from black industrial workers. Many African Americans also protested the AAA, which drove hundreds of black tenants and sharecroppers from the South's farms to the benefit of white landlords who received federal payments for destroying their crops and limiting their plantings.[8]

Among the most popular agencies were also those with the most direct impact on America's built environment, including the CCC, CWA, FERA, PWA, WPA, and USHA. Through loans, matching funds, and direct grants, those agencies helped to develop a host of projects across America, including airports and landing fields, armories, bridges, city halls, courthouses, federal and state parks, hospitals, low-cost public housing, military installations, municipal stadiums and parks, naval vessels, prisons, power plants, public schools, roads, and water treatment facilities. The projects furnished the unemployed with millions of jobs. But, the programs never achieved Roosevelt's objective of supplying all of those who would work with gainful employment. In fact, of the 10,000,000 unemployed nationwide in 1933, only 4,000,000 found employment only briefly in the CWA and 3,000,000 received work over the following decade in the WPA, the most ubiquitous of the New Deal programs. Some critics observed that many New Deal jobs were little more than disguised dole with a security wage that amounted to as little as $19.00 a month in the rural South. Most New Deal resources attached to the various programs flowed through reviewing offices in the respective states and then to the appropriate municipal governments. Other resources went directly to various federal and state agencies, ranging from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, National Park Service, and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to Florida's Board of Control, Forest and Park Service, and State Road Department. Consequently, the aged, crippled, and sick remained largely at the mercy of state

[7]Anthony Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933-1940* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002), 365-366; Katie Louchhiem, ed., *The Making of the New Deal: The Insiders Speak Out* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1983), 179, 260; Gannon, *New History of Florida,* 309.

[8]Badger, *New Deal,* 365-366; Louchhiem, *New Deal,* 260; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston and Cambridge: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1959), 121.

governments, which developed some institutional buildings for these people, but often were indifferent to their plight.[9]

Some agencies, such as FHA, provided federally-backed mortgage insurance for prospective home owners, but no federal dollars were expended in the development of those properties. Few agencies changed the lives of as many Americans as the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). In May 1935, at the creation of the REA, ninety percent of Americans lived in homes without electricity. Some writers of the New Deal characterized the United States as two nations: city dwellers and country folk. Many farmers toiled in a nineteenth-century world while electrical systems and "white ways" in cities ended at municipal limits, beyond which lay darkness. Some private power companies refused to build power lines, even with low-cost REA loans. In other cases, REA helped rural residents organize cooperatives to string power lines into the countryside. By 1941, forty percent of Americans enjoyed the benefits of electricity, a legacy than persisted so that by 1950 ninety percent of Americans lived in homes with electrical power.[10]

Creating a broad set of welfare laws, the Social Security Act of 1935 affected all Americans. The depression had cast millions into poverty, unemployment, and despair. To alleviate some of the suffering, the act established a system of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. But, Social Security initially disregarded domestic workers and farmers, and families struck by debilitating sicknesses. Later revisions to the act addressed some of the inequitable standards to provide some unemployment compensation for all workers. Other critics commented that despite its well-intended consequences, Social Security drew from the income of workers who barely earned enough to provide for their families, a process that plagued the Roosevelt administration's broad economic policies and standards for fairness.[11]

Some of the programs, such as the AAA and NRA, were eliminated or revised after the courts ruled them unconstitutional or limited their scope. To help replace the AAA, the Roosevelt administration created the Soil Conservation Service through the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936, which offered farmers bounties for not cultivating commercial crops and instead sowing legumes and soil-enriching grasses. After the Supreme Court ruled against the NRA and thereby limited federal powers, Roosevelt shifted his emphasis from recovery to reform, redoubling his efforts through existing programs to ensure their continued funding. Several programs, such as the CCC and even the WPA, never encountered court tests and endured public criticism, only to be abolished during World War II. Other programs, such as FDIC, FHA, and SEC, persist to the present era. Historians continue to debate the effects and trends associated with the New Deal, which is often cast into two or three periods, or as a seamless web of federal experimentation with economic and social reforms.[12]

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[9]Leuchtenburg, *New Deat,* 129-130.

[10]Ibid., 157-158.

[11]Ibid., 132; Lawrence Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973), 590.

[12]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 170-172; Schlesinger, *New Deal,* 174-176; Carl Degler, ed., *The New Deal* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), 86.

Although many southern states and most African Americans openly supported Roosevelt in his campaign for the presidency, he encountered resistance in Florida. Some prominent politicians in Jacksonville, Lakeland, Miami, and Tampa initially supported either John Nance Garner of Texas; Newton Baker, former secretary of war under Wilson; or industrialist Owen D. Young. In late 1931, then-Governor Roosevelt asked Jacksonville civil engineer George B. Hills to organize his Florida campaign. A close friend of Roosevelt's since the early 1920s, Hills played a pivotal role in the 1932 Florida presidential campaign. He established Roosevelt's state organization headquarters in Jacksonville and worked closely with publisher Bryan Mack, who distributed literature from a second campaign office in Daytona Beach. The state's anti-Roosevelt forces rallied within Florida's Democratic Executive Committee (FDEC), but eventually were outflanked by Hills, U.S. Senator Duncan Fletcher and James B. Hodges, a Lake City attorney and chairman of the FDEC. They effectively garnered support for Roosevelt, which included a large donation from DeLand attorney and Judge Bert Fish. Eventually, Fish, Hills, and Hodges were brought into an inner circle of Roosevelt's close friends, who included James A. Farley, Roosevelt's national campaign manager, and Louis Howe, Roosevelt's aide and personal secretary. Following the election, Hills and Farley would be accused by U.S. Senator Park Trammell of running a "political boss machine" in Florida. Relatively conservative politicians, Fletcher and Trammell had grudgingly supported earlier Progressive Era reforms--Trammell as governor and later as senator and Fletcher as senator. After Roosevelt's election, Trammell reluctantly accepted most of Roosevelt's New Deal reforms while Fletcher became one of the president's staunch supporters. Amid cries of voter fraud, Trammell lost much of his popularity following his 1932 re-election to the U.S. Senate over Claude Pepper.[13]

In 1933, Roosevelt encouraged Fletcher, who then served as chairman of the U.S. Senate's Banking and Currency Committee, to broaden an investigation of the nation's leading bankers and businessmen. One of Duval County's most successful politicians of the early twentieth century, Fletcher was a native of Georgia who graduated from Vanderbilt University with a law degree. After briefly practicing law in Tennessee, Fletcher moved to Jacksonville, Florida, in 1881. In the 1890s, he served as acting-mayor of the city and voters elected him to the state legislature in 1893. In 1909, Floridians elected Fletcher to the U.S. Senate, a post to which the state's residents re-elected him until his death in June 1936. During the New Deal, Fletcher exercised substantial veto power over WPA projects in Florida, and influenced the number and direction of PWA projects in the state. Fletcher's congressional committee helped uncover tax evasion and fraud by numerous businessmen and financiers, including Otto Kahn, Charles Mitchell, J. P. Morgan, and Owen Young. Extending between 1933 and 1935, the investigation headed by Fletcher included subpoenas of financial records of institutions and officials, which discredited the nation's financial institutions and helped form a foundation for New Deal reforms. Fletcher's voting record during the New Deal reflected a near-perfect support of Roosevelt and his programs, running counter to many of his more conservative southern colleagues in the U.S. Senate.[14]
In mid 1936, both of Florida's U.S. Senators died in a span of six weeks, which compelled a special primary for both seats and provided opportunities for emerging politicians to promote New Deal activities in the state.

[13]Flynt, *Fletcher,* 166-168; William T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Tallahassee: Florida Democratic Historical Foundation, 1936), 140-141; Sidney Johnston, "Bert Fish: From Volusia County Courthouse to American Embassy," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 78 (Spring 2000), 438-439.

[14]Flynt, *Fletcher,* 169, 179, 188; Tebeau, *Florida,* 408; Gannon, *New History of Florida,* 308.

Floridians elected Claude Pepper, a former member of the state legislature who had lost the U.S. Senate race to Park Trammell in 1932, and Charles O. Andrews, an Orlando judge, former legislator, and supreme court commissioner. Both politicians retained their respective senate seats during the New Deal. As part of his campaign for re-election in 1938, Pepper set forth a goal to build a new hospital and library in every county in the state. By then, Pepper had already achieved a national reputation as a New Deal liberal, and became one of Roosevelt's most outspoken advocates. His influence helped Florida achieve hundreds of projects from large buildings to small recreation centers. His support became increasingly crucial as southern conservatives mounted effective attacks upon the New Deal. In the early 1940s, amid the nation's military build-up and then entrance into World War II, leading southern politicians--Harry Byrd, Harold Cooley, Eugene Cox, James Eastland, John Rankin, Howard Smith, and others who had supported Roosevelt a decade earlier--helped to dismantle the New Deal, including its most popular programs, such as the CCC, NYA, and WPA. By then, those agencies were little more than a shadow of their earlier medium, transformed into quasi-military organizations to help build military installations.[15]

No New Dealer, Florida's Governor Carlton was replaced by David Sholtz of Daytona Beach in 1932. Characterized by historians as Florida's "New Deal Governor," Sholtz implemented Florida's first effective New Deal reforms. To help avert a looming banking crisis, he followed the leadership of Roosevelt and several governors by temporarily closing the state's banks, implementing a series of so-called "banking holidays." He supported the organization of the Florida Park Service and the Florida Citrus Commission. His support of federal PWA resources helped to construct state hospital facilities at Chattahoochee, Raiford, and Woodsmere. A collaboration of state and PWA funds expanded the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind at St. Augustine and the Florida Farm Colony, an institution for the feeble-minded, at Gainesville. Under Sholtz's leadership, the statewide tax on automobile tags fell by $2,000,000, the state's millage rate reached its lowest point in Florida history, and public school textbooks were distributed freely to students. Mirroring national trends, workman's compensation and a state welfare board were established. At the close of his term, Sholtz claimed that "Throughout I have but followed our President's wise example which in his own words was 'substituting food for words, work for idleness, hope for despair'."[16]

Beset by factionalized politics more than any other southern state, Floridians elected a parade of single-term governors during the depression that ended with Fred Cone (1937-1941) of Lake City and Spessard Holland (1941-1945) of Bartow. Conveying a sense of the state's weak, decentralized political system, in the 1936 election fourteen candidates ran for governor in the primary and eleven candidates filed for the office four years later. In 1936, although liberals in Florida's Democratic Party helped to place the conservative attorney and banker Cone in

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[15]Flynt, *Fletcher,* 169, 188; Tebeau, *Florida,* 408; Gannon, *New History of Florida,* 308; James Clark, "The 1944 Florida Democratic Senate Primary," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 367-368; Gary Mormino, "Senator Claude Pepper Plans for War," *Forum* 22 (Fall 1999), 10; George Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 618, 625, 723-724; *Florida Municipal Record* 7 (October 1938), 6.

[16]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 38-39, 42-43; Gannon, *New History of Florida,* 309; Merlin Cox, "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43 (October 1964), 151; Steven Noll,. "Care and Control of the Feeble Minded: Florida Farm Colony, 1920-1945," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (July 1990), 76.

office, neither he nor Holland were avid Roosevelt supporters. A state-sponsored exhibit endorsed by Cone won various awards at the World's Fair in New York, and revenues derived from drivers' licenses were used to finance the Florida Highway Patrol. Responding to concerns over thousands of acres of tax-delinquent lands, the Cone administration supported the Murphy Act, which provided for their sale. Higher taxes on alcoholic beverages and occupational licenses increased state revenues. Designed by Tampa architect M. Leo Elliott, a new wing was completed on the state capitol in 1936, one of the last large state projects of the Sholtz administration. Despite widespread coverage by newspapers of badly needed state resources in most areas of the state, Cone refused to accept matching federal funds to improve the state's physical plants. More concerned with the coming war than the New Deal, the administration of Governor Holland helped to establish Everglades National Park, reorganized the Game and Fresh-Water Fish Commission as a independent agency, and strengthened the state's ad valorum tax structure.[17]

Despite the advocacy demonstrated by Fletcher and Pepper for Roosevelt's reforms, the New Deal drew only tepid support from Cone and Holland and had many Florida critics. Financier Peter O. Knight of Tampa and insurance president Laurence Lee of Pensacola consistently wrote Fletcher to express their opposition to the New Deal. The conservative *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union* newspaper and the state's railroad companies also opposed virtually all New Deal measures. Notwithstanding its criticism, the Jacksonville newspaper published periodic reports of accomplishments made by New Deal agencies in communities throughout the state. Displaying a wry disconnect between philosophy and practice, some of the state's newspapers criticized New Deal philosophy, but celebrated brick-and-mortar projects completed in their respective regions, using the very resources derived from the programs they criticized. The state headquarters for most of the largest New Deal programs, the City of Jacksonville benefited from millions of dollars spent in public projects. The Florida Canal, a project that extended between the Atlantic coast and the Gulf of Mexico, via the St. Johns and Ocklawaha rivers, drew supporters from Jacksonville and northeast Florida, but many vocal opponents from central and south Florida. Initiated by Roosevelt as the Florida Ship Canal in 1935, the project met congressional defeat for renewed funding in 1936, a vote that received general rejoicing in Miami and Tampa and sorrow in Jacksonville and Ocala. Over five million New Deal dollars were expended on the cross-state project over which Floridians perennially debated the benefits and costs. Its demise presaged the end of the New Deal programs. In 1939, the surviving alphabet agencies began addressing military concerns, placing emphasis and resources on increasing America's military preparedness. By 1943, unemployment had ceased to be a concern for most Americans, and that year Congress abolished the CCC, NYA, and WPA, three of the longest-lived and best known of the alphabet agencies.[18]

NEW DEAL ALPHABET AGENCIES IN FLORIDA

Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and Civil Works Administration (CWA)

[17]V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Random House, 1949), 94-96; Allen Morris, *Florida Handbook* (Tallahassee: Peninsular Publishing, 1986), 309-310.

[18]Flynt, *Fletcher,* 179-185.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) was established on 12 May 1933 by the Federal Emergency Relief Act. President Roosevelt appointed Harry Hopkins to direct the agency. Later that month, on the first day at work at FERA, Hopkins allocated $5,000,000 for state and local projects in his first two hours at work. Using federal funds channeled to state and local governments, FERA set minimum relief standards, allocated grants to state and local agencies for direct relief work, and coordinated and published information on relief problems, policies, and procedures. Hopkins immediately reported to the president the need for emergency measures that FERA and other alphabet agencies were not addressing. Within months, the administration had established the Civil Works Administration (CWA), which in contrast to FERA was a pure government agency with workers on the federal payroll. Among the shortest-lived of the make-work programs of the Roosevelt administration, the CWA was organized in mid-1933 and abolished in early-1934. In its brief life, the CWA built or improved 500,000 miles of roads, 40,000 schools, and 1,000 airports. Fifty thousand CWA teachers taught in public schools and adult education classes, and 3,000 artists and writers worked for the CWA, presaging later WPA programs. In a brief span, the CWA employed 4,000,000 federal employees and spent $1,000,000,000.[19]

Alarmed at how much the CWA consumed in federal revenues, Roosevelt ended it as quickly as he could to divert those dollars to longer range programs. In 1934, FERA was charged with supervising the records and functions of the Civil Works Administration (CWA), which Congress liquidated in March 1934. Two years later, the Congress provided for the liquidation of FERA, but the agency survived until 30 June 1938, when it was subsumed into the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which Roosevelt had earlier appointed Hopkins to head. Between 1932 and 1935, the nation's public relief aid rose from $208,000,000 to $3,000,000,000, an increase largely due to FERA spending under Hopkins's leadership.[20]

In practice, FERA grants involved relatively small, but routine construction projects and provided education opportunities. Nationally, FERA assisted in the development of 7,000 bridges, 5,000 public buildings, and numerous improvement projects, such as clearing streams, dredging rivers, terracing hills, and landscaping parks. FERA's initial policy of using matching funds tended to penalize poorer states and legislatures reluctant to engage in relief spending, especially those in the South. Within several years of its inception, FERA replaced its matching funds program with direct grants. In contrast to construction and public works projects, imaginative white-collar FERA education programs drew heated criticism. Although the programs taught 1,500,000 people to read and write, helped 100,000 students attend college, and operated nursery schools for low-income workers, they also included instruction in weaving belts, linoleum-block printing, and other seemingly meaningless tasks that were labeled as "boondoggling." Arthur Goldschmidt, one of Harry Hopkins's associates, recalled that Hopkins became perplexed and then furious when the word appeared in a *New York Times* article deriding FERA. Goldschmidt explained that the word had western roots that meant to "fix a harness for a horse," and also from the Boy Scouts who used the term "to make things, little artifacts." But, as used in a front-page article about FERA in the *New York Times,* the word meant "goofing off, doing something useless," and soon boondoggling "became the buzz word for any

[19]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 121-123; Schlesinger, *New Deal,* 269-271.
[20]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 120-125; Badger, *New Deal,* 192-196.

nonsense in a relief program." Notwithstanding the term's uncertain derivation, boondoggling became closely associated with all FERA activities, a moniker that the agency never quite overcame.[21]

Few municipal governments in the nation experienced as much FERA involvement as Key West, Florida. The southernmost city had ranked among the richest cities in America in the 1830s, but entered bankruptcy a century later. Nearly eighty percent of its citizens were on relief rolls. In July 1934, with no market for its bonds and no funds in its treasury, the municipal government abdicated its governing responsibilities to Governor Sholtz and the State of Florida. FERA administrator Julius Stone and his advisers worked with municipal officials and local interests to develop Key West into a popular tourist resort by securing national publicity and spending huge sums of money on rehabilitating the city's infrastructure. The short-range program consisted of cleaning the streets and providing suitable transportation and housing facilities for visitors. Long-range objectives consisted of new water and sewage lines and adequate lighting systems. Nearly 40,000 tourists visited Key West in its first winter season under FERA leadership. Hailed as one of the nation's most interesting experiments in community planning and revitalization, Key West became a proving ground for government-sponsored cultural projects. FERA artists painted murals on cafes and night clubs, and classes in crafts taught the manufacture of items from native materials. In the spring of 1935, the WPA began assuming former FERA responsibilities, and, despite some unrest among workers and local officials, continued the rehabilitation of the city.[22]

Most of Florida's cities and towns enjoyed modest improvements through CWA and FERA activities, although many of the activities consisted of digging ditches along roadways and raking leaves in city parks. Florida's CWA director, Chester B. Treadway, was an attorney with broad contacts at the federal and state levels. A former F.B.I. agent, chairman of the Florida State Road Department between 1933 and 1937, chairman of the Florida State Planning Board, and the owner of a realty and insurance company in Tavares, Treadway established good relations with CWA officials in Washington, D.C. to help ensure the funding of projects in Florida. After Treadway resigned to assume direction of the state's WPA program, Julius Stone directed the CWA and then made the transition to the top FERA post. A native of Ohio, Stone was educated at the Ohio State University and earned a Ph.D. at Harvard University. Working his way up to an executive position in a New York manufacturing company in the 1920s, Stone was appointed to an administrative post in the CWA in Washington, D.C., early in the New Deal. Later, Harry Hopkins appointed him to direct the FERA program in Key West, after which he was appointed as director of state's top FERA post. After earning a law degree from Harvard University in 1940, he made his home in Key West.[23]
In December 1933, the *Jacksonville Journal* boasted of $357,457 allocated for local CWA projects that month. Lamenting the loss of 3,000 CWA jobs in February 1934, the newspaper railed against the closing of the "highly successful program" the following month. The City of Pensacola received $721,489 from the CWA during its brief

[21]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 120-125; Badger, *New Deal,* 192-196; Louchheim, *Making of the New Deal,* 192-193.

[22]Long, "Key West," 214-217; Works Projects Administration, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 199.

[23]Junius Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary,* 4 vols., (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1952), 3:458-459, 4:841.

existence. In early-1935, Hiram Bakes, director of FERA in Broward County, reported that 197 workers earned $1,731.05 weekly to improve Ft. Lauderdale's municipal airport. Some CWA and FERA administrators later found employment in other New Deal programs. Chester Treadway, the state's CWA director, later supervised Florida's WPA program; at the local level, C. C. House, the FERA director for Hendry County, later served as a junior supervisor of the county's WPA program.[24]

Some women found meaningful employment through FERA. Sponsored by Eleanor Roosevelt, the FERA project for women was based on a successful camp in Vermont. In Florida, E. R. Dunsford, a FERA regional administrator, reported that 100 women from five counties in the fourth district of Florida received instruction in a variety of subjects, including cooking, life-saving, sewing, and swimming. In St. Augustine, FERA established a camp for unemployed women in the old St. Augustine Beach Hotel, a relic of the collapse of the 1920s land boom. In March 1935, the State of Florida's FERA office reported only 4,000 relief cases, in contrast to 16,000 in 1932. Julius Stone, Jr., served as FERA's administrator for Florida. Articles in *The Nation* and *Business Week* cited material and economic advances in the state, largely because of FERA. Writing for *The Nation* in March 1935, author O. G. Villard characterized the state as "Flamboyant Florida," and observed that "If one were to judge Florida by the appearance of Miami one would have to say that the depression is over in the state."[25]

Municipal governments desperate to complete public projects often blended resources from multiple alphabet agencies, which were created by the Roosevelt administration to assist the unemployed and help municipalities cope with deficient infrastructure. After withdrawing an application to the PWA, St. Augustine's municipal officials initiated the St. Augustine Civic Center project through the CWA. Although one elected official objected to the City spending any additional monies on public improvements, all agreed that the civic center provided a far better use of CWA monies than raking parks and clearing ditches and gutters. In 1935, residents and administrators celebrated the completion of the building under the FERA banner. In a similar fashion, FERA funds initiated the construction of Clewiston's recreation center, which was completed with PWA assistance. The Apopka city hall, auditorium, and jail project began in 1933 with CWA approval and funding and was completed with FERA assistance in early-1935. Flush with success from the municipal project, Apopka's city council turned again to FERA for a new fire house and sewer system, projects completed with WPA assistance.[26]
Tampa's Peter O. Knight Airport was developed with FERA and WPA funding assistance. The CWA, FERA, and WPA allocated approximately $3,000,000 to projects in Escambia County between 1932 and 1936, many of which overlapped, including the development of Bayview Park in Pensacola. In Lake Worth, New Deal revenues helped to improve the Dixie Highway, Federal Highway, and a municipal park radiating across the lake front. One of Lake

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[24]*Jacksonville Journal,* 15 December 1933, 21 February, 30 March 1934; *Ft. Lauderdale Daily News,* 4 January 1935; *Clewiston News,* 25 January 1935, 19 November 1937; James McGovern, "Pensacola, Florida: A Military City in the New South," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59 (July 1980), 35; Dovell, *Florida,* 4:841.

[25]Merlin G. Cox, "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43 (November 1964), 150; Durwood Long, "Key West and the New Deal, 1934-1936," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (January 1968), 212.

[26]*Apopka Chief,* 17 November, 15 December 1933, 4 May 1934, 1 January, 12 February, 5 March 1935.

Worth's largest New Deal projects was the construction of the municipal auditorium. Begun in 1933 and completed in 1935, the auditorium with Moorish Revival details was built with funds provided by both the CWA and FERA. Elsewhere in Palm Beach County, public schools benefiting from CWA and FERA assistance included Canal Point School, Lake Worth's West Gate School, Pahokee School, Palm Beach Junior High School, Riveria School, and West Palm Beach's African-American Industrial School. Federal funding amounted to $233,414 with a local contribution of $76,249. Architect William Manly King of West Palm Beach prepared the plans for many of Palm Beach County's New Deal era schools.[27]

Civic centers and community buildings became popular resources in many smaller towns and cities. The City of Davenport's Community Center (NR 1996) was completed in 1935 with financial support from the FERA. In 1934, after completing his preliminary work on the Indian River County Courthouse, architect William Garns drafted the plans for a Community Building in Vero Beach (NR 1993). In January 1935, labor furnished by FERA and the Union Workers Association of Vero Beach was used to construct the wood-frame-and-stucco-building, which was dedicated on 4 July 1935.[28]

Development of Ravine Gardens (NR 2002) in the City of Palatka was accomplished through the combined efforts of the municipal government, CWA, FERA, WPA, and local citizens. Thomas Gillespie, a Palatka contractor and developer, is generally credited with generating the idea of improving the ravine, using it as a tourist site and developing it into an azalea garden. A steep head ravine measuring approximately eighty-five acres with a depth ranging to 120 feet, the natural depression displayed two long fingers running west to east. Freshwater springs on its western edges flowed into the Palatka water works and the St. Johns River. Due to financial constraints created by the depression, however, the City restricted its operation of the ravine, opening it to the public only between November and April. In 1937, after the ravine had been stabilized and appreciable development had occurred, the municipal government again opened the ravine on an annual basis, charging admission fees during the winter when the azaleas were in full bloom.[29]

Ravine beautification and development initiated by the City in the early 1930s, however, produced few results. By 1933, lack of sufficient funds compelled the City to seek New Deal financial aid to revive the project. Development of the ravine began in earnest with FERA support in March 1933, supplemented by additional funds in December 1933. By March 1934, $161,785 had been expended on ravine development. Richard Forester, a Jacksonville architect and former Palatka city manager, prepared a master plan for the ravine in April 1933. The plan called for

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[27]*Lake Worth Herald,* 15, 29 December 1933, 12 January, 22, 23 February, 2, 9, 23 March, 7 December 1934, 4 January, 3, 31 March 1935; *Pensacola Journal,* 2 January 1935; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* 1 January 1936; *Palm Beach Post-Times,* 6 January 1935; *St. Augustine Record,* 3 August, 20 October 1933, 13, 14, 15 February 1935, 14 February 1936.

[28]*St. Augustine Record,* 15, 16 July 1934; Davenport Recreation Center files, Davenport City Hall, Davenport, Florida.

[29]*Palatka Daily News,* March 23, 1933; Brian Michaels, *The River Flows North: A History of Putnam County, Florida* (Palatka: Brian Michaels, 1976), 398-408; Minute Book 6, March 15, 1938, May 16, 1939, Palatka City Hall, Palatka, Florida.

construction of an administration building, concessions building, entrance station, limestone fountain, and gardens, restoration of the mill suspension bridges, constructing dams and rustic benches, installation of a sprinkler system, terracing and construction of retaining walls, and improving existing roads. Plants were to be scattered throughout the ravine with hundreds of azaleas complementing bougainvilleas, dogwoods, flame vines, hibiscus, Japanese magnolias, oleander, petunias, roses, and wild plums. Work at the site had progressed sufficiently to permit formal opening of Ravine Gardens on 30 November 1934.[30]

Despite the garden's opening, work persisted throughout the New Deal. Numerous limestone walls were constructed to stabilize the ravine and prevent further erosion of its steep sides. A single Ravine Gardens WPA project consisted of placing 1,250 cubic yards of limestone at a cost of $5,000. Brick retention walls and gulleys were also constructed to protect areas where heavy erosion had occurred. Palmetto log terracing, employed to stabilize the sink, was generally used in areas not accessible to the public. Three suspension bridges were constructed to provide access to the ravine interior while leaving the lower slopes undisturbed.[31]

By 1934, an azalea fountain and garden had been developed. The limestone fountain, spanning approximately forty feet and rising nearly twenty feet, was set in a quadrangle adorned by pairs of limestone columns rising fifteen feet in height and supporting overhead palmetto log trellises. A terraced garden, comprised of three large sections, extended from the fountain into the ravine. The Court of States, twin rows of paired limestone columns rising fifteen feet and accented with trellises, was completed in November. Beginning in 1935, flags representing each state in the Union were displayed on official holidays. Assembled with FERA labor, a distinctive limestone obelisk rising to a height of sixty-five feet commemorated Franklin D. Roosevelt at the entrance, or the north end, of the court. In March 1936, Ravine Gardens celebrated "All Florida Day," an event that attracted over 12,000 visitors.[32]

The park's administration building was completed in November 1934. Its design emulated the Cypress Building featured at the Century of Progress Exposition, which was part of the 1933 World's Fair in Chicago. By 1935, the ravine had captured the popular imagination of residents and municipal officials to the extent that the City adopted it for its official letterhead logo. In 1936, the City purchased 5,000 circulars advertising the attraction. That year, WPA funding included employment for a park superintendent, parks guide, concessions hostess, two foremen, and

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[30]Federal Emergency Relief Administration, "Landscape Development Plan of Palatka Ravines-Forester Park and Venetian Gardens," 1933[?], Ravine Gardens State Park, Park Manager's Office; Emergency Work Program in Florida, Notable Construction and Professional Workers Projects, "Ravine Gardens at Palatka," March 1934, p. 20-21; *Palatka Daily News,* November 23, December 8, 1933, November 30, 1934; Minute Book 5, December 2, 1933, Palatka City Hall; Michaels, *History of Putnam County,* 399; "Palatka Ravine Gardens Destined To Be One of Florida's Outstanding Assets and Tourists Attractions," *Florida Municipal Record* (1934), 7; "20,000 Petunias Will Bloom in Ravine Gardens in December," *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (November 1937), 17.

[31]Federal Relief Emergency Administration, 1933-1934, plaque located at fountain area, Ravine Gardens State Park; Minute Book 5, February 20, 1934, Palatka City Hall.

[32]*Palatka Daily News,* 30 November 1934, 12 February, 23 March 1935, 23 March 1936; *Fort Myers Free-Press,* 2 January 1936; "Federal Relief Emergency Administration, 1933-1934," plaque located at fountain area, Ravine Gardens State Park.

forty-five laborers. More than 250,000 subtropical shrubs and flowers were added to the slopes of the ravine, including azaleas, approximately 20,000 petunias, and 1,000 Easter lilies. By 1937, Ravine Gardens was being hailed as the "Nation's Outstanding CWA Project." By then, 100,000 azaleas had been planted in the ravine. In 1938, the WPA installed a sprinkler system along the banks of the ravine. In 1939 alone, additional WPA funding for the ravine amounted to $25,200. The local municipal contribution added $15,500. In the spring, the City hosted the first Azalea Festival, which became an annual event in Palatka. Other WPA funded community projects in Palatka included water main repairs, street repairs, ball park lighting, the golf course, and swimming pool improvements.[33]

Other relatively large projects completed with a combination of FERA and WPA funds, coupled with the Corps of Engineers allocations, included building dikes and improving canals around Lake Okeechobee to prevent perennial flooding and provide safer channels. Funds from the CWA, FERA, and WPA improved St. Petersburg's Bartlett Park. Between 1933 and 1937, $124,000 was used to develop the park with a clubhouse, eighteen shuffleboard courts, baseball fields, tennis courts, walkways, and general beautification. In the wake of the Bartlett Park project, W. F. Gorman built the Park View Cottages, a twenty-four unit motor court typical of how government projects encouraged adjacent private investments. An additional $84,000 provided by the three agencies completed the North Shore sewer project in one of St. Petersburg's exclusive suburbs. In the interim, the City received $200,000 from the Public Works Administration (PWA) for an addition to its Mound Park Hospital. By January 1938, St. Petersburg had received $3,500,000 from various New Deal alphabet agencies. The experience of receiving relatively large sums of federal assistance through multiple agencies for single and multiple projects characterizes the complexity of the New Deal in most of the state's urban centers and even some small towns. It was through the CWA and FERA that many communities took their initial steps to improve infrastructure using federal New Deal resources.[34]

Resettlement Administration (RA) and Federal Security Administration (FSA)

By 1938, when Congress liquidated FERA, the agency had become a breeding ground for new alphabet agencies, including the Resettlement Administration (RA) and Farm Security Administration (FSA). With their roots deep in the FERA program, the RA and FSA also drew from the earlier Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), which the Congress had authorized in 1933. A system that provided for alternative farm staple subsidies, the AAA made direct payments to farmers buffeted by the harshest effects of the depression. In November 1935, the AAA paid $645,946 to Florida farmers with the largest amounts directed to cane growers in Hendry and Palm Beach Counties. By early-1936, when the Supreme Court ruled the AAA's processing tax unconstitutional, the Roosevelt administration had

[33] *Palatka Daily News,* 1 November 1934; Federal Emergency Relief Administration, "Progress Report, Engineering Department," March 1935; *Palatka Daily News,* 1 April 1935, 7 July, 24 September 1936, 8 April 1939; Minute Book 5, May 7 & November 25, 1935, February 4, 1936, Minute Book 6, 2 November 1937, 15 March, 30 September 1938, 23 May, 17 June 1939, Palatka City Hall; "20,000 Petunias Will Bloom in Ravine Gardens in December," *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (November 1937), 17; Michaels, *History of Putnam County,* 399-401.

[34] *St. Petersburg Times,* 2 January 1938, 7 January 1940; Gannon, *The New History of Florida,* 315.

already turned to the FERA model to assist America's farmers. The administration created the Soil Conservation Service, which offered farmers bounties not to plant soil-depleting commercial crops and sow, instead, soil-enriching grasses and legumes.[35]

Created to address rural poverty in 1935, the Resettlement Administration (RA) assumed responsibility for rural rehabilitation and land programs that Harry Hopkins had initiated under FERA. Roosevelt appointed Rex Tugwell, an agrarian reformer, to head the new agency, which operated under the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The ambitious plans of the RA scheduled the resettlement of 500,000 American families out of rural poverty, sharecropping, and tenancy. Instead, the RA found new homes for 4,441 farm families, most of them in the Midwest and Northeast. One of the few RA land use programs in Florida was established near Brooksville. Termed the Withlacoochee Resettlement Project, the RA constructed a headquarters building using WPA labor, acquired thousands of acres, relocated farmers to more productive areas, developed a tree nursery, restocked fish and animal populations, and instituted soil erosion measures. Providing jobs to hundreds of men in Citrus, Hernando, Pasco, and Sumter Counties, the project eventually included CCC and WPA laborers who helped develop nearby camping and recreational facilities. Florida's laws and cultural mores regarding segregated facilities dictated that the Withlacoochee Resettlement Project include a separate recreational facility for African Americans, which consisted of picnic shelters and a baseball diamond.[36]

Despite some early success, the RA fell far short of its objectives. Tugwell was intrigued with the concepts advanced by Garden City advocates Ebenezer Howard and urban planners at Radburn, New Jersey, who developed greenbelt towns near Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and Washington, D. C. The fashionable suburbs hardly served as an alternative to the grinding poverty encountered by rural farmers desperate to start afresh. The Garden City Movement reinforced the distinction between a city and its suburb, but did not reflect rural or agrarian values. Targeting a rising middle class, garden suburbs offered homeowners neighborhoods set apart from arterial streets with landscaped entrances, green spaces, and curvilinear streets. Notwithstanding modest success and acclaim from the nation's rising middle class, the RA developed garden cities at the expense of assisting America's poorest farmers with simple homesteads on fertile soils.[37]

In 1937, the Roosevelt administration replaced the RA with the Farm Security Agency (FSA), which the Congress authorized through the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act. Rather than relocating farmers, the FSA sought to rehabilitate farmers on local farms, generally in their established rural communities. The FSA extended low-interest, long-term loans to selected farmers, sharecroppers, and tenants for the purchase of family-size farms and land. The FSA sponsored programs to rehabilitate depleted soils and pastures. The agency also established a chain of sanitary, migratory labor camps to aid farm migrants. The FSA loaned money to medical cooperatives to assist sick farmers,

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[35]*Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 20 November 1935; Gannon, *New History of Florida,* 310, 316; Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 140-141, 171-172.

[36]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 140-141; Louchheim, *New Deal,* 182; Lewis Wynne and Guy Harrison, "Withlacoochee, A New Deal Legacy: A Photo Essay," *Tampa Bay History* 10 (Spring Summer 1988), 34-46.

[37]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 140-141; Louchheim, *New Deal,* 182.

and to agricultural cooperatives, some of which competed with grain dealers in the Midwest. Many southern landlords also objected to the FSA, which provided poor southern farmers with alternatives to sharecropping and tenancy. Liberal critics of the FSA pointed out that a majority of FSA loans were paid back, an indictment that the agency was too conservative in the number of loans and individual amounts of loaned resources provided to America's most impoverished people. By the end of 1941, the FSA had spent more than $1,000,000,000, primarily in the form of loans, many of which were repaid. To the chagrin of many liberal Democrats in the northeast, large farm corporations and powerful conservative agricultural representation in Congress limited the success of the FSA, in part, by restricting its ability to make loans. The FSA failed to accomplish most of its massive undertaking. For many, the image of dust-covered Oklahoma farmers packed into jalopies on Route 66, characterized in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath,* told a poignant story of America's destitute. Photographic icons of the era included Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother" and Arthur Rothstein's "Dust Storm." Not all poor Midwestern farmers traveled to the Far West; some moved into the South and even to Florida. Providing justification for many of the social welfare programs of the New Deal, the FSA photographs were later hailed as one of the greatest collections of documentary photographs in the world.[38]

In Florida, the FSA assisted some of the state's struggling farmers and migrant laborers. The FSA established its headquarters--the Florida State Farms--at Monticello. Administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the state office aided farmers rehabilitating their existing farms. Others selected undeveloped tracts or abandoned farms with FSA approval, and received federal loans for purchase or long-term tenure leases. By 1939, Florida's FSA program had assisted approximately seventy farms in Jefferson, Leon, and Madison counties alone, which accounted for 8,500 acres planted in various crops.[39]

Various FSA photographers documented the challenges and hardships endured by Florida's migrant and tenant farmers, including John Collier, Howard Hollem, Dorothea Lange, Carl Mydans, Gordon Post, Arthur Rothstein, and Marion Post Wolcott. Stark black-and-white photographs depicted deserted sharecroppers' shacks and depleted soils at Escambia Farms and desolate migratory labor camps in Osceola County. More promising images captured new FSA-supported housing and migratory camps at Okeechobee and Pahokee, new poultry coups at Escambia Farms, and a new nursery built at the Osceola camp. Some images were included in *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State,* including laborers planting celery near Sanford, strawberry pickers near Stark, turpentine forests near Marianna, and bean pickers at Homestead. Other FSA photographs contrasted the disparity of a simple Seminole chikee near Lake Okeechobee with America's palatial southernmost house in Key West. Perhaps the most haunting if compelling images revealed squalid conditions endured by New Jersey migrants, a migratory camp near Belle Glade, and African Americans living in condemned housing.[40]

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[38]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 139, 141; Louchheim, *New Deal,* 182; Robert Snyder, "Marion Post and the Farm Security Administration in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (April 1987), 457-458.

[39]Works Projects Administration, *Florida,* 438; Donald Grubbs, "The Story of Florida's Migrant Farm Workers," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (October 1961), 105-109.

[40]Http://lcweb.loc.gov; www.AmericanMemory.gov: *America from the Great Depression to World War II: Photographs from the FSA/OWI, 1935-1945;* Works Projects Administration, *Florida.*

Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

Many historians of the New Deal judge the CCC to have been the most successful and popular of the Roosevelt administration's programs. Throughout its life, which lasted from 1933 until 1942, nearly 3,000,000 men, most of who were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, worked in the nation's forests and parks. They earned $30.00 per month, a portion of which was provided to their families. They accomplished much to improve and preserve America's forests, parks, and agricultural lands. The inspiration for the CCC came from Roosevelt himself. As a youth, he had been captivated by the forests, streams, and valleys that surrounded his Hyde Park home in New York's Hudson Valley. His love of the land, one observer noted, was "both passionate and total." No feature of American life disturbed Roosevelt more than the callous destruction of the national patrimony. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., later wrote that Roosevelt "felt the scars and exhaustion of the earth almost as personal injuries." From the time he entered public life in 1910, Roosevelt fought for conservation causes. As a state senator in New York, he chaired the Fish and Game Committee and lobbied to develop a comprehensive conservation plan. Later, as governor of the Empire State, Roosevelt seized the opportunity to translate his ideas into action, exemplified by legislation he introduced in 1929 that eventually put 10,000 unemployed men to work in reforestation projects.[41]

During his 1932 presidential campaign, Roosevelt referred to a plan to put the unemployed to work in the nation's forests. Shortly after his election, he asked the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) to develop plans for placing 250,000 men in jobs in federally-owned forests. In his 1933 inaugural address, Roosevelt asked for a "definite land policy" to fight against "a future of soil erosion and timber famine" that would employ "a million men." For Roosevelt, this would be a "self-sustaining" public works program. As the economic crisis worsened in the spring of 1933, the Roosevelt administration prepared a plan to put 500,000 men to work on a variety of conservation tasks. Speaking at a press conference on 9 March 1933, five days after his inauguration, he asked for a bill to do just that. The idea, he told reporters, "is to put people to work in national forests and on other government and state properties which would not otherwise be done." On another occasion, the president said that "to save a generation of upright and eager young men and to help save and restore our threatened natural resources, I had determined even before inauguration to take as many of these young men as we could off the street corners and place them in the woods at healthful employment and sufficient wages so that their families might also be benefited by their employment."[42]

On 21 March 1933, Roosevelt proposed to the Congress the creation of a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to place unemployed men to work in forestry projects, such as erosion and flood control, reforestation, and related

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[41]John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), 6; George Philips Rawick, "The New Deal and Youth: The Civilian Conservation Corps, The National Youth Administration, and the American Youth Congress," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1957), 42.

[42]E. B. Nixon, ed., *Franklin Roosevelt and Conservation, 1911-1945,* 2 vols. (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1957), 1:112; Salmond, *Conservation Corps,* 8-9; S. I. Rosenman, comp., *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt,* 5 vols., (New York: Random House, 1942), 11, 68, 81; Rawick, "The New Deal," 43.

improvements. The president suggested employing the combined administrative forces of the departments of Labor, Agriculture, War, and Interior to supervise the agency and to finance it through the use of unencumbered funds appropriated for public works. Roosevelt promised that if the measure passed quickly, 250,000 men would be employed in conservation work by the summer of 1933. Congress promptly gave the president the authority to enlist unemployed males for six months in CCC work on federal and state lands for the "prevention of forest fires, floods and soil erosion, plant, pest and disease control, the construction, maintenance or repair of paths, trails and fire lanes and any incidental work." The act also permitted extension of the work to private and municipal property if that was judged to be in the public interest. Acting promptly on this authority, Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 6101 on 5 April 1933, establishing the Office of Emergency Conservation Work which created the CCC.[43]

The administration began making preparations for the program even before the Congress issued authorization. In his first days as president, Roosevelt asked the Secretaries of the Agriculture, Interior, Labor, and War departments to organize themselves into an informal committee of the cabinet to coordinate plans for the proposed agency. As Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor, noted, the president "conceived the project, boldly rushed it through, and happily left it to others to worry about the details." One significant change did emerge from congressional hearings, however: the CCC was to serve as a partial solution to the problem of youth unemployment. The proposal met some opposition. Socialists complained that it amounted to a militarization of American youth. Organized labor objected to the War Department's involvement and to the $1.00 a day wage to be paid to participants. Because of labor's opposition, the U.S. Army was not allowed to recruit participants, or "enrollees." Roosevelt wanted the Department of Labor to supervise enrollment, but the U.S. Employment Service had been disbanded by the previous administration. Roosevelt and Perkins accordingly created the National Reemployment Service, obtained a special appropriation to finance it, and drafted rules for selecting 250,000 young men. Actual selection of the enrollees was left to state relief officials, who already had functioning organizations for that purpose.[44]

As it finally evolved, the CCC (the name of the agency in its formative years was the Office of Emergency Conservation Work, though in popular parlance it was universally called the CCC or Triple-C), was administered by the War Department, which had charge of the men and camps, procurement, and supervision of the educational programs. Despite the opposition from various quarters regarding the Army's involvement, the War Department alone had the facilities and organization to handle the large numbers of men involved in the program. In practice, the departments of Agriculture and Interior supervised the work program. The USFS and U.S. Soil Conservation Service controlled programs allocated to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which, in turn, had the largest share of CCC enrollees. Using CCC funds, the USFS purchased nearly 8,000,000 acres for the nation's national forests, where enrollees then cut firebreaks and trails and constructed buildings. The National Park Service supervised enrollees who performed work in national and state parks. Under the supervision of the Army, the Office of

[43]Nixon, *Roosevelt and Conservation,* 1:143; Rosenman, *Public Papers,* 11, 68; Howard W. Oxley, *Education in the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1936), 1.

[44]Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York: Harper & Row, 1946), 177; Rawick, "The New Deal," 47, 53, 59.

Education operated educational programs within the camps. The Department of Labor managed recruitment, generally through state offices. Representatives of each of the departments formed an advisory council that governed operations of the CCC. A civilian administrator, Robert Fechner, was selected by Roosevelt from the ranks of organized labor to head the agency.[45]

In practice, the U.S. Army ran the CCC. It divided the country into nine Corps for administrative purposes. Once selected, the men were given preliminary "basic" training at one of seventy-three military bases, transported to their respective camps, and clothed, housed, and fed under supervision of the Army. Each camp throughout the nation (there were eventually more than 3,000 of them) was assigned a civilian superintendent, who was responsible for the work program, and a company commander, appointed by the War Department, who supervised enrollees except when they were engaged in project work. The first CCC camp, Camp Roosevelt, opened in Luray, Virginia, on 17 April 1933. Camps eventually appeared in every state and even in overseas territories. Each camp contained approximately 200 men. By July 1933, approximately 1,400 camps, comprising more than 300,000 young men, were operating, a tribute to the organizational efficiency of the Army. Crucial to the success of the CCC was an administrative decision of April 1933 to enroll experienced foresters to serve as technical assistants to project supervisors. Roosevelt agreed to lift all restrictions to age, marital status, and compulsory allotments in order to obtain them.[46]

In his report covering the first year of operations, Fechner cited improvements made to millions of acres of forest and park land and construction of numerous dams and thousands of miles of telephone lines. Losses from forest fires in national forests declined by seventeen percent during the period. Approximately $72,000,000 was sent home to the dependents of enrollees in the CCC's first year of operation, lightening local relief burdens and stimulating local business. Evening classes of vocational and academic instruction were initiated in the camps. Fire fighting was added to the list of functions pursued by enrollees during the inaugural year.[47]

In 1934, the authorized enrollment level was raised to 350,000 men and the number of camps increased to 1,625. A year later, the CCC, at maximum strength, consisted of 502,000 men housed in 2,514 camps. At that point, Roosevelt, citing alleged recruitment problems resulting from an upswing in the economy, proposed reducing the CCC to 300,000 by July 1936. A tactic engineered by the president, the proposal was designed to increase the number of enrollees and test the popularity of the program. Trusting that cutbacks would come from the Congress, his strategy worked. Widespread popular protests forced the Congress to maintain a high level of enrollment.

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[45]Rawick, "The New Deal," 61, 96; Leslie Alexander Lacy, *The Soil Soldiers: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Great Depression* (Radnor: Chilton Book Company, 1976), 250; Salmond, *Civilian Conservation Corps,* 29-30; Harold Steen, *The U. S. Forest Service: A History* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1976), 214-216.

[46]Rawick, "The New Deal," 64--66, 98; Rosenman, *Public Papers,* 11, 107; Federal Security Agency, *The CCC at Work: A Story of 2,500,000 Young Men* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1941), n.p.; Salmond, *Civilian Conservation Corps,* 32, 34, 37-38.

[47]*Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work for the Period April 5, 1933 to September 30, 1933 (1st Report)* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1933), 6-10; Perkins, *Roosevelt,* 180; *New York Times,* 16 April 1934.

Roosevelt had initially insisted upon locating the camps near populated areas to encourage spending in local economies and to point out the obvious usefulness of the work. The national press, including the *Chicago Tribune,* usually a vitriolic critic of the administration, supported the CCC. Many people looked upon it as a useful and effective relief program. Demands arose to broaden eligibility rules. Thus, in 1935, the age limit for enrollees, previously twenty-five, was revised to twenty-eight and the maximum length of service raised from twelve to eighteen months. Additionally, veterans of World War I and Native Americans of all ages were permitted to enroll.[48]

With popularity of the program running at high tide, there were attempts in 1937 to accord the CCC permanent status. The USFS, War Department, and Office of Education appeared particularly anxious to make it an ongoing agency, and the president accordingly asked for authorization. Congress instead chose to extend the agency's life for three years and set peak enrollment at 300,000, a level the CCC sustained during the last years of the 1930s. As prospects for another global conflict grew, some prominent newspapers and organizations called on the CCC to provide military training. Upon the outbreak of war in Europe, a Gallup Poll revealed that ninety percent of Americans favored military training in the CCC.[49]

Notwithstanding the popularity of the CCC, there were problems from both within and without the agency. Criticism from the left, from unions, and even from the Congress endured throughout the life of the program. Inter-agency wrangling for control of CCC functions and operations persisted from its beginning. Even Harry Hopkins, the powerful chief of the WPA, intervened at one time in an effort to streamline enrollments. Civilian agencies resented the military's dominant role in the program and within those agencies there was often sharp disagreement. Conflicts arose, for example, between the U.S. Department of Interior's National Park Service (NPS) and the USFS, the latter supervised by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, over the execution of similar kinds of work, such as fire and forest protection measures. The NPS charged that the USFS performed functions that were properly within its province, while the USFS complained about recruitment of its foresters by the NPS. Fechner's efforts to resolve differences between the two agencies proved consistently unsuccessful.[50]

The Department of Labor selected the initial applicants for enrollment in the CCC in the spring of 1933. Quotas were set for each state and federal agency participating in the program. State authorities set local quotas and chose a local agency to review the relief lists and make a preliminary selection of eligible youths. Upon congressional insistence, the program was intended to resolve unemployment among young men. The requirements for enrollment were that the applicant had to be a U.S. citizen between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three, male, unemployed, single, and out of school. Eventually, as noted above, World War I veterans, Native Americans, and "Territorials" were accorded limited exceptions. The initial enrollment period was six months and participants were allowed to

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[48]Rawick, "The New Deal," 62; Salmond, *Civilian Conservation Corps,* 55-56; Federal Security Agency, *Annual Report, 1941,* 48-49; *New York Times,* 14 September 1935.

[49]Rawick, "The New Deal," 81-82; Federal Security Agency, *CCC at Work,* 8.

[50]Lacy, *Soil Soldiers,* 72-89; John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1985), 60-63.

serve a maximum of two years. Since the CCC was designed as a relief program, applicants had to agree to send at least half of their $30.00 monthly salary to their families.[51]

Operation of the CCC along military organizational lines enabled close statistics to be kept of enrollees. A summary of the agency near the end of its existence revealed that the average enrollee was nineteen years old, had slightly more than eight years of schooling, and had been unemployed about seven months before entering the CCC. He spent on average one year in the Corps. Recruits were first sent to one of seventy-three military training bases throughout the nation for preliminary testing, physical training, and indoctrination. They were thereafter assigned to one of the hundreds of work camps in national forests and parks without regard to its proximity to their homes. In the waning years of the agency's existence enrollees were often assigned to camps close to their place of enrollment.[52]

A military regimen was observed in the camps. Reveille sounded at 6:00 AM, followed by calisthenics, breakfast, barracks cleaning, and policing of the camp. Between 8:00 AM to 4:00 PM the enrollees worked at their assigned duties, with a one-hour break for lunch. The maximum work period was eight hours per day and forty hours per week, though crews sometimes worked on Saturdays to make up for days lost to inclement weather. In the evenings, youths could engage in a variety of recreational activities, including bingo games, performances, reading, sports, tournaments, and similar activities. Camps usually published a newspaper or newsletter. Each camp had a library of approximately fifty books and assorted periodicals, such as *Newsweek, Saturday Evening Post,* and *Time.* Among publications banned from the camp libraries were the *New Republic* and the *Nation,* which were considered subversive. Critics at the time charged that the camp officials provided books that pandered to popular tastes and lacked literary merit. Enrollees could also attend evening training and education courses.[53]

Many earned high school equivalency diplomas during their period of enrollment, and a few gained college degrees through correspondence study. Time off was also given for vocational training. The kinds of skills that recruits learned through experience in the CCC included those necessary to work as ambulance driver, baker, carpenter, clerk, cook, heavy equipment operator, hospital orderly, mechanic, telephone construction laborer, truck driver, welder, wildlife manager, radio operator, as well as work related to road, bridge, and building construction. Much of the work experience obtained in the Corps enabled enrollees to place themselves in private industry and proved of great benefit to the U.S. Armed Forces in World War II.[54]

The precise location of the camps was the responsibility of the Army and the agency supervising the work. The president initially selected all camp locations, though he eventually delegated that authority to Fechner. There were various requirements for camp selection, including proximity to railroads and highways, a cooperating local

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[51]Federal Security Agency, *CCC at Work,* 5; Paige, *Corps Program,* 73.

[52]Federal Security Agency, *Corps at Work,* 3, 7.

[53]Paige, *Corps Program,* 79-83.

[54]Federal Security Agency, *The CCC and National Defense* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1941); *Education in the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1936).

populace, and the availability of materials needed to supply the camp. The supervising agency chose the site, but the Army could reject the site after an inspection.[55]

By the fall of 1940, the CCC, which in the previous year had been placed within the newly created Federal Security Agency, was offering through its education program intensive noncombatant training for enrollees. The organization's future came under questioning in light of rising employment rates and concerns about America's defense system. Many persons wondered how a relief agency could be justified amid the new realities of high employment. To complicate the CCC's problems, enrollees left its ranks at a rate of 6,000 monthly to take jobs in industry. As war conditions accelerated, enrollment figures plummeted. The number of enrollees dropped from 300,000 in early 1941 to 160,000 in the fall. Congressional opposition to continuation of the CCC grew even as Roosevelt attempted to keep it alive. Finally, in June 1942, the Congress refused to act on a White House request for appropriations for fiscal year 1943, effectively killing the CCC. An order to disband was issued on 30 June 1943, and all equipment was transferred to the War and Navy departments.[56]

The CCC left a legacy of unchallenged accomplishment: a great part of the nation's natural heritage was saved from destruction; billions of trees planted or protected; millions of acres saved from the ravages of soil erosion or flood; hundreds of parks and recreation areas created; and thousands of miles of trails, roads, bridges, telephone lines, terraces, and fences constructed. Conrad Wirth, director of the NPS during most of the depression years, thought, in fact, that emphasis upon the CCC as a relief agency was misplaced, for it was essentially a force for conservation. The Corps did, of course, play a significant role as a relief agency, providing benefits to the health, education, training, and employment potential of enrollees, as well as lending immediate financial aid to their families. Despite the characteristic suspicion with which Americans regard government employment programs, the CCC retained vast popularity, and marked the first attempt by the federal government to address the problem of youth unemployment in an increasingly urban society. Businessmen located near CCC camps profited from the boost given the local economy and farmers gained assistance in erosion control. The Triple-C touched the lives of a significant number of the Great Depression generation, and created a lasting legacy. The Jobs Corps of the late twentieth century was partially modeled after the CCC.[57]

The CCC in Florida

The CCC was the first New Deal agency to initiate operations in Florida. The State Welfare Board selected and inducted the first enrollees from Florida in April 1933. But, the program got off to a slow start. Some officials blamed the difficulties on a failure to meet financial and personnel commitments. Within several years, however, Florida ranked second in the nation in CCC enrollment per capita. Florida's CCC camps operated almost

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[55]Paige, *Corps Program,* 70.

[56]Federal Security Agency, *Annual Report, 1941,* 4, 66; Salmond, *Conservation Corps,* 210, 213, 215, 221; Conrad Wirth, *Civilian Conservation Corps Program and the Department of the Interior, March 1933 to June 30, 1943* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1944), 6.

[57]Wirth, *Corps Program,* 2.

exclusively under the auspices of the departments of Agriculture and Interior. Camps were identified either "P" or "F" for forestry camps, or "SP" for state park camps. Those camps in which more than half of the work performed by enrollees occurred in parks were assigned to the National Park Service. In 1935, the CCC's peak year in Florida, the Corps operated thirty-three camps statewide. That year, ten camps were located on private lands, nine in national forests, and five in state parks. By 1938, the number had dropped to sixteen, and the emphasis had shifted from the development of national forests and private lands to state parks. In 1938, seven camps were located in state parks, five on private forest lands, three in national forests, and one under the auspices of the U.S. Bureau of Biological Survey. By June 1940, a total of twelve camps had been established in parks, though only six operated in the following year. Florida fell into the jurisdiction of the federal State Park District Five, a designation that included most of the South in the State Park Emergency Conservation Work organizational network.[58]

The Florida State Welfare Board experienced few difficulties filling its annual quota. Like enrollees elsewhere in the nation, those from Florida spent their first two weeks in the Corps at a conditioning camp. Fort Barrancas, near Pensacola, was the only conditioning camp in Florida and, accordingly, many from the state were compelled to complete their conditioning elsewhere. Some Florida recruits went through basic training at Fort Benning, Georgia. Between 1933 and 1938, approximately 31,000 Floridians served in the CCC. Approximately seventy percent of them came from rural areas of the state. National statistics in 1938 revealed that Floridians served well in comparison to the national average, with fewer Florida enrollees deserting and more receiving honorable discharges.[59]

Florida's first CCC camp opened in Eastport, Duval County, on 20 May 1933. Other camps established later that year included those at Archer, Bushnell, Crestview, Green Cove Springs, McIntyre, Ocala, Olustee, Panama City, Sebring, Stark, Sumatra, Tallahassee, Vilas, White Springs, and Wilma. Later, a number of CCC camps were organized with older veterans at Blountstown, Hilliard, Mulberry, and Marianna. Fort Taylor at Key West became the site of a CCC convalescent camp in 1939. A number of communities hosted several camps at different intervals, including Miami, Ocala, Olustee, Sebring, and Wilma. Camps with African-American enrollees were organized at Bee Ridge (1934), Brooker (1939), Brooksville (1936), DeFuniak Springs (1939), Greenville (1934), Greensboro (1935), Keystone Heights (1941), Jacksonville (1937), Panama City (1937), Raiford (1935), Suwannee (1940), Tallahassee (1935), Telogia (1933), Wakulla (1940), and Wewahitchka (1939). Despite widespread community resistance to African-American camps, relatively few educational and recreational programs in those camps, and

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[58]Tebeau, *Florida,* 402; Florida Forest and Park Service, *Fifth Biennial Report* (Tallahassee: Florida Forest and Park Service, 1938), 62; *Sixth Biennial Report* (Tallahassee: Florida Forest and Park Service, 1940), 51; Federal Security Agency, *Annual Report, 1940,* 25; John Sweets, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Florida," *Apalachee* 6 (1963-1967), 78-79; *Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 3 April, 1, 10 May 1938; Jerrell Shofner, "Roosevelt's `Tree Army': The Civilian Conservation Corps in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April 1987), 435-36, 440-41.

[59]*Civilian Conservation Corps, Annual of District F, Fourth Corps Area* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1937), 54-108; Federal Security Agency, *Annual Report, 1940,* 26; Sweets, "Civilian Conservation Corps in Florida," 80-81; *Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 1, 11 May 1938.

ineffective policies to overcome the effects of racism, African-Americans made important contributions to Florida's parks and public lands through the CCC.[60]

By September 1933, Florida's CCC activities centered around twenty-two camps occupied by 3,666 enrollees and 123 supervisors. By March 1936, the CCC had compiled an impressive list of accomplishments in Florida, including building 1,521 vehicle bridges, 1,421 miles of truck trails, 570 miles of telephone lines, 81 cattle guards and livestock bridges, 297 miles of range fence, and several hundred permanent and temporary buildings in parks and forests. By then, enrollees had cleared 9,681 miles of fire breaks and 423 miles of road sides, planted 5,514 acres with pine seedlings, and treated 720 acres for tree and plant diseases. Those enrollees trained in surveying and forestry helped to document and classify 341,145 acres of timberland, and prepared 4,343 miles of linear surveys and 148,178 acres of topographical surveys. In July 1936, the number of enrollees in Florida reached 8,754, but declined sharply after 1936.[61]

By 1941, CCC enrollees in Florida numbered fewer than 3,500 men housed in seventeen camps. Florida's CCC work occurred in national, state, and private forests, and included the construction of roads, firebreaks, planting seedling stock, patrolling forests, collecting pine cones for state nurseries, surveying boundaries, and controlling erosion. By 1936, the Choctawhatchee, Ocala, and Osceola National Forests contained 350,000 acres, and the new Apalachicola National Forest purchase unit added 275,000 acres to Florida's national forest lands. In the Apalachicola National Forest alone, CCC enrollees replanted cut-over areas, and built approximately 100 miles of telephone lines to connect fire towers, fifty-miles of fences to protect cattle, and 169 miles of roads. At Ocala National Forest, enrollees developed Juniper Springs and Doe Lake Recreation Areas. At Apalachicola and Osceola National Forests, the CCC built fences to maintain emaciated cattle sent to the USFS by FERA officials in the Midwest, where a drought had killed thousands of bovines. The enrollees herded the cattle until they were sufficiently fattened for slaughter, and then shipped them to slaughterhouses for processing into canned meat for America's starving and homeless. At St. Marks Wildlife Refuge, the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Biological Survey received a CCC camp. The enrollees mapped the property, constructed buildings, firebreaks, and roads, and developed dams and waterways for migratory birds.[62]

Perhaps the most dramatic result of the CCC program in Florida was the physical development of Florida's state parks. Inspired by the Corps and its accomplishments in state forests, conservationists lobbied for a park system that would utilize the CCC as a ready labor force. Finally, in 1935, the Florida Legislature created a park administration

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[60]Http://www.cccalumni.org/states/florida1.html; Glen Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), xi; *Key West Citizen,* 6 November 1939.

[61]*Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 3, 10 April 1938; *Ft. Pierce News-Tribune,* 11 March 1936; Works Projects Administration, *Florida,* 32; Sweets, "The CCC in Florida," 79.

[62]*Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 3, 10 April 1938; Sweets, "The CCC in Florida," 79; *Pensacola Journal,* 1 January 1935; Shofner, "Roosevelt's `Tree Army'," 441-444.

designed to work in conjunction with the Florida Board of Forestry. A large percentage of the state parks operating a half century later in Florida were created, in part, as a result of the CCC program.[63]

Some of the state's parks and forests were developed, in part, by African Americans enrolled in the CCC. Initially, blacks were integrated into most CCC camps outside of the American South, but local complaints and racist views held by administrators in the Army and CCC, including Fechner, prompted the administrator to disband the integrated camps in July 1935. Thereafter, CCC camps were strictly segregated, but local complaints still affected the placement of African-American CCC camps. Although civil rights activists formally objected to the discriminatory policies, the CCC maintained segregated camps until the agency was abolished. Displaying characteristic white southern views, Fechner instituted a policy of transferring black camps amid local objections from white residents. He eventually ended the policy of using black supervisors in black CCC camps, a decision against which Ickes strongly objected. Even after Roosevelt wrote Fechner to employ African-American supervisors at several black CCC camps in national parks, the administrator subverted the order by contacting several prominent southern congressmen, who protested the policy to Roosevelt, which prompted the president to rescind the order. Notwithstanding racism and discrimination, between 1933 and 1943 approximately 250,000 African-Americans collected into 150 CCC camps performed the same conservation and construction duties assigned to their white counterparts in the nation's parks and forests.[64]

In Florida, personnel changes were common throughout CCC camps, a partial explanation for construction delays. Protests from white residents at Foley, Hilliard, and Sumatra resulted in black CCC camps at those communities being transferred to more rural sites at Olustee, Shady Grove, and Vilas. Myakka River State Park was one of the state parks developed, in part, by African-American enrollees. In August 1935, fifty black CCC enrollees were relocated to the CCC camp at Myakka River. Local white residents protested the African-American presence. After the community voted to reject the black enrollees, the CCC evacuated the camp and placed the black enrollees at an Army camp. The loss of CCC improvements to the region was soon noted by the newspaper and community sentiment turned in favor of having a black camp rather than no camp at all. Less than one month after it had been closed, the camp reopened, again with African-American enrollees. But, the transition in personnel slowed development because the replacement enrollees had to be trained in building palmetto log structures and constructing roads in wetland environments. In addition, experienced local black supervisors were more difficult to locate than their white counterparts. Despite the movement of enrollees in response to community pressures, the camp's superintendent reported that black enrollees were more productive than their past white counterparts. If black CCC enrollee presence was limited at Florida's state parks during the depression, then African-American visitation to those parks was virtually non-existence. In one incident after America entered World War II, park personnel at Florida Caverns asked their supervisors how to handle black soldiers visiting the park while on leave or weekend furloughs. The service experimented with making the parks available one day each week, but did not

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[63] *Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 3, 10 April 1938; Works Project Administration, *Florida,* 32; Sweets, "The CCC in Florida," 79; *Pensacola Journal,* 1 January 1935.

[64] Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps;* Http://newdeal/feri/org/aaccc/index.htm.

create "separate, but equal" facilities for minorities, and generally made African Americans feel unwelcome at these facilities.[65]

The Doe Lake Recreation Center, located in the Ocala National Forest, was developed by the CCC in conjunction with the USFS as a recreation site for African-Americans. Florida's national forests proved to be popular locations for tourists and sportsmen, and for CCC camps. In the Apalachicola National Forest, the CCC established Camp Helen and Camp Wilma. Mill Dam Lake Camp in the Ocala National Forest was supervised by the USFS, and the longest-lived of any CCC camp in the state (1933-1942). Enrollees assembled fire towers, stood watch in towers, engaged in fire break and soil erosion measures, and built recreation facilities. The second oldest CCC camp in the state, Mill Dam Lake contained the central collection of CCC enrollees working in the Ocala National Forest. By 1936, the enrollees had completed the first phase of the eight-acre Juniper Springs Recreation Site. Within several months, the forest service received complaints about African-American tourists from the North using the facility. Tensions increased from local whites when some black visitors asserted their right to use the facility. Frank Albert, the USFS supervisor for Florida, visited Juniper Springs and, in an effort to stem tensions and provide a recreation site for local blacks, appointed Edwin Thurlow, a freshly-minted architect from the North Carolina State University, to locate and lay out a site and design the buildings for a companion site for use by African-Americans. Thurlow located a clear, fresh-water lake west of Juniper Springs named Doe Lake.[66]

Albert and Thurlow met at the site with several leading black businessmen, including J. R. E. Lee of Florida Agricultural & Mechanical College (later Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University), Charles Chesnut of Gainesville, Abraham Lincoln Lewis of the Afro-American Corporation of Duval County, and a representative from Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach. During the era, Lewis, a prominent Jacksonville insurance agent, initiated a private development called American Beach, a recreation site with homes and commercial facilities on Amelia Island. The black leaders agreed with the forest officials that, despite its isolated location forty miles east of Ocala and ten miles south of State Road 40, the Doe Lake site was suitable as a black recreation area. Thurlow drafted the formal landscape plan and designed the buildings, staked out the dimensions and contours for the features, and J. B. "Buck" Cochran, a master carpenter at Mill Dan Lake CCC camp, supervised construction of the site, which was completed in May 1941. Later, the plans for the dining hall and cabins at Doe Lake were used to construct a similar facility at Silver Lake Recreation Site in the Apalachicola National Forest near Tallahassee.[67]

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[65]Sullivan, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Creation of the Myakka River State Park," 4-16; Cole, *African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps;* David Nelson, informant, 2004.

[66]William R. Adams, "An Historical and Architectural Assessment of the Helen Work Center, Leon County, and the Wilma Work Center, Liberty County, Apalachicola National Forest, Florida," unpub. mss., St. Augustine, 1986, p. 5-14; *Mill Dam Mirror* (1936), in U. S. Civilian Conservation Corps, Publications of CCC Camps by Number, Folder 1420-1421, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; U. S. Department of the Interior, "The Ocala National Forest," unpub. mss., P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, 1936; Shofner, "Roosevelt's Tree Army," 442; Edwin G. Thurlow, informant, 1989.

[67]Edwin Thurlow, informant, 1989; Alan Dorian, "Historic Research: Doe Lake CCC Camp," unpub. mss., Pittman Work Center, Ocala National Forest, 1984, p. 1-4; Leedell Neyland and John Riley, *History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963), 83, 157-, 169.

If African-American participation in the CCC and in Florida's parks remained relatively small during the New Deal, then the state's Native American population barely registered as a percentage in those activities. The Indian Division (ID) of the CCC established its first camp at the Dania Seminole Reservation in South Florida in 1933. Part of the national CCC-ID project, the Seminole program operated under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which was supervised by John Collier, a white reformer who conceptualized the Native-American program within a framework of the cultural values of the nation's southwestern Native Americans. Collier had played an important role in securing enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 that sought to modernize the economic and political self-determination of the nation's Native Americans. Concentrating on Americas' largest western tribes, Collier paid little attention to the needs of Florida's Seminoles, one of the smallest tribes in America. A primary objective of Florida's CCC-ID camps consisted of developing the Seminole's cattle industry. A concurrent but short-lived CWA program combined Seminole and white laborers who constructed an addition to an existing school, and built rock driveways and sidewalks in residential areas.[68]

Lethargic in its implementation, the Seminoles CCC-ID program initially consisted of five Indian laborers at the Dania Reservation who cleared debris left in the wake of the hurricanes of the mid-1920s. The program expanded over time, and eventually Seminole CCC camps occupied sites near Brighton in Glades County and Immokalee in Hendry County. By 1939, the Seminoles CCC-ID program had received $99,000, most of which improved the Brighton Reservation. By the end of the CCC-ID projects in Florida (1943), ninety-two Seminoles had been employed in 1,075 hours of work. Permanent improvements to the reservations amounted to $164,516. The CCC-ID cattle program fenced, drained, and vegetated 1,699 acres of pastures and range lands. In addition, wells were dug and telephone lines established connected Seminoles at the isolated Brighton Reservation with the outside world. Another important achievement of the program consisted of a school building and teacher's quarters at Brighton, which cost $7,000 to develop. Limited in scope and implementation, the Seminoles CCC-ID program failed, in part, because John Collier viewed the Seminoles through the lens of a southwestern Native-American cultural paradigm, and, in part, because the Seminoles were loosely organized and did not aggressively pursue federal assistance.[69]

The Florida State Park System during the New Deal

In May 1933, Fechner sent a telegram to David Sholtz, Florida's governor, urging establishment of public relief programs in the state. Fechner included general federal guidelines for broadening the system of state parks and forests in Florida. State Forester Harry Lee Baker encouraged the governor to move quickly. The state legislature empowered the Florida Board of Forestry to select suitable lands for park development and authorized the trustees

[68]Harry Kersey, Jr., *The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal, 1933-1942* (Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1989), xii, 51, 164-168.

[69]Kersey, *Florida Seminoles and the New Deal,* xii, 102-105, 164-168; Shofner, "Roosevelt's `Tree Army'," 446.

of the Internal Improvement Fund (IIF) to acquire the properties through donation or purchase and to supply funding for improvements.[70]

The first tentative steps toward establishment of a state park system commenced in July 1934 under the direction of Baker. The FERA and the Florida State Planning Board cooperated with the Florida Forest and Park Service to conduct preliminary surveys for possible park sites. Further impetus for the development of a state park system came from the tourist industry, conservationists, recreation enthusiasts, and the federal government. Early park philosophy conceptualized creating recreation sites statewide in an attempt to offer Floridians and tourists opportunities to take advantage of the state's scenic resources.[71]

A great surge of speculative real estate activity in the 1920s, accompanied by significant population growth, had created unprecedented development pressures. Tourism expanded dramatically in the same period. For more than a century, Florida had been one of the nation's preferred winter vacation destinations. At the turn of the century wealthy visitors to Florida arrived by train, usually on a seasonal basis, and stayed in opulent hotels or private houses. The seasonal nature and class identity of Florida tourism changed over the decades. Once a winter residence for the wealthy, by the 1920s the state began drawing more of its visitors from the middle class and they arrived in the winter and summer packed in automobiles.[72]

Changes in American society and in the workplace in the 1920s and 1930s encouraged development of the state's tourist industry. The industry was driven, in part, by greater wealth per capita, paid annual vacations for middle class workers, many of whom were employed in eastern and midwestern industries, increased automobile ownership, and improved highways throughout the country. The automobile revolutionized transportation habits, residential patterns, and social lifestyles. The opportunity for northern residents to travel to Florida and return home within a two-week period caused an explosion in the Florida tourist market. Tourism redefined Florida, helped spur the 1920s land boom and fed the state's population expansion in the 1930s. In 1940, Florida's population reached 1,897,414.[73]

Tourism helped buoy the Florida economy during the Great Depression. Tourist patterns continued to change as America's love affair with the automobile blossomed, and travel trailers and campers became favorite choices for the traveling public. The Wally Byam Airstream Trailer made its debut in 1935, and people became interested in

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[70]Shofner, "Roosevelt's `Tree Army'," 435-36.

[71]Florida Forest and Park Service, *Fourth Biennial Report* (Tallahassee: Florida Forest and Park Service, 1936), 48-49; Shofner, "Roosevelt's `Tree Army'," 433-35. The Florida State Planning Board's *Florida Park, Parkway and Recreational-Area Study* (1939, 1940), provided detailed evaluations of park finances, distribution and proximity to population centers, maps outlining travel corridors, and locations of rivers, lakes, and waterways. It focuses on the state's attempt to offer park opportunities to a wide segment of Florida's population.

[72]Allen Morris, *1985-1986 Florida Handbook* (Tallahassee: Peninsular Publishing, 1985), 548; Gary Mormino, "Broadsides and Roadsides: A History of the Florida Tourist Industry," (Unpub. mss., University of South Florida, 1987), 1-10.

[73]Morris, *1985-1986 Handbook,* 548; Mormino, "Florida Tourism," 8-12.

camping in park and recreation areas. Highways leading into the state from the North gave people along the East Coast and the Midwest direct access into Florida. Federal laws governing hours in the workplace, designed and implemented in the 1930s to create greater distribution of jobs, resulted in more vacation time for middle class workers in northern industries, who began in growing numbers to look forward to an annual trip to Florida. In 1926, 1,800,000 people visited the state. Although that figure dropped by nearly one half in the initial years of the depression, recovery followed quickly on the heels of New Deal social legislation. By 1936, over 2,000,000 people visited the Sunshine State, spending $224,000,000 in the process. In 1937, almost 500,000 passenger cars were counted entering the state. By 1941, approximately 3,000,000 tourists vacationed annually in Florida. It was that emerging tourist and recreation context that the Florida Forest and Park Service sought to attract visitors to its parks.[74]

The federal government provided funds and administrative assistance in the establishment of Florida's state park system. Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, commented that, "there are only two things that will pull people to a park more than fifty miles away--a good swimming beach, and beautiful scenery." Ickes chided Florida officials for their slow response in protecting Florida wildlife through the establishment of parks, citing the destruction of numerous birds. The NPS provided technical direction and assistance to state officials and the CCC provided labor for the physical development of the parks. The federal program included protection of Florida resources, the creation of camping sites for tourists, the establishment of recreation opportunities, and the preservation of scenic landscapes for tourists.[75]

Conservation emerged as a significant reason for the development of a state park system. Exploitation of Florida's resources in the 1920s had included reclamation, or drainage, of wetlands, many of which were used for agricultural and urban expansion. Most reclamation activities occurred in the southern part of the state, resulting in the destruction of natural habitats for native species of birds and animals. Among the first groups to sound an alarm was the Florida Federation of Garden Clubs and the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, whose members visited Highlands Hammock and other state parks. They began agitating for development of an expanded state park system. Activists such as Ruth Bryan Owen, Florida's first congresswoman; Mrs. Linwood Jeffreys, who served on the Board of Florida Forestry; and May Mann Jennings, the "Mother of Florida Forestry," encouraged state officials to protect Florida's natural heritage from wholesale and indiscriminate development.[76]

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[74]Florida State Planning Board, *Summaries of the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study and Forest Resources Survey for Florida* (Tallahassee: Florida State Planning Board, 1939), 31, 35; Mormino, "Florida Tourism," 8-12.

[75]*Summaries of the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study and Forest Resources Survey for Florida,* 31-34.

[76]Linda Vance, *May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1985), 120-21, 125-139; Sally Vickers, "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswomen and Lifetime Activist," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 77 (Spring 1999):445-474; Florida Forest and Park Service, *Fourth Biennial Report (1936),* 3; MMC, Highlands Hammock State Park. Numerous scattered documents in this collection testify to Mrs. Jeffreys's visits to Highlands Hammock, and to other emerging state parks, as a member of the board.

The USFS had encouraged the creation of the Florida Forest Service in the late 1920s, in part, to replant denuded forests. Approximately 16,000,000 acres of virgin timber in the state, including pine and cypress hammocks, had been cut by naval stores and lumber companies between 1880 and 1930. Conservationists urged measures to protect remaining forests and implement an extensive reforestation program. Between 1925 and 1933, only 6,500 acres of Florida forests were replanted. Conservation forces redoubled their efforts in the 1930s. Their pleas gained a more attentive audience in a state buffeted by economic distresses. Because cut-over land was considered worthless, hundreds of thousands of acres had become non-productive and tax-delinquent, depriving state and local government of needed revenue. Thus, reforestation programs were grudgingly accepted by both timber and government interests alike. Support from Florida conservationists, the federal government, and state officials, combined with the efforts of the CCC, resulted in the replanting of approximately 90,000 acres of Florida forests and public lands between 1934 and 1942.[77]

For a variety of reasons, then, Floridians received the state park concept with enthusiasm. By 1941, the State had developed and opened parks at Florida Caverns at Marianna, Fort Clinch at the north end of Amelia Island, Gold Head Branch near Keystone Heights, Highland Hammock at Sebring, Hillsborough River near Zephyrhills, Myakka River near Sarasota, O'Leno near High Springs, and Torreya in Liberty County. Part of Roosevelt's larger New Deal philosophy, the idea of using unemployed young men in the CCC to develop state and national parks, and to recover state lands while helping to sustain their families appeared a happy marriage. Some 2,000 local experienced men, called LEMS, formerly employed in the timber industry, were hired to direct the CCC enrollees. Development of the state's park system emerged from that program. Enrollees assembled fire towers, built roads and cut fire lanes through woodlands and forests, and built ditches and dikes to control flooding in low-lying areas. The CCC also constructed camping and trailer sites, developed administration and recreation facilities, and implemented measures that resulted in the preservation of significant natural features and hammocks.[78]

Public Works Administration

The National Recovery Act of 1933 authorized the Public Works Administration (PWA), which President Roosevelt specifically created by Executive Order 6174. The initial legislation appropriated $3,300,000,000 under Title 2 of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Roosevelt named Harold Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior and a key Roosevelt aide and New Dealer, as the administrator of the new agency. A formidable and pugnacious political figure and administrator, Ickes had refined his style in reform politics in Chicago and then under Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party banner. Under Ickes's leadership, between 1933 and 1939 the PWA provided partial funding for approximately 34,500 projects valued at $7,000,000,000. Few critics accused the PWA of fraud, or persuasively argued that it was a boondoggle agency. During those six years, the agency provided assistance to

[77]Shofner, "Roosevelt's 'Tree Army'," 434; U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Forest Service, *A Statistical History of Tree Planting in the South, 1925-1979* (Atlanta: U.S.D.A., 1980), 2-3, 8-9, 32; Vance, *May Mann Jennings,* 128-32.

[78]Shofner, "Roosevelt's `Tree Army'," 434-35.

nearly seventy percent of schools, sixty-five percent of city halls, courthouses, and sewage plants, and thirty-five percent of hospitals and public health buildings constructed in America. Beyond those facilities, the PWA was responsible for a variety of relatively large construction projects, including airports, bridges, dams, gymnasiums, lighthouses, post offices, slum clearance and low-cost housing projects, military aircraft and ships, penitentiaries, power plants, and roads. In one of its few private-public associations, the PWA loaned the Pennsylvania Railroad $80,000,000 to complete the electrification of its New York to Washington mainline.[79]

Organized to promote and stabilize employment through a comprehensive public works program, the PWA was often confused with the Works Progress Administration (WPA), another New Deal program. Some public facilities erroneously known as WPA projects, however, were actually constructed under the PWA program, a confusion of acronyms often lamented by its chief, Harold Ickes. To add further confusion to the alphabet conundrum, some relatively large projects used a blending of funds from both the PWA and WPA. Reorganized into the Federal Works Agency in July 1939, the PWA was abolished by Executive Order 9357 on 1 July 1943.[80]

Characterized by historian William Leuchtenburg as "energetic, courageous, incorruptible," Ickes proved to be vain and quarrelsome as head of an agency that required fast, even reckless, spending on large construction projects. To complicate Ickes's budgetary and bureaucratic concerns, Roosevelt periodically raided the PWA's funds for other projects that he personally supported. Roosevelt had hardly heard of Ickes in February 1933, but came to respect his administrative talents later that year. Ickes struggled to protect a bureaucratic empire that administered the development of an extensive public works program. He often found himself at odds with and outmaneuvered by Harry Hopkins, a Roosevelt confidant in his "inner circle" and a New Deal agency head who served as chief of the FERA and later the WPA. In general, Ickes strove to revive the economy with large public works projects; Hopkins sought to employ as many people as funding would permit.[81]
The PWA broadly classified its projects as federal and non-federal, a reference to the ownership of a property effected. A study published in 1938 recorded that payroll figures nationally reached $931,241,678 in mid 1937, of which $547,410,982 had been allocated to federal projects, such as post offices, federal courthouses and customs houses, and military installations. Analyzing the PWA's records, the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that the leading types of projects between 1933 and 1937 were, in order of costs: building construction; public roads; water and sewage systems; river, harbor and flood control; naval vessels; and reclamation. Between 1933 and 1939, the PWA contributed to the construction of 406 post offices throughout the nation, which amounted to one-eighth of the total 3,174 PWA projects developed.[82]

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[79]C. W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings: Architecture under the Public Works Administration, 1933-1939* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1939), vii, 671, 672; Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 70, 133-134; Schlesinger, *The Coming of the New Deal,* 282, 288.

[80]Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings,* vii, 671, 672; Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 70, 133-134.

[81]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 70, 120-123, 125, 133-134.

[82]*DeFuniak Springs Herald,* 13 January 1938.

Much to Ickes's dismay, the PWA's poorest record came in the area of public housing, in part, because of Roosevelt's reluctance to support slum clearance and his advocacy of rural farm colonies. But, Ickes also forestalled the development of federal housing projects, in part, by approving only limited-divided corporations, a tactic he adopted to restrict developers and greedy corporations from land speculation and constructing poor quality housing. Ickes encountered other roadblocks from the courts, which in 1935 ruled that the federal government could not exercise the power of eminent domain to acquire real estate for federal housing. Later federal housing projects would be developed under the U. S. Housing Authority, which supervised the activities of local housing authorities.[83]

In 1939, the PWA published *Public Buildings: Architecture under the Public Works Administration, 1933-1939,* which highlighted projects nationwide constructed with PWA assistance. The agency published the treatise, in part, to promote the PWA program and, in part, to help silence the critics of the New Deal. Replete with photographs of projects completed throughout the nation, the volume included photographs and descriptions of approximately fifteen projects selected by PWA staff to showcase its contributions in Florida. Those projects included the Apalachicola River Bridge near Blountstown; Indian River County Courthouse at Vero Beach; the Overseas Highway to Key West; NAS Pensacola's Administration Building; Tallahassee's National Guard Armory; the North and South Miami Beach Elementary Schools; and Miami's Liberty Square, Florida's first federal low-cost housing project. In addition to a photograph, the publication provided the cost of construction, floor plans, dates of completion, and materials for each project.[84]

Created in 1933, the housing division of the PWA provided impetus and direction for slum clearance and redevelopment of modern low-cost housing in the nation's largest cities. Part of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, the housing division was initially allocated $125,000,000 for slum clearance and new low-cost housing. Government officials and housing reformers conducted surveys in 125 cities, and made recommendations for fifty projects in thirty cities. Architectural and engineering consultants were hired to prepare guidelines, plans books, minimum standards, room arrangements and sizes, systems for foundations, roofs, and walls, and a host of other details. Reflecting the characteristics of large housing complexes in England, France, and Germany, those plans largely followed examples of International style architecture.[85]

The PWA closely followed contemporary low-cost housing models established by the post-World War I European architects Baudoin, Lods, and Le Corbusier in France; Walter Gropius and Ernst May in Germany; J. J. P. Oud in Holland; and Eskil Sundahl in Sweden. Emphasis was placed on creating functional living spaces that were devoid of expensive ornamental architectural features. Building placement and spacing was designed to allow for maximum light and ventilation and create small enclaves within the overall development. Communal meeting places and

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[83]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 70, 120-123, 133-134, 269-270; Badger, *New Deal,* 82.

[84]Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings,* 49, 96, 169, 218-219, 330, 378, 531, 558-560, 665.

[85]Public Works Administration, *Urban Housing: The Story of the PWA Housing Division, 1933-1936* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1936), 14, 17, 23, 41, 46-47, 51, 77.

extensive landscaping were also important elements, intended to create a park-like atmosphere and buffer zones from surrounding development.[86]

The PWA's plans and specifications branch offered consulting services to local architects selected by the housing division. By July 1936, fifty projects in thirty-five cities were under construction. In the South, offices were maintained in various cities, including Atlanta, Georgia; Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina; Andalusia, Birmingham, and Florence, Alabama; and Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee. Techwood Homes in Atlanta, Georgia, was the first of the new low-cost housing projects completed in the nation. Illustrations of the complex appeared in the PWA's first publication, *Urban Housing: The Story of the PWA Housing Division, 1933-1936.* Near the peak of its activity, the PWA employed approximately 2,200 architects, draftsman, engineers, and landscape architects in thirty-five cities to prepare drawings of housing projects.[87]

In the first four years of PWA involvement in low-cost housing, the agency assisted only forty-nine projects, which netted 21,079 residential units. In Boston, the Old Harbor Village had been authorized in 1933, but did not open until 1938. Reflecting national trends, a low-cost project in Cleveland demonstrated how public housing perpetuated residential segregation, and by displacing low-income African Americans made the new housing affordable only to middle-income blacks. Slow to lend assistance to slum dwellers, Roosevelt demonstrated little support for reformers who promoted urban modernization. The president expressed more confidence in the government's encouragement of private ventures than in the development of public housing. Instead, he eagerly seized upon the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to create a base for credit expansion, encourage banks to lend capital for development, and facilitate the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) program. Roosevelt perceived the PWA as a useful tool to help revive the flagging construction industry, rather than as an agency to support new housing.[88]

Eventually, the PWA yielded its role in the clearance of slums and their redevelopment with modern housing to the U. S. Housing Authority (USHA). Authorized by the Congress in 1937, the USHA was created through the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, in part, to help "insure good housing for the poor as a perpetual social obligation." The USHA embarked on various projects throughout Florida. In 1938, the USHA committed $8,603,483 to the construction of new housing projects in the state, and earmarked an additional $7,270,000 for the following year. By the close of the Great Depression, Jacksonville, Miami, Pensacola, and West Palm Beach had two public housing projects, and nearly twenty additional public housing facilities sprinkled Florida's largest cities. In contrast to the modern amenities found in new public housing apartments, fewer than one-half of the homes in Florida in 1940 were equipped with electrical service, only one-quarter with a refrigerator, and relatively few with electrical ranges and stoves. In the late-1930s and early-1940s, public housing projects in Fort Lauderdale, Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa earned reviews from the editors of national architectural journals.

The PWA in Florida

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[86]Jodi Rubin, "Griffin Park Historic District," National Register Nomination, 1994.
[87]Public Works Administration, *Urban Housing,* 14, 17, 23, 41, 46-47, 51, 77.
[88]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 60, 70, 120-123, 133-134, 269-270; Badger, *New Deal,* 241.

The PWA assisted Florida's state government and numerous county and municipal governments throughout the state with the development of large public works projects. Several Florida congressional legislators consistently offered their support to the PWA, including Senator Charles O. Andrews, Senator Claude Pepper, and Congressman J. Hardin Peterson. Each elected official offered support to Roosevelt to extend the life of the PWA in 1939, when its activities were curtailed. Early administrators of the PWA who supervised activities in Florida included James E. Cotton, state administrator with an office in Jacksonville; administrator Paul Emmett, counsel for Florida's PWA office; B. F. Kreigsman, chief engineer; and Ross Watson, the director of construction. In the 1933 PWA appropriation, fourteen Florida counties were approved for projects, a number that increased to twenty-seven in 1935. At the close of 1935, the PWA had financed the construction of seventy-six projects in Florida, which included twenty-six water works, twenty-three public schools, eight hospitals, seven power plants, four bridges, and one armory. In mid-1936, Cotton reported that the PWA had allocated $17,000,000 for 114 projects in Florida, including $3,000,000 for twenty-five water works. By 1939, the PWA had assisted in 232 non-federal projects in Florida at a cost of $32,000,000.[89]

One of the most extensive undertakings of the PWA in Florida consisted of building the Overseas Highway (NR 1979, 2004). On 2 September 1935, a Labor Day hurricane swept a Florida East Coast Railway train off the tracks at Islamorada, stripped rails from several bridges, and destroyed miles of roadbed, ending forever train service into Key West. The railroad company transferred ownership of the roadbed to the Overseas Highway District, which was organized by the Florida Legislature. Financed by a $3,600,000 loan from the PWA, work began in November 1936 to convert the former railroad bed and bridges into a vehicular highway. The new construction consisted of a twenty-foot reinforced concrete roadway and precast concrete guardrails supported by reinforced concrete arch spans and steel girder spans. Draw bridges consisted of bascule and swing types. Designated as State Road 4A and later as U.S. Highway 1, the first section opened on 1 November 1938 and the entire road system was placed into service six months later. In showcasing the roadway, the PWA claimed the Overseas Highway as "one of the most spectacular highways in existence," and that a seven-mile bridge in the system was the longest bridge in the world.[90]

Schools were among the largest and most visible signs of PWA activities in many of Florida's cities. State superintendent W.S. Cawthon lamented in June 1936, however, that many school districts "have not been able to match the PWA fund because many districts had defaulted bonds or had already floated all the bonds they could legally issue." Two years later, his successor, Colin English, found that "A number of school buildings in the State which could not otherwise have been built at this time have been constructed on the basis of grants and loans" from the PWA and WPA. Schools built with PWA assistance appeared in various cities. Dade County's School Board received funds from the program for the North Miami Beach Elementary School, South Miami Beach Elementary

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[89]James Cotton, "P.W.A.'s Record in Florida," *Florida Municipal Record* 8 (January 1936), 10, 23; "New Works Set-Up Favor WPA," *Florida Municipal Record* 9 (July 1936), 7; *Miami Herald,* 3 January 1936, 3 January 1937.

[90]WPA, *Florida,* 200, 324; Tebeau, *Florida,* 405; Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings,* 558-559; *Miami Herald,* 3 January 1936, 3 January 1937.

School, and Miami Beach High School. Executed in the Mediterranean Revival style, the buildings rose two stories and contained cafeterias, classrooms, clinics, and physical education facilities. The costliest of the three, Miami Beach High School, consisted of a large expansion to the 1920s building that had become inadequate to house an expanding student population. Completed in September 1937, the three buildings amounted to $551,006 in construction costs.[91]

The Polk County School Board applied for PWA funds to replace aging African-American schools in Bartow and Lake Wales. The PWA approved the Lake Wales school in 1935, and assigned it project number FL-1276. The school board hired Lakeland architect Wilbur B. Talley to draft plans for the building. In August 1936, the PWA approved Talley's plans and $29,455 for construction of the new school. The traditional PWA matching formula of local-to-federal resources (fifty-five percent to forty-five percent) required the board to allocate $36,000 for the project. In October 1936, the board awarded the contract to the Lakeland firm Howard B. Trauger Construction Company, which also received the contract to build a new cafeteria for Lake Wales High School, another PWA project. P. T. Raymond, a PWA engineer from Jacksonville, was assigned to the project to ensure that the construction of both buildings met federal guidelines. The Trauger Company broke ground in November 1936, and completed the school in April 1937. The board named the new facility Roosevelt School (NR 2001) in honor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The *Lake Wales Herald* announced the project the largest of the year, and at the formal opening of the school Polk County's superintendent remarked that "the new colored school will give the colored people of Lake Wales one of the two best colored schools in the county. Bartow also has an excellent school, but Lake Wales will have a first class plant."[92]
At Jacksonville Beach, a new two-story brick high school was financed in part by PWA funds. Designed by Marsh & Saxelbye, the building was assembled by the Frank Mitchell Construction Company in 1937 at an approximate cost of $75,000. The new school was named Duncan U. Fletcher High School in memory of one of Florida's most successful politicians of the early-twentieth century. Fletcher High School was among the largest New Deal projects built at Duval County's beaches area during the 1930s, perhaps rivaled only by Public School No. 65 in nearby Atlantic Beach, a WPA project.[93]

Perhaps Leon County High School (NR 1993) in Tallahassee was the largest public school built in Florida during the New Deal. Following a voter referendum in November 1935, Leon County School Board selected Tampa architect M. Leo Elliott to design the new school. Having just completed the enlargement of the state capitol, Elliott employed the Italian Renaissance style and a capital E floor plan for the building. The PWA approved the project in

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[91]Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings,* 169, 218; W. S. Cawthon, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1936* (Tallahassee: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1936), 256; Colin English, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1938* (Tallahassee: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1938), 67.

[92]*Lake Wales News,* 2 November 1936, 1 January, 27 August 1937; *Lake Wales Highlander,* 31 July, 2 October 1936; *Lake Wales Herald,* 18 December 1936.

[93]*Ocean Beach Reporter,* 23 April 1937; Flynt, *Fletcher.*

early-1936 with a loan of $250,000 and a grant of $191,314. The T. A. Monk Company of Bradenton supervised construction, which was completed in February 1937. Local critics complained about the $500,000 price tag and the extensive size of the building, but the editors of the *Tallahassee Democrat* took pride in pointing to one of the finest public school buildings in Florida.[94]

In Pensacola and Escambia County, the PWA assisted in the development of the Brent, Century, Myrtle Grove, and Walnut Hill schools, which were completed in 1937 at the approximate cost of $150,000. The following year, PWA funds expended for schools in Escambia County amounted to nearly $343,646, which assisted in the construction of the Allie Yniestra School and a new high school and junior high school for the city's African-American students. Soon new schools would appear in Pensacola's Barrineau Park and Enon neighborhoods. In DeLand, architect Medwin Peek drafted the plans for the DeLand Junior High School, which was constructed in 1939 at a cost of $151,000. Financed in part by the PWA, the building was constructed by the Watt and Sinclair Construction Company of West Palm Beach. Architect L. Phillips Clark of West Palm Beach prepared the plans for a new school at Clewiston in 1938. Later that year, after having its application rejected by the PWA, the Hendry County School Board proceeded to construct a gymnasium for the new school without federal assistance.[95]

If schools stood as the most visible symbols of the New Deal in many Florida cities, then hospitals were among the largest of the state-sponsored PWA projects. Early in his term, Governor David Sholtz toured the state's medical facilities, afterward commenting that they were in "...a disgraceful condition. Some of the buildings were more than 100 years old." He made several trips to Washington, D.C., to lobby for a $2,800,000 PWA project to improve medical facilities and wards, and enlarge the state capitol. Completed after Sholtz's term ended, the project included a large two-story general hospital building added to the Florida State Hospital at Chattahoochee in January 1938 at a cost of $107,903. Doctors' quarters and a nurses' house followed in July 1938 at a cost of $247,692. The Florida State Prison at Raiford added a new two-story hospital to its facility. Completed in January 1938, the building displayed International stylistic influences. Even larger in scale with prominent similar modernistic features, the Florida State Tuberculosis Sanitarium was completed in 1937 at Woodsmere, a rural community west of Orlando. In 1937, physicians estimated that 10,000 tuberculosis patients lived in Florida, a need only partially addressed by the new facility. Designed in the International style by Tampa architect Philip F. Kennard, the reinforced-concrete sanitarium was built by the Langston & Murphy Construction Company of Orlando at a cost of $609,000. In addition to the PWA, funding for construction was derived, in part, from inheritance taxes levied by the State of Florida on the estate of Alfred I. DuPont. The first state institution of its type in Florida, the facility initially contained 396 beds and was staffed by sixty orderlies, nurses, and physicians. Despite the early success, a plan to build four additional state sanitariums and additional new buildings with PWA assistance was shelved, in part, because of Governor Cone's resistance to support New Deal projects. The developments prompted several newspapers to carry special editions about the PWA in Florida.[96]

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[94]*Tallahassee Democrat,* 2, 10 October 1935, 1 September 1936, 27 May 1937.

[95]*Pensacola News-Journal,* 2 January 1938; *DeLand Sun News,* 8 November 1935, 29 February 1936, 6 December 1938, 5 June, 8 September 1939; *Clewiston News,* 10 June, 4 November 1938.

[96]Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings,* 377, 378, 379; *Orlando Sentinel,* 8 July 1936, 3, 4 January 1938;

The Melbourne Hospital in Brevard County was typical of relatively small health care facilities in Florida financed in part by the PWA. Dedicated in May 1937, the building was sponsored by the Brevard Hospital Association with $30,000 contributed by the City of Melbourne and $15,000 from the PWA. Three wings radiated from a central rotunda designed with Streamline architectural influences. Set on a bluff overlooking the Indian River, the one-story building contained twenty-eight rooms for patients and modern hospital equipment, including x-ray machines and electro-surgical apparatus.[97]

Public housing projects were large, tangible, if controversial, symbols of the PWA's contribution to many of Florida's urban centers. Typically, federal housing officials rarely challenged local customs and laws pertaining to segregation and race relations. Appearing in both the PWA's *Public Buildings* and *Architectural Forum,* Liberty Square was completed in February 1937, the first federal low-cost housing project in Florida. The honor of designing Florida's first federal housing project fell to Miami's architectural firm of Paist & Steward. The company derived its roots from Phineas Paist, who organized the firm and served as the senior partner with Harold Steward. Paist died in 1937, after which Steward became chief architect for Miami's Housing Authority and a consulting architect for the U.S. Housing Authority. Consequently, Steward was well positioned to take advantage of contracts when the federal government's military expansion began with the outbreak of hostilities in Europe.[98]

Approved by the PWA in the summer of 1935, Liberty Square radiated across a sixty-three acre site bounded by NW 62nd and 67th Streets and NW 12th and 15th Avenues. Critics noted that it was conceived, in part, as a larger "Negro resettlement plan" launched by the City of Miami and Dade County. Developed from federal "neighborhood composition guidelines," Liberty Square occupied a site five miles northwest of the downtown. With its development, municipal planners intended to relocate the city's African-American population out of the central business district, maintain strictly segregated neighborhoods, and put greater physical distance between Dade County's black and white populations. This early example of "redlining" and a "Negro resettlement plan" within the framework of federal-local cooperation was played out in many of Florida's dense urban cities and others throughout much of the country. Not surprisingly, white property owners often profited from the public housing complexes developed outside of established African-American neighborhoods.[99]

Construction of Liberty Square began in October 1936 and the complex was completed on 6 February 1937. The total cost totaled approximately $1,000,000, of which $929,000 went into construction, $12,000 for the real estate,

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Winter Haven Daily Chief, 20 August 1936; *Miami Herald,* 3 January 1936; Eve Bacon, *Orlando: A Centennial History,* 2 vols. (Chuluota: Mickler House, 1977), 2:87, 150, 223; *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (November 1937), 25; *Tampa Sunday Tribune,* 13 December 1936.

[97]"Brevard Hospital a Model," *Florida Municipal Record* 7 (October 1938), 6.

[98]*Miami Herald,* 5 January 1936; Henry Withey and Elsie Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1970), 452-453; Dovell, *Florida,* 4:708-710.

[99]Raymond Mohl, "Whitening Miami: Race, Housing, and Government Policy in Twentieth-Century Dade County," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79 (Winter 2001), 319-324.

and the remainder invested in landscaping. The housing project consisted of thirty-five one- and two-story buildings containing 243 units, an administration building, paved sidewalks, and playgrounds. One of the PWA's managers, Clarence S. Coe, oversaw the development of the project, which was built by the Walter Butler Engineering and Construction Company. A large regional business with contacts throughout the United States, the Butler Company maintained offices in Lexington, Kentucky; Miami, Florida; St. Paul, Minnesota; and Washington, D.C. In addition to Liberty Square, the Butler Company also developed Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami.[100]

In the fall of 1935, the PWA awarded $1,000,000 to the City of Jacksonville for the construction of the state's second public housing project northwest of the downtown. City officials, under the leadership of Mayor John T. Alsop, had as early as 1933 lobbied in Washington, D.C., for funds to construct new federal housing. In response to a government request to provide information about the status of the city's slums, the Municipal Housing Board of Jacksonville was formed in April 1934 to research the city's needs.[101]

During the negotiations for the Durkeeville project, the Municipal Housing Board appointed a "Negro Advisory Committee" to aid in the design of the complex and provide insight into the special problems that afflicted the neighborhood. The committee was made up of black community leaders, including Abraham Lincoln Lewis, the committee's chairman; W.H. Lee, and Eartha White.[102]

The findings of the board indicated that thirty-two percent of the major crimes in the city occurred in the slums northwest of the downtown commercial section. Consisting of primarily black residents, the area made up less than two percent of the city's total area. Criminal records also showed the number of arrests in the small area amounted to 2,000 per square mile, as compared with 210 per square mile in the rest of the city. Deaths attributed to poor housing conditions amounted to more than seventeen percent of the city's total in each case. Housing statistics accounted for 35,530 residential structures in the area of which twenty percent required major repairs; three percent were unfit for occupancy; twenty percent were overcrowded; 4,950 had no running water; 10,332 had no indoor toilets; and 14,687 had no showers or bathtubs.[103]

A twenty-acre site was selected, in part, because it was undeveloped and surrounded by predominantly black, low-income neighborhoods. The project was named Durkeeville in honor of the property's previous owner, Joseph H. Durkee, who came to Jacksonville as a Union soldier in 1865. He served as a disbursing officer for the Freedman's Bureau and ultimately obtained the rank of major. He later gained local prominence, serving as Duval County's sheriff, a state senator, and a railroad executive.[104]

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[100]*Miami Herald,* 5 January 1936; Mohl, "Whitening Miami," 319-324.

[101]Housing Authority of Jacksonville, "First Annual Report: Housing Comes of Age," 1940, 7.

[102]The Housing Authority of Jacksonville, "Housing Comes of Age," First Annual Report, 1940, p. 7, 15.

[103]Ibid., 8-9.

[104]Wayne Wood, ed., *Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage: Landmarks for the Future* (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1989), 238; *Jacksonville Journal,* 27 July, 15 October 1935.

Durkeeville, like most public housing complexes constructed in Florida during the Depression, borrowed, at least in part, from European precedents for worker's housing established by the architects of post-World War I Europe. Six of Jacksonville's most prominent architects--Mellen C. Greeley, Ivan Smith, and Lee Roy Sheftall, Olaf E. Segerberg, W. Kenyon Drake, and S. Ralph Fetner--contributed to the design. Greeley served as the chief architect for the project. Often referred to as the "Dean of Jacksonville Architects," Greeley's career spanned more than seventy-five years. During his career, he helped organize the Florida State Board of Architecture in 1915 and served as the board's secretary from 1923 to 1955.[105]

Somewhat smaller than Liberty Square, the plan that Greeley and his associates produced for Durkeeville laid out thirty-three buildings containing 215 housing units, an administration office, and a storage facility. In keeping with the PWA's guidelines toward permanence and fireproofing, the buildings were to be constructed with poured concrete foundations and slab concrete floors, ceramic clay hollow tile walls, and ceramic tile roofs. Considerable planning went into the placement of the buildings and the surrounding landscape. Only fifteen percent of the site was occupied by the buildings. Grouped around courtyards, the buildings were supported by a system of cement sidewalks. Wide, tree-lined courts met at a central communal square and served to promote a park-like atmosphere and provide a buffer between the building groupings.

Work on clearing and leveling the Durkeeville site commenced in February 1936. The H.S. Baird Construction Company, one of the most active building concerns in Jacksonville during the first half of the twentieth century, was awarded the bid for construction. Hundreds of unemployed laborers in the city were used in the arduous task of clearing the land, building forms for the concrete, and laying the hollow tile walls. The company began construction of the buildings in March and completed the project in June 1937.[106]
The completion of Durkeeville coincided with the reorganization of the Municipal Housing Board into the Housing Authority of Jacksonville in June 1937. The authority was created under a June 1, 1937 state law that authorized cities with populations over 5,000 to establish such agencies. Under the authority's direction, and with the assistance of the Negro Advisory Committee, applications for apartments were processed. Applicants had to meet several conditions in order to be eligible for housing. Each was interviewed for certain character qualifications, and income had to fall within a range of not less than three and not more than five times their rental. The monthly rates for the apartments were established at $13.50 for two rooms, $17.12 for three rooms, $18.85 for four rooms, $19.07 for five rooms with five people, and $19.72 for five rooms with six people.[107]

By 1940, the residents of Durkeeville had developed a strong sense of community and formed several action groups that benefited the tenants of the complex. Residents established a nursery school under the sponsorship of the Mother's Club of Durkeeville. Organized by a group of tenant women, the Emergency Aid Club, offered help to sick or distressed tenants and administered a local Girl Scout troop. The Men's Club sponsored the local Boy Scout

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[105]Wood, *Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage*, 10, 91, 151, 154, 164, 170.

[106]Housing Authority of Jacksonville, "Housing Comes of Age," 12.

[107]Housing Authority of Jacksonville, "Housing Comes of Age," 14, 18; Federal Writer's Project, "The Negro in Florida, 1528-1940," unpub. mss., Gainesville, 1940, p. 154.

troop and organized a variety of social, educational, and recreational activities for the complex. Vocational classes were established for tenants through cooperation with the State Department of Vocational Education and the Duval County Board of Public Instruction.[108]

The Housing Authority of Jacksonville offered Durkeeville as a model example of the benefits of public housing. In answer to its critics who claimed that public housing was an intrusion on free enterprise, the authority offered statistics that proved such complexes improved the general welfare of the city as a whole. Stating in 1940 that the tenants had come out of Jacksonville's worst crime infested slums, the authority noted that none of Durkeeville's residents had been arrested in the three years since the complex's completion. Only one minor fire had been reported and of a total of 1,160 cases of juvenile delinquency in the city in the years 1938 to 1939, not one case involved children from Durkeeville.[109]

With the creation of the U.S. Housing Authority (USHA) in November 1937, the federal government established public housing as a national priority. In 1938, the Florida Supreme Court, following the lead of six other state supreme courts, upheld the constitutionality of Florida's Housing Authorities Law, ruling that the "housing authority...was organized for a public purpose and its function of clearing slums and constructing low-rent housing projects were public and not private purposes." A Jacksonville taxpayer had instituted the suit, enjoining the housing authority and city from acquiring property and demolishing slums. The ruling upheld those activities and helped clear the way for nearly twenty additional housing projects in Florida during the New Deal.[110]

Housing authorities in Jacksonville and Miami, flush with the success of Durkeeville and Liberty Square, respectively, and newly-organized housing authorities in Pensacola, Tampa, West Palm Beach, and other relatively large Florida cities, embarked on new low-cost housing projects. In Miami, architects E.L. Robertson, Harold Steward, V.E. Virrick, and R.L. Weed executed the design for Edison Courts. Bounded by NW 62nd and 67th Streets and NW 2nd and 4th Avenues, the twenty-four acre site contained 350 units for whites. In Jacksonville, Brentwood Park, a 230-unit complex for whites on a forty-eight acre site adjacent to Golfair Boulevard, was completed in July 1939, and an additional 370 units were added in the early-1940s. The 700-unit Joseph H. Blodgett Homes, Jacksonville's second African-American community, was completed in 1942.[111]

By January 1939, low-cost housing developed with New Deal resources occupied large sites in Jacksonville, Orlando, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, and Tampa. Cities earmarked for low-cost housing by the USHA included Daytona Beach, Fort Lauderdale, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, Tampa, and West Palm Beach. Although some developments were built on vacant lands, others included slum clearance, which was often accompanied by outcries from local opponents to the use of government funds to improve housing. In Pensacola, Attucks Court was

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[108]Housing Authority of Jacksonville, "Housing Comes of Age," 13-14.

[109]Ibid., 14.

[110]"Housing Authorities Law Upheld in Florida," *American City* 53 (September 1938), 78.

[111]Ibid., 18; Housing Authority of Jacksonville, "Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1957-1958," 12; *Miami Herald,* 8 January 1939.

completed for the city's African-Americans in 1939, and Aragon Court for whites was built in 1940. USHA administrator Nathan Straus attended the ground breaking ceremonies for the Attucks Court development in February 1939, complimenting the local housing authority for its efforts. Dyson & Company of Pensacola supervised the construction of Attucks Court, and the Standard Construction Company assembled the Aragon Court complex. In September 1940, the City of Orlando dedicated Griffin Park, named for a 102-year-old former slave who died in Orlando, and the Jonestown development received USHA approval in 1941. Architect Bruce Kitchell drafted the plans for the Dunbar Village and Southridge housing projects in West Palm Beach. Miami Beach architect Russell T. Pancoast prepared the plans for the Dixie Court Homes in Fort Lauderdale, which were completed by 1941.[112]

The development of high-quality, low-cost housing in Florida caught the attention of the editors of *Architectural Record,* who published an article on public housing in the Southeast composed by European architect Michael Rosenhauer. In addition to projects in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, Rosenhauer featured several recently-completed projects in Florida for African Americans and whites. Photographs and site plans depicted projects at Brentwood Park in Jacksonville; Edison Courts in Miami; Jordan Park in St. Petersburg; and Riverview Terrace in Tampa. The article listed the names of architects associated with the design of buildings and landscaping; construction materials; and photographs and site plans. These and other USHA projects were designed by some of Florida's prominent architects, including Franklin O. Adams of Tampa; Philip Kennard of Tampa; Russell T. Pancoast of Miami Beach; Archie Parish of St. Petersburg; Harold Steward of Miami; Henry L. Taylor of St. Petersburg; and Mellen Greeley, Lee Roy Sheftall, and Ivan H. Smith of Jacksonville.[113]

Despite the initial success of public housing, critics cited some of the pitfalls. In Tampa, the North Boulevard Homes had been completed by 1941 in a vacant site surrounded by existing development. Catherine Bauer and Samuel Ratensky of the USHA wondered why the site had not been reserved for a park, and another outlying parcel used for the development. Citing that "long straight carefully oriented parallel rows of identical buildings...inherited from modern housing practice in pre-Nazi Germany are still usually the cheapest and most strictly `functional' way to lay out a housing project," the authors recommended against this dreary planning process. They depicted Fort Lauderdale's Dixie Courts as a good example where "planning is now more human."[114]

If public housing became large tangible evidence of the New Deal in the state's urban centers, then post offices were among the most celebrated federal projects in the state's towns and cities. Most of Florida's New Deal post

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[112]Catherine Bauer and Samuel Ratensky, "Planned Large-Scale Housing," *Architectural Record* 89 (May 1941), 93-97; "USHA Spends its 1938 Budget Inventory of Public Housing," *Architectural Forum* 70 (January 1939), 70-72; "Large Scale Housing," *Architectural Forum* 68 (May 1938), 349-351; Donald Curl, *Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1984), 63; *Palm Beach Post,* 7 April 1942; *Pensacola Journal,* 13 December 1938, 24 February, 29 August 1939, 26 February 1940.

[113]Michael Rosenhauer, "Public Housing in the Southeastern States," *Architectural Forum* 74 (March 1941), 146-160.

[114]Bauer and Ratensky, "Planned Large-Scale Housing," 94-95.

offices and indeed nearly all federal buildings of the era were built with the benefit of funding through the PWA. In most cases, resources were derived directly from appropriations through the Department of the Treasury supplemented by PWA funds. In a few cases, WPA laborers supplemented labor supplied by private contractors. With few exceptions, plans for the buildings were drafted by the Department of the Treasury's Office of the Supervising Architect.

During the New Deal, Louis A. Simon served as the supervising architect. A graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1891, Simon began his career with the federal government in 1896. Between 1905 and 1933, he was superintendent of the architectural section of the Supervising Architect's Office. In the latter year, with the departure of James Wetmore, an attorney who served for a brief period as acting supervising architect, Simon was elevated to the top post. Simon's long tenure as a leading federal architect, essentially stretching between 1905 and 1941, resulted in many federal buildings displaying the conservative traditions he had learned while at MIT. In the late 1920s, Simon served on the Federal Board of Architectural Consultants and assisted in the design of new Federal Buildings in the Triangle Area of the nation's Capital. In July 1939, the Treasury Department's public works program was placed in the Federal Works Agency, where Simon remained as a supervising architect until 1941. He was succeeded by George Howe. In Florida, Simon and the Treasury Department prepared the plans for numerous post office buildings, including those in Arcadia (NR 1984), DeFuniak Springs (NR 1992), Fort Pierce (NR 2002), Lake Wales, Lake Worth, Madison, Orlando, Panama City, Palm Beach (NR 1983), Pensacola, Perry (NR 1989), Plant City, Sarasota (NR 1984), Starke, Winter Haven (NR 2001), and the U.S. Customs House in Port Everglades. The cities of Sarasota and Lake City also gained new post offices during the New Deal. Architectural influences applied to these buildings included Art Deco, Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, and Mediterranean Revival. For some communities, a new post office represented one of the few if not the only PWA or New Deal building within their municipal boundaries or even within the county. Such was the case for Taylor County, which pointed with pride to the Perry post office in 1935, the county's single PWA project of the New Deal.[115]

In Sarasota, the nationally-prominent architect George Albee Freeman collaborated with Simon to produce the last monumental design of his career. Completed in 1934, the two-story post office building with Classical Revival details suited both Freeman and Simon, who had each been trained at MIT. In contrast, the U.S. Post Office and Federal Courthouse at Orlando was completed in 1941 with Mediterranean Revival influences. Although virtually all of Florida's New Deal post office designs came through the Treasury Department, the actual buildings were constructed by a variety of contractors. Some builders claimed an extensive track record of federal building construction. The Algernon-Blair Construction Company of Montgomery, Alabama, constructed the post office in Lake Worth and Perry, and in Pensacola the company built a four-story Federal Building and Post Office in 1939. By the close of the New Deal, the Algernon-Blair Company had built post offices in Rockwood, Tennessee; and

[115]Louis Simon, "Development of Proposed Federal Building Group at Washington, D.C.," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 16 (February 1928), 61-63; Lois Craig, *The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in United States Government Building* (London and Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977), 195, 328; Morton Winsberg, *Florida's History Through Its Places* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 123.

Eupora, Forest, Hazelhurst, Kosciusko, Lexington, Lumberton, and Ripley, Mississippi. Completed in 1936, Tallahassee's $350,000 federal courthouse and post office was built by the W.J. Bryson Construction Company of Tennessee. The Edward B. Moore & Son Construction Company of St. Petersburg built Fort Pierce's post office in 1936 with civil engineer Richard F. Wallace overseeing construction of the $76,000 building. The A.C. Atherton Company of Chicago initiated construction of Fort Lauderdale's $97,000 post office in 1936. Construction of Milton's $75,000 post office began in 1939, and the Sebring Post Office was completed in 1940 by the Ward Construction Company of Charleston, West Virginia. Displaying Georgian Revival details, a new post office was completed in DeFuniak Springs in 1939 by the Newman Brothers Construction Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, at a cost of $19,000. The James C. Miller Construction Company of Campbellsville, Kentucky, completed the Winter Haven Post Office in June 1935 at a cost of $65,000. The Miller Company had earlier built the post office in Belzoni, Mississippi.[116]

The Department of the Treasury rejected the plans prepared by Addison Mizner for a new post office in Palm Beach prior to his death, in part, because of the prohibitive cost of $200,000. After Louis Simon completed a new set of plans in a restrained Mediterranean Revival style, the Watt & Sinclair Construction Company assembled the building (NR 1983). Completed in 1937 with PWA assistance, the post office cost $164,000 to construct. Earlier, Watt & Sinclair had constructed the Clearwater Post Office (NR 1980), a project built just before the initiation of the New Deal.[117]

Completed in 1935, St. Augustine's post office linked old with new and inspired the Ancient City's later preservation movement. The federal project rebuilt and enlarged one of the city's prominent colonial buildings--the Governor's House at the west end of the Plaza. Built in 1706, the building had been renovated, enlarged, and rebuilt over time, including in 1833 when the Department of the Treasury's architect Robert Mills had designed a post office and federal building at the site. During the New Deal, Jacksonville architect Mellen Greeley prepared the architectural renderings for the rebuilding of a new structure, adapting a historic form for use as a post office, but significantly enlarging the original building. Still, the overall form, massing, style, and materials associated the new building with St. Augustine's colonial past and prolific use of coquina and stucco. Funding for the project came directly from the Treasury Department, PWA, and WPA.[118]

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[116]*Fort Lauderdale Daily News,* 6 January 1936; *Fort Pierce News-Tribune,* 12 January, 25 February, 22 March 1936; *Palm Beach Post,* 21 January 1935; *Milton Gazette,* 26 January, 21 September 1939; *Pensacola Journal,* 21 February, 27 August 1939; *Highland County News,* 7 March 1940; *DeFuniak Springs Breeze,* 16 February, 30 March 1939, 18 January 1940; U. S. Postal Service, "Historic, Architectural, and Archaeological Significance Survey," Florida Master Site File 8WL131, Bureau of Historic Preservation; *Winter Haven Herald,* 9 March, 8 September, 23 October 1934, 12, 14 March, 6, 10, 14 June 1935; *Winter Haven Chief,* 6 June 1935; *Lake City Reporter,* 23 February, 3 May 1940; *Washington County News,* 18, 25 July 1940; *New York Times,* 24 November 1934; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 18 November 1935; Bacon, *Orlando,* 2: 106-107.

[117]Winsberg, *Florida,* 93, 95.

[118]Karen Harvey, *St. Augustine and St. Johns County: A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach: Donning Press, 1980), 38-39; William Adams and Paul Weaver, *Historic Places of St. Augustine and St. Johns County: A Visitor's Guide* (St. Augustine: Southern Heritage Press, 1993), 12.

Inspired by the rebuilding of the Governor's House and preservation activities at Williamsburg, Virginia, St. Augustine's residents and politicians formed the city's nascent historic preservation movement. They included Mayor Walter B. Fraser of St. Augustine and members of the St. Augustine Historical Society. Developing an association with the Carnegie Institution, the City and Institution formed a National Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Historic St. Augustine. Verne E. Chatelain, chief historian of the NPS and a staff member of the Institution, made a series of recommendations that included restoration of the Oldest House, making it into a respectable museum, razing or moving modern buildings, and redirecting traffic patterns. Chatelain was appointed director of the restoration program, which was financed by the Carnegie Institution and local sources. World War II curtailed the nascent effort that had been spawned, in part, by the New Deal rebuilding of Government House.[119]

Several municipal governments financed the construction of city halls and courthouses using PWA funding mechanisms. The City of St. Petersburg completed its city hall in 1938, a $400,000 project that constituted one of the largest buildings developed with New Deal dollars in Pinellas County. The citizens of Franklin County and Apalachicola also benefited from PWA assistance, which provided a loan and grant for the Franklin County Courthouse. The architectural firm of Warren, Knight & Davis of Birmingham, Alabama, drafted the plans for the Classical Revival building. The A.J. Honeycutt Construction Company of Birmingham supervised its construction, which was completed in 1940. Instead of building anew, the board of county commissioners at Martin County elected to renovate and adapt a 1908 school into a new courthouse. They commissioned Palm Beach architect L. Phillips Clarke with the design of the new Martin County Courthouse (NR 1997), which was completed with PWA resources in 1937. Clarke adapted the aging, pedestrian masonry school into a gleaming example of the Art Deco style, which the Chalker & Lund Construction Company of West Palm Beach completed at a cost of $27,272.[120]

The Indian River County Courthouse (NR 1996) constituted the largest single public building assembled in Indian River County during the New Deal. Submitted to the PWA in August 1933, the courthouse application called for construction to be financed through a $70,000 loan. The terms required the county to pay back only seventy percent of the amount borrowed. PWA officials in Washington D.C., approved the loan only after intensive lobbying by James Vocelle, a local attorney and president of the Vero Beach Chamber of Commerce, and intervention by Congressman J. Mark Wilson. After nearly eighteen months of negotiating, the PWA approved the loan in February 1935.[121]

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[119]Eleanor Beeson-Carroll, "Restoration of St. Augustine," *Florida Municipal Record* 9 (March 1937), 9, 32; Thomas Graham, "St. Augustine Historical Society, 1883-1983," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (July 1985), 17-20.

[120]*St. Petersburg Times,* 1 January 1939; Commission Minutes, Book 5, p. 12, 79, Franklin County Courthouse, Apalachicola, FL; *Stuart Daily News,* 19 February, 2 March, 25 June 1937.

[121]*Vero Beach Press-Journal,* 15 September 1933, 1 February, 12 April, 17 December 1935, 5 April 1936, 12 March 1937.

In July 1935, the City of Vero Beach donated a site for the courthouse, and six months later voters enacted a bond issue for use as collateral against the federal loan. The County enlisted architect William Garns to design the new courthouse. Ground breaking for the courthouse occurred in April 1936 with contractor William Hensick & Son supervising its construction. J.H. Addison of the Inspection Division of the PWA was the resident engineer inspector for the building, which was completed in March 1937.[122]

The Indian River County Courthouse and Tallahassee's National Guard Armory were among the few Florida projects to appear in the PWA's *Public Buildings: Architecture under the Public Works Administration, 1933-1939.* The National Guard Armory was among the capital city's most visible PWA projects. Completed in June 1935 at a cost of $66,197, the two-story-and-raised-basement building was among the largest armories built in the state during the New Deal. In 1936, PWA assistance helped make possible the expansion of the Rollins College campus in Winter Park with five new dormitories. In 1939, Florida State College for Women completed an $800,000 expansion of its campus that included the construction of three buildings funded, in part, by the PWA. Displaying Collegiate Gothic styling to complement the existing buildings on the campus, the new buildings were designed by Rudolph Weaver, architect to the Board of Control and professor of architecture at the University of Florida. The Dining Hall displayed a T-shape, accommodated 1,400 diners, cost $241,000 to construct, and included decorative stone plaques of various foods designed by Andrew Whitaker. Other campus buildings assembled with PWA resources included the Infirmary, built at a cost of $89,793, and a new dormitory that accommodated 375 students and was constructed at a cost of $369,743.[123]
The Florida State College for Women construction program that received PWA assistance was part of a larger state-institutional campaign to improve various state-supported facilities. In December 1936, fourteen new state institution buildings constructed at a cost of $1,400,000 were dedicated by state and federal officials. Ceremonies were held that year to dedicate an addition to the Girl's Dormitory at the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind in St. Augustine; women's dormitories for African Americans and whites at the Florida State Prison in Raiford; an Isolation Building at the Florida Industrial School for Girls in Ocala; a Ward and Infirmary at the Florida Farm Colony in Gainesville; two dining halls at the Florida Industrial School for Boys at Marianna; and various buildings at the Florida State Hospital at Chattahoochee.[124]

Several municipal stadiums were built with PWA financing, including those in DeLand and Miami. Completed about 1937, DeLand's stadium was typical of the relatively small sports facilities built with concrete stands flanking a gridiron during the New Deal. One of the state's largest was Miami's Municipal Stadium, otherwise known as Roddey Burdine Stadium and the Orange Bowl. Completed in September 1937 at a cost of $306,041, the structure accommodated 22,000 people on a steel frame finished with cypress seats. Electrical lights mounted on eight steel

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[122]*Vero Beach Press,* 29 September 1925, 9 February, 23 June 1926; *Vero Beach Press-Journal,* 10 November 1933, 25 January, 12 June, 5, 12 July, 17 December 1935, 5 April 1936, 1 January, 12 March 1937.

[123]Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings,* 96, 330; *Florida State News,* 30 November 1939; *Pensacola News-Journal,* 18 December 1938; Claire MacDowell, *Chronological History of Winter Park, Florida* (Winter Park: Claire MacDowell, 1950), 219.

[124]*Haines City Herald,* 19 November 1936.

towers permitted night games. The City of Miami also embarked on extensive harbor and water plant improvements. Completed in phases, the initial harbor project developed a passenger station and two warehouses on Pier No. 3, widened and dredged the adjacent slip, and enlarged the turning basin. Completed in November 1937, the project amounted to $957,024. An additional grant helped fund further harbor improvements to adjoining piers and slips. Amounting to approximately $1,000,000, the extension of water mains and construction of new reservoirs in 1935 was followed by the development of new wells, sludge disposal facilities, and filtration and clarification plants in 1937.[125]

In late 1936, Miami's city manager, L.L. Lee, and Mayor A.D.H. Fossey wrote to Harold Ickes and Horatio Hackett, expressing their gratitude for the federal assistance. They estimated that of the $2,000,000 allocated from PWA projects in Miami, approximately $500,000 had been paid to local labor and that 400 men had been removed from the local unemployment rolls. In 1939, the City applied for PWA funds for a municipal auditorium to cost $650,000.

In Sarasota, the municipal government completed an auditorium (NR 1996) at a cost of $100,000 in 1938. As designed by Thomas Reed and Clarence Martin, the Sarasota auditorium displayed Art Deco and Streamline architectural influences. Freeman Horton, an engineer who also prepared plans for the Cross Florida Canal, supplied additional technical expertise.[126]

One of the few PWA loans to a private company in Florida improved the dry dock facilities of the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. To complete the $500,000 facility, the company endured five years of federal bureaucracy that began with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), an ineffective funding mechanism left over from the Hoover administration, and ended with the PWA. Negotiations over wage-scale amounts and competitive bid policies, and personality conflicts between the company's officials and those of the PWA delayed construction for months at a time. Charges of poor workmanship, high construction costs, and negligent management were exchanged between PWA officials and the company's president, Ernest Kreher. Although Kreher eventually completed the project with a PWA loan of $180,000, he turned to the courts to resolve other grievances with the PWA, a suit that ended up in the Florida Supreme Court.[127]

Countless small, public PWA projects encountered little resistance from officials, and supplied much needed infrastructure improvements. In Lake Wales, projects completed using PWA funds included a Boy Scout camp, civic center, golf course, and paving alleys with clay. In Daytona Beach, a new water softening plant was completed in 1937 at a cost of $289,000. Designed by the engineering firm of Robert & Company of Atlanta, the lime-soda facility was capable of producing 4,000,000 gallons of water daily. The new plant combined two older facilities that

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[125]Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings,* 96, 330; *Miami Herald,* 3 January 1937; *DeLand Sun News,* 2 January 1937; "Miami's `Orange Bowl'," *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (October 1937), 14.

[126]*Miami Herald,* 3 January 1937; *Sarasota Herald,* 13, 14 July 1937; *Sarasota Herald-Tribune,* 23 January 1938, 10 January 1940.

[127]Charles Lowry, "The PWA in Tampa: A Case Study," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (April 1974), 363-380.

occupied sites on the mainland and peninsula, and introduced ten new wells, raw-water pumping station, new feeder system, water clarifier, settling basin, sludge collector, and a 200,000 gallon storage tank. Displaying Art Deco features, the main building protected the filter systems, recarbonation equipment, and office space. Arthur P. Black, professor of chemistry at the University of Florida, and R.G. Hicklin, manager of the municipal engineering department for Robert & Company, co-authored an article on the new facility, which showcased the state-of-the-art design and equipment in *American City.*[128]

Robert & Company also designed St. Augustine's new waterworks in 1937. Developed at a cost of $175,000 with a PWA grant, the new facility included a two-story building that housed a water clarifier and offices, and adjacent storage tanks and sewage treatment. Showcased in *Florida Municipal Record,* the facility produced soft, clear water that waitresses in local restaurants reported reduced the number of complaints they received about hard water from tourists. The municipal governments of Fort Lauderdale, New Smyrna Beach, and Sarasota also improved their public services with PWA assistance. At Fort Lauderdale, PWA grant and loan funds helped to install a new sewer system and water tank and tower at a cost of $118,000 in 1937. Jacksonville engineer W. Austin Smith designed the water works and 200,000 gallon tank for the City of New Smyrna Beach. Residents of Sarasota benefited from $138,181 in PWA grants and loans for its water works in 1936.[129]

Important bridges developed using PWA funds included the Apalachicola River Bridge near Blountstown and the Choctawhatchee Bay Bridge in Walton County. Completed in 1938 at a cost of $843,322, the Apalachicola River Bridge measured 8,457 feet with a distinctive 744-foot trestle that spanned the river. The trestle approaches consisted of steel bents on concrete piles with a deck consisting of eight-inch reinforced concrete slabs on steel I-beams. The Gorrie Bridge spanning Apalachicola Bay was completed in 1935. Part of the Gulf Coast Scenic Highway, the bridge measured five miles in length and cost $1,300,000 to construct. Farther west, the Choctawhatchee Bay Bridge was completed at an approximate cost of $700,000. Russell G. Patterson & Associates served as the engineers and the Auchter Company of Jacksonville began assembling the structure in 1939, which replaced the Choctawhatchee Ferry. Even before its completion, the editors of the *DeFuniak Herald,* anticipating people from Atlanta, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Nashville motoring to the "finest ocean beach in the world," were encouraging property owners "with money enough to do so should build a hotel or two at Grayton Beach and Sea Grove." Many smaller spans were built throughout the state using PWA funds, although most small bridges and road systems were constructed, in part, from WPA funding sources.[130]

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[128]A. P. Black and R. G. Hinklin, "New Water-Softening Plant at Daytona Beach, Florida," *American City* 53 (April 1938), 61-64; *Lake Wales Highlander,* 31 July 1936; *Ft. Lauderdale Daily News,* 7 January 1936, 5 January 1937.

[129]*Ft. Pierce News-Tribune,* 9 September 1936; *Ft. Lauderdale Daily News,* 7 January 1936, 5 January 1937; "St. Augustine's New Water Plant," *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (October 1937), 12; "The New Federal Works Program," *Florida Municipal Record* 8 (May 1936), 9; *St. Augustine Evening Record,* 1 October 1936.

[130]*Winter Haven Herald,* 21 October 1934; Short and Stanley-Brown, *PWA,* 560; *DeFuniak Herald,* 11 August 1938, 2 February, 27 April 1939; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 3, 5 November 1935; *Pensacola Journal,* 8 February 1939.

The PWA also provided financial assistance directly to various federal agencies, including the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, NPS, and U.S. Coast Guard, for improvement and enhancement projects. In October 1934, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers received $200,000 from the PWA to support the dredging and maintenance of several sections of Florida's Intracoastal Waterway. The Corps also received assistance from the PWA for the construction of the Palm Valley Bridge over the Intracoastal Waterway north of St. Augustine and the St. Lucie Lock and Dam west of Stuart. Improvements made to the St. Lucie Canal, which extended between the St. Lucie River at Stuart and Lake Okeechobee, proved momentous. The initial project had the combined goals of reclamation, flood control, and providing a viable cross-state boat channel. Dredging had begun in 1915 and locks were built near the east end of the canal in 1923, the year that water first flowed through the canal. About 1926, new locks were completed at Port Mayaca, where the canal emptied into Lake Okeechobee. Designated in the 1930s as the Cross-State Canal and later as the Okeechobee Waterway, the canal was widened and deepened in 1937 with PWA assistance and again in 1948. In 1937, the Congress authorized replacing the Port Mayaca lock with a weir, and added a larger lock and spillway to the existing lock at a cost of $806,000. In May 1940, plans were completed for the new lock and central control station. A dam and hydroelectric plant were also developed during the period. J.R. Peyton served as principal engineer, and the project was completed about 1941. Three lock tender's homes and two duplexes were built during the same era.[131]

West of Lake Okeechobee, the Caloosahatchee Canal became part of the Okeechobee Waterway. During the New Deal, large locks replaced an aging structure at Ortona. Supported by a Control House, the new Ortona Locks measured 300 feet long, fifty feet wide, and accommodated ships up to an eight foot draft. In 1938, to support the Ortona Locks, the engineering department of the Corps awarded a contract to the Paul H. Smith Construction Company to assemble one single-family dwelling and two duplexes on the government reservation for the lock tender and canal laborers employed by the federal government. In March 1937, at the completion of the canal dredging, newspapers in Fort Myers and Stuart carried special editions heralding a new era in the Cross-State Canal. A convoy, or "watercade," of forty yachts and government ships led by the War Department's flagship, *U.S.S. Falcon,* sailed the improved waterway between Stuart and Fort Myers in March 1937.[132]

Appropriations for channels and turning basins amounted to $940,000 for Port Everglades and $800,000 for the Port of Miami, representing one-fourth of the total amounted allocated by Congress to the agency for development of waterways in the nation's Gulf coast states in 1938. The U.S. Coast Guard and the Corps worked on countless smaller waterway projects. Channels and turning basins were dredged at Fernandina and Fort Lauderdale, and proposed for Cocoa, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville Beach, Key West, Sebastian, and Vero Beach. At the dedication

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[131] *Clewiston News,* 26 August 1938; *Stuart News,* 13 June 1923, 11 June 1948; Cutler, *Florida,* 1: 104-105, 493; Dovell, *Florida,* 2: 788-789; House of Representatives, Committee on Rivers and Harbors, "St. Lucia (Lucie) Inlet, Fla.," 60th Congress, 2d Session, January 11, 1909; House of Representatives, Committee on Rivers and Harbors, "Caloosahatchee River and Lake Okeechobee Drainage Areas, Florida (Interim Report)," 76th Congress, 1st Session, August 5, 1939; House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, "Supplemental Estimate of Appropriation for the Department of the Army," 80th Congress, 2d Session, February 23, 1948; Ziemba, *Historiography,* 202-203; Thurlow, *Sewall's Point,* 51-52.

[132] *Fort Myers News-Press,* 21, 23 March 1937; *Clewiston News,* 27 January 1938; Works Projects Administration, *Florida,* 479.

of Fort Myers's new yacht basin in 1939, twelve-year-old Louise Lynch, daughter of the WPA foreman who supervised construction of the project, poured a bottle of Atlantic Ocean water into Fort Myers's Caloosahatchee River basin, symbolic of uniting the Atlantic and Gulf by the cross-state waterway.[133]

In addition to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the PWA directed funds to several other federal agencies, which improved infrastructure in Florida. In 1934, the PWA allocated $324,000 to the NPS for construction and improvement projects throughout the country, including Fort Matanzas National Monument (NR 1966) in St. Johns County. A $30,000 appropriation repaired the fort and constructed an office building, recreation building, caretaker's dwelling, dock, and water and sewer system. In 1938, the PWA provided the U.S. Coast Guard with $10,000,000 to improve its stations and facilities, including those at Jacksonville Beach, Lake Worth Inlet, Mosquito Inlet, Santa Rosa, and St. Petersburg.[134]

Works Progress Administration/Works Projects Administration

The Works Progress Administration (WPA), perhaps the best known and most ubiquitous of the New Deal's alphabet agencies, overshadowed some of the achievements of and benefits afforded Americans by the CCC, CWA, FERA, and PWA. Initiated within the larger context of excessive direct federal spending through CWA and FERA and relatively large matching grant and loan projects funded through the PWA, the Roosevelt administration created the WPA in May 1935. The impetus for the WPA came at the end of 1934, when Roosevelt mulled over the federal government's expenditure of over $2,000,000,000 in little more than a year with what he believed to be relatively little to show for the expense. In early 1935, the president proposed a gigantic program of public employment to provide work for 3,500,000 of the nation's unemployed. Conceptualized to provide jobs that paid more than relief dole but less that prevailing wages, the agency was envisioned by Roosevelt not to "encourage the rejection of opportunities for private employment," but provide the jobless with more meaningful activities than cutting grass, raking leaves, and collecting trash in parks. Representing a commitment of $5,000,000,000 in financial resources, the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 authorized the WPA in one of the nation's largest single federal allocations.[135]

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[133]*Fort Lauderdale Daily News,* 6 January 1936, 5 January 1937; *Fort Myers News-Press,* 1, 3 January 1939; U.S. Congress, House, "Intracoastal Waterway From Jacksonville, Fla. to Miami, Fla., 1926," 69th Congress, 2d Session, Doc. 586, p. 90; U.S. Congress, House, "Intracoastal Waterway, Jacksonville to Miami, Fla., 1957," 85th Congress, 1st Session, Doc. 222, p. 3.

[134]*Winter Haven Herald,* 21 October 1934; *DeFuniak Herald,* 11 August 1938, 2 February, 27 April 1939; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 3, 5 November 1935; *Pensacola Journal,* 8 February 1939; *St. Augustine Evening Record,* 5 January 1934; *Stuart News,* 17, 29 June 1938.

[135]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 123-128.

Roosevelt appointed Harry Hopkins, a close confidant and former head of FERA, to lead the WPA. A graduate of Grinnell College, Hopkins had worked in social welfare agencies in New York, where he came in contact with Roosevelt and developed a close friendship with then Governor Roosevelt. A liberal social Democrat, Hopkins was among the most ingenious and creative forces at work in the Roosevelt administration. Often a lightening rod because of his controversial views, Hopkins attributed much of his success with the WPA to ignoring both acclaim from supporters and criticism from detractors about himself and his agency. After mending his fences with Roosevelt over their disagreements about ending the CWA, Hopkins seized onto the concept of the WPA. Despite the intentions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, the resulting legislation forbad the WPA from competing with private industry or usurping common government work, which had the effect of subsuming many WPA projects to what critics characterized as "make-work assignments of scant value."[136]

Notwithstanding that assessment by some contemporary critics and later historians, many WPA projects became the pride of communities throughout the country. Nationally, the WPA helped to build approximately 13,000 playgrounds, 5,900 school buildings, 2,500 hospitals, and 1,000 airport landing fields. Between July 1938 and March 1939 alone, the WPA completed fifteen new buildings each day throughout the nation. Notable projects that earned national acclaim included restoration of the Dock Street Theater in Charleston, South Carolina, and the Mount Hood Ski Lodge in Oregon. The WPA's 1936 budget alone amounted to $1,425,000,000 of which $413,250,000 was allocated to roads, highways, and bridges. Public buildings received $156,750,000, and public utilities and airports and transportation systems accounted for $171,000,000. Parks and recreation facilities were allocated $156,750,000. Projects associated with clerical, education, and professional persons received $85,500,000, and a similar amount for women's work.[137]

Under Hopkins's leadership, the WPA supported the widest range of projects funded by any of the New Deal agencies. A dizzying array of classifications defined WPA projects, which included airports, bridges, buildings, bulkheads, canals and channels, railroad cars and tracks, cemetery vaults, clearing and grubbing public lands for numerous purposes, conservation, culverts, curbs and gutters, dams and weirs, docks and wharves, drainage and irrigation, dredging, excavation, fences, fire prevention, fish hatcheries and protective devices, fountains and ornamental pools, gas lines, grade crossing eliminations, highways and rural roads, jetties, landscaping, levees, lighting of streets and roads, parking lots and athletic fields; mine sealing, mosquito control, public fair grounds, pumping stations, recreational facilities, retaining walls, riverbanks, sanitary toilets, sidewalks, storm and sanitary sewers, stream beds, tunnels, and water supply systems. WPA support of highway and county road improvements included a broad range of materials and activities, including new and existing alignments and those finished with asphalt, brick, clay, concrete, dirt, gravel, loam, and oil, and even repairs and clearing of rights-of-way. Buildings represented another broad category and included aircraft hangars, auditoriums, barns, community buildings,

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[136]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 125-126; Schlesinger, *Coming of the New Deal,* 277, 549; *New York Times,* 30 January 1946.

[137]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 125-126; Schlesinger, *Coming of the New Deal,* 277, 549; "New Works Set-Up Favors WPA," *Florida Municipal Record* 9 (July 1936), 7, 22; *Orange County Chief,* 15 August 1939.

dormitories, firehouses, garages, gymnasiums, hospitals, institutional buildings, libraries, recreational buildings, schools, stadiums, shelters for buses and trolleys, storage buildings, and warehouses.[138]

In December 1938, when Hopkins agreed to fill the position of Secretary of Commerce in the Roosevelt administration, he left behind one of the nation's largest bureaucracies. The president appointed to the WPA's top post Francis C. Harrington, a native of Virginia who had graduated from West Point in 1909. Harrington had served in the U.S. Army between 1909 and 1935, during which time he rose to the rank of colonel. In the latter year, pressure from Roosevelt and Hopkins compelled the Army to "loan" Harrington to the WPA, an arrangement that eventually became permanent. Harrington mastered the intricacies of the civilian WPA under Hopkins, working as an assistant administrator until early 1939, when Roosevelt appointed him the national administrator of the agency. Some liberal critics voiced concerns that Harrington's military background would streamline the WPA to the extent that it would lose its effectiveness, concerns largely without foundation. Harrington did implement several reforms, however. One of those came in July 1939, when the WPA was subsumed within the larger Federal Works Agency. That year Harrington reduced the role that supervisors and administrators could play in local politics, and mandated that WPA laborers refrain from talking about politics while at work. After September 1939, when Germany invaded Poland to begin World War II, Harrington increasingly directed WPA funds toward war-related projects, a trend that characterized most New Deal agencies. Death cut short Harrington's tenure in October 1940, after which Howard O. Hunter, a deputy administrator, assumed the top WPA position.[139]
In 1939, the Congress reorganized the WPA into the Federal Works Agency (FWA), under which the Works Progress Administration was renamed the Works Projects Administration. The reorganization brought the WPA under a single supervising agency that also directed the Bureau of Public Roads, PWA, and the USHA. In June 1939, President Roosevelt nominated John M. Carmody, the former administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), as administrator of the FWP. Within the larger FWP bureaucracy, the WPA continued to operate until 1943.[140]

Critics of the WPA and the New Deal abounded. In December 1938, just before Hopkins's resignation, Thomas H. Reed of the Republican National Program Committee addressed the National Municipal League of Cities asking "After WPA, What?". Reed voiced concerns over the national extravagance of the program, and asked how local units of government would become self-supporting municipalities after years of dipping into the New Deal's trough. Among other suggestions, Reed advised leaders of municipal governments to refrain from applying for federal grants associated with ordinary maintenance and operating activities; spread repair and reconstruction work over a series of years using local funds, rather than planning it in one year using federal dollars; and financing capital improvement campaigns over a ten-year period, rather than accelerating the plans over a year or two with federal resources. Eventually, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, most businessmen, and even conservative Democrats broke

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[138]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 125-126; Schlesinger, *Coming of the New Deal,* 277, 549; "Types of Projects That WPA Approves," *American City* 54 (March 1939), 5.

[139]*New York Times,* 1, 2 October 1940, 30 January 1946; *Pensacola Journal,* 18 August 1939.

[140]"Set-Up of the New Federal Works Agency," *American City* 54 (August 1939), 5.

ranks with Roosevelt over the New Deal, but the president held together a coalition sufficient to extend the WPA and many of the New Deal's unemployment programs through the opening years of World War II.[141]

In practice, the WPA operated as a matching grant program. Grant recipients typically agreed to supply the equipment, materials, and supplies for a project and the WPA furnished the labor with the latter often amounting to more than one-half of a project. Riddled by resignations and turnovers, Florida's top WPA administrators managed the state's WPA program from headquarters in Jacksonville. Making the leadership transition from the CWA to FERA and then the WPA, Chester Treadway of Tavares organized Florida's WPA program, serving as its administrator between mid 1935 and September 1937. After Treadway's departure, the state administrator post was filled in quick succession by the temporary assignments of Edward A. Pynchon and Tampa attorney Frank P. Ingram until Robert J. Dill was appointed to the position in September 1937. Dill, a native of Alabama whohad arrived in Florida in 1920, served as an assistant administrator in the FERA and WPA before receiving the appointment to the top post. Dill resigned from the Florida WPA for a position in the WPA in Washington, D.C. In February 1939, James Y. Wilson, a prominent Jacksonville contractor and road builder, was appointed as temporary state administrator. Later that month, Roy Schroder was appointed to head Florida's WPA program, which he held into the early-1940s. Florida's WPA laborers seem to have experienced a turnover pattern similar to that of their supervisors and administrators. Schroder explained in May 1939 that "More than 70 per cent of all workers in this state have been on the rolls only six months. Those who have had 'careers' of 18 months or more represent less than one-quarter of all WPA workers in this state, or 23.6 per cent, while the three-year group is made up of an unimpressive minority of 4.2 per cent of the total."[142]

Mirroring the pattern of most of the New Deal agencies in Florida, the state's urban centers received the largest amount of support from the WPA. At the close of 1936, the editors of the *Pensacola Journal* marveled at the amount of work completed in northwest Florida by the WPA, comparing the agency's accomplishments in the realm of building and education to a "giant with a magic touch." That year, approximately 5,000 people in northwest Florida were employed by the WPA, but most of those worked in Pensacola and Escambia County. In 1938, the WPA contributed $2,500,000 for projects in Duval County and the City of Jacksonville alone. Miami and Tampa received similar levels of support. At the close of 1935, New Deal agencies had poured $153,000,000 into Florida projects, a significant portion of that attributed to the WPA in the state's largest cities. Between July 1938 and March 1939, seventy-three buildings were completed in Florida with WPA support. Twenty-six of those were recreational facilities and twenty-two were public schools. Despite a heavy concentration in urban areas, the effects of the WPA and the larger New Deal alphabet agencies touched most areas of the state. In 1938, the state administrator expanded the program, allocating $1,000,000 for twenty-two projects in fifteen Florida counties, many of those in rural communities. In the first nine months of 1939, $4,190,094 in WPA allocations improved

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[141]Thomas Reed, "After WPA, What," *American City* 54 (January 1939), 60; Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 147, 252-254.

[142]*Jacksonville Journal,* 25 September 1935, 18 September 1937, 22 December 1938; *Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 27 August 1938; *Pensacola Journal,* 3 January 1937; *Pensacola News-Journal,* 14 May 1939; *New York Times,* 19 February 1939; *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (October 1937), 13.

infrastructure in eighteen counties in northwest Florida, an expenditure of $29.00 per capita of WPA-age residents. In December 1939, near the height of WPA activities in Florida, approximately 53,000 people were employed in 560 WPA projects. By June 1940, the WPA in Florida had assisted in the construction of 6,206 miles of highways and streets, built 1,237 bridges and viaducts, and constructed 245 new schools, enlarged 278 additional schools, developed 146 parks, built 191 playgrounds and athletic fields, and constructed 24,533 sanitary privies.[143]

Although the WPA assisted in a host of projects throughout Florida, a plurality of those were for highways and streets. In 1936, approximately forty-two percent of the WPA's allocations, or $4,666,499, constructed or improved state or county highways and municipal streets. Public buildings, primarily schools and government buildings, consumed fifteen percent, or $1,607,045, of the budget. Airport development represented eleven percent, or $1,224,654, of the state's WPA resources. Conservation, flood control, housing, parks and playgrounds, and water supply and sewer systems ranked farther down the list. Employment for women, and white-collar and professional and technical unemployed workers represented the smallest allocations. These percentages for WPA projects in Florida remained relatively consistent throughout the life of the agency.[144]

Built in part with WPA assistance, new highways and county roads crisscrossed the state, supporting a burgeoning tourist industry and resident population. Stretches of roadway between Felda and LaBelle, and Denaud and Stallings in Hendry County were completed in 1937 and 1938. The H.E. Wolfe Construction Company of St. Augustine finished the road surface with asphalt and the Suwannee Construction Company of Lake City fabricated the bridges. In 1938, Lake, Liberty, Orange, and Wakulla counties boasted $153,123 in WPA road projects, the largest amount awarded for road work in the state that year. In Leon County, WPA laborers replaced twenty wooden bridges with metal arched culverts in 1938. The *Pensacola Journal* extolled the benefits of a wider highway to the Naval Air Station and found, "one of the most important [WPA] jobs in point of indirect benefit to Pensacola trade is the 22-mile highway from Molina to the Alabama line, affording Atmore and other South Alabama shoppers a direct route to Pensacola stores and beaches. The highway also taps the productive Walnut Hill section which never before had a paved outlet to Pensacola." After being rejected by the PWA in 1938, the municipal government at the City of Port Orange turned to the WPA for approximately $200,000 to construct a new bridge across the Halifax River.[145]

Hundreds of the unemployed worked on the state's roads. In 1939, 400 WPA laborers were assigned to a project that paved with an asphalt surface State Road 87 in Santa Rosa County between Berrydale and the Alabama-Florida state line. Later that year, 500 WPA workers improved State Road 89 between Milton and Jay. In November 1939, 1,000 northwest Florida farmers who lost their crops to heavy rains and floods in August were provided WPA jobs

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[143]Tebeau, *Florida,* 406; *Fort Pierce News-Tribune,* 3 February 1936; *Jacksonville Journal,* 25 September 1935, 18 September 1937, 22 December 1938; *Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 19 December 1935, 27 August, 19 November 1938; *Key West Citizen,* 6 January 1939; *Miami Herald,* 6 January 1940; *Pensacola Journal,* 3 January 1937, 3 January 1940; *New York Times,* 19 February 1939; *Orange County Chief,* 15 August 1939.

[144]*Fort Pierce News-Tribune,* 3 February 1936.

[145]*Clewiston News,* 19 November 1937; *Pensacola Journal,* 3 January 1937, 28 September 1938; *DeLand Sun News,* 25 March 1938.

repairing and building roads. In late November 1939, after the full effects of the flooding crisis were assessed, state administrator Roy Schroder approved an application for 4,000 farmers in ten of northwest Florida's counties to enroll for work with the WPA. Laborers in other New Deal programs phased out in the mid 1930s often found work in the WPA. In January 1937, after the Resettlement Administration closed the Welaka Wildlife and Forest Conservation project, the men discharged from the program were provided an opportunity to apply for WPA work at standard Putnam County WPA wages. Many of those worked on road projects.[146]

Street improvement projects also consumed thousands of WPA resources. Between 1938 and 1939, Fort Myers's municipal government paved fifty-three miles of the city's streets, initially planning only to improve fourteen miles. The combined projects took approximately one year and employed approximately 120 men. In Sarasota, the local government reconstructed Ringling Boulevard with approximately $35,000 that employed 112 laborers in 1936. At River Junction in Gadsden County, WPA laborers constructed 28,200 linear feet of sidewalks. In Panama City, WPA funds helped to pave Bunkers Cove Road, Grave Avenue, and the Southport-to-Chipley Highway. In Flagler County, WPA crews helped to repair a stretch of the old Dixie Highway that extended between Bunnell and the St. Johns County line. To support its burgeoning tourist industry, the City of St. Augustine used a WPA grant to re-surface and build new curbs along San Marco Avenue north of the Old Spanish Gates, a route which extended past the new civic and tourist center. In Bartow, a WPA grant assisted in the widening of Main Street and the construction of a bridge west of the downtown.[147]

Buildings, especially schools, absorbed vast amounts of WPA funds. Initially, however, Florida's public schools were slow to take advantage of New Deal resources. In June 1936, state superintendent W.S. Cawthon encouraged county superintendents to seek these funds. Upon further investigation, he found that many districts had not been able to match the PWA funds because of defaulted bonds or too many existing bonds. He also found most districts had adopted a "penny wise and pound foolish" maintenance policies. Two years later, state superintendent Colin English complimented the state's school districts for taking advantage of WPA funding to build new schools.[148]

Numerous public schools and additions to existing buildings were developed using WPA funds. New school buildings included the construction of the $25,000 Wewahitchka High School; $40,000 Graceville School; $30,000 Bunker Cove School in Panama City, $24,000 Gaskin School in Walton County, $8,000 Millville School, and five-room schools with auditoriums at Fort Walton and Dorcas. In Wakulla County, the WPA assisted with the construction of three new schools and two additions; one of the former consisted of the Sopchoppy High School

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[146] *Clewiston News,* 19 November 1937; *Milton Gazette,* 19 January, 16 November 1939; *Palatka Daily News,* 7 January 1937.

[147] *Fort Myers News-Press,* 3 January 1939; *Pensacola Journal,* 28 September 1938; *Pensacola News-Journal,* 25 December 1938; *Flagler Tribune,* 29 August 1935; *Sarasota Herald,* 1 March 1936; *St. Augustine Evening Record,* 16 February 1936; *Polk County Record,* 6 January 1938.

[148] W. S. Cawthon, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1936* (Tallahassee: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1936), 256-257; Colin English, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1938* (Tallahassee: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1938), 67.

Gymnasium (NR 1990). The WPA also provided assistance for the development of Crescent City's high school gymnasium. Replacing a dilapidated structure, a new African-American school in Monticello was completed in 1938 at a cost of $11,412, with the WPA contributing $8,012 to the cost of construction. Stuart's African-American school was also built with WPA assistance. Elsewhere in Martin County, WPA funds helped to build the Jensen School and the Port Mayaca Farms School. In Manatee County, the WPA supplied $16,817 for a new school at Palmetto. Additions to existing buildings or support buildings on a larger school campus included a two-story, $70,000 addition to Miami's Edison Elementary, designed by August Geiger; a $51,000 twelve-room addition and auditorium to the Century High School; a $30,000 addition to the Walton County High School in DeFuniak Springs; four-room additions to the Fidelis School in Santa Rosa County and to the Tate Agricultural School in Pensacola; a $8,000 addition to the Calloway School; new gymnasiums for DeLand High School and the Milton School; and a cafeteria addition to Wisconsin Avenue Elementary School in DeLand. WPA work on public schools also included numerous repairs and modifications.[149]

Several state supported institutions of higher education received New Deal funding for the construction of new buildings. Officials at Florida State College for Women turned to the both PWA and WPA for funding sources. Although the PWA funded most of the college's new building construction, one of the WPA-funded projects was the Student Alumnae Building, a three-story building constructed at a cost of $160,000 and designed by Rudolph Weaver, the state Board of Control's architect and professor of architecture at the University of Florida. A graduate of Harvard University and Columbia University, Weaver had held positions at the University of Idaho and the State College of Washington prior to Florida's Board of Control's hiring him to establish and direct the Department of Architecture at the University of Florida in 1925. The WPA also assisted in the expansion of the University of Florida campus. During the Depression, Weaver designed numerous buildings on the University of Florida campus, including the P.K. Yonge Laboratory School (Norman Hall), Florida Student Union, Dairy Science Building (1937), and additions to Bryan Hall, Library East, Newell Hall, and Rolfs Hall. Most were built, in part, with WPA funding. Completed in 1939, Weaver's designs of Fletcher Dormitory and Murphree Dormitory complemented the site plan and the Collegiate Gothic styling of the existing dormitories of Buckman, Sledd, and Thomas. Fletcher and Murphree halls displayed little of the decorative touches of the older dormitories, mute tribute to the exigencies of the Depression. Still, their addition to the university brought the total housing available on the campus to 1,140 students. Part of Weaver's ingenious plan for the dormitory complex revealed the acronym "UF," the initials of the University, when viewed from a site plan, or in the air from the south. Beyond the University, the WPA helped to build sidewalks, extend water and sewer lines, and pave streets in Gainesville. One of the most visible signs of New Deal resources in the city involved the re-design and completion of the Dixie Hotel, an unfinished project from the 1920s. Completed in 1937, the new Seagle Building (NR 1982), named for a local benefactor, became the property of the municipal government, was re-designed by Weaver, and after its completion housed the Florida State Museum.[150]

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[149]*Miami Herald,* 15 January 1939; *Milton Gazette,* 19 January 1939; *Pensacola Journal,* 28 September 1938, 3 January, 28 July 1939; *DeLand Sun News,* 29 February 1936; *Stuart News,* 2 October 1935, 24 March 1938; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union,* 25 October, 28 November 1938, 24 November 1940.

[150]Stephen Kerber, "William Edwards and the Historic University of Florida Campus," *Florida Historical*

The state boasted several notable and highly visible WPA projects, including the Daytona Beach Bandshell Oceanfront Park Complex (NR 1999) and the Bayshore Boulevard Sea Wall (NR 1985) in Tampa. Conceived to help promote Daytona Beach's flagging tourist industry and assembled with native coquina, the distinctive Daytona Beach structure faced south with its profile perpendicular to the Atlantic Ocean. As designed by architect Alan MacDonough, the structure included a clock tower, fountain, and monument to Edward H. Armstrong, Daytona Beach's aggressive mayor who used New Deal resources to enhance the "World's Finest Beach." Interestingly, Governor Sholtz, a Daytona Beach attorney, ordered the removal of Armstrong from office for alleged charter violations. A standoff between police and National Guardsmen at city hall finally ended after a lower court issued a restraining order and the Florida Supreme Court intervened. Despite Armstrong's victory over Sholtz and his use of the black vote to retain his office, he did little to reward Daytona Beach's African Americans for their allegiance. City funds and WPA coffers allocated approximately $300,000 to construct the "world's largest bandshell" capable of seating 5,000 patrons. Dedicated on 1 January 1938, the structure rose sixty feet high, extended 135 feet across, and displayed twin towers that bracketed the bandshell's stage, which measured forty feet deep by fifty-two feet across. Daytona Beach's African Americans struggled to develop small parks and an athletic field, and were denied access to the bandshell.[151]

Extending for nearly two miles along Tampa Bay, the Bayshore Boulevard Sea Wall replaced a decaying gravity-type structure built in 1907 and damaged by a September 1935 hurricane. Built at a cost of $800,000, the new structure protected Bayshore Boulevard and adjoining properties in the exclusive Hyde Park neighborhood. The structure utilized an interlocking steel sheet piling system that anchored an innovative parabola and multi-center curve design for the reinforced concrete wall. Designed by Freeman Horton, a civil engineer, the sea wall featured a forty-five degree back slope as a wave deflection design to force wave action up and out, and reduce scouring action along the base of the structure. In addition to protecting millions of dollars in private property in Tampa's Hyde Park neighborhood, the project guarded a thirty-foot road right-of-way and a ten-foot sidewalk, essentially making Bayshore Boulevard into a picturesque parkway.[152]

Embellishment included a handrail supported by concrete balusters and decorative stanchions that protected the sidewalk along the bay. At 500-foot intervals, the handrails were interrupted by projecting bays with concrete seats and steps leading to the water. One Tampa engineer observing the construction process commented that "the experience and training afforded these [WPA] workers made specialists out of raw men." The new sea wall was

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Quarterly 57 (January 1979), 327-336; Sidney Johnston, "The Historic University of Florida Campus," unpub. mss., Gainesville, 1984, p. 8-11; *Alachua County News,* 20 August 1937; Charles Hildreth and Merlin Cox, *History of Gainesville, Florida, 1854-1979* (Gainesville: Alachua County Historical Society, 1981), 148-150.

[151]"World's Largest Bandshell Dedicated," *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (January 1938), 7; Leonard Lempel, "The Mayor's `Henchmen and Henchwomen, Both White and Colored': Edward H. Armstrong and the Politics of Race in Daytona Beach, 1900-1940," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79 (Winter 2001), 290-292.

[152]Harold M. Olmstead, "Two-Mile Sea-Wall and Boulevard Completed in Tampa, Florida," *American City* 53 (November 1938), 73-74; "Beauty and Utility in Waterfront Improvement," *Engineering News-Record* 122 (April 1939), 66-68; *Tampa Tribune,* 25 July, 10 September 1935, 8 November 1936, 1 January 1938.

complemented by yacht basin and park enhancement projects, all of which prompted a local editor to comment that "Tampa has traded her antique string of pearls along the Bayshore for a diamond necklace." The magnitude of the project caught the attention of the editors of *American City* and the *Engineering News-Record,* which featured the structure with photographs and textual descriptions. Far smaller in scale and size but no less picturesque, the Willow Branch Creek Balustrade and Boat Mooring project in Jacksonville protected the banks of the creek and provided boat access into the area from the St. Johns River. The project increased property values in the Willow Branch Terrace subdivision of the exclusive Riverside neighborhood, and included an ornamental staircase that led up to St. Johns Avenue and beyond to the neighborhood park and Willow Branch Terrace Library.[153]

Various military facilities expanded, in part, with the assistance of the WPA. In 1938, a naval reserve facility at Opalocka in Dade County received $85,740 from the WPA to help pave three runways and grade and grass adjacent areas. In 1939, 1,500 WPA laborers at NAS Pensacola built hangars at Corry Field and Chevalier Field, and grubbed and cleared additional runways. In 1940, the Army Air Corps embarked on a $40,000,000 program to improve many of the nation's air fields. In association with the WPA, the Air Force initially selected seventy-two airports throughout the country for improvement, but then expanded the program to 250 facilities. The first of those in Florida was at Gainesville, where approximately $250,000 was allocated to lengthen and light runways, assemble a hangar, and install a beacon and field lights. In early 1941, Lakeland's municipal airport received a $380,000 improvement with assistance for the WPA and CAA. Within a year, the Department of the Army had secured the air field and 2,800 acres around it. The WPA contributed $325,000 and the CAA another $243,000 for Orlando's second airport in 1941. At MacDill Field in Tampa, WPA laborers arrived in November 1939, and the work force peaked at 2,600 in late 1940. Their assignments included road construction, pouring concrete for sidewalks and curbs, and grading land. Although WPA laborers did not assemble buildings or construct runways and aprons, they cleared nearly 3,000 acres, excavated approximately 2,000,000 cubic yards of dirt, and built six miles of roads and thirteen miles of storm sewers.[154]

Tangible evidence further linking the WPA to the state's pre-World War II military build up, new armories supported Florida's expanding National Guard system. During the latter half of the 1930s, various municipal governments in conjunction with the National Guard and the WPA built armories at Avon Park, Bartow, Bradenton, Haines City, Jacksonville, Key West, Lakeland, Miami, Orlando, Palmetto, Panama City, Plant City, St. Petersburg, Sanford, Tampa, and Winter Haven.[155]

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[153]Harold M. Olmstead, "Two-Mile Sea-Wall and Boulevard Completed in Tampa, Florida," *American City* 53 (November 1938), 73-74; "Beauty and Utility in Waterfront Improvement," *Engineering News-Record* 122 (April 1939), 66-68; *Tampa Tribune,* 25 July, 10 September 1935, 8 November 1936, 1 January 1938; Wood, *Jacksonville,* 133, 134, 142, 353.

[154]*Pensacola Journal,* 24 December 1938, 27 October 1939; *Gainesville Sun,* 18 July 1940, 5 December 1941; *Lakeland Ledger,* 27 March, 1 November 1945; *Tampa Daily Times,* 28 December 1939; *Tampa Tribune,* 17 April 1941; Bacon, *Orlando,* 2:109.

[155]Florida National Guard, *1939 Historical Annual* (St. Augustine: Record Press, 1939), 21, 43, 47, 59, 125; *Avon Park Sun,* 24 April 1937.

Designed by Orlando architect Howard M. Reynolds, the Orlando Armory was among the largest facilities of its type built in Florida during the Depression. Completed in 1938, the building was developed at Exposition Park with contributions from the City, Orange County, the Central Florida Exposition, and the National Guard. The story of Starke's local military facility was played out in numerous small towns throughout the state. The municipal government initiated correspondence with the WPA regarding a new armory in 1938. The plans, apparently stock drawing used to developed similar armories previously constructed in Avon Park, Bradenton, Haines City, and Palmetto, were accepted and construction began in December 1938. The City donated the site and $2,500, an amount matched by the Bradford County Board of Commissioners. Delays procuring the steel skeletal framework forestalled construction, but in May 1939 the outlines of the building appeared on the front page of the local newspaper. Aluminum platting encased the framework following its assembly to retard rust from forming on the steel. A single thickness of brick was built onto the frame. The walls and ceiling were covered with Celotex and insulation was installed between the brick and interior walls. In August 1939, a decrease in WPA funding reduced the work force from forty-four men to nineteen. H.C. Maxwell, the WPA's senior supervisor in Bradford County, served as the contractor. Notwithstanding the reduction, construction was completed in September 1939 at a cost of $27,000.[156]

Less typical were developments at Haines City, where the municipal government had expanded its armory in 1932 (NR 1994). Later, in 1935, as part of a WPA project, the City built a vehicle storage building that complemented the Colonial Revival influences displayed by the armory. In addition to seven vehicle bays, the first floor of the building contained a conference room and administrative offices. The second floor supported a recreation hall, which extended the length of the building and included a bowling alley, pool table, and ping-pong tables. Local contractor S.J. Robinson supervised construction.[157]

Airfields appeared in many towns and supported all urban centers. In 1936, the WPA assisted in the completion of Venice's municipal airport, a project initiated with FERA assistance. In 1938, the U.S. Army Air Corps began work with the Civilian Aviation Administration (CAA) and Works Progress Administration (WPA) to improve all civilian airports lying within 100 miles of the coast from Maine to Alabama. Most off Florida's civilian airports experienced some WPA development and benefited under the federal program. The experience provided military leaders with a broad knowledge of Florida's relatively flat topographical features, ideal flying weather, moderate climate, and other advantages that made Florida one of the most popular sites in the nation for the training of pilots during World War II. Significant WPA assistance occurred at Drew Field in Tampa, Merle Fogg Field in Fort Lauderdale, Page Field in Fort Myers, and Panama City's Municipal Airport. At the latter, the WPA spent $50,000 to build a hangar

[156]*Bradford County Times,* 25 November, 9 December 1938, 27 January, 26 May, 18 August, 3 November, 1939; *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* 15 September 1937; Bacon, *Orlando,* 2:91.

[157]*Haines City Herald,* 14 June 1934, 24 June 1937; Bernice Barber, *History of Northeast Polk County* (Haines City: Bernice Barber, 1975), 409; Minute Book 7, p. 181, 230, 252, 267, Minute Book 8, p. 34, 40, 52, 68, City Hall, Haines City, Florida.

and developed grass runways. At Pensacola's Municipal Airport, WPA funds amounting to $120,000 helped to build an administration building, radio station, pave and illuminate three runways, and clear and grub 500 acres.[158]

Elsewhere in Pensacola, the WPA helped fund the construction of two hospitals, a convalescent facility with fifty beds and a hospital for contagious patients with thirty-five beds. Pensacola architect Walker Willis, Jr. drafted the plans for the brick buildings. The Pensacola firm of Yonge and Hart designed a new tuberculosis hospital that replaced an older facility that had burned in 1938. WPA funds also contributed to the construction of thirty-four miles of water and sewer lines and a new disposal plant in Pensacola. Given the amazing number of projects undertaken with WPA support, it seemed unlikely that any would be rejected. But, even some relatively large and seemingly meritorious endeavors were refused, some because of funding shortfalls, others because of politics and influence. In February 1939, when the WPA rejected Pensacola's proposal to expand and improve its municipal docks, the local government shelved the plans.[159]

Numerous small cities and county governments greatly expanded or improved their public infrastructure in association with WPA funds. In Lake County, two rounds of WPA grants amounting to $23,005 helped to expand the county's fair grounds near Tavares. Seminole County improved its public parks with WPA grants in 1939. A series of grants helped to construct the Lake City Hospital in 1938 and 1939. Further WPA support assisted Lake City's municipal government to develop an airport, two parks, and a nurses's home. Another project sponsored by the Lake City Woman's Club cleaned and repaired approximately 3,500 books in the public library. The work employed ten women for six months. At Bushnell, the WPA developed a community building, football field, gymnasium, two parks, and two school playgrounds.[160]

In DeFuniak Springs, municipal officials garnered $80,000 from the WPA by January 1936 for various projects, including a sewage disposal plant. Later WPA-related work in DeFuniak Springs included several public building rehabilitation projects, and the improvement of sidewalks, sewers, and other city infrastructure. In 1939, the WPA contributed $27,710 to the construction of the Walton County Jail.[161]

At the beaches area of Duval County, WPA activities included the construction a boardwalk, jail, sidewalks, and schools. In 1938, a new reinforced concrete boardwalk was completed along a ten-block stretch of Jacksonville

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[158] *Sarasota Herald,* 1 March 1936; *Fort Lauderdale Daily News,* 7 January 1936; *Pensacola Journal,* 3 January 1937, 2 January, 7 December 1938, 28 July 1939; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* 1 January 1936; *Pensacola News-Journal,* 25, 31 December 1938; Wesley Craven and James Cate, eds., *The Army Air Forces in World War II.* 7 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1983), 1:23-24, 31, 32, 108-109, 6:130.

[159] *Pensacola Journal,* 3 January 1937, 2 January, 7 December 1938, 8 February, 28 July 1939; *Pensacola News-Journal,* 25, 31 December 1938.

[160] *Pensacola Journal,* 18 August 1939; *Lake City Reporter,* 12 January, 17 May 1940; Florida State Planning Board, RG 192, Series 1653, Carton 1, Florida State Archives.

[161] *DeFuniak Springs Breeze,* 2 January 1936, 16 February, 30 March 1939, 18 January 1940; U. S. Postal Service, "Historic, Architectural, and Archaeological Significance Survey," Florida Master Site File 8WL131, Bureau of Historic Preservation.

Beach's downtown. Coinciding with a Labor-Day celebration, a "Roosevelt Rally" at Jacksonville Beach in September 1936 featured Gubernatorial-candidate Fred P. Cone, Congressman R.A. "Lex" Green of Starke, and Senate-nominee Claude Pepper. At Neptune Beach, WPA funds helped to improve the water and sewer systems, the jail, and added a second story to the city hall. Four WPA projects at Neptune Beach netted the town $150,000 in federal funds. By April 1937, Duval County's beaches communities claimed $223,000 in New Deal projects, ranging from sea walls and paved approaches to the ocean, paved streets, jail, and the construction of sidewalks and water works. Completed in 1939, Atlantic Beach Elementary School was designed by Max L. Worthley and constructed by J.H. MacKintosh with funding assistance from the WPA. Jacksonville Beach's African-American population increased during the 1930s, prompting the need for a new school. In July 1939, the board "authorized the construction on this property of a four-room Negro school in accordance with plans previously approved." On a two-acre lot the board developed the masonry one-story Public School No. 144, in part, with funding from the WPA. In January 1940, the City of Jacksonville Beach requested the use of one room in the new school for the Duval County Health Clinic, a requested approved by the Board of Public Instruction. Not all WPA projects were completed, however. In 1943, residents lamented that the WPA's microfilming project of the Town of Neptune Beach's records remained incomplete.[162]

In Fort Pierce, WPA projects included improving the municipal airport; constructing a community building; building a band shell and bleachers at Fort Pierce High School; grading the grounds of Lincoln Park Academy; and developing an athletic field and basketball court for the city's African-American population. The projects furnished jobs to 100 men for nearly one year.[163]

Bay County, Gulf County, and Holmes County each received WPA assistance. In 1938, the WPA supplied funds to develop Panama City's Armory and Bay Front Park, the Millville School, and St. Andrews's Huntington Lake Park. In Gulf County, the WPA supplied $98,000 for various projects in Port St. Joe. The WPA supplied Holmes County with $80,828 for a county-wide road project in 1939. The same year, Taylor County received $61,658 for road projects.[164]

In Dade County, O. A. Sanquist served as director of the WPA's third district based in Miami. His support staff included Jack Ambrose, H. Peterson, and Ruth Bryan Owen, the latter of whom briefly directed women's work in the Miami district after returning from Denmark. Florida's first congresswoman, Owen worked tirelessly to win election to Florida's fourth congressional district in 1928. She served two terms in the House of Representatives, lost the re-election bid for a third term, but was rewarded for her party loyalty in 1933 when she received an appointment as minister to Denmark by President Roosevelt, a diplomatic post she held until 1936. After she

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[162]*Ocean Beach Reporter,* 14 August, 4 September 1936; *Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 12 June 1938; Town of Neptune Beach, minutes, 13 August 1937, 8 January 1943; Minutes, June 1, July 31, 1939, January 11, 1940, April 13, 1949, Duval County School Board.

[163]*Fort Pierce News-Tribune,* 5 January, 21 February 1936; Florida State Planning Board, RG 192, Series 1653, Carton 1, Florida State Archives.

[164]*Pensacola News-Journal,* 25 December 1938, 9 May 1939.

returned to Florida, Owen remained an activist, engaging in public speaking, teaching, writing, and serving on advisory boards. In Miami alone, the WPA developed seventy-three playgrounds, six parks, and three community buildings, among other resources. The Miami district of the WPA supplemented FERA activities in Key West, including $28,500 to scrape and paint the Key West Lighthouse; constructing a community building and botanical garden; developing ten parks, two golf courses, and a swimming pool; rehabilitation of military barracks; reconstructing streets; installing fresh water lines; and transporting shipments of various commodities, such as dried milk and fresh fruits.[165]

Although many smaller projects in Florida never captured the attention of even local newspapers, some large projects dominated the news, and sparked heated debate in the Congress and between commercial and political interests throughout the state. Perhaps the largest and most controversial and contentious New Deal project in Florida consisted of developing a cross-state canal between the mouth of the Oklawaha River near Palatka and Port Inglis on the Gulf of Mexico. By the mid 1930s, the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers had prepared twenty-eight surveys of cross-state canals, some dating to the nineteenth century, with the Oklawaha-Port Inglis passage recommended as the most feasible, if not the least expensive with a price tag of $200,000,000. After undergoing extensive review by PWA officials, an application for a $115,000,000 PWA loan was rejected by Harold Ickes in January 1935, after which proponents turned directly to the president for support.[166]

In September 1935, President Roosevelt allocated $5,000,000 from an emergency fund for the canal project. Appropriated without the approval of the Congress, a massive canal project in Florida triggered real estate speculation and a building boom along the proposed route. The huge apportionment disturbed some congressmen who wondered why Florida should receive an infusion of funds for a project that largely divided the state along geographic and economic lines. Shipping interests in Miami and Tampa expressed concern that the project threatened their status as ports. Alarmed citrus growers speculated that the canal would possibly permit salt water intrusion into central Florida's lakes or even deplete and contaminate underground water sources. The reports submitted by geologists and engineers refuting these concerns did little to assuage shippers, growers, environmentalists, and opponents in south and central Florida. Hardly had the project been authorized when Marvin Wallace, editor of the *Florida Grower,* delivered an address to the Winter Haven Chamber of Commerce, which he entitled "The Stygian Canal," comparing the Florida canal to the hellish River Styx of Greek mythology.[167]

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[165]*Key West Citizen,* 5 January 1937, 14 March, 14 July 1939; Sally Vickers, "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswomen and Lifetime Activist," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 77 (Spring 1999), 455-461, 469-473; Florida State Planning Board, RG 192, Series 1653, Carton 1, Florida State Archives.

[166]"Documentary History of the Florida Canal," Senate, 74th Congress, 2d Session, Document 275, p. 81-94.

[167]Tebeau, *Florida,* 404-405; J. Richard Sewell, "Cross-Florida Barge Canal, 1927-1968," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (July 1967), 369-383; Benjamin Rogers, "The Florida Ship Canal Project," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (July 1957), 14-23; "Documentary History of the Florida Canal," Senate, 74th Congress, 2d Session, Document 275, p. 144-146.

The WPA established administrative and engineering headquarters at Camp Roosevelt south of Ocala. The first excavations began at Santos in late 1935 by the Hooper Construction Company of Bunnell, Florida; M. J. Carroll Company of Ocala, Florida; and the Benjamin Foster Company of Philadelphia. Photographs in various national and regional newspapers depicted huge cranes and dredges digging the main channel, industrial railways hauling spoil, bridge conveyors, bridge piers at Santos, and extensive berms, slopes, and spoil banks. Hundreds of laborers employed by the WPA arrived from Gainesville, Jacksonville, Leesburg, Live Oak, Palatka, Tampa, and West Palm Beach. The enormous nature of the project placed special demands on contractors, equipment, and laborers. Contractors using huge dredges identified the need for specialized trucks with large bodies and dump beds to transport the spoil. They found a creative machinist in George Bleh, who won the contract to design and fabricate the required truck bodies in his Apopka machine shop. Work on the canal came to a halt, however, in the summer of 1936, when the multi-million dollar allocation was exhausted.[168]

To help garner support for a subsequent appropriation, prominent businessmen and politicians, including Jacksonville engineer Henry H. Buckman and Pensacola's U. S. Senator Scott Loftin, compiled a massive treatise documenting the history of the waterway. They collected written endorsements from various associations and officials, including the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association of Boston, the Gulf-Atlantic Ship Canal of Florida, the Mississippi Valley Association, Senator Huey P. Long, and columnist Arthur Brisbane. Engineering reports from Buckman's firm and the War Department furnished evidence of the project's feasibility, economic prospects, and significance in wartime. Jacksonville architect Roy A. Benjamin weighed in on the side of the canal's proponents, composing articles published in the *New York Times* and *Pensacola News-Journal,* which extolled the perceived beauty and benefits afforded passengers on pleasure yachts and barges alike on trips across the canal and the supporting Oklawaha and Withlacoochee Rivers. Despite President Roosevelt's best efforts and those of Buckman, Fletcher, Loftin, and Pepper, the Congress refused to allocate any additional resources to the project through the WPA, and denied further appropriation requests by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers during the New Deal. The sum of the controversy was published by the 74th Congress in a 513-page senate document.[169]

Whether working with heavy equipment on the canal project or improving streets in neighborhoods, most laborers associated with New Deal work were exposed to some degree of risk. Injuries and even death befell some laborers. In 1939, Andrew Colvin of Pleasant Grove, Florida, was laying storm sewers along Gonzales Street in Pensacola with a crew of WPA workers when a violent storm blew in. "Ox," as Colvin's fellow workers referred to him, sought refuge under a church porch, but was struck by lightening and killed while several of his fellow workers sat close by. Violence occasionally flared up against some of Florida's New Deal laborers and critics. Michael Kovich, a CCC laborer from the Sumatra camp near Apalachicola, was killed by a deputy arresting him for alleged disorderly conduct. CCC enrollees were harassed by Liberty County deputies, and one CCC truck driver was beaten

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[168] *Apopka Chief,* 14 May, 20 August 1935, 24 January, 6 October 1936; Jerrell Shofner, *History of Apopka and Northwest Orange County, 1882-1982* (Apopka: Apopka Historical Society, 1982), 237; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 19 November 1935, 8 January 1936; Works Projects Administration, *Florida,* 529; Tebeau, *Florida,* 405; *Sarasota Herald-Tribune,* 5 March 1936.

[169] "Documentary History of the Florida Canal," Senate, 74th Congress, 2d Session, Document 275, p. 7, 28-29; *Pensacola News-Journal,* 29 January 1939.

by a mob near Bristol while the sheriff stood by to watch. Perhaps the most bizarre case of violence in Florida occurred in March 1936, when unknown assailants crucified George Timmerman, an unemployed brick mason, in an orange grove near Ocala. A vocal critic of the New Deal, Timmerman had found employment with a company dredging the cross Florida canal in 1935, but was laid off the following year. He subsequently filed a workman's compensation lawsuit against his employer. Found crucified on a tree with his lips sewed shut and a hunting coat over his head, Timmerman survived his ordeal, but authorities never determined whether he was tortured because of the lawsuit, his outspoken views, or some other reason.[170]

In addition to building roads, the WPA also helped develop office buildings for the Florida State Road Department. In 1939 and 1940, district headquarters were built in Chipley, Lake City, and DeLand. The department selected DeLand architect G. Medwin Peek to draft standardized plans for the buildings. Each resource cost approximately $45,000 to construct, and contained offices for the division engineer, construction and maintenance personnel, draftsmen, a planning board, and road patrol officers. Dedicated in 1940, the building in DeLand was named for former Governor David Sholtz. The editors of Lake City's *Reporter* drew comparisons between the recently-completed Lake City post office and the new State Road Department Building. Various contractors assembled the Colonial Revival-style office buildings, including Coggin & Deermont (Chipley), Karl Murz (DeLand), and O. P. Woodcock (Lake City). Similar in design and style to the district office buildings, the "Welcome to Florida Building" opened in April 1940 along U. S. Highway 17 at the Florida-Georgia state line. One of Florida's first highway welcome stations, the project was conceived and developed, in part, by J. B. McDonald. Five flags representing Florida's cultural heritage flew on the front patio, and visitors signed a register and were offered cold water and orange juice. Within a month of the opening of the welcome station, the guest register contained the names of visitors from forty-five states and seven foreign countries. The Welcome to Florida building stood in stark, if ironic, contrast to earlier migration policies adopted by the Sholtz administration in 1934, which instituted a border patrol that investigated travelers along the state's highways and roads at the Alabama and Georgia lines. The *New York Times* reported that law enforcement officials stopped "hitch-hiking, rod-riding, and flivver-driving itinerants." Visitors and vagabonds alike with little visible means of support or no proof of employment were turned back. Between 1934 and 1935 alone, law enforcement officers denied approximately 50,000 people entrance into the state.[171]

The WPA contributed to the beautification of landscapes, the construction of recreational facilities, and development of parks in various cities. In DeLand, a WPA beautification project that cleaned moss from oak trees forming a canopy over various streets prompted inquiries from investors about opening a moss factory in the city. Subsequent enhancement projects painted street names along curbs at intersections, and then installed permanent concrete street posts at intersections. Using two WPA grants, the City of Orlando completed the 15,000-seat Tinker

[170] *Fort Pierce News-Tribune,* 18 March 1936; *Pensacola Journal,* 31 August 1939; Shofner, "Roosevelt's `Tree Army'," 454-455.

[171] *DeLand Sun News,* 5 June, 8 September 1939; *Lake City Reporter,* 23 February, 3 May 1940; *Washington County News,* 18, 25 July 1940; *New York Times,* 25 October, 20 November 1936; Snyder, "Daytona Beach," 159-160.

Stadium in 1941. Also developed with WPA assistance, the municipal stadium at Apopka was typical of those structures in Florida's small towns. Accommodating 1,000 seats in a concrete grandstand on a ten-acre site, the facility was built at a cost of approximately $19,000. A new concrete stadium and playground at Leon High School in Tallahassee was completed through the combined efforts of the WPA, the City of Tallahassee, Leon County, and the local Junior Chamber of Commerce.[172]

Swimming pools were common projects in many Florida cities; between 1935 and 1937, the WPA and the PWA combined supported the construction of 2,419 swimming pools across the nation. In 1939, municipal officials at the City of Davenport developed plans for a public swimming pool from literature approved by the WPA and furnished through the Portland Cement Company. The WPA provided financial assistance for Davenport's swimming pool later that year. Measuring 108' x 45', the structure was completed in 1939 north of the Community Center, which had been built, in part, with FERA funds in 1935. Construction of the swimming pool was supervised by Van E. Hopper of Davenport. In association with the development of their civic centers, the municipal governments at Bartow and Clewiston also completed public swimming pools.[173]

Many municipalities developed community centers with WPA funding, including Bartow, Bunnell, Clewiston, Hastings, Lake City, Largo, Madison, Marianna, and Milton. Some of these buildings were assembled with native stone, such as coquina for the Bunnell building, completed by contractor Z. D. Holland using WPA assistance in 1937. Limestone veneering adorned civic centers at Bartow and Marianna. Completed in 1936 at a cost of $150,000, Bartow's civic center, swimming pool, tennis courts, shuffleboard courts, and playground were featured on the cover of *Florida Municipal Record.* Various explanations were offered by the WPA to explain construction delays. The WPA program in Bartow, Polk County, and throughout Florida's citrus belt often experienced difficulty in filling their employment rolls during harvest season, when thousands of migrant and local residents poured into citrus groves to harvest and process citrus, which promised laborers more dollars through the piece wage system than the hourly wage of the WPA. The seasonal employment pattern occurred throughout much of central and south Florida. In 1938, Pensacola architects Yonge & Hart prepared the plans for Marianna's Community Center. Finished with native limestone, the building was used by the local woman's club, American Legion, Kiwanis, Rotary, and other civic organizations. The Cantonment Community Center represented a collaboration between the Cantonment Woman's Club, Escambia County, and the WPA. The City of Sarasota converted a fire station into a public assembly hall.[174]

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[172]*DeLand Sun News,* 26 October 1935, 3 January 1938; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 26 June 1938; Bacon, *Orlando,* 2:104; *Orange County Chief,* 1 August 1939.

[173]*Clewiston News,* 15 January 1937; Photograph Collection, Florida State Archives; Davenport Recreation Center files, Davenport City Hall; Town of Davenport Minutes, 12 November 1934, 4 April, 4 June 1938, 2 June 1941; "2,419 Swimming and Wading Pools Built by WPA-PWA," *American City* 53 (April 1938), 83.

[174]*Largo Sentinel,* 6 February 1936; *Milton Gazette,* 26 January 1939; *Pensacola News-Journal,* 20 August, 11, 18, 24 December 1938, 20 August 1939; *Flagler Tribune,* 29 August 1935, 15 October 1936; *Sarasota Herald,* 1 March 1936; *Polk County Record,* 6 January 1938; *Florida Municipal Record* 9 (August 1936), cover.

One of the most ornate civic centers of the era, the City of Coral Gables's community center and library was completed in January 1937 at a cost of $42,019. Sponsored in part by the Coral Gables Woman's Club and the City of Coral Gables, the building was fabricated, in part, using stone from the "Coral Gables Pit" and Dade County timber. The same materials were employed by architect Phineas Paist in 1939 to design Coral Gables's police and fire station (NR 1984) in the Mediterranean Revival style. Displaying more restrained details, Coral Gables's public service building was also designed by Paist and built, in part, with WPA funds. In contrast to the other public facilities, the community center was accented with murals depicting Seminoles in the Everglades and native bird life, and a carved stone fountain named the "Lure of the Sea." William W. Wood, supervisor of the federal art project, and builder Ned Govro were among the dignitaries attending the dedication of the building where the WPA's regional director O. A. Sandquist turned the community center and library over to Mayor Roscoe Brunstetter. Although some of the state's smaller towns did not develop a community center, many improved their recreational facilities. In 1938, the Village Improvement Association and the City of Orange City received WPA funding for the development of shuffleboard and tennis courts. In Cocoa, the WPA improved recreational facilities that included shuffleboard courts, croquet court, and a park. Most larger cities made significant gains in their recreational facilities through the WPA. In Lakeland, the WPA helped to develop an auditorium, two community buildings, golf course, parks, stadium, swimming pool, and a wading pool. In addition to physical facilities, the WPA assisted many communities with planned recreational activities. By November 1938, 150 Florida cities had WPA personnel who supplemented the staff of municipal departments to coordinate recreation at parks and recreation sites.[175]

Some community or civic buildings reflected new architectural trends, and served the broader functions of a municipal building and city hall. Completed in 1937 with WPA assistance, the community center in the Town of Hastings City was one of the few municipal facilities in Florida built during the New Deal with modern architectural lines. Assembled with a steel structural system and reinforced concrete, the two-story building reflected International features. In addition to an auditorium, it contained offices for the town's officials and staff and fire department. Municipal buildings appeared in a few Florida cities, in part, because of WPA funding. In 1936, Lake City's municipal government moved into its new offices, occupying space in a civic center recently completed, in part, with WPA funds. Two new city halls--those in New Smyrna Beach (NR 1990) and Holly Hill (NR 1993)--were fabricated with native coquina. The building in New Smyrna Beach was completed in 1935. Holly Hill's municipal building was among the last city halls built in Florida during the New Deal. Daytona Beach architect Alan J. MacDonough drafted the plans, which included an auditorium, fire station, and offices. Harvested from a quarry north of Ormond Beach, coquina was used to construct the building, which was completed in 1942.[176]

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[175] *Miami Herald,* 10 January 1937; Orange City Minutes, 14 December 1933, 1 July 1935, 11 July 1938; Rolla Southworth, "WPA Cultural Aid Augments City Budgets," *Florida Municipal Record* 7 (November 1938), 21, 50; Florida State Planning Board, RG 192, Series 1653, Carton 1, Florida State Archives.

[176] "Up Till Press Time: Things Done by Florida Cities," *Florida Municipal Record* 9 (October 1936), 20; *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (September 1937), 11; E. P. Owen, Jr., "Public Improvements," *Florida Municipal Record* 15 (September 1942), 1; *Daytona Beach News-Journal,* 15 October 1938, 8 August 1942.

The WPA also helped to develop farmer's and live stock markets in various Florida cities, including Bradenton, Branford, Bushnell, Chipley, DeFuniak Springs, LaBelle, Live Oak, Marianna, Miami, Palatka, Plant City, Sanford, and Wauchula. Jacksonville architect S. Ralph Fetner prepared the plans for many of these facilities and structures. In 1938, the WPA contributed $5,763 toward the cost of a sweet potato curing plant in Chipley. Washington County's administrators anticipated that the development of the plant would require thirty-four laborers four months to complete. Measuring 400 feet by 50 feet, Marianna's new farmer's market was built at a cost of $26,000 in 1939. The same year, the Florida State Marketing Bureau supplied $9,993 for the construction of the Jay Farmer's Market with the WPA furnishing an additional $11,867. Dade County's expansive Farmer's Cooperative Market occupied a seventeen-acre site with sheds sufficient to accommodate 100 trucks supported by railroad tracks. A trend associated with the development of many of the state's farmers markets, Ocala's new market in 1937 attracted the Swift Meat Packing Company to lease space in the new facility, which opened a larger market for cattle, pigs, and sheep in Marion County and north central Florida.[177]

Other unusual structures with a New Deal association sprinkled the Florida landscape. Most were likely developed, in part, with WPA resources. Perhaps two of the most unusual include Jacksonville's Brentwood Park Bandstand and Comfort Station, designed by Roy A. Benjamin. Essentially a bandstand with restrooms adjacent to a residential neighborhood, the classically derived structure displayed the form of a Greek temple with an encyclopedia checklist of classical architectural details. Equally intriguing was the Elephant House at Jacksonville Zoological Park. Characterized as an "octagonal pachyderm mansion," the structure was executed by architect Roy Benjamin with ceramic barrel tiles, stuccoed walls, glass blocks, and Art Deco bas-relief palm trees. In Tallahassee, the WPA supported the construction of an abattoir near the municipal landfill on the Lake Bradford Road. Tallahassee architect Edward D. Fitchner drafted the plans for the slaughterhouse, which contained facilities sufficient for processing 135 animals daily.[178]

The WPA spawned a host of sub-agencies that addressed cultural needs and America's youth, some of which influenced the nation's infrastructure and buildings. Those agencies included the Federal Art Project (FAP), Federal Theater Project (FTP), the Federal Writers' Project (FWP), the Historical Records Survey (HRS), and the National Youth Administration (NYA), all of which played significant roles in the nation's cultural heritage. The genesis for the Federal Art Project (FAP) lies, in part, in the development of art museums in the three decades prior to the Great Depression, and, in part, by the nascent CWA and FERA art programs abolished when those larger programs were eliminated. An elevated interest in art became manifest throughout the nation between 1910 and 1930, when the value of art museums increased from $15,000,000 to $58,000,000. By 1930, the country supported 167 art museums, an increase of fifty-six percent from a decade earlier. Commercial art markets in Chicago, New York, and other urban cities flourished.[179]

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[177] *Palatka Daily News,* 8 October 1936; *DeFuniak Springs Breeze,* 25 January 1940; *Washington County News,* 2 January 1936; *Milton Gazette,* 28 September 1939; *Pensacola Journal,* 13 October, 18 December 1938; *Orange County Reporter,* 8 August 1939; *Miami Herald,* 5 January 1936; "Swift to Pack Meat at Ocala," *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (September 1937), 10.

[178] *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 27 June 1938; Wood, *Jacksonville,* 368, 373.

[179] Richard McKinzie, *The New Deal for Artists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 1-20; Virginia

Thousands of artists found themselves unemployed in the early 1930s. In addition, most Americans had little access to or interest in the arts. In 1933, a presidential commission reported that "for the majority of the American people the fine arts of painting and sculpture...do not exist." George Biddle, an artist and friend of the president, asked Roosevelt to consider funding art work on federal properties, an activity that would help employ the nation's artists, and educate the general population to the benefits of art. In 1933, the Roosevelt administration launched a fledgling response to this cultural deficiency. Roosevelt initially turned to Lawrence "Chip" Robert, assistant secretary of the treasury, and then Edward Bruce, a staff official in the Treasury Department, to head the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP). Allocated $1,039,000 for public art through the CWA, painters and sculptors employed by the CWA and FERA decorated hundreds of municipal buildings with monuments and statuary in public parks and courtyards, and sculptures and paintings in courthouses, city halls, libraries, and schools. By June 1934, 3,750 painters, sculptors, and printmakers had produced over 15,600 works of art in public buildings. By the close of the New Deal in 1943, over 100,000 of America's artists had found employment in a federal program, and prepared 100,000 paintings, 18,000 sculptures, 13,000 prints, and over 4,000 murals.[180]

Eliminated in 1934, the PWAP program spawned the much larger FAP program that operated under the purview of the WPA. As the largest New Deal art project, FAP operated primarily in the nation's cities between 1935 and 1943. Its primary focus was to provide jobs to unemployed artists who prepared works of art for non-federal buildings. Several smaller art projects included the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP) and the Section of Painting and Sculpture, popularly known as the "the Section." Both TRAP and the Section were conceived by the Department of the Treasury, received WPA funds, and produced art for federal buildings and properties. Dubbed the "ritz program of the New Deal," TRAP sought only "good" artists on relief. Between 1935 and 1939, TRAP artists produced eighty-nine murals, sixty-five sculptures, and 10,000 easel paintings and prints. Broader in scope than TRAP, the Section of Painting and Sculpture later became the Section of Fine Arts, and then was reorganized from the Treasury Department into the Federal Works Agency. In essence, art work for public buildings was executed through several agencies, but shared a common goal of preparing murals and sculpture of distinguished quality appropriate to the embellishment of public buildings. Virtually all of the art work in post offices and other federal buildings came out of the Section or its predecessor or successor agencies. Overlaying this rather small but important collection of art work and artists was FAP, which through the WPA created over 5,000 jobs and prepared 225,000 works of art, many of those for various types of public buildings. Some critics voiced concerns over socialistic influences in the art work, but much of it offered conventional concepts of family, community, and nation.[181]

Mecklenburg, *The Public as Patron* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 10; Douglas Smith, *The New Deal in the Urban South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1988), 209-211.

[180]McKinzie, *New Deal for Artists,* 1-20; Mecklenburg, *Public as Patron,* 10; Smith, *New Deal in the Urban South,* 209-211; Marlene Park and Gerald Markowitz, *Democratic Vistas: Post Offices and Public Art in the New Deal* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 6.

[181]Lois Craig, *The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in United States Government Building* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1984), 372-373; Park and Markowitz, *Democratic Vistas,* 6.

In Florida, Eve A. Fuller directed the FAP from headquarters in Jacksonville. By 1936, she reported that artists had completed ninety-six murals for schools and 167 pieces of sculpture for various public buildings in Florida, including several outstanding pieces in public buildings in Orange County and Volusia County. Other accomplishments included WPA art centers in Jacksonville, Miami, St. Petersburg, and West Palm Beach. Elsewhere, WPA artists painted murals that were installed in the Orlando Chamber of Commerce and Tampa's Tony Jannus Administration Building. St. Petersburg painter George Snow Hill produced a thirty-foot by ten-foot mural of the world's first commercial flight across Tampa Bay for installation in the Peter O. Knight Airport in Tampa. Later, five additional murals were hung in the airport. In Clearwater, Hill prepared murals for Pinellas County's newly-constructed courthouse. By then, artists had completed several hundred easel paintings, and thousands of posters advertising school and community activities. Art work for public buildings and parks consisted primarily of murals, bas-relief panels and plaques, and monuments. Carved monuments included the Fountain and Statuary at the Coral Gables Community Center and the Florida Keys Memorial (NR 1995) to victims of the Labor Day Hurricane on Matecumbe Key. Perhaps the largest sculpture prepared by WPA artists in Florida, the Hurricane Memorial stands eighteen feet tall on a base twenty feet wide by sixty-one and a half feet long. Carved from coral slabs quarried from either Windley Key or Key Largo, the memorial housed a crypt into which was installed the remains of many of the veterans and citizens who perished in the storm.[182]

Most communities pointed with pride to their post office murals, which often required the respective artists to make some adjustments in tone and subject before the finished product was installed. Mural art work prepared by Section artists was installed in post offices, including those in Arcadia, DeFuniak Springs, Fort Pierce, Jasper, Lake Wales, Lake Worth, Madison, Miami Beach, Milton, Palm Beach, Perry, Sebring, Starke, Tallahassee, and West Palm Beach. The murals depicted various scenes, including bare-foot mail-man James Edward Hamilton, cotton fields in Madison, harvest time in Lake Wales, cypress logging in Perry, Milton's pulpwood industry, Dade County's legal system, prehistoric life, reforestation in Starke, Seminoles, and various town scenes. Section artists working in Florida included Lucile Blanche, Steven Dohanos, Denman Fink, Charles Russell Hardman, George Snow Hill, Charles Knight, Pietro Lazzari, Joseph Myers, Charles Rosen, and Edward Buk Ulreich.[183]

The story associated with the DeFuniak Springs post office mural illustrated one of the most complicated processes of the WPA commissioning an artist from another part of the country to portray a community with which he or she was unfamiliar. The mural eventually installed in the DeFuniak Springs post office in April 1942 stemmed from a juried competition developed by the Fine Arts Section for forty-eight rural or small-town post offices throughout the country, one in each state. In 1939, the Treasury Department received 1,475 designs and through a jury selection

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[182]Works Progress Administration, *Florida,* 161, 423; *Florida Municipal Record* 10 (December 1937), 3; www.keyshistory.org; Eve Fuller, "Art Takes Root in Florida," *Florida Municipal Record* 9 (May 1936), 12, 22; James Tidd, Jr., "The Works Progress Administration in Hillsborough and Pinellas County, Florida, 1935 to 1943," M.A. Thesis, University of South Florida, 1989, 108-109.

[183]Paul Siboroski, "Reflections of the Community: Post Office Murals in Florida Commissioned Under the New Deal," M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1990, p. 79-83.

narrowed the field to forty-eight with the winning artist receiving $725. Because the Treasury Department opened the competition to all artists and did not limit entries to a particular theme or state, the winning selections were unevenly distributed by state and post office. As unveiled in *Life* in December 1939, Thomas Laughlin's winning design for the DeFuniak Springs post office depicted an oceanside scene. The postmaster objected that the Walton County seat stood thirty miles from the Gulf and asked the Section for a rendering of the town. Further research by the Treasury Department revealed that Laughlin's original submission had been intended for the post office in Foxcroft, Maine. Complicating the selection process, the department found that another artist's mural was more suitable for that location, which compelled the staff to redirect Laughlin's art work to another location, ultimately DeFuniak Springs. Eventually, Laughlin visited DeFuniak Springs and produced a representation of the town, but some residents believed the mural still did not accurately reflect their region and community.[184]

Hundreds of bas-relief plaques were prepared with various materials and in numerous sizes. Carved in native limestone or prepared with castcrete products and plaster of paris finishes, the plaques were installed in various types of public buildings. In 1938, Alexander Sambugnac sculpted cast stone relief plaques that represented "love and hope" and "wisdom and courage" for the U. S. Post Office and Courthouse in downtown Miami (NR 1983). Having completed her sculpture of the Hurricane Memorial, artist Joan Van Breeman prepared 127 bas-relief panels for public buildings throughout the state. Most measured forty-eight inches by thirty-four inches and were primarily installed in new schools, such as the Matecumbe School and Tavernier School, which received their respective art work in August 1938. Completed in 1939, the DeLand Junior High School was also adorned with Breeman's art work. Her representation of children on a swing and bicycle, and playing on a tricycle and a hoop in DeLand and in the Keys appear to be from the same molds. In 1936, FAP officials presented the Clewiston School with four bas-relief plaques prepared by an FAP artist, probably Breeman. The plaques illustrated scenes of children learning and at play. The installation of the plaques in the Clewiston School compelled Hendry County's school board officials to seek additional FAP contributions for all of its public schools. FAP officials estimated the cost of each plaque at $200.[185]

To head the Federal Writers' Project (FWP), Hopkins appointed Henry Alsberg, a former newspaper editor and theater director. A director was appointed in each state to supervise writers and compile reports that were submitted on quarterly or monthly timetables. In less than a decade, the FWP published approximately 1,000 books, including fifty-one state and territorial guides, thirty publications on metropolitan regions and large cities, and twenty regional guidebooks. Notable regional volumes included *U. S. 1: Maine to Florida* and *The Oregon Trail.* Published through commercial distributors, most WPA volumes enjoyed brisk sales. Some later became collectibles, opportunities for re-publication by contemporary publishing houses and important historical documentation tools.[186]

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[184]"Speaking of Pictures...This is Mural America for Rural Americans," *Life* 7 (December 4, 1939), 12-13, 15; Paul Siboroski, "Reflections of the Community: Post Office Murals in Florida Commissioned Under the New Deal," M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1990, p. 79-83.

[185]*Clewiston News,* 11 September 1936; www.wpamurals.com; www.keyshistory.org; Winsberg, *Florida History,* 31.

[186]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 127.

In Florida, authors and writers from across the state prepared nearly 900 typescripts on countless Florida communities and subjects. Their efforts helped to make possible the publication of *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* in 1939. The WPA's state administrator, Chester Treadway, hired a native of Jacksonville, Carita Doggett Corse, as state director of the FWP, a position she held between 1935 and 1937. A graduate of Vassar College and Columbia University, Corse was awarded an honorary doctorate degree from the University of the South. Before capturing the state's top New Deal writer's post, she had served as head of the history department for Clay County High School. Her efforts set the tone and direction for Florida's FWP. Later, Stetson Kennedy served as the administrator for the state's FWP. Born in Jacksonville in 1916, Kennedy left his studies at the University of Florida to work for the WPA, coordinating its ethnic history, folklore, and oral history activities. He published *Palmetto Country* in 1942, followed by a string of other books, and gained international renowned for his work in folklore and human rights. Corse's and Kennedy's administrative duties included organizing FWP units throughout the state; developing ideas for writers; hiring writers; dispatching teams of researchers to interview former slaves, Seminoles, Bahamian Conchs, and Greek sponge fisherman; editing and compiling manuscripts, and preparing reports. Her monthly reports to the state administrator included narrative descriptions supplemented with black-and-white photographs of WPA projects across the state. When Oxford University Press published *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* in late 1939, a Florida News Service reporter in Tampa commented tongue-in-cheek that Florida's WPA could now claim more than leaf raking.[187]

To prepare manuscripts and conduct interviews about Florida's culture, environment, and history, Corse selected many of the state's brightest and most promising writers, some of whom later achieved international distinction and renowned. Honing their narrative skills, New Deal writers working in Florida's FWP included Dorothy Atkinson, L. Rebecca Baker, Margaret Barnes, Kelsey Blanton, Pamela Bordelon, Sidney Braman, Lindsay Bryan, Bertha Comstock, F. Hilton Crowe, Barbara Darsey, William Dunkle, Alfred Farrell, Alvirda Forester, May Gardner, Ruybe Goebel, Jay Hamilton, W. Stanley Hanson, C. M. Hunter, Zora Neale Hurston, J. M. Johnson, Stetson Kennedy, Corinne Lamme, Roland E. D. Langley, Lavelle, R. E. Lufsey, Albert C. Manucy, Frances Miner, Viola Muse, Nellie Ramsdell, Pearl Randolph, Wilson Rice, Martin D. Richardson, Walter Sansbury, Eugene Sears, Rose Shepherd, Zelia Wilson Sweett, Cora Mae Taylor, A. W. Trainor, Charles Walk, Lillian Warner, Mamie Webster, Alice Youngblood, and Louis Zimmerman. The writers selected from a multitude of subjects, including descriptions and history of virtually every county, city, town, and village in the state and, among other topics, African-American education, ethnography, culture, history, music, and religion; agriculture; architecture; associations and societies; conservation; Cuban culture in Florida; fauna; fishing; Greek culture in Florida; historical and literary figures; legends; lighthouses; labor strikes; Native American culture and heritage; newspapers; regulators and outlaws; religion; schools; slave narratives; and sports. In addition to history and culture, many of their works identified New

[187]Lucy Blackman, *The Women of Florida,* 2 Volumes, (Atlanta: Southern Historical Publishing Association, 1940), 2:27; *Jacksonville Journal,* 23 May 1978; *Orange County Chief,* 2 January 1940; Http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/flwpahtml; Carita Doggett Corse, "Narrative Report of the Florida WPA, 3/15/1936-4/15/1936," typescript, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. The Library holds three bound volumes of reports.

Deal projects. Beyond Stetson Kennedy, the most enduring writer to emerge from the FWP was Zora Neale Hurston, who published *Mules and Men* in 1935, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* in 1937, and *Dust Tracks on a Road* in 1942. A luminary in the Harlem Renaissance, she was among the few writers to come into the FWP as a published author.[188]

Another WPA program, the Federal Theater Project (FTP) was among the most creative and experimental sub-agencies created by the New Deal. Centralized in New York City, the FTP maintained companies in various large cities throughout the nation. The FTP employed actors, directors, and craftsmen who produced circuses, marionette performances, plays, and vaudeville acts. In New York City, an early showing of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* was devoid of scenery and instead used lighting to achieve theatrical effects. An all-African-American troupe produced *Macbeth,* and the FTP's "living newspaper" presented a kaleidoscopic dramatization of contemporary social and political issues. Some critics protested that some "editions" were little more than New Deal propaganda. In Florida, a FTP statewide touring company was based in Jacksonville; a dramatic repertory company in Miami established a headquarters in the Scottish Rite Temple; and Tampa hosted a musical-comedy troupe in the Rialto Theater.[189]

New Dealer Arthur Goldschmidt, who worked under Harry Hopkins first in the CWA and then in the WPA, later recalled that Hopkins had a great appreciation for actors and the theater. Goldschmidt asserted that Hopkins was the "real spokesman for the lowest of the low, the really depressed people. He was a great believer in work relief... Hopkins was very touched and impressed by the work the actors were doing." New York City remained the center of the FTP, where Goldschmidt advised actors in need of material for costumes and backdrops to contact administrators in the WPA's sewing and mattresses programs. Scraps of mattress cloth and ticking provided many set crews with sufficient material to put on performances. Congress abolished the FTP in 1939.[190]

Developed in part to employ musicians and "create an interest in better music among the people of the nation," the Federal Music Project was administered through the WPA. Its "composers forum laboratory" became a proving ground for promising musicians, such as William Schumann who received his first important hearing through the program. Among other cities, Florida's WPA Music Project helped to employ musicians in Jacksonville, Miami, and West Palm Beach. Each city supported a WPA orchestra with the symphony in Miami amounting for forty musicians. Orchestras traveled throughout their respective regions. The Florida WPA Symphony Orchestra of Jacksonville, directed by F. Pierce Drohan, played a Fourth-of-July concert for patients and visitors at Lake City's Veterans Hospital in 1940. Clewiston's American Legion Post No. 93 sponsored a WPA orchestra night in their facility in September 1936. In addition to choral numbers, 500 patrons listened to pieces by Brahms, Hayden, Rossini, and Tobani performed by the West Palm Beach WPA orchestra.[191]

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[188]Blackman, *Women of Florida,* 2:27; Gannon, *New History of Florida,* 388, 427.
[189]Works Projects Administration, *Florida,* 155-156.
[190]Louchheim, *New Deal,* 193; Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 127.
[191]Leuchtenburg, *Roosevelt,* 329; *Clewiston News,* 4 September 1936; *Lake City Reporter,* 12 July 1940.

The Historic American Building Survey (HABS) also traces its roots to the New Deal. Drawing upon the services of unemployed architects and draftsmen, the survey was initiated under the CWA, and then permanently organized in 1934 in an agreement between the American Association of Architects, Library of Congress, and National Park Service. The WPA provided a funding mechanism to assist in the documentation of local and regional projects. By March 1941, HABS had formally recorded 2,693 buildings and structures. In the process, 25,357 photographs and 23,765 sheets of measured drawings of uniform size documented historic architectural resources. An additional 3,696 buildings and structures were recorded with photographs only. No attempt was made to authenticate the traditional history of the resources. In Florida, twenty-one HABS projects were completed during the New Deal, including the Anna Madagegine Jai House on Fort George Island, the Call House in Tallahassee, Goodwood Plantation in Leon County, Fort Dallas Barracks in Miami, Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas, Gamble House at Ellenton, Mission Atocuimi de Jororo at New Smyrna Beach, and a Spanish-American War Fort at St. Johns Bluff. The majority of Florida's HABS projects, however, were prepared for resources in St. Augustine and St. Johns County. Some historic resources underwent stabilization or rehabilitation through WPA and CCC allocations, including Fort Clinch at the north end of Amelia Island and Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas.[192]

The WPA hosted a series of "P & S Dinners" throughout the state. Part of the larger Professional and Service Division activity of the WPA, the dinners included live music and speakers who discussed local projects completed by the WPA and the larger achievements of the federal program. In June 1940, P&S Week in Washington County drew 4,000 people who learned about the county's indexing of public records through the Historical Records Survey (HRS) of the WPA. Entertainment and education opportunities afforded by the WPA to residents of Washington County and west Florida included the Florida Music and Recreation Project. Approximately 200 musicians from Chipley, DeFuniak Springs, DeLand, Pensacola, and other Florida communities met at Palmer College in DeFuniak Springs, where they taught short courses in music and voice, and entertained audiences in the college's auditorium. The same year, the WPA's State Library Project relocated the West Florida Library Science Training Center from DeFuniak Springs to Chipley. Including some females, library assistants who received training came from Bay, Calhoun, Gulf, Holmes, Jackson, Liberty, Walton, and Washington Counties.[193]

The WPA also supported the revitalization of marine fisheries. In 1939, 132 WPA laborers made repairs to hatcheries in Okaloosa and Santa Rosa counties damaged by heavy rains and flooding in August 1939. The work eventually included repairing spillways, roads, bridges, and buildings. Diseases infected sponge beds at Tarpon Springs and oyster beds in various regions, which came to the attention of the Bureau of Fisheries. Senator Claude Pepper helped develop programs in conjunction with the WPA to improve those fisheries. In November 1939, R. L. Dowling, Florida's WPA supervisor of conservation, reported that 190,005 barrels of seed oysters had been planted in the oyster beds of twelve of Florida's coastal counties. Eventually the WPA expanded the oyster seeding activities into a statewide program. Each county bordering the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico contributed

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[192] *Historic American Building Survey, Catalog of the Measured Drawings and Photographs of the Survey in the Library of Congress, March 1, 1941* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1941), iv-v, 78-81; *Key West Citizen,* 9 October 1939.

[193] *Washington County News,* 23 May, 6 June, 18, 27 July 1940.

financially to seeding activities, which generally consisted of seventy-five men, twenty boats, and one launch per county. The average cost per barrel for seed oysters amounted to twenty-three cents.[194]

There were nearly as many projects in the women's and professional division of the WPA as in the construction division, although the latter received seventy-five percent of the employment resources disbursed by the agency. Broadly construed, several categories supported women, although some men also found employment through the professional division. Women often found positions with the WPA associated with the arts, commodities distribution, education, historic records surveys, library cataloging and book repairs, nursing and medical work, music, city planning, recreation, research and statistical studies, sewing rooms, and theater. Classified as miscellaneous activities by the WPA, archaeological investigations, clerical work, guide service in the NPS, and nursery schools offered a few women job opportunities.[195]

One of the successful programs aimed at improving conditions for women and the disadvantaged were the WPA's Sewing Rooms. The sewing rooms had a broad context of providing relief for America's neediest citizens. Their sewn products were delivered to, among others, the American Red Cross, Boy Scouts, civic clubs, churches, Girl Scouts, orphanages, and the Salvation Army. In 1936, the City of Miami and the County of Dade rented the Burdine Quarterman Building for a sewing room with plans for 250 women to sew blankets, quilts, and apparel for distribution to the disadvantaged. For several years, the WPA installed its sewing rooms in the Flor de Cuba Cigar Factory in Tampa. Between 1939 and 1941, Jacksonville's WPA sewing project was located in the Merrill-Stevens Shipyard Administration Building, a World War I era facility and one of the largest sewing rooms in Florida during the New Deal. Soon, WPA sewing rooms of various sizes and number appeared in many Florida cities. In 1939, the Walton County Sewing Room established in DeFuniak Springs was allocated $10,664, which was anticipated to support 115 women for nine months. The WPA's Sewing Room in Key West occupied a site near the corner of Catherine and Grinnell Streets, private property for which the owner sought abatement from taxes because of its use for a federal program.[196]

Other popular WPA programs targeting women were the Gardening and Canning Projects, which also appeared throughout the state. Various statewide handicraft programs for women and men included carving, furniture making, millinery, rugmaking, weaving, and upholstery. In 1940, municipal officials at Key West took action to establish a botanical garden at Stock Island with assistance from the WPA. Adult education classes in Largo began in February 1936. Consisting of various topics for both men and women, classes addressed diesel engineering, electrical maintenance, dramatics, public speaking, knitting, home beautification, and nature study, as well as traditional

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[194]*Key West Citizen,* 9 October 1939; *Milton Gazette,* 28 September, 16 November 1939; *Florida Municipal Record* 7 (August 1938), 7-8, 17.

[195]"Types of Projects That The WPA Approves," *American City* 54 (March 1939), 5.

[196]*Miami Herald,* 4 January 1936; *DeFuniak Springs Breeze,* 19 January 1939; *Key West Citizen,* 5 January 1940; *Largo Sentinel,* 6 February 1936; *Pensacola Journal,* 24 December 1938; Wood, *Jacksonville,* 232; "The WPA in Tampa: A Photographic Essay," *Tampa Bay History* (Fall/Winter 1994), 77-78.

academic subjects. Lucy Canon supervised the WPA's School of Business in Palatka, which in addition to economics taught arithmetic, English, and spelling.[197]

The New Deal provided many jobs, but cut unevenly across race and gender lines. Some women protested poor pay and conditions. Women accounted for twelve to eighteen percent of all WPA positions, and typically earned far less than men for their work. A 1937 WPA sewing rooms strike in Tampa characterized a notable response by females to those conditions. On 8 July, 400 women in the former Flor de Cuba Cigar Factory in Tampa staged a non-violent strike. After being confronted the next day by local officials, approximately 300 women left the property, but 100 or so remained until faced with complete loss of their jobs. The strike failed to address their grievances, and some women permanently lost their positions in the sewing room.[198]

To assist America's youth, Roosevelt created the National Youth Administration (NYA) in 1935, which he placed under the WPA. The president's wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, played an important role influencing many New Deal policies and programs, especially the NYA and those targeted for women in the WPA. Initially, the president resisted providing a program for young people, but changed his mind after effective lobbying by his wife, who later historians characterized as the "New Deal's conscience." Almost a year before the creation of the NYA, Eleanor Roosevelt told the *New York Times,* "I live in real terror when I think we may be losing this generation. We have got to bring these young people into the active life of the community and make them feel that they are necessary." Later, Eleanor Roosevelt took credit for the creation of the NYA, acknowledging that she presented its framework to the president, telling him it was the right thing to do regardless of the political consequences. Authorized under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, the NYA was initially administered by Aubrey Williams, a native of Alabama and grandson of a planter who had freed his slaves before the Civil War. After studying at the Sorbonne and preaching in the Lutheran church, Williams became a social worker. He served as an assistant administrator in the CWA and FERA before receiving the appointment as the NYA's director by Roosevelt. Between 1939 and 1943, as part of the administration's reorganization of New Deal programs, the NYA operated within the framework of the Federal Security Agency and then the War Manpower Commission before the Congress abolished it in September 1943. Throughout the life of the NYA, Eleanor Roosevelt remained its most public champion, visiting NYA centers and helping to refocus the agency into a skills training center and developing a special program for African-American youth with Florida educator Mary McLeod Bethune.[199]

The primary purposes of the NYA consisted of work relief and employment programs for sixteen to twenty-five year old high school graduates or drop-outs whose families could not support them. The NYA also provided part-time jobs for students in high school and college to encourage those students to remain in school, which would help

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[197]*Miami Herald,* 4 January 1936; *Key West Citizen,* 5 January 1940; *Largo Sentinel,* 6 February 1936; *Pensacola Journal,* 24 December 1938; Wood, *Jacksonville,* 232; "The WPA in Tampa: A Photographic Essay," *Tampa Bay History* (Fall/Winter 1994), 77-78.

[198]James Tidd, Jr., "Stitching and Sewing: WPA Sewing Rooms and the 1937 Relief Strike in Hillsborough County," *Tampa Bay History* 11 (Spring/Summer 1989), 5-19.

[199]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 129; Louchheim, *New Deal,* 296; *New York Times,* 7 May 1934.

stabilize the nation's unemployment crisis. By the close of 1935, over 500,000 youths had received assistance through the NYA. Between July 1939 and June 1940, the peak interval for NYA assistance, the agency assisted 750,000 students enrolled in 28,000 high schools and 1,700 colleges and universities throughout the nation. Although many students were employed in clerical positions, NYA directors often found students positions relative to their respective fields of study. Some history students accessioned and inventoried documents in state historical societies. Women at Connecticut College compiled a code of social welfare laws, and students at the University of Nebraska helped assemble an observatory and telescope.[200]

In 1937, when the mission of the NYA broadened to include specific skills and job training activities, the agency also opened a division specifically for African Americans. As characterized by historian Leedell Neyland, African Americans were generally the "last to be hired and first to be fired" in periods of prosperity and recession. Consequently, black businesses, laborers, and schools were among the first and most deeply affected by the economic catastrophe of the early 1930s, and among the last to receive federal assistance under the New Deal. Funding fell precipitously for black schools, and teachers sustained unbearable cuts to already modest salaries predicated on race and gender. To help address some of the needs of America's minorities, Eleanor Roosevelt met with Mary McLeod Bethune, the founder of Bethune-Cookman Institute in Daytona Beach and the National Council of Negro Women.[201]

By the mid 1930s, Bethune had entered her fourth decade as a professional educator, merged her industrial school with Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, and expanded the Bethune-Cookman College campus (NR 1996) in Daytona Beach into one of the South's largest black colleges. By then, the *New York Times* had characterized McLeod as the "Booker T. Washington of her sex," and the Florida Department of Public Instruction described the college as "one of the most outstanding features of Negro education that has been developed in this country--a wonderful living monument to the efforts of one person and a few able assistants that she drew about her." The College operated with no endowment, depending on McLeod's fund-raising skills to procure some $80,000 annually to cover expenses. Over the decades, Bethune had successfully cultivated relationships and financial contributions from millionaire winter residents of coastal Volusia County, who included Andrew Carnegie; James N. Gamble of Proctor & Gamble; Henry Kaiser; John D. Rockefeller; and Thomas H. White, the latter a pioneer sewing machine manufacturer from Cleveland, Ohio. A savvy and adroit fund-raiser, Bethune seized opportunities to ask for financial resources to support her school, and offered tours of the campus to all potential fund raisers. Thomas Jones, an official with the U. S. Bureau of Education, following a tour of schools throughout the country, commented, "I have investigated schools for ten years...and I have never seen a school in which there was greater cleanliness or in which the work in every department was more thoroughly done." Jones might have added that Bethune's political and financial contacts were as extensive as her college campus was clean and thorough.[202]

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[200]Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 129.

[201]Leedell Neyland, "A Brief Survey of the Negro in American History, 1909-1954," *Bulletin of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University* 18 (September 1969), 5.

[202]*Jacksonville Florida Times-Union,* 31 December 1914; *New York Times,* 23 January 1915, 5 March 1916, 2 November 1926; *Daytona News-Gazette,* 9 June, 11 August 1916; Darlene Hines, *Black Women in America: An*

Bethune had first met President Roosevelt's mother, Mrs. James Roosevelt in 1924, and developed a long-lasting relationship with the family. In 1927, she met Eleanor Roosevelt with whom she cemented an enduring friendship, and was introduced to the president in 1934. Because of her commitment to helping others and contacts with Eleanor Roosevelt and the president's mother, Bethune gained direct access to the president, who deeply appreciated her commitment to others rather than self. In 1934, the president appointed her as the director of the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration (NYA), the first appointment of an African-American female in the federal government. She later became a special advisor to the president on minority affairs, and convened the "Black Cabinet," an informal collection of African-American federal administrators who met to discuss their respective concerns. Bethune's contacts and meetings with the president taught her about practical politics at the national level. Her NYA office annually distributed $100,000 primarily to graduate schools, including Atlanta University, Fisk University, and Howard University, and northern universities with African-American students. She believed that no government agency of the New Deal did more to advance higher education among blacks that the Office of Minority Group Affairs of the NYA. Bethune often became frustrated because of the president's obvious dislike of extreme methods of achieving his objectives, but revered him, in part, because his methods were those of a man of great experience and insight.[203]

The NYA played an important role in many Florida communities, although the buildings or structures resulting from its grants were relatively small and sometimes recycled from earlier programs. Charles G. Lavin served as the NYA's state administrator, and architect Henry P. Whitworth was hired to design and superintend the development of relatively large projects. Officials at the University of Florida provided the NYA with an office in Anderson Hall. Eligible students received a monthly stipend between $15 and $20, and in return worked in the cafeteria or library, mowed lawns, cleaned grounds and buildings, and graded papers. In the late 1930s, the NYA took over Camp Roosevelt, an abandoned CCC and WPA camp associated with the Ocala National Forest and the cross Florida canal, respectively. The site included seventy-five cottages, an auditorium, community house, dormitories, and cafeteria where 150 girls attended vocational classes in home making and sewing. In Tampa, the Tampa Urban League and Judge Castiglia coordinated their efforts with the NYA to develop an African-American juvenile detention home. NYA youths from six southeastern states moved old buildings from CCC camps at Camp Roosevelt and Sulphur Springs near Tampa to the new site, where they were demolished and the materials reused for the detention buildings. In Orlando, residents celebrated the completion of a NYA community center for the city's youths. Dedicated on 13 December 1939, the center cost $6,000 to construct, typical of the modest investments made in buildings by the NYA even in relatively large cities. The following year, the NYA expanded its program in Orlando, where it installed administrative offices that supervised activities in eight central Florida counties.[204]

Historical Encyclopedia, 2 vols., (New York: Harper & Row, 1993), 1:115-127; Catherine Pearce, *Mary McLeod Bethune* (New York: Random House, 1951), 104-105.

[203]Bernard Sternsher, ed., *The Negro in Depression and War, 1930-1945* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), 52-65; Louchheim, *New Deal,* 262-263.

[204]Samuel Proctor and Wright Langley, *Gator History: A Pictorial History of the University of Florida* (Gainesville and Key West: Star South Publishing Company, 1986), 37; Bacon, *Orlando,* 2:96, 103; *Tampa*

Bethune's influence at the federal level helped her garner New Deal funds to assist African Americans and expand the campus in Daytona Beach. One male colleague perceived Bethune as having "the most marvelous gift of affecting feminine helplessness in order to attain her ends with masculine ruthlessness." In 1934, New Deal resources assisted in the construction of Science Hall, and replaced the aging Faith Hall with a new building in 1935. The NYA also assisted with the Cypress Cabin on the Bethune-Cookman College campus, and created a recreation training institute at Dunbar High School in Fort Myers. At Jacksonville, an African-American club developed a golf course, picnic grounds, playground, shooting range, and swimming pool on a thirty-six acre site with NYA assistance. But, Bethune expressed frustration that Daytona Beach's municipal government developed a $300,000 bandstand and outdoor auditorium to attract white tourists, but could not find a few thousand dollars to help its resident African-American population build a swimming pool and playground. To her exasperation, she found herself and Florida's blacks shut out of the enormous bandshell in her hometown and even the Orange Bowl in Miami, both WPA projects. Indeed, most projects for black neighborhoods were deferred, delayed, or under funded. In 1940, Bethune's health broke as a result of her divided priorities providing for the College and serving in the national government. Although she recovered following months of medical care and rest, Bethune resigned as president of the College in December 1942, and her position in the NYA ended the following year.[205]

The state's African Americans received relatively few new public schools during the Great Depression. In 1936, the state's black pupils received lessons in eighty-one masonry schools, many built in the 1910s and 1920s, and nearly 1,000 aging wood frame buildings. The large urban counties of Duval and Hillsborough contained the highest proportion of masonry schools, but even there wood-frame school buildings predominated. Nearly one-third of Florida's black public schools were then leased, rather than owned by their respective school districts. The leased buildings were characterized in 1932 as "churches, lodges, and shacks...." Following an inspection of Florida's black public schools in 1935, D. E. Williams, the state superintendent of Negro public education commented that even the buildings owned by the counties "were inadequate for school purposes." In contrast, nearly all white schools were locally owned, and nearly one-half of those 1,500 buildings were of brick or concrete construction. After a careful analysis and assessment of school populations and buildings, Williams declared that the state needed 1,400 additional classrooms for black students to "merely accommodate the present needs." Mirroring a theme played out over the decades, he lamented, but clearly understood, that "Under the present taxing system...the school children will be relatively handicapped by failure to provide the needed class-rooms."[206]

Tribune, 6 January 1939; *Jacksonville Florida Times Union,* 18 April 1941; Works Projects Administration, *Florida,* 529.

[205]Louchheim, *New Deal,* 262; Robert Snyder, "Daytona Beach: A Closed Society," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81 (Fall 2002), 155-167; Works Progress Administration, *Florida,* 119; *New York Times,* 19 May 1955; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Daytona Beach,* 1955; Pearce, *Bethune,* 155, 161; Leuchtenburg, *New Deal,* 187; Hines, *Black Women in America,* 116.

[206]Cawthon, *1934-1936 Biennial Report,* 189-190, 396-397, 408-409.

Black schools built with NYA and WPA assistance generally were relatively small wood-frame buildings, such as those at Brooksville and Mundon Hill in Hernando County. Builder C. D. Coleman assembled the new black elementary school in Delray Beach in 1937. At West Palm Beach, the African-American industrial high school received a small eight-room, $10,000 addition, which was part of a larger $250,000 construction program throughout Palm Beach County. In contrast, African-American schools in Bartow and Lake Wales--PWA projects--were relatively large masonry buildings. Notwithstanding the contrasts, the value of public school properties associated with the state's African Americans climbed modestly from $4,044,253 to $5,434,721 between 1927 and 1937, indicative of the dismal rate of new school construction during the depression. At the close of the New Deal, Florida had only one junior high school for blacks, three four-year high schools, nine combined junior-senior high schools, and sixty-four elementary through high school physical plants. The small isolated elementary school remained the predominant type of school for African Americans, and many of those were decades old.[207]

Beyond the NYA, black neighborhoods received some assistance directly from the WPA. New Deal resources with WPA associations developed for the state's African Americans included a tuberculosis sanitarium in West Palm Beach, Clara Frye Negro Hospital in Tampa, George S. Middleton High School in Tampa, and the recreational field at Gibbs High School in St. Petersburg. Many blacks chose to work in the WPA, in part, because those jobs often provided a better and regular paycheck than work in agriculture and piecework. Much of the labor to construct the seawall along Bayshore Boulevard in Tampa came from African-American laborers. Black women reported that WPA sewing rooms provided improved work conditions over domestic labor, which irritated many wealthy white residents who lost their servants to the WPA. Perhaps the largest most visible signs of New Deal assistance in the state's black neighborhoods came not from the WPA, but from the PWA and USHA in the form of slum clearance and federal housing.[208]

If the state's African Americans found their respective municipal governments stingy or unwilling to provide them with assistance through the New Deal, then the Florida Seminoles were among the last and the least in their bid for New Deal dollars. No NYA or WPA funding assisted the Seminoles on any of their reservations, and only a marginal CCC program helped with a school and roads, and with their nascent cattle industry. A CWA sewing room briefly operated, but was of limited value because most Seminole women already possessed better sewing skills than their white instructors. In addition, most Seminoles already possessed sufficient quilts and garments for their domestic use, and the bedding and clothes fabricated by the women had little appeal to tourists. Rather than

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[207]Richard Stanaback, *A History of Hernando County, Florida: 1840-1976* (Orlando: Daniel Publishers, 1976), 259-260; Carroll Miller, "Current Trends and Events of National Importance in Negro Education," *Journal of Negro History* 10 (April 1941), 283; Helen Bracey, "The Education of Negroes in Florida," *Journal of Negro History* 16 (Summer 1947), 231; *Palm Beach Post,* 6 January 1935, 1 January 1938.

[208]*Palm Beach Post,* 1 January 1937; *Clearwater Sun,* 29 June 1936; *Tampa Tribune,* 17 May 1938; James Tidd, Jr., "The Works Progress Administration in Hillsborough and Pinellas Counties, Florida, 1935 to 1943," M.A. Thesis, University of South Florida, 1989, p. 130, 132-133; Rowena Brady and Canter Brown, *Things Remembered: An Album of African-Americans in Tampa* (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 1997), 93; "The WPA in Tampa: A Photographic Essay," *Tampa Bay History* 16 (Fall/Winter 1994), 74-77.

assembling in WPA sewing rooms, Seminole women produced traditional handicrafts within their tribal network, which they traded to general stores for supplies or sold to tourists to augment their income.[209]

Federal Housing Administration (FHA)

The origins of financing the development and purchase of Florida's modern dwellings, residential developments, and apartment complexes are derived, in part, from the New Deal era through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Created under the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, or the National Housing Act of 1934, the FHA insured loans executed by private lending institutions to private individuals and corporations that laid out new subdivisions, modernized older dwellings, and constructed modest new homes and apartments. In the original legislation and through various amendments enacted in the 1930s and 1940s, the FHA provided mortgage insurance for various types of dwellings, planned developments, and apartment complexes. Through mortgage insurance, the FHA minimized the risks of investors and lenders. In practice, however, the program offered financial incentives primarily for middle and upper-middle income home owners.[210]

Besieged by nearly 1,000 foreclosures each week in 1933, American house designers, builders, and mortgage bankers sought government support to take some of the risk out of developing homes and lending money to private investors. Residential construction had plunged to 93,000 units in 1933 from a high of 937,000 in 1925. Most professionals in the building trades and in banking perceived the FHA as an effective mechanism to jump-start America's housing market and provide new houses for families. Their concerns included the extent of the government's authority to regulate the appearance, design, and products used by builders, the rates set by bankers, and the people who would live in the new dwellings. Many congressmen initially opposed the FHA concept, fearing its associations with a welfare state, but grudgingly agreed to its provisions because of its promise as an economic engine affecting both the banking and building industries.[211]

The impulses between a competitive sound bottom line and the social democratic housing experiment represented by the FHA surfaced at the 1935 San Diego World's Fair, where the agency first exhibited its model housing. Four primary features of the FHA's Modeltown consisted of improving the designs and condition of housing, making home financing more reasonable, stabilizing the mortgage market, and indirectly alleviating unemployment by providing new jobs in the construction industry. In its Better Housing Program, the FHA showcased architectural plans and fifty-six small-scale models of housing and modern communities suitable for the suburbs of America's cities. Some of the models were designs created in the 1920s and dusted off for re-use as acceptable FHA patterns.

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[209]Harry Kersey, Jr., *The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal, 1933-1943* (Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1989), 52, 102-103, 164-165.

[210]Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Housing Statistics Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1948), 136; David Ames and Linda McClelland, "NRHP Bulletin, Historic Residential Suburbs," 2002; Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1981), 246; Federal Housing Administration, *The FHA Story in Summary, 1934-1959* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1939), 13.

[211]Wright, *Building the Dream,* 240-241.

But, significant new modernistic architectural trends appeared, created by various modern architects, including Richard Neutra. Some neighborhood models employed City Beautiful precedent, while others turned to the designs of French planner and architect Tony Garnier. Even at this early stage, however, it became clear that the FHA was operated to a large extent by and for bankers, builders, and brokers. Mortgage terms offered during the New Deal largely restricted access to the FHA to the upper third of American society. Eligibility for an FHA mortgage required a house to cost no less than $2,500 with a down payment of between ten and twenty percent during a period when the annual median income stood at $1,200. The dynamic tension between old and new architectural designs and planning administered by conservative businessmen prompted later historians to view the FHA within the context of the San Diego World's Fair as a "culture of abundance." That year, the FHA sponsored a model home series. The agency encouraged its directors in each state to financial sponsor who would develop small model homes to promote the agency and home construction, which later would be sold to a new home owner. That year, hundreds of FHA model homes were built in countless cities throughout America, including many in Florida.[212]

In contrast to many New Deal programs where liberals supervised most agencies, for the head of the FHA Roosevelt appointed James Moffett, a personal friend but conservative executive of the Standard Oil Company. In turn, Moffett appointed retired bank executive J. Howard Ardrey of Dallas and New York to supervise the new home construction section. The conservative appointments in association with the radical idea of federal mortgage insurance nearly stalled the program at its inception. After Moffett resigned in September 1935, Roosevelt appointed Stewart McDonald, under whose leadership the FHA program expanded. At the close of 1935, the FHA had approved more than 708,000 property improvement loans, which amounted to $229,000,000 in private loans backed by government insurance. At the end of 1936, revenues from mortgage insurance and appraisal fees amounted to approximately $500,000 each month. That year, the FHA approved nearly three times the number of home mortgages insured the previous year. In 1938, the National Housing Act Amendment implemented the first critical changes to the law. Under the Title 2 legislation, which broadly covered one-to-four family dwellings (section 203) and rental housing (section 207), the Congress liberalized insurance terms, granting ninety percent mortgages with maturities up to twenty-five years on new low-cost, owner-occupied homes. The legislation resulted in a flood of construction, and soon the FHA began to show solid returns in the home and rental construction markets. Although the legislation opened government loans to more of the middle class, the FHA still offered little to most minimum-wage earners, African Americans, or the poor. Expressing more confidence in the government's encouragement of private ventures than in the development of public housing, Roosevelt perceived the FHA as a useful tool to help revive the flagging construction industry rather than a social experiment to house Americans. Conservative supporters and critics alike of the New Deal pointed to the success of the FHA in July 1940, when the FHA became self-supporting, relying solely upon the revenues it derived for its operations.[213]

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[212]Matthew Bokovoy, "The FHA and the `Culture of Abundance' at the 1935 San Diego World's Fair," *American Planning Association* 68 (Autumn 2002), 371-386; *Winter Haven Daily Chief,* 9 June 1935.

[213]Wright, *Building the Dream,* 241, 246; Leuchtenburg, *Roosevelt and the New Deal,* 134-136; Federal Housing Administration, *The FHA Story in Summary, 1934-1959,* 12-14.

Various people and publications influenced the standards adopted by the FHA for the development of apartments. Foremost among those was housing reformer Catherine Bauer, who published *Modern Housing* in 1934. The daughter of a suffragist and highway engineer, Bauer studied architecture at Cornell University and then developed a friendship with architectural and social critic Lewis Mumford. Studying the work of Le Corbusier, she briefly lived in Paris, traveled throughout Europe, and wrote articles for *Fortune* and the *New Republic* on housing issues. In 1931, she returned to New York, where she served as executive secretary of the Regional Planning Association of America and assisted Mumford and city planner Clarence Stein. Her *Modern Housing* provided a sweeping account of modern housing in Europe, contrasting it with fledgling attempts to replace aging infrastructure and dwellings in the United States. An advocate of planned developments, Bauer cited spectacular housing enterprises in Europe with well-executed examples of modern dwellings and apartments in Austria, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Holland, and Sweden. European modernist landmarks cited by Bauer included International-style houses and apartments in Stuttgart designed by Le Corbusier and Van Der Rohe. She discussed good examples of planned developments in the United States by Stein, Wright & Associates for the City Housing Corporation in New York, Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, and the Phipps Garden Apartments and Sunnyside Gardens in Queens. Enumerating various examples in the United States of congestion, wasteful expansion, and speculative chaos in construction, Bauer sought to alter the traditional American attitude toward housing and city planning, and promoted sensitive slum clearance.[214]

Between 1934 and 1937, Bauer helped establish local and national organizations that focused on the creation of housing legislation. She assisted labor activist John Edleman of Philadelphia with the formation of the Labor Housing Conference, and then served as secretary and lobbyist for the American Federation of Labor's housing committee. Bauer also played a crucial role in drafting and enacting the Wagner-Stegall Act. Following the enactment of the legislation, Bauer served as director for research and information at the USHA, and later consulted with several regional housing authorities, foundations, and the United Nations. Eventually, she taught regional planning at Harvard University and the University of California at Berkeley. Throughout her career, Bauer insisted that housing was a political issue, and endeavored to "reconcile planning and democracy" in the United States. In 1940, she published *A Citizen's Guide to Public Housing,* but *Modern Housing* remained her primary treatise that helped to propel her into high government circles where she affected policies in the development of America's new housing policy.[215]

Bauer's study informed the FHA's staff and their publications, which provided guidance in the planning and procedures for the development of new single-family construction, remodeling, and rental housing. As the FHA's director of architecture for rental housing, architect Eugene Henry Klaber adopted many of the principles embraced by Bauer. A native of New York City, Klaber earned a degree in architecture from Columbia University in 1906 and then from Paris's Ecole des Beaux Arts in 1910. He operated a studio in New York between 1914 and 1924. He

[214]Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston and New York: Riverside Press, 1934); Mark Carnes and John Garraty, *American National Biography,* 24 volumes, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2:345-347.

[215]Carnes and Garraty, *American National Biography,* 2:345-347.

moved to Chicago in the latter year, and maintained the firm Klaber & Grunsfeld between 1924 and 1933. His wide experiences in education and private practice drew the attention of government officials, who appointed him in 1933 as chief of the technical staff of the housing division of the PWA in Washington, D.C. In 1934, he was appointed to the FHA's director of rental housing, where he established design and approval policies for the division. He maintained that post until 1942, when he opened a private practice in Washington, D.C. Between 1944 and 1946, he served as director for the division of housing and planning at Columbia University, but resigned the position in 1946 to open a consulting business and retired in 1950.[216]

Under Klaber's supervision, the FHA issued architectural planning and procedures for housing, documents that established minimum design standards and exhibits for low-cost houses and apartments to be insured by the federal government. Criteria and guidelines included providing a legal description, ownership verification, photographs, and city and zoning maps. The how-to publication depicted architectural exhibits of plot plans, topographical surveys, and renderings of elevations, cross-sections, floor plans, and sketch drawings of garages and accessory buildings. Specifications complementing the plans were to include excavations, demolitions, structural and roof materials, window schedules, iron and metal work, insulation and waterproofing, and electrical, heating, and plumbing systems. Improvements of grounds included descriptions of walks and driveways, drainage, grading, and scope of landscaping with general placement of trees, shrubs, and lawns.[217]

To assist architects in drafting plans acceptable to the FHA, the agency provided examples of poor, fair, and good designs for bath, bed, dining, and living rooms; closets, foyers, halls, kitchens, laundries, and stairs; and garage and storage spaces. Descriptions and drawings were provided for several basic building units for apartment construction: the cross, ell, offset-cross, strip, tee, and zee. Site plans and descriptions addressed subdivisions, dwellings, and apartments developed within a conventional street pattern, an irregular hilly topography, and the efficient use of spaces for courts, garages, gardens, parks, and passive recreation sites to create a maximum of privacy within an overall plan. The first FHA-insured mortgage for repairs to a private house was in Pompton Plains, New Jersey, and within a year 4,000 banks and lending institutions had insured 73,000 loans for home improvements under FHA contracts. But, new construction lagged until 1938, when the Congress liberalized mortgage terms. Most FHA-mortgaged dwellings cost between $6,000 and $8,000, although the ceiling was $20,000. Traditional designs, such as Colonial Revival, prevailed, in part, because of the conservative nature of FHA officials who placed primary consideration on resale value in the event of foreclosure. New derivatives of older designs, including the Minimal Traditional and Ranch styles, gained popularity with the FHA's officials because of their traditional roots. The *American Builder* magazine estimated that English and Colonial style homes represented nearly sixty percent of the homes built throughout the nation with bungalows and cottages representing another twenty-five percent. Modernistic architecture accounted for approximately five percent of America's new housing stock developed through the FHA. Displaying strong Georgian influences, the Colonial Village in Arlington, Virginia, was the first

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[216]*New York Times,* 31 August 1944, 8 November 1971; A. N. Marquis, comp., *Who's Who in America* (Chicago: Marquis Company, 1952), 1362.

[217]Federal Housing Administration, *Architectural Planning and Procedure for Rental Housing* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1934, 1939).

multi-family rental housing project in the nation completed with FHA mortgage insurance. Completed in three phases between 1935 and 1937, the 1,060-unit complex was developed by the New York Life Insurance Company.[218]

The FHA's companion documents addressed a host of design issues in the housing market. Approval of projects were predicated, in part, by evidence of "desirable standards" available for review in the FHA's circulars and documents. The head of the agency's land planning division, Seward H. Mott helped to establish principles for neighborhood and residential subdivision plans. Mott's staff prepared the subdivision primer, *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses* in 1936. Curvilinear subdivision layouts recommended by the FHA drew from older Garden City suburbs and City Beautiful principles while presaging later cul-de-sac developments of the post-World War II era. Its standards sought to provide safe, livable, economically viable neighborhoods with stable real estate conditions. Large-scale operations promoted by the FHA offered promises of broad and profitable use of capital and methods that would result in savings associated with overhead, construction, and marketing. Promoting a consistent and harmonious plan, most large development plans included areas for commercial services, such as retail stores and gasoline stations. By the late-1940s, the curvilinear subdivision predicated on Olmsted, City Beautiful, Garden City, and New Deal era FHA antecedents had emerged as the legally required model in many municipalities.[219]

In Florida, the FHA assisted some of the state's residents with their housing needs. Between 1930 and 1940, the population climbed from 1,468,211 in 1930 to 1,606,842 in 1935, and reached 1,897,414 in 1940. The statistics revealed that twice as many people moved to Florida in the last half of the decade than in the first half. The state's housing stock showed a significant increase during the interval, rising from 376,499 to 590,451. Most of the increase occurred in the latter half of the decade as the FHA and other New Deal programs alleviated the harshest effects of the depression. Some of the housing needs of the state's poorest citizens were met, in part, by new public housing projects, while the middle class increasingly turned to the FHA for insurance-backed mortgages. Although FHA mortgages became available in many Florida cities in 1935 and 1936, the housing shortage in the state received its greatest boost in 1938 with the liberalization of mortgage insurance terms. Between 1935 and the mid-1940s, approximately 20,000 new homes were built in Florida with FHA mortgage insurance, which barely addressed the housing needs of a population gain of approximately 200,000.[220]

Educator Fons Hathaway organized the state's FHA program in Jacksonville from where it was administered during the New Deal. A native of Holmes County, Hathaway was trained at the University of Florida, which granted him an honorary Ph.D. in 1918. Serving as a principal for high schools in Orlando and Jacksonville, Hathaway later directed a $2,500,000 construction program in Duval County during the early-1920s. He served as Governor John

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[218]Federal Housing Administration, *Architectural Planning and Procedure for Rental Housing;* Federal Housing Administration, *The FHA Story in Summary, 1934-1959* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1959), 25; Wright, *Building the Dream,* 240-242; *Miami Herald,* 5 January 1936.

[219]David Ames and Linda McClelland, "NRHP Bulletin, Historic Residential Suburbs," 2002.

[220]Housing and Home Finance Agency, *First Annual Report* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1948), III:21; Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census, 1940, *Housing* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943), 463.

Martin's executive secretary during the mid-1920s, and ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1928. His loyalty to the Democratic Party and earlier administration in one of the state's largest school districts earned him the appointment to the state's top FHA post. A director of the Florida Association of Architects, Chandler C. Yonge of Pensacola served as the FHA's chief architect in Florida. Adapting the FHA's federal standards to Florida's housing needs, Chandler returned to his private practice in Pensacola in 1941. In addition to Jacksonville, Miami boasted one of the first FHA offices in Florida, which opened in April 1935. Hathaway assigned one of his closest advisors, Frank C. Hilson, to serve as its director and for much of southeast Florida. A native of Florida and a son of Irving Hilson, a Florida newspaper magnate, Frank Hilson learned journalism and publishing under his father, who published newspapers in Ft. Lauderdale, Milton, Pensacola, Perry, and Pompano. By the end of 1938, when Hilson resigned, he had built the Miami FHA office into one of the most productive and self-sufficient branches of the agency in the South.[221]

Hathaway resigned as the state's FHA director in 1936, and later directed the state employment service office in Tallahassee. He was succeeded by insurance and real estate businessman M. M. Parrish of Gainesville. A native of Kentucky, Parrish opened a life insurance business in Cordele, Georgia, and then moved to Gainesville, Florida, in 1912. By 1930, Parrish had developed a $20,000,000 insurance and real estate business. His commercial success and political connections resulted in Governor Sholtz's appointing him to the FHA's top post. The rush of FHA applications in 1938 compelled Parrish to open a regional FHA office in Tallahassee in June 1938. The office covered twenty-two counties, stretching from Escambia County to Dixie County. Established the same year, the Tampa FHA office also covered twenty-two counties in central and southwest Florida. Parrish's work in the FHA eventually covered every county in the state, and resulted in hundreds of new subdivisions and thousands of new homes in Florida during the New Deal.[222]

By January 1937, Hilson's office in Miami had insured 1,980 mortgages, which amounted to $8,023,840 in housing construction in Miami. Two years later, the Miami FHA office alone had underwritten $14,000,000 in FHA mortgage insurance. A leader in the South's largest financial and housing centers, Miami provided many of its residents and developers with the benefits associated with FHA mortgage insurance. Following the FHA's subdivision and building guidelines, the Scott-Perry Corporation of Miami laid out the Shenandoah subdivision, where it built sixteen homes on speculation in the 1700 and 1800 blocks of S.W. 16th Terrace, S.W. 17th Street, and S.W. 18th Street. In Miami Beach, M. H. Frankel developed the Frankel Court modern apartment complex on Jefferson Avenue in 1938, which claimed to be the first FHA section 207 insured project in Florida. Frankel turned to architect Upton C. Ewing to draft the plans for the project, which the Pollack Construction Company completed.[223]

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[221]Cutler, *Florida,* 2:91; *Miami Herald,* 1, 24 January 1937, 1 January 1939, 7 January 1940; *Pensacola Journal,* 1 December 1938; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union,* 2 March 1941.

[222]Dovell, *Florida,* 4:881; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 30 June 1938; *Pensacola Journal,* 1 December 1938; *Tampa Tribune,* 8 January 1939.

[223]Cutler, *Florida,* 2:91; *Miami Herald,* 1, 24 January 1937, 1 January 1939, 7 January 1940.

Progressive bankers had organized the St. Petersburg First Federal Savings and Loan Association in August 1933, the third federal savings and loan chartered in the nation. Consequently, the institution was well-positioned to take advantage of FHA mortgages when they became available in 1935. In 1937, the St. Petersburg savings and loan institution underwrote $375,000 in FHA mortgages that assisted rebuilding existing homes. Far more was underwritten for the construction of new dwellings. Three years later, as increased development placed new pressures on the local office, St. Petersburg's officials hosted an FHA conference that addressed subdivision standards and practices for architects, builders, developers, mortgage brokers, and dealers of building materials. Leading speakers included Charles Diggs of the American City Planning Institute, Thomas Kenney of the FHA's underwriting division in Washington, D.C., and developer Russell Tinney of Jacksonville. In January 1936, the Tallahassee Federal Savings and Loan Association qualified to make FHA loans. The first FHA lending institution in the capital city, the association initially was granted authority to loan up to $16,000 on individual dwellings. In 1938, the Tampa FHA office experienced a frenzy of activity, amounting to a 110 percent increase over 1937, resulting in $3,470,000 in residential construction alone. In 1935, the FHA assisted in the construction of 346 new dwellings and the repair of 7,000 additional homes in Jacksonville.[224]

Lending institutions in most of the state's smaller towns and cities received FHA authorization in the late-1930s. Notwithstanding that trend, businessmen in Vero Beach and Winter Haven were among the first in the state to adopt the appropriate FHA standards into their lending practices, achieving that goal in mid-1935. Coinciding with the 1935 San Diego World's Fair "culture of abundance," FHA model homes were developed in both cities. At the latter, architects H. G. Gibbs and G. L. Kramer collaborated on its design, and the ground-breaking included a street parade with judges, businessmen, and bankers. One of Stuart's first FHA-insured residential projects came in July 1938. Charles Morgan, an associate of Frank Lloyd Wright, designed the Modernistic dwelling for businessman A. M. Dehon. A steel structural system supported sliding glass walls and finishes executed in coquina. After consulting with contractor Herb Young who built the dwelling, Morgan departed for Florida Southern College in Lakeland where he supervised the development of new buildings designed by Wright. Later, in 1940, the D. L. Williams colonial-style dwelling in Stuart was lauded as a modern FHA home. DeLand was typical of most of Florida's small communities, where the first FHA loans became available in March 1938 through a recently-established federal savings and loan corporation.[225]

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[224] *St. Petersburg Times,* 2 January 1938, 1 January 1939; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* 9 January 1936; *Tampa Tribune,* 8 January 1939.

[225] *DeLand Sun News,* 26 March 1938; *Stuart Daily News,* 18 July 1938, 8 February 1940; *Vero Beach Press-Journal,* 17 May 1935; *Winter Haven Daily Chief,* 18 May, 9, 15 June 1935.

PROPERTY TYPE: F.1

1. Name of Property Type: Buildings

2. Description: The buildings associated with the New Deal in Florida represent a small but meaningful property type. According to data compiled from the Florida Master Site File, approximately 21,000 resources have been inventoried that date between 1933 and 1943, the period traditionally defined as the limits of the New Deal. Many of those resources, however, are related to private residential resources not provided for in this property type. It is estimated that of the 21,000 resources, approximately 450 have direct New Deal associations; that is, they are public buildings developed with funding from one or more federal agencies operating during the interval. Of that smaller amount, however, it appears that approximately 375 resources pertain to the building property type. Although relatively small in number, the property type covers a broad array of buildings, which includes, but is not limited to, armories, auditoriums, city halls, civic centers, community centers, courthouses, dormitories, fire stations, gymnasiums, hospitals, jails, office and administrative buildings, post offices, recreation halls, and schools. Some communities contain only one example of a New Deal era building, but many urban areas have multiple examples.

The property type necessarily encompasses a broad collection of buildings that share a common associative attribute in that they were created under the auspices of one of the New Deal agencies, including the CCC, FERA, NYA, PWA, and WPA. The alphabet agencies funded and carried out conservation, construction, engineering, and landscaping projects between 1933 and 1943. As discussed in the historic context, the physical attributes of the New Deal building property type vary depending on the intended purpose of the particular resource.

The buildings display a variety of architectural styles, including, but not limited to, Art Deco, Classical Revival, Collegiate Gothic, Colonial Revival, International, Italian Renaissance, Mediterranean Revival, Mission Revival, Rustic, and Streamline Moderne. Other resources are derived from wood frame, industrial, or masonry architectural vernacular influences. Contributing to America's diverse architectural nomenclature, Florida's New Deal buildings epitomize the creative use of both standardized plans and those individually drafted for a particular use to develop public facilities. Some documented hospitals, post offices, and schools built during the New Deal period in Florida display repetitive architectural similarities, respective to their function.

Many resources are single-story buildings, but some rise two or three stories. Building plans generally include E-shape, L-shape, T-shape, U-shape, and irregular shapes, but some are rectangular. Roof systems include flat, gable, and hip types, and wall systems include brick, hollow tile, steel skeletal, or balloon or platform wood frames. Wall surfaces typically exhibit brick, coquina, limestone, stucco, or wood siding, or a combination of fabrics.

Windows often consist of metal or wood casement or wood double-hung sash windows in a variety of patterns. This variety may be exhibited in some larger buildings, such as courthouses, university dormitories, hospitals,

and schools, which often exhibit paired or ribbon arrangements of windows, while armories often employ fixed industrial windows with hopper inserts. Exterior detailing is often restrained or sparse, reflecting the economic distresses of the era. Foundation systems generally consist of poured concrete slabs or continuous footers, continuous brick or concrete block, or brick or concrete piers.

The buildings were, with few exceptions, designed and assembled by architects, engineers, and builders who drew upon traditional building techniques and contemporary stylistic preferences for their inspiration. In some cases, architects serving in the Department of the Treasury prepared the plans for federal buildings, generally post offices and federal courthouses. In other cases, the state and municipal governments turned to architects in private industry either to draft plans for a resource, or adapt a standardized plan for a specific location or a slightly different purpose. Primary consideration to the design of a building consisted of providing functional spaces within a relatively restricted budget.

Architectural Styles and Construction Types

Art Deco

The term, Art Deco, was first coined in 1968 by historian Bevis Hillier to describe America's last national style, and the first of the modernistic styles to gain popularity in America. It represented a complete break with traditional design, emphasizing futuristic concepts rather than invoking architectural precedents. The style received its name from the Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs and Industriels Modernes held in Paris in 1925. Like the European Art Nouveau movement of the 1890s and early twentieth century, Art Deco was an artistic movement that transcended all areas of the art world from architecture to painting. Its decorative geometric patterns were applied to a wide variety of products including household appliances, clothing, furniture, and jewelry.

Art Deco was most popular as a commercial building style during the 1920s and early-1930s because its decorative designs were especially suited to tall buildings. In Florida, Art Deco buildings are most often found in cities that continued to grow despite the collapse of the speculative land boom in 1925. Miami contains the most extensive collection of Art Deco buildings in Florida. After 1930, the related Art Moderne style emerged as the most popular modernistic style. Both eventually yielded to the International style, a favorite of intellectual practitioners who scorned the decorative influence of Deco.

Characteristics of the Art Deco style include a flat roof, irregular plan, angular geometric forms with stucco facades, and polychromatic relief ornamentation in straight line, zig-zag, geometric floral, and chevron designs. In Europe, the ornamentation was influenced by Cubanism; in the United States, Art Deco designs were derived largely from North and South American Indian art work.

Classical Revival

Some buildings display the influences of the Classical Revival style, which evolved from an interest in the architecture of ancient Greek and Roman cultures. The first period of interest in Classical models in the United States dates from the colonial and national periods, which extended between the 1770s and 1850s. Held in Chicago in 1893, the World's Columbian Exposition sparked a renaissance of interest in classical architecture. Many of the best known architects of the day designed buildings for the Exposition based on classical precedents. Examples varied from monumental copies of Greek temples to smaller models that drew heavily from designs of Adam, Georgian, and early Classical Revival residences assembled in the early nineteenth century. The Exposition, which drew large crowds, helped make the style fashionable again. In Florida, Classical Revival became a popular design for commercial and government buildings. In the context of the New Deal in Florida, the Classical Revival style generally was only applied to relatively large buildings, such as federal courthouses and large post offices.

The prominent characteristics of Classical Revival architecture are full-height classical columns supporting a porch roof, typically with Ionic or Corinthian capitals. The facade is generally symmetrical, and gable or hip roofs are trimmed with a roof-line balustrade, boxed eaves, dentils or modillions, and a wide frieze band. Accentuated doorways feature classical surrounds, decorative pediments, transoms, and side lights. Fenestration is regular with double-hung sash windows, usually with six or nine panes per sash.

Collegiate Gothic

Sparingly applied to buildings during the New Deal, the Collegiate Gothic style was used primarily on the state's well-established university campuses and perhaps on some additional public school buildings. The Collegiate Gothic style is a derivative of Gothic Revival, a style which was popular in America between 1840 and 1880. The style traces its roots to England in the mid-eighteenth century. In the United States, Richard Upjohn and Alexander Jackson Davis developed the style in the 1830s and 1840s for ecclesiastical and residential buildings, respectively. Later, the style was popularized through pattern books, which showed the suitability of the style even to modest domestic designs. Downing stressed the style's application in rural settings, where it would be compatible with the natural landscape. His efforts helped to make Gothic Revival one of the dominant building styles of the 1840s. Gothic Revival went into decline following the Civil War, and relatively few examples exist in Florida.

The Collegiate Gothic style emerged in the 1890s, when it was first employed on education-related buildings. The style was initially used on buildings at Bryn Mawr, Princeton University, and the University of Chicago. Excellent examples of the style also appear on the campuses of the University of Florida in Gainesville and Florida State University in Tallahassee. Reinforced concrete or steel skeletal framed walls and brick exterior walls usually serve as construction materials. Cast crete coping, cartouches, belt courses, and window tracery are common to nearly all examples of the style. Other features include gable, hip, or flat roofs from which extend parapets, towers, and spires; decorative brick work often adorns wall surfaces; and window treatments include lancet, cantilevered oriels, double-hung sash windows, and transoms, often with diamond pane glazing.

Colonial Revival

The Colonial Revival style was a dominant influence in American residential architecture during the first half of the twentieth century. The term, Colonial Revival, refers to a rebirth of interest in the early English and Dutch houses of the Atlantic Seaboard. The Georgian and Adam styles were the backbone of the Revival, which also drew upon post-medieval English and Dutch Colonial architecture for references. The style was introduced at the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876, when the centennial of the Declaration of Independence sparked renewed interest in colonial architecture. Many of the buildings designed for the Exposition were based on historically significant colonial models. Publicity on the Exposition occurred simultaneously with efforts made by national organizations to preserve Old South Church in Boston and Mount Vernon. About the same time a series of articles on eighteenth century American architecture appeared in the *American Architect* and *Harpers'*. The publicity the Colonial Revival style received helped popularize the style throughout the country.

The typical New Deal-era public building with Colonial Revival influences in Florida is an eclectic mixture of several of colonial designs rather than a direct copy of a single plan. The style emerged in the state in the late-1880s, and reached the height of its popularity in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. During the New Deal, a few post offices in Florida were executed in the style. Some identifying characteristics of Colonial Revival architecture include gable, hip, or gambrel roofs, often pierced by dormers; a simple entry porch with round columns; an accentuated door, normally with a classical surround, either solid or glazed, and a transom and side lights; a symmetrical facade, although it is fairly common for the door to be set off-center; double-hung sash windows frequently arranged in pairs and usually with multi-pane glazing in each sash.

Frame Vernacular

The term, Frame Vernacular, the prevalent style of architecture in Florida, refers to the common wood frame construction technique employed by lay or self-taught builders. The term does not, however, imply inferior or mundane architecture. Buildings characterized as vernacular lend themselves to categorization by building form associated with a particular era, function, or region of the country, rather than classification within a particular genre of formal architecture. The Oxford English Dictionary defines vernacular architecture as "native or peculiar to a particular country or locality...concerned with ordinary domestic and functional buildings rather than the essentially monumental."

Most often associated with houses, vernacular building forms changed with the Industrial Revolution, which brought about the standardization of construction parts and materials, and exerted a pervasive influence over vernacular design and construction techniques. Popular magazines helped to disseminate information about architectural trends throughout the country. The railroad provided affordable and efficient transportation for manufactured building materials. Ultimately, individual builders had access to a myriad of finished architectural products from which to create their own designs.

Within the context of the New Deal, relatively few Frame Vernacular public buildings were constructed. Reflecting a trend toward simplicity, most of those buildings consisted of either small schools funded by the WPA, small community halls developed under the NYA, or buildings developed by the CCC in forest or park locations. Buildings are relatively small with shallower-pitched roof lines than those of the previous decades, and usually rise only one story in height with balloon or platform frame structural system constructed of pine or cypress. They generally display rectangular and irregular footprints. Most plans of Frame Vernacular buildings maximize cross-ventilation. Horizontal clapboards, drop siding, weatherboard, or wood shingles are common exterior wall fabrics. Those exterior wall products are often found in combination. Materials generally employed as original roof surfacing materials, such as crimped metal panels, or wood or decorative pressed metal shingles, have nearly always been replaced with composition shingles. The facade is often placed on the gable end, making the height of the facade greater than its width. Small porches are also a common feature. Fenestration is often regular, but not always, symmetrical, with double-hung sashes with multi-pane glazing. Decoration, generally limited to ornamental woodwork, can include brackets and purlins mounted under the eaves, and exposed rafter ends.

Industrial Vernacular

The term, industrial vernacular, characterizes buildings constructed for explicit industrial applications and display no formal style of architecture. No single building type exists in a greater profusion of scales, styles, shapes, materials, and other variables than industrial buildings. The most prevalent type of industrial building is the nonspecific factory of one or more stories. Steel framing and reinforced concrete were typically utilized, depending on resources and desired strength. Industrial buildings were designed by factory owners until the mid-nineteenth century, when architects and specialty firms began designing pre-manufactured buildings for industrial applications. Generally, by the late nineteenth century, steel framing was used in industrial buildings because I-beams could support far more weight than could traditional wood beams. In Florida and the South, however, steel framing was not utilized with any frequency until the turn of the century because of high transportation costs and the availability of wood.

Steel skeletal framing was often revealed as an architectural feature in the facade. Industrial buildings were typically designed by factory owners until the mid nineteenth century, when architects and specialty firms emerged that designed and pre-manufactured industrial buildings. The most important specialist in concrete factory design was Albert Kahn of Detroit, whose 1905 Packard Number 10 building helped initiate a new era of industrial designs.

The design of Industrial Vernacular buildings, generally simple in plan and modest in detailing, was often inspired from pragmatic, functional needs of a client. In Florida, industrial buildings served many purposes. The airplane industry and military began using industrial architectural forms to house and repair aircraft during World War I. During the Great Depression, the Public Works Administration (PWA) helped finance the development of airfields, which often included hangars built of steel skeletal frames and reinforced concrete walls, a technology used for several decades. The citrus, fertilizer, and railroad industries also produced,

processed, repaired, or stored products within industrial buildings. Many of the same components were refined for use in industrial buildings--steel curtain walls with concrete panels, wire-glass windows, and simple functional designs--were well-suited to large buildings developed for the military.

International

An integral part of the functionalist modern design movement, the International style was a dominant commercial building form in the United States between the Great Depression and the mid 1970s. Conceived as a design for workers housing by a group of architects working independently in post-World War I Europe, the style was introduced to a wide American audience in an exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in 1932. Entitled simply "Modern Architecture," the exhibit featured modernist designs of the most prominent practitioners, including Charles-Edouard Jeanneret Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and Ludwig Mies van der Rhoe. Eschewing architectural precedent, the innovators of the design found a common theme in the exploitation of contemporary building materials and technologies. They shunned all ornamentation present in traditional styles, and by revealing structural elements they produced a starkly functional design. Reflecting the attitude of most modernists, Mies focused on economics and technology for his projects, placing as much emphasis on the quality and texture of individual bricks or stuccoed exteriors as the bronze mullions and glass used to fabricate windows.

The style derived its name from a book published by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson for the exhibit entitled *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922.* Later, fleeing the rise of Nazi Germany, many of the originators of the style immigrated to the United States. They were welcomed with positions at some of the most prominent schools of architecture in the country, and subsequently influenced several generations of leading American architects. Although the influence of Walter Gropius and other immigrant architects was muted until after World War II, some federally sponsored projects completed during the 1930s employed the severe, functional, and high-quality modular framing and materials that they espoused. On the campus of the Georgia Institute of Technology, architecture professors Harold Bush-Brown and Herbert Gailey executed several buildings with International influences during the New Deal, thereby beginning a process of directing a new architectural form on the campus into the mid 1950s.

In the South, International style buildings are most often found in larger cities that grew despite the onset of the Great Depression. Various Georgia architects, such as A. Thomas Bradbury, A. Ten Eyck Brown, and Stevens & Wilkinson, were early practitioners of the style, which became part of the Modern Classic movement in Atlanta and influenced architectural styles throughout the South. In Florida, architect M. Leo Elliott of Tampa applied the International style to new buildings at Florida State Prison at Raiford, one of the largest examples of the style in Florida during the New Deal. Another prominent Tampa architect, Philip F. Kennard, executed the design of the expansive Florida State Tuberculosis Sanitarium at Woodsmere in Orange County in the International style. Usually applied to apartment, commercial, institutional, or professional office buildings, the style was seldom employed on private residences. Identifying features include severe asymmetrical facades, flat roofs, smooth exterior surfaces finished with brick or stucco and little ornamentation, metal casement or

fixed windows flush with outer wall surfaces, cantilevered ledges protecting entrances and windows, and exposed structural elements.

Italian Renaissance

Popular in the United States between 1890 and 1935, the Italian Renaissance style derives its roots from the earlier Italianate style, which persisted between 1840 and 1885. The Italian Renaissance style was loosely based on Italian models, resulting in considerable artistic license in the reproduction of prototypes. In the 1880s, the firm of McKim, Mead, and White gave impetus to the Italian Renaissance style, which was part of the Second Renaissance Revival movement, with the Villard Houses in New York. In the 1890s, fashionable architects employed the style, which provided contrast with Gothic-inspired Shingle and Queen Anne styles. After World War I, the perfection of simulated masonry exterior veneer fabrics made possible the accurate representations even in modest examples of the style. Although Florida has a number of good examples of the style, it was not as popular as the contemporary Colonial Revival or Mediterranean Revival styles. Italian Renaissance was one of many architectural types with Mediterranean precedents that became popular in Florida during the land boom of the 1920s. Most of the state's Italian Renaissance style buildings were erected between 1920 and 1930, although the style had made significant advances nationally by 1910.

Identifying features of the style include both symmetrical and asymmetrical facades with projecting extensions protected by hip roofs. Barrel tiles typically cover the roofs, which are often pierced by heavily accented chimneys. Heavily accented modillions, cornices, or frieze bands adorn the eaves. Entrances are often recessed within the main block, and some large models display courtyards that protect the main entrance. Classical influences are apparent in the form of arches and serliana openings, pilasters or columns with capitals. Sometimes found in combinations, brick, limestone, marble, or stucco serve as exterior wall fabrics, and terra cotta, cast crete, and coursed ashlar are often applied liberally. Fenestration is often irregular and asymmetrical with casement and double-hung sash windows executed with multiple lights.

Masonry Vernacular

The term, Masonry Vernacular, applies to buildings assembled with structural systems of brick, hollow tiles, concrete blocks, or poured concrete that display no formal style of architecture. Prior to the Civil War, vernacular designs were local in nature, transmitted by word of mouth or by demonstration, and relying heavily upon native building materials. With the coming of the American Industrial Revolution, mass manufacturers became a pervasive influence in the construction industry. Popular magazines featuring standardized manufactured building components and house plans flooded consumer markets, helping to make building trends universal across the country. The railroad aided the process by providing cheap and efficient transportation for manufactured building materials. Ultimately, the individual builder had access to a myriad of finished architectural products from which to select to create a design of his own, or to please a prospective homeowner.

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Masonry vernacular architecture is most commonly associated with commercial and public building types. In the context of the New Deal, masonry vernacular building techniques were typically used to construct armories, city halls, civic and community centers, and county courthouses. During the 1930s, structural clay tiles finished with stucco remained a popular building material. Masonry vernacular buildings took on an increasing variety of forms, in part, because of the influences of the International and Modernistic styles, and, in part, because of the increased use of reinforced concrete construction techniques. Concrete blocks were often used on relatively small one-story buildings. Increasingly, structural tile for use in wall construction was replaced by standardized concrete block in the 1930s. Since World War II, concrete block construction has been the leading masonry building material used in Florida.

Mediterranean Revival

The Mediterranean Revival style, largely found in those states with a Spanish colonial heritage, embraces a broad category of subtypes of Spanish revival architecture in America. The style gained popularity in the American Southwest and Florida during the early twentieth century. The influence of the Spanish and other Mediterranean-derived styles found expression through a detailed study of Latin American architecture made by Bertram Goodhue at the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego in 1915. The exhibition prominently featured the Spanish architectural variety of Central and South America. Encouraged by the publicity afforded the exposition, architects began to look to the Mediterranean basin, where they found more building traditions, and often used regional historical precedents to design buildings within a local context.

In Florida, the popularity of the style soared in the 1920s and maintained a pervasive influence on building design until World War II. The style came to symbolize Florida architecture during the 1920s and was adapted for a variety of building types ranging from churches, country clubs, town houses, commercial and government buildings, hotels, mansions, railroad depots, theaters, and small residences, the latter often referred to as "Spanish bungalows." Journals, such as *Architectural Record,* featured articles on the style. In June 1925, *House Beautiful* characterized the style as "a new composite style...producing a type of small villa distinctly for and of Florida." Even small models were often picturesque, displaying an "architectural blend that make it essentially appropriate for adaptation in Florida. Informal in its essence as well as in its execution, this Mediterranean style accords well with the informal life of the great winter resort to which yearly thousands repair to escape all that reminds them of the North."

For a brief period during the 1920s, the style gained popularity throughout the country. In the 1930s, even as its popularity waned, the style was applied to public facilities built using New Deal assistance monies, especially

in the American Southwest. Many post offices built with New Deal resources in Florida reflected Mediterranean Revival influences. During World War II, the style was adopted for some buildings on a few military bases in Florida.

Identifying features of the style include complex roof plans, often a combination of flat, gable, and hip roofs with ceramic tile surfacing or cresting along parapets or pent roofs. Porches or arcades generally protect entrances. Textured stucco exteriors often originally displayed pigments mixed with the cement to form a rich intensity, or a light tint. Medallions, sconces, and ceramic tiles adorn walls, and chimneys exhibit arched vents and caps with barrel tile cresting. Arched openings and fenestration consists of multi-light casement and double-hung sash windows, often deeply set in the walls or arched openings. Wrought-iron balconets typically protect small balconies with French doors. Patios and loggias extend from the main body of houses, or appear in gardens or other landscaped areas. Pergolas, fountains, and trellises often appear in the surrounding landscape.

Mission Revival

The Mission Revival style is concentrated in those states that have a Spanish colonial heritage. It originated in California during the 1890s and was given impetus when the Southern Pacific Railway adopted it as the style for station houses and resort hotels throughout the Far West. Early high style domestic examples were faithful copies of their colonial ancestors, but during the first two decades of the twentieth century other influences, most notably those of the Craftsman and Prairie styles, were added to produce new prototypes.

In Florida, the Mission Revival style was among the most dominant building styles during the decade before the collapse of the Florida land boom. It was adapted for a variety of building types ranging from churches, city halls, and grandiose tourist hotels to residences. Many commercial buildings were renovated in the 1920s to reflect the style, after which the style was relatively uncommon. Identifying features of the style include flat or hip roofs, always with a prominent shaped parapet or dormer either on the main or porch roof; ceramic tile roof surfacing; arcaded porches and stuccoed facades; casement and double-hung sash windows, often installed in arched openings; and decorative shields, balconets, statuary niches, and applied tile decorations.

Rustic

The National Park Service (NPS) and U.S. Forest Service (USFS) are generally credited with developing the rustic architectural motif. The style became one of the significant characteristics of the NPS during the Great Depression. Applied to buildings, bridges, signs, and other structures in national parks, the Rustic style derived its roots from contemporary needs and traditional American values. Drawing from colonial and early-American antecedents, Depression-era rustic buildings largely reflected folk and rural precedents. The style assumed various forms and materials, depending upon the architect, regional contexts, availability of materials, local economics, and personnel. Concrete, hewn lumber, wood shingles, and natural stone constituted the primary

building materials. Architectural features included gable roofs, log or square hewn timbers chinked with composite mortars, post-and-girt construction, extensive porches with exposed materials, stone chimneys, exposed rafter ends, projecting purlins, gable-end trusses, and articulated foundation systems.

The NPS issued several publications during the 1930s documenting the extent and variety of buildings, structures, and objects constructed in both national and state parks. Albert H. Good, an architectural consultant to the NPS, composed two series which helped standardize future park development and building construction. Providing a permanent visual record of Rustic architecture, Good's volumes helped codify an important part of the Great Depression ethos--make do, or do without.

Most Rustic buildings stand in America's Depression-era forests and parks, constructed, in part, by the CCC, whose enrollees learned land development practices and building techniques. Rustic architecture, as installed in America's parks and forests, demonstrated a respect for nature, and a flexible blending of buildings in various regions, including mountains, plains, rolling hills, woodlands, and wetlands. The use of native materials in the construction of buildings suggested sensitivity to the balance between man and nature, with adherence to stringent economic demands brought on by the Depression.

Most of Florida's New Deal buildings associated with Rustic architecture stand within federal and state forests and parks. Those buildings typically feature a gable or hip roof with cypress shake surfacing; wood frame or masonry wall systems; gable-end trusses and brackets mounted under the eaves; cypress, palm, or pine log walls; post-and-girt or mortice-and-tenon joinery; limestone chimneys; and limestone piers or articulated limestone foundations supported by concrete slabs.

Streamline Moderne

The Streamline Moderne style, sometimes referred to as Art Moderne, like the Art Deco and International styles, represents a complete break with traditional designs. The style emphasizes futuristic concepts rather than invoking architectural antecedents. Rooted in the modernistic Art Deco style of the 1920s, the Streamline Moderne style gained favor in the United States shortly after 1930, when industrial designs began to exhibit streamlined shapes. Devoid of the ornamentation often applied to the Art Deco, the idea of rounded corners to make automobiles and airplanes more aerodynamic was applied to kitchen appliances, jewelry, and many other products where function was less important than the desirable shape. Characteristics of the modernistic form soon spilled over into building design.

Buildings with Streamline Moderne styling have flat roofs, smooth exterior surfaces, glass blocks, tubular steel pipes for handrails, horizontal grooves, cantilevered ledges, and rounded corners to emphasize a streamline effect. Buildings executed in the style are most often found in cities that continued to grow despite the onset of the Great Depression. Perhaps its most famous expression was the Johnson Wax Administration Building in Racine, Wisconsin. The style was usually applied to commercial, public, and relatively large apartment

buildings rather than private residences. Still, the style became part of the American consciousness at the middle of the twentieth century, apparent in large commercial buildings, hospitals, small post offices, and roadside diners.

3. Significance: The historic New Deal buildings of Florida may possess significance at the local, statewide, and/or national levels under NRHP criteria A, B, and/or C in several areas of significance, including, but not limited to, architecture, conservation, community planning and development, education, entertainment/recreation, ethnic heritage: black, health/medicine, landscape architecture, politics/government, and social history. Some New Deal buildings represented a significant investment, generally costing between several thousand dollars and $500,000. These investments buoyed local economies by providing jobs and revitalizing commercial centers reeling from the Great Depression. New Deal buildings often contributed to the cultural, education, political, recreational, and/or the social needs of a community, county, region, or to the needs of the state government.

The resources collectively represent distinctive buildings developed specifically for a particular use. Typically, the buildings were planned and executed by professional architects and contractors. Some buildings display vernacular construction traditions, but in many cases buildings display the influences of a particular style and contribute to larger trends in formal architecture. Designed by professional architects in the federal government or private industry, many buildings are relatively large well-executed resources exhibiting formal architectural characteristics, or vague stylistic influences. Some of these resources represent the largest investments made in a community during the 1930s.

In some cases, existing buildings were adapted using New Deal funds or for use by a specific agency. In the former case, the Seagle Building in Gainesville was a 1920s hotel completed using New Deal resources. In the latter example, a hotel or cigar factory was adapted by a municipal government and New Deal agency for a WPA sewing room. Although not constructed during the New Deal, these buildings possess important associations that link them to the New Deal. Consequently, they have significance with the agency that adapted them for use and the time period in which New Deal activities occurred within them.

Possessing historical significance for their association with Florida's role in the New Deal, Florida's New Deal buildings represent the first national effort to link local, state, and national government agencies. The economic and social experiment increased employment and upgraded the built fabric of the nation. Part of an aggressive national public works program, the interrelated collection of facilities developed throughout America during the New Deal improved the lives of the nation's citizens. Consequently, Florida's New Deal buildings represent an important type of historic architecture that reflects the state's New Deal heritage.

4. Registration Requirements: Buildings eligible for nomination under the F.1 property type must have been constructed, solely or in part, with federal resources; modified or adapted with New Deal funds; or used in association with a New Deal agency, during the historic period outlined in Section E. Buildings initiated with

funding from an alphabet agency by 1943 but completed later are not eligible under this cover. Eligibility is restricted to buildings that clearly represent an architectural style, or embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method or construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or have an association with important historical events, broad patterns of our history, or a significant person in our past.

The Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Rehabilitation,* codified in 36 CFR 67, and NRHP Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,* will serve as guides for gauging eligibility. Individual buildings must retain their integrity and original appearance to a high degree. Integrity is defined as the ability of a property to convey its significance. In general, properties eligible for listing under this MPS cover must retain the essential physical features that enable them to convey their historic significance. As with individual buildings, the eligibility of buildings within historic districts, such as low-cost public housing or state parks, should be assessed using criteria developed in NRHP Bulletin 15. In general, for a district to be eligible, it should retain its historical integrity, that is, the majority of the components that comprise the district's historic character should display their original features and integrity, even if they are individually undistinguished. Relationships between resources should be substantially unchanged since the period of significance. The design, number, scale, and size of resources that do not contribute are important factors to consider when evaluating a historic district. Non-contributing resources of a district include those that have been substantially altered since the period of significance, or built outside the period of significance. A district is not eligible if it contains so many new intrusions or alterations of older buildings that it no longer conveys a sense of a historic environment. It should be recognized that although general guidelines may be useful, the integrity of individual properties must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

There are seven aspects or qualities of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The importance of these aspects under this MPS cover is as follows:

Location: Location is the place where a historic property was constructed or a significant event occurred. Within this MPS cover, location helps to define the historic context of a building within its larger neighborhood or community. All properties associated with this MPS should be in their original locations to possess significance under Criteria A, B, or C.

Design: Design is the combination of elements that create the historic form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. The essential historic features of a public building constructed with New Deal resources consist of its original roof, exterior wall fabric and details, doors and windows, and interior floor plan and circulation pattern. Most will have experienced some changes over time. For example, a school converted to a community center may maintain its original form, plan, space, and stylistic influences, and retain integrity. In contrast, a school converted to single-family or elderly housing, losing most of its original interior plan, may have lost its ability to convey its significance as a school under Criterion C, but retain an acceptable amount of its exterior

features and interior plan to meet sufficiency under Criteria A or B. With regard to a building's eligibility under Criterion C associated with a style outlined in the associated property types, a building should retain its essential character defining features and details. Regarding eligibility under Criterion C, a building should retain its architectural characteristics to a high degree; that is, its scale, proportions, materials, workmanship, stylistic details, spatial arrangements of doors and windows, and aesthetic qualities that give a property its significance. Some alterations sensitive to the original design and appearance of a building may not preclude its eligibility. Additions and modifications sensitive to a historic building will generally appear at the rear or side elevations, and in general should be compatible with, but distinct from, the historic resource. Non-contributing resources added to a historic building should not directly interrupt the walls of a historic resource, but may be connected to the historic property by a hyphen, glass enclosure, or system of covered sidewalks. Asbestos shingles, vinyl siding, or other synthetic fabrics installed over the original exterior siding of a building do not necessarily preclude a property from eligibility. However, when synthetic fabrics installed on the exterior walls obscure important characteristics, such as distinctive shields or window moldings, or result in the removal of significant details, a property may be excluded from listing under Criterion C. Nevertheless, a building sheathed with synthetic materials that cover the original exterior wall fabric may still be eligible for listing under Criteria A or B. Enclosing entrances and porches in a manner that results in a diminution or loss of historic character, such as using solid materials like wood, stucco, or masonry, may also exclude a building from eligibility under Criterion C, but not necessarily Criterion A or B. Replacement windows should display the original type of window and glazing pattern. In cases where large window banks are distinctive features, the installation of inappropriate replacement windows constitutes a dramatic visual change, and may exclude a resource from eligibility under Criterion C, but may not under Criteria A or B. Original interior design integrity, features, and circulation patterns are important considerations from the standpoint of architecture and interpretation of historic events. In general, buildings that no longer display significant architectural details associated with the historic period are excluded from eligibility. Alterations to a building will vary in importance depending upon the size and design of the building and the property's significance. The integrity of individual properties must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Setting: Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. Settings may change over time. For instance, a rural property fifty years ago may presently stand in a suburb. The site of a single building may be enlarged over time with additional neighboring resources that date within the historic period as well as outside the historic period. In any case, non-contributing buildings should not significantly disrupt the historic ambiance of the setting.

Materials: Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. A property must retain key exterior materials dating from its period of significance to be eligible under Criterion C, and to a lesser degree for Criteria A or B. For Criterion C, important historic materials should accurately reflect the architectural style in which the building was constructed and may consist of, but not be limited to, features such as casement or double-hung sash windows; ceramic barrel tile or metal panel roof surfaces; and brick, coquina, limestone,

stucco, wood drop siding or wood shingle exterior wall surfaces. For events that occurred inside a building, especially in cases bearing on Criterion A, retention of interior materials will be important. Replacement of original materials compromises the interpretation of historic events associated with those materials. In general, buildings that display materials inconsistent with the historic period in which they were constructed are excluded from eligibility.

Workmanship: Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. This element is most often associated with architecturally significant properties, and thereby is a critical component for properties eligible under Criterion C.

Feeling: Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Integrity of feeling may be associated with the concept of retaining a sense of place. For example, a courthouse or school that retains its original design, materials, workmanship, and setting will relate the feeling of, not only the time it was constructed, but also its historic use, such as education, community life, or ethnic heritage.

Association: Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. While many historic events associated with the development of a New Deal resource may have occurred at a local residence, a city hall, public auditorium, or a state government office building constructed in an earlier period, the most tangible manifestations of these activities may be other properties, such as the New Deal buildings themselves. Because of the passage of time and changing needs, direct associations with the original purposes of the resource may no longer exist.

PROPERTY TYPE: F.2

1. Name of Property Type: Structures

2. Description: The structures associated with the New Deal in Florida represent a small but meaningful property type. According to data compiled from the Florida Master Site File, approximately 21,000 resources have been inventoried that date between 1933 and 1943, the period traditionally defined as the limits of the New Deal. Many of those resources, however, are related to private residential resources not provided for in this property type. It is estimated that of the 21,000 resources, approximately 450 have direct New Deal associations; that is, they are resources developed with funding from one or more federal agencies operating during the interval. Of that smaller amount, however, it appears that approximately 50 resources pertain to the property type. Although relatively small in number, the property type covers a broad array of structures, which includes, but is not limited to, athletic fields, bridges, canals, dams, docks and wharves, fire towers, locks, pavilions, power plants, pumping stations, sea walls, stadiums, water softening plants, water tanks, and weirs. Some communities contain only one example of a New Deal era structure, but urban areas may contain multiple examples.

The property type necessarily encompasses a broad collection of structures that share a common associative attribute in that they were created under the auspices of one of the New Deal agencies, including the CCC, FERA, NYA, PWA, or WPA. The alphabet agencies funded and carried out conservation, construction, engineering, and landscaping projects between 1933 and 1943. As discussed in the historic context, the physical attributes of the New Deal structure property type vary depending on the intended purpose of the particular resource.

Some structures are single- or multiple-story resources with rectangular or irregular floor plans. Typically, roof systems include flat, gable, and hip types, and wall systems include brick, hollow tile, steel skeletal, and balloon and platform wood frames. Wall surfaces may display brick, stucco, or wood drop siding, or a combination of fabrics. Windows often consists of metal or wood casement or wood double-hung sash windows displaying a variety of patterns. Exterior detailing is often restrained or sparse, reflecting the economic distress of the era. Foundation systems generally consist of either poured concrete slabs or footers, continuous brick or concrete block, or brick or concrete piers.

Others structures, such as a sea wall or a canal supported by a lock-and-dam system, display a linear horizontal profile with earthen banks, often supported by masonry fill, interrupted only by poured concrete lock systems. In contrast, fire towers and water tanks and towers display stark vertical profiles. Generally constructed in the shape of a tall obelisk, fire towers and water tanks represent a type of industrial vernacular architecture designed for the expressed purpose of providing a sheltered structure for lookouts or containing fresh-water supplies for a city, respectively.

Most structures are derived from industrial or masonry architectural vernacular influences, although a few display an architectural style, including, but not limited to, Art Deco, International, and Streamline Moderne. Contributing to America's diverse architectural nomenclature, Florida's New Deal structures epitomize the creative use of both standardized plans and those individually drafted for a particular use to develop public facilities.

Notwithstanding their architectural traditions, the structures were, with few exceptions, designed and assembled by architects, engineers, and builders who drew upon traditional building techniques and contemporary stylistic preferences for their inspiration. In some cases, architects serving in the Department of the Army's Corps of Engineers prepared the plans for federal structures, such as locks and dams supporting the state's major waterways. In other cases, the state and municipal governments turned to architects and engineers in private industry either to draft plans for a resource, such as a water tank and supporting infrastructure, or adapt a standardized plan for a specific location or a slightly different purpose. Primary consideration in the design of a structure consisted of providing functional spaces within a given budget.

3. Significance: The historic New Deal structures of Florida may possess significance at the local, statewide, and/or national levels under NRHP criteria A, B, and/or C in several areas of significance, including, but not

limited to, architecture, conservation, engineering, entertainment/recreation, ethnic heritage: black, landscape architecture, maritime history, politics/government, and social history. Some New Deal structures represented a significant investment, generally costing between several thousand dollars and $1,000,000. These investments buoyed local economies by providing jobs and revitalizing commercial centers reeling from the Great Depression.

The structures collectively represent distinctive resources developed specifically for a particular use. Typically, New Deal structures were planned and executed by professional architects, engineers, and contractors. Most structures display vernacular construction traditions, but a few may display the influences of a particular style and contribute to larger trends in formal architecture. Some of these resources represent the largest investments in a community during the 1930s. Possessing historical significance for their association with Florida's role in the New Deal, the structures represent the first national effort that linked local, state, and national government agencies to provide employment and upgrade the built fabric of the nation. Part of an aggressive national public works program, the interrelated collection of facilities developed throughout America improved the lives of the nation's citizens. Consequently, Florida's New Deal structures represent an important type of historic architecture that reflects the state's New Deal heritage.

4. Registration Requirements: Structures eligible for nomination under the F.2 property type, must have been constructed, solely or in part, with federal resources during the historic period outlined in Section E. Structures initiated with funding from an alphabet agency by 1943 but completed later are not eligible under this cover. Eligibility is restricted to structures that clearly embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method or construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity who components may lack individual distinction; or have an association with important historical events, broad patterns of our history, or a significant person in our past.

The Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Rehabilitation,* codified in 36 CFR 67, and NRHP Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,* will serve as guides for gauging eligibility. Individual structures must retain their integrity and original appearance to a high degree. Integrity is defined as the ability of a property to convey its significance. In general, properties eligible for listing under this MPS cover must retain the essential physical features that enable them to convey their historic significance. As with individual structures, the eligibility of structures within historic districts should be assessed using criteria developed in NRHP Bulletin 15. It should be recognized that although general guidelines may be useful, the integrity of individual properties must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

There are seven aspects or qualities of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The importance of these aspects under this MPS cover is as follows:

Location: Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the event occurred. Within this MPS cover, location helps to define the historic context of a structure within its larger neighborhood or

community. All properties associated with this MPS should be in their original locations to possess significance under Criteria A, B, and/or C.

Design: Design is the combination of elements that create the historic form, plan, space, and style of a property. A structure should retain its essential character defining features and characteristics to a high degree; that is, its scale, proportions, materials, workmanship, stylistic details, spatial arrangements of its components, and aesthetic qualities that give a property its significance.

Some structures convey few features associated with traditional building forms. Sea walls have a linear design with back slope or wave deflection systems, which constitute significant design characteristics. Embellishment may consist of small obelisks at prominent corners, decorative handrails, concrete balusters, and stanchions. Bridges display a variety of arch support systems and functional guardrails, some with scored architectural lines and Streamline detailing. Fire towers and water tanks convey a linear vertical profile with an exposed steel skeletal framework that often rises 120 feet above the terrain. Stadiums convey an overall oval design feature with concrete or steel-frame grandstands embracing a playing field.

Some alterations sensitive to the original design and appearance of a structure may not preclude its eligibility. In general, structures that no longer display significant architectural details and design characteristics associated with the historic period are excluded from eligibility. Alterations to a structure will vary in importance depending upon the size and design of the structure and the property's significance. Some structures will have experienced changes over time. For example, a small power plant converted to a commercial restaurant may maintain its original form, plan, space, and stylistic influences, and retain integrity. In contrast, a power plant or stadium that has been enlarged with several additions outside the historic period may have lost their respective ability to convey historical significance. The integrity of individual properties must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Setting: Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. Over time settings may change. For instance, a rural property fifty years ago may presently stand in a suburb. The site of a single structure may be enlarged over time with additional neighboring resources that date within the historic period and outside the historic period. In any case, non-contributing resources should not significantly disrupt the historic ambiance of the setting.

Materials: Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. A property must retain key exterior materials dating from its period of significance to be eligible under Criterion C, and to a lesser degree for Criteria A or B. For events that occurred inside a structure, especially in cases bearing on Criterion A, retention of interior materials will be important. Replacement of original materials compromises the interpretation of historic events associated with those materials. In general, structures that display materials inconsistent with the historic period in which they were constructed are excluded from eligibility.

Workmanship: Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. This element is most often associated with architecturally significant properties, and thereby is a critical component for structures eligible under Criterion C.

Feeling: Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Integrity of feeling may be associated with the concept of retaining a sense of place. For example, a lock and dam or fire tower that retains its original design, materials, workmanship, and setting will relate the feeling of maritime history or conservation, respectively.

Association: Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. While many historic events associated with the development of a New Deal resource may have occurred at a local residence, a city hall, public auditorium, or a state government office building constructed in an earlier period, the most tangible manifestations of these activities may be other properties, such as the New Deal structures themselves. Because of the passage of time and changing needs, direct associations with the original purposes of the resource may no longer exist.

PROPERTY TYPE: F.3

1. Name of Property Type: Objects

2. Description: The objects associated with the New Deal in Florida represent a relatively small property type. According to data compiled from the Florida Master Site File, approximately 21,000 resources have been inventoried that date between 1933 and 1943, the period traditionally defined as the limits of the New Deal. Many of those resources, however, are related to private residential resources not provided for in this property type. It is estimated that of the 21,000 resources, approximately 450 have direct New Deal associations, that is, they are resources developed with funding from one or more federal agencies operating during the interval. Of that smaller amount, however, it appears that few if any of this property type have been recorded. Correspondingly small in number and primarily artistic in nature, objects are also relatively small in size and scale and simply constructed. They may consist of resources such as boundary markers, fountains, monuments, sculpture, statuary, and street markers. Some communities contain only one example of a New Deal era object, but urban areas may contain multiple objects.

The property type encompasses a small collection of resources that share a common associative attribute in that they were created under the auspices of one of the New Deal agencies, including the CCC, FERA, NYA, PWA, or WPA. The alphabet agencies funded and carried out conservation, construction, engineering, and landscaping projects between 1933 and 1943. Objects in the form of sculpture often commemorated those activities, or events associated with the state's past. As discussed in the historic context, the physical attributes of the New Deal object property type vary depending on the intended purpose of the particular resource.

Some objects are relatively large monuments, such as the eighteen-foot high Hurricane Memorial (NR 1995) on Matecumbe Key and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Monument, an sixty-five-foot high obelisk at Ravine Garden State Park. But, the vast majority of objects are small in scale, such as the Lure of the Sea Fountain at the City of Coral Gables's Community Center and Library, the memorial marker at St. Augustine's Civic Center, small obelisks adorning the beach approaches to Jacksonville Beach, and the markers at the intersections of the City of DeLand's municipal streets. Objects are fabricated with a variety of materials, most of them masonry or natural stone found in nature, such as concrete, coquina, coral, granite, limestone, or marble. Some objects, such as street markers, may be best represented as contributing resources in a historic district, rather than for individual listing.

Most objects display no architectural style, but may exhibit influences of the Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, or other styles. Contributing to America's diverse architectural nomenclature, Florida's New Deal objects epitomize the America's creative artists developing works of art to embellish the grounds of public facilities, or commemorate significant events.

3. Significance: The historic New Deal objects of Florida may possess significance at the local, statewide, and/or national levels under NRHP criteria A, B, and/or C in several areas of significance, including, but not limited to, architecture, art, landscape architecture, politics/government, and social history. Although most New Deal objects represented a small financial investment, the investments provided jobs to many artists through the CWA, FERA, and WPA, and contributed to the arts and culture of many cities reeling from the Great Depression.

The objects collectively represent distinctive resources developed, in part, as functional works of art to beautify buildings and parks, and inform the public. Typically, New Deal objects were planned and executed by professional artists. Some objects may display the influences of a particular style of architecture and thereby contribute to larger trends in formal architecture. Possessing historical significance for their association with Florida's role in the New Deal, the objects represent the first national effort that linked local, state, and national government agencies to provide employment and upgrade the built fabric of the nation. Part of an aggressive national public works program, the interrelated collection of objects developed throughout America improved the lives of the nation's citizens. Consequently, Florida's New Deal objects represent an important type of historic architecture that reflects the state's New Deal heritage.

4. Registration Requirements: Objects eligible for nomination under the F.5 property type, must have been constructed, solely or in part, with federal resources during the historic period outlined in Section E. Objects initiated with funding from an alphabet agency by 1943 but completed later are not eligible under this cover. Castings and murals installed in courthouses, post offices, schools, and other New Deal era resources are not eligible on an individual basis for National Register listing under this cover. Furthermore, those objects should not be counted as separate contributing resources for either individual or historic district nominations. Castings and murals should, however, be discussed in the narratives of sections 7 and 8. Eligibility is restricted to objects

that clearly embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method or creation, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity who components may lack individual distinction; or have an association with important historical events, broad patterns of our history, or a significant person in our past.

The Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Rehabilitation,* codified in 36 CFR 67, and NRHP Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,* will serve as guides for gauging eligibility. Individual objects must retain their integrity and original appearance to a high degree. Integrity is defined as the ability of a property to convey its significance. In general, properties eligible for listing under this MPS cover must retain the essential physical features that enable them to convey their historic significance. It should be recognized that although general guidelines may be useful, the integrity of individual properties must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

There are seven aspects or qualities of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The importance of these aspects under this MPS cover is as follows:

Location: Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the event occurred. Within this MPS cover, location helps to define the historic context of an object within its larger neighborhood or community. All properties associated with this MPS should be in their original locations to possess significance under Criteria A, B, and/or C.

Design: Design is the combination of elements that create the historic form, plan, space, and style of a property. An object should retain its essential character defining features and characteristics to a high degree; that is, its scale, proportions, materials, workmanship, stylistic details, spatial arrangements of its components, and aesthetic qualities that give the object its significance.

Setting: Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. Over time settings may change. In any case, non-contributing resources should not significantly disrupt the historic ambiance of an object's setting.

Materials: Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. A property must retain key exterior materials dating from its period of significance to be eligible under Criterion C, and to a lesser degree for Criteria A or B. In general, objects that display materials inconsistent with the historic period in which they were constructed are excluded from eligibility.

Workmanship: Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. Workmanship is most often associated with works of art, and thereby is a critical component for objects eligible under Criterion C.

Feeling: Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Integrity of feeling may be associated with the concept of retaining a sense of place.

Association: Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. While many historic events associated with the development of a New Deal resource may have occurred at a local residence, a city hall, public auditorium, or a state government office building constructed in an earlier period, the most tangible manifestations of these activities may be other properties, such as the New Deal objects themselves.

Geographical Data

The geographical limits for the MPS Cover are New Deal resources within the boundaries of the state line and coastal limits of the State of Florida.

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

In 2003, West Volusia Historical Society, Inc., a non-profit historic preservation organization, was awarded a grant by Florida's Bureau of Historic Preservation to prepare a Multiple Property Submission (MPS) covering Florida's New Deal Resources. The methodology used to prepare the MPS largely consisted of a literature search to determine the extent and nature of the New Deal in Florida, emphasizing important activities, individuals, and significant themes in the construction and development of Florida's New Deal resources. The development of the historical context and property types for evaluating New Deal properties constituted the primary parts of the project.

Research was conducted at various repositories, including the Florida Master Site File (FMSF), Florida State Archives, State Library of Florida, and the Florida State University Library in Tallahassee; and the Government Documents Department and P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida in Gainesville. Newspapers from numerous Florida towns and cities held at the University of Florida and State Library of Florida furnished substantial information about Florida's development during the New Deal. National Register Nominations contained information and citations on individual sources developed during the New Deal. Research was also conducted on web sites maintained by the Library of Congress and National Archives. Files at Florida State Archives containing important information include RG 192 (Florida State Planning Board), RG 150 (Florida Park Service Project Files), RG 590 (Florida Construction Program), and correspondence files of Governor David Sholtz. Record groups at National Archives that hold useful research materials include RG 31 (Records of the Federal Housing Administration), RG 35 (Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps), RG 69 (Records of the Works Projects Administration), RG 119 (Records of the National Youth Administration), and RG 135 (Records of the Public Works Administration).

Important contextual and site specific information was derived from government publications produced during the New Deal, including reports from the CCC, NYA, PWA, WPA, and other agencies, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State,* and typescripts produced by writers in the Federal Writers' Project. Numerous articles in *American City, Engineering News Record, Florida Historical Quarterly, Florida Municipal Record,* and *Tampa Bay History* describe various aspects of the era.

According to data compiled from the FMSF, approximately 21,000 resources have been inventoried in Florida that date between 1933 and 1943, the period traditionally defined as the limits of the New Deal. Many of those resources, however, are related to military and private residential resources not provided for in this property type. It is estimated that of the 21,000 resources, approximately 450 have direct New Deal associations, that is, they are public resources developed with funding from one or more federal agencies operating during the interval. The research furnished sufficient information to prepare the narratives appearing in sections E and F of the MPS.

Following the collection of research, Florida's New Deal resources were analyzed and evaluated for architectural themes and agency context. The methodology included identifying the various agencies that contributed to the built fabric of the New Deal, and assessing their particular significance. Architectural styles were identified, and three general property types were developed: buildings, structures, and object. A period of development extending between 1933 and 1943 was selected because it reflects the traditional limits of the New Deal created by the administration of President Roosevelt and supported by the Congress. The period and property types allows for the inclusion of all of resources developed, in part, with federal resources during the New Deal.

Following the collection of research, Florida's New Deal resources were analyzed and evaluated for architectural themes and historic contexts. National Register Nominations of various New Deal resources, both Multiple Property Submissions (MPS) and Theme Studies, suggested contextual frameworks and methodologies for organizing the Florida document. The methodology included pinpointing the type and categories of properties, and assessing their particular significance. A period of development extending between 1933 and 1943 was selected because it reflects the historic period of significance traditionally associated with the New Deal.

A MPS nomination was prepared using the necessary forms and text. In addition, two nomination proposals for listing properties in the National Register of Historic Places were prepared as part of the project. Owner consent was obtained. Then, the necessary forms and text were drafted, and maps with associated photographs were prepared to provide reviewers with documentation and visual aids that convey a sense of the significance of the historic resource.

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