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by Gary R. Mormino

On the eve of the First World War, the United States viewed events in Europe through a filter of isolationism and neutrality. Two vast oceans had reinforced an inclination toward internal affairs and paranoia, while engendering suspicion of diplomatic alliances and foreign revolutions. But events in faraway places—Sarajevo, St. Petersburg, and the Somme—made isolation impossible and neutrality improbable.

Historically, the American South prided itself as the nation's most "hawkish" region. For Floridians, memories of Dade's Massacre, Natural Bridge, and Camp Cuba Libre burnished the region's breastplate. "Southern history," contends George Brown Tindall, "bred a psychology of danger and defense, and a military-patriotic tradition." While its ethnic colonies were striking—Ybor City, Key West, and Tarpon Springs—Florida had attracted relatively small numbers of Germans and Irish, groups that would have tempered the pro-British and French interests. Even fewer immigrants from the polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire resided in the Sunshine State. Allied propaganda– Belgian babies dangling on German bayonets and the sinking of the *Lusitania* by treacherous

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U-boats– rallied public support for the Anglo-French cause. In Florida, the popularity of fellow southerner and Democratic president Woodrow Wilson helped solidify growing support for the preparedness movement. Peter Ripley, in his study of Florida newspapers on the eve of war, observed, "Temperance and self-restraint were scarce qualities in the Florida press in March 1917." He noted that Jacksonville's *Florida Times-Union* was the state's only significant newspaper to oppose America's drift toward war in the spring of 1917.U-boat attacks on American shipping, coupled with Wilson's evangelical rhetoric, ensured Florida congressmen's votes for a declaration of war in April 1917.[1]

The Great War summoned forth the greatest mobilization effort since the Civil War. An unprepared, ill-equipped military establishment rushed to mobilize and push the allies "over the top." On the eve of American entry into the war, the regular army numbered only 133,000 troops, forcing Congress to implement the first military conscription since the Civil War. Ten million men, 110,000 of them Floridians, between the ages of twenty-one and thirty registered for the selective service. The American Expeditionary Forces eventually numbered three million servicemen, including 42,030 Floridians.[2]

To some Floridians, the war in Europe offered opportunities; to others, the war disrupted dreams. To all who served, it was a life-shaping experience. In June 1914, Bartow's Spessard Holland, a Rhodes Scholar, planned to enroll at Oxford University in England. He had rejected a contract from Connie Mack to play professional baseball. Instead, Holland left Emory University for the army, achieving laurels as a captain and a decorated pilot with the U.S. 24th Aero Squadron in France. His Polk County neighbor and boyhood friend, James Van Fleet, had attended West Point, graduating in the same class as Dwight Eisenhower and Omar Bradley. As a captain of a machine-gun unit, Van Fleet was wounded during the Meuse-Argonne offensive. In June 1914, Sumter L. Lowry received his diploma from Virginia Military Institute. The ambitious graduate, a St. Augustine native born on the grounds of the Castillo,

1 George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 687; C. Peter Ripley, "Intervention and Reaction: Florida Newspapers and U.S. Entry in World War One," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (January 1971), 25.

2 David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 144-190; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Miami, FL: University of Miami Press, 1971), 369.

asked permission to form an infantry company as part of the 2nd Florida Militia (National Guard). Mustered into Company H, by 1916, Lowry found himself camped on the Mexican border, pursuing Pancho Villa. By 1918 Captain Lowry was fighting the Germans in France. For Charles Pelot Summerall, his life's calling seemed destined for a Leesburg classroom. Born in Astatula (Lake County), Summerall succeeded to a school principalship in 1887, before deciding to attend West Point. After fighting Boxers in China, he led his National Guard unit to Europe as a brigadier general.[3]

When the European guns of August 1914 commenced, Florida languished in isolation, a state of mind and terrain imposed by geography and climate. Large sections of the state remained part of the "last frontier," untouched by the rhythms of the industrial revolution and urbanism. Florida's 900,000 residents filled the peninsula's 58,666 square miles unevenly. The state's population density of sixteen inhabitants per square mile was the lowest of any state east of the Mississippi. Jacksonville, the largest city, boasted 66,850 residents, but Miami had grown to only 15,592 inhabitants and St. Petersburg a scant 7,186. More than half of the state's residents resided in small towns, hamlets, and on farms, most of them a wagon's ride from the Alabama and Georgia borders. If the century's new wars were made possible by industrialization, mechanization, and urbanization, Florida's primitive economy rested upon an uneven tripod of agriculture, extractive industries, and tourism.[4]

War and the Health of the State

In fitful and uneven steps, the American economy responded to the opportunities created by the Great War. After predictions of doom and gloom, the war ignited one of the most intense economic takeoffs in American history. In August 1914, the United States was a debtor nation. Great Britain and other belligerents controlled significant sectors of the American economy. By April 1917, the European war had transformed the American economy,

3 *Pensacola Journal*, September 16, 1918; H. F. Hetherington, *History of Polk County: Narrative and Biographical* (St. Augustine, FL: The Record Company Printers, 1928), 60; Spessard Holland Papers, Special Collections, biographical files, University of South Florida Library, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida; Sumter L. Lowry, *Ole 93* (Tampa, FL: n.p., 1970), 5, 11; Lake County Historical Museum, Courthouse, Tavares, FL; Emmett Peter Jr., *Lake County, Florida, A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Co., 1994) 124-125.

4 *The Fourth Census of the State of Florida, 1915*, (Tallahassee: T.J. Appleyard, 1915), 15, 19, 70-71.

quadrupling trade with the Allies between 1914 and 1916. The onset of war, however, exposed Florida's vulnerability. Since over ninety percent of America's exports trade left in foreign bottoms, the war initially disrupted the state's trade in phosphate, cotton, and timber.

A curious editorial appeared in a Florida newspaper days after the U.S. Declaration of War. The *St. Petersburg Independent* candidly assessed the war's impact: "But St. Petersburg goes on its way as though there was no war, utterly undisturbed and unexcited." Rarely has an assessment been proved so wrong. Florida may have been an ocean removed from the Great War, but the conflict's reverberations and disruptions rocked the rest of Florida, including once placid St. Petersburg. Florida's phosphate industry slumped because of the loss of its valuable European markets. In 1913, Florida mines and plants exported over two million tons of pebble phosphate; in 1915 shipments declined by almost one half. The Dunnellon Phosphate Company became one of thirty-two phosphate firms to close in 1914. Polk County, which produced half of the world's phosphate before the war, reeled from the effects, devastating company towns like Mulberry.[5]

The port of Jacksonville felt most acutely the sting of European blockades. The war's first year signified a seventy-six percent decline in exports from Jacksonville. Two banks and a life insurance company declared bankruptcy. Jacksonville's fledgling but promising film industry never recovered from these disruptions.[6]

But if the years 1914 and 1915 dashed export hopes, the years 1916 and 1917 buoyed spirits, sparking a statewide surge in production and prosperity." For more than a year northern Florida has been engulfed in wave of deep depression," admitted the Jacksonville *Florida-Times Union*. By 1915, the newspaper announced, "But all this has passed away . . ." Florida planters and merchants sought

5 "Little Effect of War," *St. Petersburg Independent*, April 9, 1917; Arch Frederic Blakely, *The Florida Phosphate Industry: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 57-59; "Phosphate Revival," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 9, 1918; *Polk County Record*, May 15, 1914; James A. Fisher, "The History of Mulberry, Florida," (M.A. Thesis Wake Forest University, 1972), 84-86; Hampton Dunn, *Back Home: A History of Citrus County* (Citrus County Historical Society, 1989), 227; Charles H. Hildreth and Merlin G. Cox, *History of Gainesville, 1854-1979* (Gainesville, FL: Alachua Historical Society, 1981), 114-116; *Bartow Courier Informant*, August, 1914; "War Paralyzed Phosphate Trade," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 13, 1914.

6 James B. Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire, 1901-1919* (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1991), 29-30, 41, 125; *Florida Times Union*, January 1, 1916 and September 24, 1917.

and secured new markets; politicians and bureaucrats lobbied for shipyards and bases in the name of principle. For every sector of the economy disrupted by the European conflict, new opportunities emerged enriching producers and purveyors of Florida goods. A shortage of Mediterranean sponges and Sicilian oranges created new markets for Greek spongers in Tarpon Springs and Slovak farmers in Seminole County.[7]

World War I rejuvenated Florida's shipbuilding industry. Understanding the state's vulnerability to the 1914-1915 maritime crisis, U.S. Senator Duncan Fletcher led the fight to pass a $50 million appropriation for domestic ship construction. Florida's woefully underdeveloped seaport communities desperately awaited revival. By 1918, over a hundred American shipyards had received handsome government subsidies, including more than a half dozen in Florida. Washington's largess also revived Florida's depressed seaports. Congress funneled over $50 million to shipyards at Tampa, Jacksonville, and Pensacola. Millville (Panama City), Miami, St. Petersburg, and Tarpon Springs.[8]

Florida rebounded mightily as war contracts lifted the veil of pessimism and recession. Jacksonville's Merrill-Stevens Company expanded to become the state's largest shipbuilder, boasting eight yards and nearly four thousand employees, quintupling its workforce in a single year. On the St. Johns River the company built the largest shipyard south of Newport News, Virginia. In all, four separate shipbuilding firms operated in Jacksonville, employing ten thousand workers who built steel-clad steamers, wooden cargo ships, and concrete tankers. Jacksonville became the principal port for the shipping of regional lumber and naval stores, shifting the city's economic focus from tourism to manufacturing and shipping, and lifting weekly payroll to over one million dollars. The Pensacola Shipbuilding Company erected new facilities at Bayou Chico. West Florida laborers besieged the city, hoping to secure one of the four thousand new jobs. Tampa's shipyards also expanded between 1914 and 1918. The Tampa Foundry and Machine Company won a government contract to construct two-thousand-ton icebreakers. Launched in September 1916, the *Poughkeepsie*

7 "Prosperity Again." *Times-Union* editorial in the *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 25, 1915.

8 Ibid., Crooks, 119, 125;"Nameoki Launched at Tampa Dock Co.," and "Tampa Shipbuilding & Engineering Co. Shops," *Tampa Daily Times*, May 8, 1918 and July 18, 1917; Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1977), 188-191.

was touted as the first steel-clad vessel built south of Norfolk. The Oscar Daniels Company also boomed during the war, employing 3,400 workers to build cargo and freighter ships. Nestled along the Anclote River, Tarpon Springs resembled a quaint Greek fishing village early in the century. Fiercely insular, the Greek immigrants maintained Old-World dialects, foodstuffs, and distinctive sponge-fishing vessels. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the fate of the villages of Greek origin in the Dodecanese Islands provoked a super-heated patriotism. In 1918 new sounds reverberated in Tarpon Springs as the navy awarded local firms $200,000 in contracts to construct seagoing barges.[9]

The war, so terrible in human costs, represented a curious mixture of modernity and tradition: glistening bi-planes circling mounted cavalry and sleek submarines aside wooden schooners. For every welder employed at Florida shipyards, there was a sawyer, typifying the state of the economy in 1918. If airfields and shipyards offered Florida a vision of the future, lumber and naval stores suggested a more realistic view of the present.

The war's requirements for wooden hulls, army cantonments, and worker housing meant unprecedented demand for Florida's lumber and naval stores products. Government contractors searched throughout west and north Florida for new supplies of yellow pine and hardwood. Firms such as the Burton-Swartz Cypress Company, the East Coast Lumber Company, and Putnam Lumber Company concentrated power in the hands of the largest lumber firms, a pattern since the 1880s.[10]

Florida's Seminoles became unlikely victims of the European war, when the war collapsed the commercial traffic between Everglades pelts and Parisian furriers. In 1913, a premium otter pelt fetched $10; by the fall of 1914, such skins brought only $2. Lucien

9 Crooks, 119-126, 140; Flynt, 108-1099; Thomas Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513-1924* (Jacksonville: Florida Historical Society, 1925), 269-272; George E. Buker, *Jacksonville, Riverport-Seaport* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 140-142; Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah, Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 189-191; *Florida Times-Union*, September 24, 1917; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, June, 14, August 9, 1918; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, May 19, 1917, January 24, February 4, May 8, 19, November 15, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 15, July 19, 20, 30, August 6, September 9, November 20, 1918; James R. McGovern, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola, 1900-1945* (DeLeon Springs, FL: E.O. Printing Company, 1976), 26, 30, 36.

10 Jeffrey A. Drobney, *Lumbermen and Log Sawyers: The Labor and Culture in the North Florida Timber Industry* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 44-47;"Florida Pine Is In Demand," *Tampa Daily Times*, April 8, 1916.

A. Spencer, agent to the Seminoles, reported in December 1914 that "The Indians, some 600 in number, have been harder hit by the war than any other people in the country." Lamented an observer in 1918: "The days of the Seminole canoe are numbered and with it comes a change in his mode of living."[11]

"The farmer is having his day," a smug Floridian editorialized in October 1917. One year later the *Pensacola Journal* printed a truly historic headline: "Prosperity in West Florida." For farmers and planters accustomed to roller coaster dips and heights, the war years intensified those experiences. The war glorified the yeoman farmer. W.T. Cash recalled farmers selling "all they grew at high prices and it was a common thing to give $1.50 per gallon for syrup, $1.50 or more per bushel for sweet potatoes, 45 cents per pound for pork chops and 12½ cents per pound for Irish potatoes." Beekeepers, who could hardly give away orange blossom and tupelo honey in 1914, now sold jars for twenty-five cents. One Leon County beekeeper made $2,000 for his 1918 honey harvest. "The best patriot," trumpeted the *Bradford County Telegraph*, "is he who raises the most grub. Let us, then, be valiant soldiers of the hoe." Rarely in American history have Jeffersonian sentiments matched Hamiltonian realities. Sidney J. Catts, Florida's "Cracker Messiah," defied codes and convention by keeping a pigpen behind the governor's mansion.[12]

For generations, Florida farmers had lived in isolation from the dictates of Washington. The war's centralizing qualities brought the federal government closer to Okeechobee ranchers and Hastings farmers than ever before. From Washington, Food Administration director Herbert Hoover urged planters to produce more sugar and less corn, but the pleadings arrived in patriotic tones: "Food will win the war."[13]

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11 Harry A. Kersey, *Pelts, Plumes, and Hides* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1980), 12-129; *Miami Herald*, January 3, 1915; *Fort Myers Press*, June 25, 1918.

12 *Pensacola Journal*, September 11, 1918; *Miami Metropolis* quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 18, 1918; W. T. Cash, *The Story of Florida*, II (American Historical Society, 1938), 576; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat* July 19, 1918;"Florida Pine Is In Demand," *Tampa Daily Times*, April 8, 1916; Flynt *Cracker Messiah*, 188; Ripley, 373.

13 In 1917, the artist Charles E. Chambers finished a poster depicting immigrants approaching the Statue of Liberty. The poster read, "Food Will Win the War. You came here seeking Freedom. You must now help preserve it. Wheat is needed for the allies. Waste Nothing." In "Food Conservation during World War I: 'Food Will Win the War October 16, 2012, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. "Herbert Hoover, 'Napoleon of Mercy.'" *Wall Street Journal*, October 18, 2014.

Wartime prosperity enriched grove owners, cotton planters, and truck farmers. Newspapers and trade journals marveled at the torrent of produce headed toward military barracks and northern consumers. Editors and politicians praised both the lowly and the glamorous: Miccosukee broom corn and Monticello watermelons, Chiefland cotton and Quincy tobacco, Starke strawberries and Ruskin tomatoes, Smith Creek honey and Homestead soursops.

Florida's 1917 harvest dwarfed the previous effort in volume and profit. Potato productivity doubled and peanut yields quadrupled. Tobacco planters in Gadsden County, taking advantage of the new-found popularity of cigarettes, received record prices. The state's corn crop was hailed as "the greatest produced." Gloating over the generous harvest, an editor urged readers to "eat corn bread once a day and save shrinking wheat supplies." Eating more onions, suggested a writer, was "a patriotic duty." Hastings, began as an agricultural extension of the Flagler System, benefitted from the good times. Americans faced a shortage of Irish potatoes in 1918. St. Johns County farmers watched in disbelief as prices for spuds climbed from $3.50 a barrel to $20 a barrel. In 1918, Hastings farmers harvested 26,000 acres of spuds.[14]

A 1917 headline, "South Wallows in Prosperity," was welcome news to a region accustomed to poverty. Cotton planters, depressed by the loss of European markets, joyfully watched prices rise. In 1914, cotton prices had bottomed, fetching only nine cents per pound. The cotton panic of 1915 vanished with massive purchases by government agents directing the bales to clothing and explosives factories. Florida planters reveled in tall cotton. Five years later, Jefferson County cotton brought a stunning thirty-seven cents per pound. Farmers as far south as Polk County tilled and picked cotton. In the fall of 1918, Graceville ginners paid out a half-million dollars to West Florida cotton planters. In 1919, the southern cotton crop topped two billion dollars, culminating the greatest year in agricultural history.[15]

Across Florida, muck lands and palmetto scrub yielded to plow and machete. Prosperity coincided with increasing reliance on and

14 *Miami Metropolis*, July 10, 1917; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, December 31, 1917, March 20, April 12,1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 21, 1918.

15 "South Wallows in Prosperity," *St. Petersburg Independent*, January 6, 1917;Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, 60-61; Clifton Paisley, "Thirty Cent Cotton at Lloyd, Florida: 1916-1919" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1971): 219-231; *Tampa Daily Times*, February 2, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 21, 1918; *Florida Times-Union*, November 12, 1918; *Bartow Courier Informant*, February 15, 1918.

affordability of tractors and trucks. Monticello's George F. Allison reminded area farmers to "place your orders early" for a Fordson tractor, while Leon County farmers flocked to see a two-day demonstration of the Moline Universal Tractor. "Practically every larger farmer in the county saw the work of the machine," reported the *Tallahassee Democrat.* The College of Agriculture at the University of Florida publicized a "tractor school," to familiarize farmers with the new machine.[16]

The shifting past and future of Florida agriculture can be divined in Sanibel's wartime experience. In 1918 the island, located at the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River, was home to one hundred residents, pioneer homesteaders who had learned to wrest a living from the island's soil. By adding potash to the calcified earth, farmers were able to harvest high-quality, early-season, name-brand tomatoes. But Sanibel, accessible only by boat or ferry, was a prisoner of its geography. Wartime emergencies claimed the island's steamer; crews that once ferried occasional tourists and winter tomatoes now plied more critical cargoes. The government, furthermore, commandeered potash for war purposes. Sanibel's agricultural promise faded, and a devastating hurricane in 1921 added an exclamation point to the island's fragility. Sanibel's future as a haven for tourists glimmered in the distance.[17]

But if war doomed Sanibel's agricultural future, profits and promise tantalized farmers and investors to Lake Okeechobee's eastern shore. The economy that lured away island ferrymen and tourist steamers also displaced Okeechobee fish camps and Everglades sawgrass. An agricultural empire was emerging. Lawrence Will, a dredge man and keen observer, was present at the creation. "More than likely you've never seen a gold rush, but if you had been here on East Branch about the time World War I was getting wound up you would have seen the best darned blamed imitation of one since they grabbled up those nuggets at Sutter's Mill." The assault upon the eastern glades of Lake Okeechobee coincided with the completion of the first canals dredged to Fort Lauderdale and West Palm Beach. "The completion of this monster ditch," boasted the *Stuart News* in 1915, referring to the St. Lucie Canal, "will mean...

16 *Pensacola Journal*, December 22, 1918; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* August 23, 1918; *Madison Enterprise-Recorder,* November 22, 1918.

17 Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Fort Myers: The History of the Land of the Caloosahatchee and Southwest Florida* (Ft. Myers, FL: Island Press Publishers, 1982), 208; Florence Fritz, *The Unknown Story of Sanibel and Captiva* (Parsons, W.V.: McClain Print Co., 1974), 149.

a thriving artery of commerce." Reminisced Will: "Everybody was flocking here, fixing to get wealthy from that 'black gold'—Everglades muck." Underwritten by massive state subsidies, the fertile muck lands were touted with slogans like "ten acres and independence," but ironically the lands targeted for yeoman farmers became a paradise for corporate agriculture and a hell for workers. The dramatic rise in sugar prices resurrected a depressed industry. In 1919, the Pennsylvania Sugar Company purchased 75,000 acres of glade muckland. Belle Glade and Pahokee, tomatoes and beans, soon eclipsed west Florida's Lloyd and Graceville as the new agricultural centers of Florida.[18]

Coontie and castor beans also played curious roles in this era's agricultural history. World War I provided a sentimental last hurrah for coontie, "Florida arrowroots," a crop largely forgotten since the Territorial era. In 1916, the A.B. Hurst Coontie Mill, located on the Little River near Miami, stood as a relic. The mill's grist stones ground overtime in 1917. Nutritionists discovered that soldiers gassed in combat had difficulty holding normal food down but a diet of coontie gruel helped nurse them to recovery. Today, coontie serves as an urban ornamental plant, a vestigial and unappreciated legacy of frontier Florida.[19]

For most Americans living in the early twentieth century, castor oil summoned up memories of a vile-tasting purgative. But engineers and scientists, harnessing the mundane to become an instrument of modern war, discovered that castor oil's high-burning temperature filled a vital need as a lubricant for high-speed aircraft engines. "You can help Uncle Sam put 27,000 airplanes over the Enemy Fighting Lines," advertised the *Lake Wales Highlander.* The Seaboard Airline Railway distributed seeds so farmers could plant 10,000 acres along the rail tracks. "Every day counts with the Hun on the run," said an official. The *Leesburg Commercial* claimed that when aproned mothers appeared with a spoonful of castor oil, Florida youths will "gulp it down willingly because they know it helps boost the market for the beans." D. Collins Gillett, plant nursery-citrus magnate, promised investors that Sumter County's

18 Lawrence E. Will, *A Cracker History of Okeechobee: "Custard Apple, Moonvine, Catfish and Moonshine"* (Belle Glade, FL: Glades Historical Society, 1977), 239; *Palm Beach Post,* April 3, 1918; J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South 1753-1950* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), 364-367; *Stuart News*, November 5, 1915 reprinted, January 9, 1964.

19 "Coontie," *Miami News Magazine*, February 26, 1963; See also "Coontie," Historical Association of South Florida, Library files.

"Famous Webster Belt" would be to castor beans what the Indian River was to oranges. At least six thousand Florida farmers planted 50,000 acres of castor beans. Even conservationists paid homage to the once lowly crop. The Miami Audubon Society distributed a poster saluting the blackbird: "Save the bird that eats the worm that eats the castor bean that oils the machine that beats the Hun and wins the war for freedom."[20]

Patriotism Unfurled

The First World War harnessed ancient and modern forces: the love of homeland and the power of mass communications. On one hand, the war resembled a religious crusade. American patriots chanted that this was a "war to end all wars," a "war to save the world for democracy." But a nation that strove for total mobilization and mastery of the industrial revolution could also apply the techniques of mass production to public opinion and mass communications. Washington created the Orwellian-sounding Committee on Public Information to coordinate and inculcate propaganda. James Montgomery Flagg and Norman Rockwell painted posters while printing presses disseminated millions of broadsides and pamphlets. Artists such as Flagg and Irving Berlin used modern technology to touch atavistic symbols of hearth and homeland.

Over forty-thousand Floridians served in the First World War. Governor Sidney J. Catts proudly donned the military uniform of commander-in-chief of the Florida Militia, while his son wore a captain's army uniform—until he was demoted two ranks, in large part because of his father's criticism of southern military camps. Newspapers reported with pride the accomplishments of local boys at the front. It was a golden age of brass bands, and in each city obligatory parades saluted local units headed "Over There." Sometimes the marching bands volunteered en masse. Not quite seventy-six trombones strong—the Gainesville campus contained only 434 students in 1918—the entire University of Florida Band enlisted, becoming the 124th Infantry Band. Overall, more than four hundred U. F. alumni entered the services, including thirty-five in an ambulance corps unit. "The University of Florida student-body," reported the *Gainesville Daily Sun* in 1918, "now consists of

20 *Leesburg Commercial* quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 29, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* January 6, June 5, August 5, 1918; *Tampa Daily Times*, January 3, March 6, 1918; *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* October 2, 1918; *Florida Grower*, November 9, 1918, October 12, 1919; *Miami Herald*, September 8, 1918.

two main divisions, the Army and the Navy. The men in the Army khaki and the Navy-blue drill on the University grounds daily." In addition, eighty-six alumni of tiny St. Leo College served in the war. In Jacksonville, placards proclaimed "To Berlin or Bust" as young recruits marched to the train station, carrying "away with them the memories of the most patriotic and spectacular farewell celebration." Local Rotary clubs presented service flags to families with sons serving in the armed forces.[21]

The war tapped into a wellspring of American creativity: volunteerism. In Florida, businessmen promoted Liberty Loan drives, housewives tended garden plots and knitted socks, boys collected bacon grease and scrap iron, and Girl Scouts distributed sandwiches and coffee to soldiers passing through towns. In schools and factories, sewing clubs and fish houses, Floridians displayed selflessness and generosity in supporting the war. In Lakeland, a suffragette called for women to raise funds for the war by washing clothes, driving tourists around the town, and melting down their wedding rings. The *Ocala Banner* launched a "Tobacco Fund" to send cigarettes to the Western Front, while in Key West a factory donated 60,000 cigars. Baseball teams played benefit games. For a $500 pledge, Miami patriots rode in a Whippet tank and helped demolish a condemned Methodist Episcopal church, although the structure, made of Dade County pine, resisted mightily. In Tarpon Springs, fishermen donated sponges to the Red Cross; in St. Petersburg, students collected hickory nuts and peach pits for gas masks.[22]

Some of the most successful and determined organizational war work occurred in Florida's churches and synagogues. Catholics, Protestants, and Jews organized war councils, raised funds for Belgian children, and wrote letters to servicemen. Pastors helped explain draft registration information to parishioners; Greek

21 Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 112-115; *Report of the [Florida] Board of Control, 1916-1918*, 48-51; (University of Florida) *Alligator*, October 24, 1917; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, November 10, 1918; *St Petersburg Times* June 21, November 6, December 7, 1918; *Florida Times-Union*, September 18, 1917; James J. Horgan *Pioneer College: The Centennial History of Saint Leo College, Saint Leo Abbey, and Holy Name Priory*, (St. Leo, FL: Saint Leo College Press, 1989), 360

22 Jerrell H, Shofner, *History of Apopka and Northwest Orange County, Florida* (Apopka, FL: Apopka Historical Society, 1982), 165; *Cocoa Tribune*, November 14, 1918; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, October 10, 1918; *Ocala Banner*, January 18, 1918; *St. Petersburg Times*, November 5, 1918; *Fort Myers Press* in *Tampa Daily Times*, February 12, 1918; *Bartow Courier Informant*, December 26, 1917; *Lakeland Evening Telegram*, August 15, 1914; *Lake Wales Highlander*, November 14, 1918

Orthodox archbishops distributed geo-political news about the homeland.

African Americans organized patriotic societies, dug deep in their pockets to support the cause, and sent their sons to fight the Hun, believing that patriotism demonstrated now would mean respect granted later. Indeed, whites conferred a genteel respect for black leaders during the war. "The speech of John H. Mays, colored businessman and educator, delivered in Williams Park last night," reported the *St. Petersburg Times*, "drew the largest crowd... this summer...driving home truth for both the white and colored persons in the audience." In Tallahassee, a black civic group "drafted" the leaders of the city's Afro-American Insurance Company "to help care for negro soldiers in France. This is a patriotic call... You cannot afford to be a slacker..." The *Miami Herald* saluted "a remarkable demonstration of patriotism exhibited by the colored people." The *Fort Myers Press* announced in October 1918: "Colored Folk To Hear Liberty Loan Speakers." African Americans stood steadfast for the war, even though the 1915 legislature voted for a grandfather clause, endorsed a literacy voting test, considered a bill to disbar black lawyers, and listened politely to Congressman Frank Clark who promoted "racial deportation."[23]

If the First World War was a struggle to win the hearts and minds of citizens, it was also a contest to raise awesome amounts of foodstuffs to feed allies and doughboys. Even city dwellers, many only a few months or a generation removed from the farm, responded generously. Governor Catts established a Food Conservation Committee, but Floridians needed few committees to grow more food. "Home Gardens Are All The Rage," announced the *Miami Herald* in 1917.[24]

The war altered Floridians' diet. From Washington came pleadings of "porkless Tuesdays"; from Cortez and Carrabelle tumbled bushels of mullet and redfish. To satisfy carnivores, Floridians substituted shark, turtle, and even porpoise. Jack Spratt–he of Mother Goose fame who licked his platter clean–lent his name to the Leon

23 Kennedy, *Over Here*, 29; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 21, July 23, 1918; *Fort Myers Press*, October 5, 1918; *Miami Herald*, April 11, May 10, November 27, 1917, August 5, November 13, 1918; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, May 26, 1915; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 2, 1918; Arva Moore Parks, *Miami, The Magic City* (Tulsa, OK: Continental Heritage Press, 1981), 100-103.

24 Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 188; *Miami Herald*, April 10, 1917; *Florida Times-Union*, April 8, 10, 15, 19, October 20, 1917; *Miami Metropolis*, July 10, 1917; *Lakeland Evening Telegram* in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 19, 1917; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 11, 1918.

County Jack Spratt Patriotic Society. Relieving the sugar shortage required both rationing and planting more sugar cane for cane syrup, sorghum, and molasses. In 1917, the *Winter Haven Chief* contemplated a "whiskeyless, eggless, sugarless, Christmas egg-nog."[25]

Women

The Great War swept American women into its vortex, accelerating and altering the pace of change. Historically, wars create new opportunities for women. Between 1914 and 1918, more women worked for wages than ever before, but the composition of the female workforce reflected more long-term economic patterns than dramatic short-term adjustments. The typical female employee was young, single, and working class. Immigrant and black women tended to work in greater numbers than native-born white women. Middle-class white women typically did not work for wages. The war years found women working at Apalachicola and Fernandina canneries, Key West and Ybor City cigar factories, and Winter Haven and Fort Pierce packing houses. In Largo, women staffed a marmalade factory; in Key Largo, they cleaned tourist cabins. Manpower shortages resulted in women picking cotton and winter vegetables, but such labor often went unreported. Women, black and white, replaced men as chauffeurs, elevator operators, and laundry workers. In Jacksonville, women from the Liberty League replaced striking street-car conductors.

The prosperity wrought by war and newcomers benefitted one particular female-oriented economy: prostitution. Illicit sex for sale was hardly new, but Florida's military complexes provided huge markets and incentives for purveyors of sex. Prostitution flourished in early twentieth-century Florida cities, often operating in designated "red-light" districts and prospering in spite of middle-class reformers and religious sensibilities. But new patriotic alarms alerted reformers and patriots. Pensacola, Miami, and Jacksonville shut down selected bordellos, to protect the troops from social diseases. Judge Pierce Branning cautioned authorities in Key West to curb vice, warning, "Your city is now filled with young recruits in both branches of the service. Many of them have never been away from home before—in fact some are just out of school."

25 *Miami Herald,* April 25, 26, November 22, December 24, 1917; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* March 1, 1918; *Florida Times-Union,* November 20, 1918; *Winter Haven Chief* in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 10, 1917; *Florida Times-Union* in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 6, 1918, August 6, 1918.

It is uncertain as to what kind of education recruits received in Key West and elsewhere, but almost certainly, prostitution continued. Governor Catts, in a February 1918 letter to Florida sheriffs, implored police to "look well into the matter of the vagrant, idle and immoral women within the length and breadth of your county...." If prostitution was not respectable, it provided a service, and it met a demand. Floridians came to understand the words of New Orleans Mayor Martin Behrman, who, upon the closing of Storyville in 1917 warned, "You can make prostitution illegal in Louisiana, but you can't make it unpopular."[26]

Historically, middle-class American women expressed themselves through volunteer work. The war years marked an apogee of women's volunteer work begun in the late nineteenth century and Progressive-era club work. The Red Cross provided an outlet for thousands of Floridians eager to help. Women rolled surgical dressings, practiced first aid, and ministered to the sick. In larger cities, the Red Cross formed white and black auxiliaries. Other organizations assisted in war relief and community affairs. Orlando's Edna Giles Fuller served as assistant state food administrator, lecturing women's groups on topics of conservation and distribution, while Agnes Harris, a state home demonstration agent, urged women to assist in tick eradication. The Florida Federation of Women's Clubs offered "canning and corn" demonstrations. Floridians also enlisted in the ranks of "Victory Girls," a national organization designed to raise funds for United War Work. May Mann Jennings led the drive to organize a Women's Liberty Loan committee in all of Florida's fifty-four counties. Black women, too, participated in community improvement clubs to raise funds for schools and bake cakes for sons and neighbors in the service. The war did not diminish women's ardor for conservation. In 1916, the governor dedicated Royal Palm State Park.[27]

26 *Tampa Daily Times*, February 9, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 20, 1917; Paul S. George, "Policing Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (April 1979): 440; Linda D. Vance, *May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1986), 102; Tindall, *Emergence of The New South*, 62; Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 121; McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 76; Branning quoted in *Miami Herald*, June 30, 1917; Behrman quoted in T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1970), 131.

27 Vance, *May Mann Jennings*,70, 95, 98, 101-105; *Miami Herald*, May 13, 1917, August 5, 7, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June1, 1918; *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, October 9, 1918; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 7, 9, 11, 16, November 2, 1918; *Pensacola Journal*, December 29, 1918; "Royal Palm State Park," *Miami Herald*, September 9, 1918.

For women of both races, teaching offered middle-class respectability, if not a middle-class salary. Single females dominated the roster of teachers. No other professional employment was as open and compared to other types of work available to women, particularly black women. Even so, salaries reflected a rigid gender and racial hierarchy. During the 1917-1918 school year, white male teachers' salaries averaged $91 a month; white female teachers earned $61. Black male teachers' salaries averaged $48 month; black females earned a paltry $32.[28]

The Great War profoundly and prosaically touched the lives of Florida women, reinforcing the era's idealized notions of feminine perfection: morality, conformity, and domesticity. But the war also blasted away Victorian conventions, anticipating the "new woman" and values of the 1920s: individualism, iconoclasm, and pleasure.

The lives of two middle-class Floridians illustrate these tensions. Blanche Armwood exemplified the expectations of the black middle class. Born in Tampa in 1890, she enjoyed the comforts of private education and a genteel culture befitting the daughter of one of the black community's leaders. A graduate of Spelman College, she returned to Tampa to teach, but the war opened new opportunities. She started a free day nursery for working mothers, organized the Woman's Improvement Circle, and joined the National Association of Colored Women. The Tampa Gas Company wished to expand its services and hired Armwood as a speaker to reach the large number of black domestics and cooks. As head of the Tampa School of Household Arts, she attempted to cultivate new skills in the lives of poorly paid black workers. She combined the gospel of Booker T. Washington and the patriotism of George Creel, lecturing on topics such as "Fighting the Huns in American Kitchens." After the war, Armwood—called a "Feminine Booker T. Washington"—campaigned for Warren G. Harding in 1920, beginning a lifetime association with the Republican Party.[29]

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28 *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1918* (Tallahassee: T.J. Appleyard, Printer, 1918), 133; "The Florida School Teacher and Her Salary—A Travesty," and "The Negro Teachers' Side of the Low Salary Question," *Tampa Daily Times*, April 3 and 17, 1918.

29 Keith Halderman, "Blanche Armwood and the Strategy of Interracial Cooperation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (Winter 1996): 287-303; Maxine Jones, "No Longer Denied: Black Women in Florida, 1920-1950," in *The African-American Heritage of* Florida, ed. David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 263.

Although she was a white woman born in the North, Marjory Stoneman Douglas's early life shared many similarities with Blanche Armwood. Both women were born in 1890 to families of comfort and status, but Douglas adjusted uneasily to her parent's divorce and mother's insanity. Both women attended elite women's schools, Douglas matriculating at Wellesley College and Armwood at Spelman. Both women suffered disastrous marriages early in their lives. Neither particularly enjoyed the drudgery of housekeeping.

Douglas's arrival in Miami in 1915 opened a new chapter in her life. She sensed the opportunities as a single female journalist in a young, dynamic town. Working for her father's newspaper, Douglas was covering a routine story in 1917—a plumber's wife about to enlist in the Navy Reserve—when "the next thing I know I was sticking up my hand, swearing to protect and defend the United States of America from all enemies whatsoever." While she admitted that her one-year stint in the Navy "was probably the worst I'd spent," the experience impelled her to join the American Red Cross. By 1918-1919, the sheltered Douglas was touring war-torn France, Italy, and the Balkans. The Miami to which she returned had changed as much as Marjory Stoneman Douglas, herself. Her extraordinary talents awaited the dynamic 1920s, relatively unimpeded and unrestricted, a very different world from the racial restraints confronting Blanche Armwood.[30]

Enemies Within

Emboldened by the Congressional Espionage and Sedition Acts of 1917-1918, many Florida municipalities passed legislation curbing criticism of the military or government. The *Bradenton Journal* editorialized, "Expressions in opposition to America's position in this war should not be tolerated in any community, and any man who gives vent to seditious utterances should be made to realize that we want no enemies or enemy propaganda among us." Authorities arrested A. J. Adams in Fort Myers, accused of inculcating "socialist ideas" at Moore Haven and Immokalee. The state press expressed much concern about "slackers," young men who chose pleasure over country. In Miami, an officer warned "street

30 Marjory Stoneman Douglas, *Voice of the River* (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1987), 95-124; Jack E. Davis, *An Everglades Providence: Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the American Environmental Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 241-256.

loafers who criticize the soldiers" of possible retaliation. The 1917 Florida legislature passed a law "providing for the registration of aliens when a state of war exists or is imminent between the United States and a foreign country."[31]

The specter of a black insurrection, a resurrection of slavery-era fantasy, found new credence during the war. Rumors circulated that German agents were fomenting a race war in the American South. Reportedly, Germans in rural Bradford County offered black allies "complete franchise, freedom, and political and social equality." In Tampa, gossip spread that the Huns had persuaded local blacks to sabotage the city's power plant. "St. Pete Negroes Are Propaganda Sufferers," proclaimed a newspaper. In Key West, authorities arrested Reverend Karl Klaus, an enemy alien charged with entering a military zone without a permit and accused of "stirring up negroes in Miami."[32]

As blacks and whites grappled with the vexing question of race and citizenship, Floridians confronted the dilemma of hyphenated Americans, the state's new immigrants. The war's tempo, with its moral overtones of the holy crusade, encouraged white and black ethnics to believe that this war might legitimize their status as loyal Americans. No single group became more circumspect, more scrutinized than German Americans. Allied propagandists depicted German culture as authoritarian, cruel, and threatening. Ironically, German immigrants had earlier been considered model citizens, the very type of worker a developing Florida needed. Positive German stereotypes oxidized in the blinding atmosphere of wartime conformity and paranoia. In 1915, only a few thousand Germans called Florida home, fewer than resided in some St. Louis or Milwaukee precincts. Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa boasted enough inhabitants to support German national clubs. Floridians needed a scapegoat and quickly identified traitors in their midst.

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31 "Registration of German Enemy Aliens," and "Florida Woman Held as a Hun Spy," *St. Petersburg Times,*" February 1 and November 8, 1918; *Tampa Daily Times*, February 8, March 18, 1918; *Bradenton Journal* quoted in *Tampa Daily Times*, February 5, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, September 6, May 31, 1917, May 4, 7, 20, 30, June 1, August 12, 1918; Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 129; *Miami Herald*, April 21, 1917; *Pensacola Journal*, October 8, 12, 23, 1918; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Florida, 1917*, 263; *Journal of the State Senate of Florida, 1917*, 1535-1536.

32 Ripley, 264-265; "German Influence Among Southern Negroes," *Tampa Daily Times*, March 28, 1917; "To Hell with the Kaiser," "St. Pete Negroes," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 21, 1919; See also September 14, 1918; *Tampa Daily Times*, March 13, 18, 1918

The anxieties and frustrations unleashed by the war brought together protean elements identified as Nativism: a fear of outsiders, most notably immigrants whose culture critics labeled as "undesirable" and "un-American"; a fear of radicals, especially foreigners who had bolstered the ranks of socialists and anarchists; and finally, a concern with the pollution of Old American stock and a desire to preserve American racial purity. Nativism also connected with powerful, concurrent movements: prohibition, immigration restriction, and religious fundamentalism.[33]

In Florida, such anxieties crystallized around the figure of Sidney Johnston Catts. A Baptist preacher and eloquent stump orator who had only been in the state since 1911, Catts electrified rural audiences with warnings about Papal plots and foreign menaces. In 1916, Baptists comprised the largest religious denomination in Florida. Its 57,732 members dwarfed the state's Catholics, who tended to reside in the larger cities and represented only three percent of the population. The Baptist firebrand frightened Democratic Party leaders, although any effort to stifle or isolate the demagogue only made his message more irresistible. The charismatic Catts warned rural audiences that Catholicism posed a military and moral threat to America, and claimed that even as he spoke, the Knights of Columbus were stockpiling munitions at Jesuit Sacred Heart Cathedral in Tampa. Unfairly denied the Democratic Party nomination as governor in 1916, Catts proceeded to win election to the statehouse as a candidate for the Prohibition Party and continued to attack the predominantly wet-leaning Catholics.

Nestled amid the rolling citrus groves of Pasco County, the community of San Antonio offered critics a vulnerable target. Founded in the 1880s by Edmund F. Dunne, a former chief justice of the Arizona territory and an attorney for Hamilton Disston, San Antonio became for Catholics Florida's city upon a hill. Dunne required settlers to bring letters from priests vouching for their piety. Dunne invited German monks from the Order of St. Benedict to establish a monastery and a school. A German colony soon flourished, supporting a newspaper, *Florida Staats Zeitung* (Florida State Newspaper). In 1916, San Antonio was engulfed in a nativist firestorm. Georgia's Tom Watson, once an agrarian rebel but

33 Every generation demonizes certain immigrant groups. The best study of nativism remains John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1954). See also Walter Michaels, *Our America: Nativism, Modernism and Pluralism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Peter Schrag, *Not Fit for Our Society: Immigration and Nativism in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

now a reactionary, used his newspaper, *The Jeffersonian*, to indict "the murderous monks." A November 1916 article signed "French Huguenot," indicted the "arrogant monks [who] own the 12th part of Pasco County and pay not one cent of taxes and live like kings and work the poor people to death." Rumors swirled that the Pope, upon the surrender of the U.S., planned to move the Vatican to San Antonio.[34]

The anti-German hysteria intensified. The German-American Lumber Company of St. Andrews Bay, once praised for providing employment and investment, was now called a threat to domestic security. Utilizing the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act, a congressional panel recommended that the German-owned firm be sold to American investors. The German-American Lumber Company, under American ownership, resurfaced as the St. Andrews Bay Lumber Company.[35]

Prior to the war, German-American residents in Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa had achieved success and acquired positions of leadership. As a demonstration of their affection for the Fatherland, immigrants erected cultural centers, sites for German opera, singing societies, and gymnasiums. Jews and gentiles, Catholics and Protestants joined the Germania Club in Miami and Jacksonville and the German-American Club in Tampa. German Jews especially expressed pride in having been accepted by fellow Germans. On February 19, 1915, thousands of German-American women in Tampa donated their gold wedding rings to the German Red Cross, accepting in exchange iron bands inscribed, "To the Fatherland, in order to show loyalty, given in troubled times, gold for this iron."[36]

The war shattered the filiopietistic relationship shared between German Americans and their cultural institutions. In Jacksonville, a panicked membership donated their handsome Riverside Avenue structure to the American Red Cross. Within hours after America's declaration of war, individuals had chiseled "Germania" from the cornerstone nameplate. On April 11, 1917, Miami's Germania Club also disbanded. Nor in Tampa could the German-American

34 William Dayton; "Those Murderous Monks of Pasco County," *Tampa Bay History* I (Fall/Winter 1979): 55-59; Horgan, *Pioneer College*, 338-349.

35 Edward F. Keuchel, "A Purely Business Motive: German-American Lumber Company, 1901-1918," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (1974): 381-395; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, March 29, June 21, July 19, 1918

36 "Germans to Give Gold for Iron," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 20, 1915.

club survive the war. The clubhouse locked its doors, reopening later as the Young Men's Hebrew Association.[37]

Anti-German sentiments spilled over into everyday life in Florida. Readers of the *Monticello News* learned that "the cattle tick is an ally of the Kaiser." Moviegoers at Pensacola's Saenger Theatre and Gainesville's Lyric Theatre jeered *The Kaiser, The Beast of Berlin* and *To Hell With the Kaiser.* From the River Perdido to Cape Sabal, Floridians dumped sauerkraut, frankfurters, and hamburgers in favor of the diplomatically correct liberty cabbage, hot dogs, and Salisbury steak. A Kissimmee druggist notified customers that he would no longer sell German drugs. In response, members of the Kissimmee Woman's Club vowed to boycott German products.[38]

As the rhetoric and reality of the war touched more and more Americans, citizens demanded deeds of loyalty, not mere words. In gestures ceremonial and ritualistic, German Americans donated generously at Liberty Bond drives. Still the public cast doubts on their loyalty. In February 1918, all German aliens in Florida were required to register with county sheriffs or face internment. In San Antonio, the editor of Florida's only German newspaper was arrested and was interned for the war. The Jacksonville City Council passed a measure prohibiting German nationals from handling food or drink. When parishioners at Miami's White Temple Methodist Church performed the "Messiah," critics pointed out that Handel was German.[39]

Fears of German treachery touched Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and Tampa. In February 1918, a fisherman discovered twelve powerful floating contact mines—"evidently laid by a German or German sympathizer"—on the St. Johns River near Floral Bluff. In December 1917, a Tallahassee paper disclosed one of the war's most bizarre incidents. "Are Bomb Plotters At Work In Tallahassee?" the paper asked. A resident found an English walnut that had

37 Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 120, 126-127; "Germania Club Discontinued," *Miami Herald*, April 12, 1917; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 9, 1918; Kennedy, *Over Here*, 67-68.

38 Jerrell H. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County* (Tallahassee, FL: Sentry Press, 1976), 467; *Florida Grower*, September 7, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 12, 1917; "Coming November 18, *To Hell with the Kaiser* at Gainesville Lyric Theater," *Gainesville Daily Sun*, November 7, 1918; "No More German Drugs," *Tampa Daily Times*, April 10, 1918.

39 *Bartow Courier Informant*, April 26, 1918; Parks, *Miami*, 100; McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 107; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 14, 1917, August 12, September 9, 14, 1918; *Tampa Daily Times*, January 29, February 8, March 13, 1918; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 2, 1918; Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 127.

been carefully halved. Inside a note provided instructions: "Bombs are ready. Don't fail me. The Capitol is unguarded." Whether the "bomb plot" was the work of a fiendish German saboteur or a student with a twisted sense of humor was never solved.[40]

Not all Floridians took the bomb plot seriously. The *Indian River Star* queried, "How would the Kaiser benefit by the destruction of the old capitol building?" The *Orlando Sentinel*, confessing it had shamelessly lobbied for the relocation of the state capitol, scoffed that "The only humorous aspect about the report to blow up the state capitol in Tallahassee is that somebody in Orlando will be charged with the crime."[41]

Tampa's ethnic cauldron, simmering in the best of times, acted more like a pressure cooker between 1917-1919. A tragic accident illustrated the sudden peril of being associated with things German. Ernest Kreher seemed to embody the American dream. Born in Germany, he immigrated to America as a young man— ironically to avoid German militarism. After a stint with the Plant Steamship Company, Kreher established the Tampa Foundry and Machine Company. Securing several wartime contracts, he organized the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. His dream turned nightmare in January 1918, when two gasoline-powered launches sank and seventeen shipyard workers in the overcrowded boats were drowned. Workers, sharply critical of Kreher's anti-unionism, accused him of culpable negligence. Tampans suddenly recalled that Kreher politely declined subscription to the First Liberty Loan Drive. A hearing described as "the greatest meeting ever held in the criminal court" condemned Kreher. The Department of Justice intervened, ordering Kreher and six German aliens to stay away from the shipyards. Eventually, Kreher was forced to sell his firm to "American" interests.[42]

During such times of social unrest, universities frequently serve as lightning rods of criticism. In 1918 Florida's Board of Control voted to eliminate the study of German language at the University of Florida and Florida State College for Women. In Tallahassee, the Board fired a college piano teacher who refused to remove a

40 "Bomb Plotters," *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, December 31, 1917; "Bombs Placed in St. Johns River," *Tampa Daily Times*, February 1, 1918; Pensacola *Journal*, December 24, 1918.

41 *Indian River Star* and *Orlando Sentinel* quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 9, 1918.

42 *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 19, 23, February 7, June 1, November 12, 1918; *Tampa Daily Times*, January 17, 23, 29, February 1, 22, 25, 27, March 19, 1918.

picture of the Kaiser from her studio. The University of Florida had taken on a military feel with the arrival of 400 young men on campus to ready for the Student Army Training Corps. In this environment, the integrity of Professor Ludwig W. Bucholz became an issue. An employee at the Agricultural Experiment Station claimed that she heard the German-born scholar express "pro-German and anti-American ideas." After a military officer demanded that the governor dismiss Buchholz, a hearing took place in Tampa, where scores of former students and officials rallied to clear the professor's reputation. Overall, German culture absorbed a devastating blow, never regaining its prewar prominence.[43]

Paranoia gripped Florida. African Americans (once dependable but now "uppity"), German Americans (once praised but now demonized), and Catholics (once welcomed but now suspect), all seemed to pose a threat to Florida. To combat the internal and external threats to freedom, Florida and the federal government prepared for war.

Citadel

Historically, Florida had played an illustrious role as citadel and fort. World War I served as a microcosm of twentieth-century wars as the conflict bound the military and state in new relationships. On the eve of war, however, gloom pervaded Pensacola. Since the 1820s, the U.S. Navy had maintained a modest presence in West Florida, but on October 21, 1911 the *Pensacola Journal's* headline tolled a death knell: "Local Navy Yard Officially Closed."

But Pensacola lost neither its ardor for the military nor its status as an important port, transforming itself into a major center for the new era of flight. In 1913, the Army organized its first aero squadron, and that summer Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels appointed a board to select sites for aviation training. Daniels toured Pensacola and on November 17, 1913, his assistant secretary Franklin Delano Roosevelt announced the establishment of the Naval Aeronautics Station. Utilizing the old navy yard, the air station opened New Year's Day, 1914. On January 20, 1914, the U.S.S.

43 "Board Control Shuts Out the Study of German," *Tampa Daily Times*, June 14, 1918; "Prof. Buchholz," and "Cut German Language from School Studies," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 12, 1918 and April 19, 1919; Samuel Proctor and Wright Langley, *Gator History: A Pictorial History of the University of Florida* (Gainesville: South Star Pub. Co., 1986), 46; Ripley, 265; Robert Siegel, "During World War I, U.S. Government Erased German Culture," *NPR.org*, April 7, 2017.

Mississippi arrived in Pensacola with a cargo of three flight instructors, twelve mechanics, along with six Curtiss, one Wright, and two Burgess seaplanes. Within two weeks, the base experienced its first air fatality. The Pensacola Naval Air Station attracted an intrepid breed of aviators, including Lt. Cmdr. W. M. Corry, Jr. of Quincy. In December 1915, Lt. R. C. Saufley established an American altitude record while flying 11,975 feet over Pensacola. Six months later Saufley died in a crash off Santa Rosa Island.[44]

The January 3, 1914 *Tampa Tribune* headline, "Pensacola To Be Big U.S. Aviation Center" was prophetic. Nearly a thousand pilots received their wings at Pensacola between 1914 and 1918. All of America's wartime dirigible pilots trained in Florida. In 1915, witnesses marveled at the sight in Pensacola Bay where "an aeroplane . . . [was] successfully launched from a moving warship.[45]

Motivated by profit, patriotism, and pork barrel politics, other Florida cities became air centers. Congressional appropriations established five aviation schools in Florida. In Miami, the possibilities of flight matched the city's efforts to promote itself. The name Glenn Curtiss is inextricably linked to American and Miami aviation history. The first American since the Wright brothers to construct and fly an aircraft, Curtiss shattered flight records, toured as a daredevil pilot, and launched his own aeroplane company. The ambitious Curtiss established a flying school in Miami in 1911, seemingly moments after the first flight demonstration at Hialeah. Miami Mayor E. G. Sewell and developer J. M. Lummus, anxious to publicize the new development persuaded Curtiss to begin a pilot training school on unoccupied Miami Beach. Hydroplanes routinely buzzed Biscayne Bay. The army contracted with the Curtiss Flying School to train recruits, chiefly Harvard volunteers. A bedazzled *Herald* reporter described the scene January 14, 1917: "Tiny specs against an azure sky; the distant drone of engines; the glint of the sun against a golden wing, and the average Miamian cranes his neck to watch the Curtiss tractors winging their way over the beautiful city bound in the direction of the everglades." Rising

44 McGovern, *The Emergence of a City*, 28-30; Warren J. Brown, *Florida's Aviation History: The First One Hundred Years* (Largo, FL: Aero-Medical Consultants, Inc. 1980), 59-61; *Pensacola Journal*, October 17, 1917, October 5, December 3, 17, 1918.

45 Brown, *Florida's Aviation History*, 99-105; McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 29-30; "Pensacola Designated as Naval Air Station," and "American Navy First to Shoot Aeroplane from Moving Vessel," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 6 1914 and November 17, 1915.

real estate values on Miami Beach and tourist complaints that Curtiss planes dive bombed the Royal Palm Hotel forced the aviator impresario to seek less crowded space west of Miami. Land baron and rancher James H. Bright donated acreage for a landing field. Aviators encountered unexpected obstacles on the glades' prairie. In March 1917 one of Bright's prized bulls, "Everglade Chief," charged and rammed a Curtiss biplane. In 1918 the U.S. Marine Corps established its first aviation unit on this spot, near today's N.W. Seventeenth Avenue and the Miami River. Curtiss's influence helped Miami to secure also a naval flight school at Dinner Key in Coconut Grove.[46]

Key West evolved as a center for naval aviation as well as submarine testing during the war. Natives became accustomed to dirigibles floating over the archipelago and submarines cruising beneath the Florida Straits. Episcopal Bishop Cameron Mann visited Key West in the spring of 1916. Painting a scene for his parishioners, he described a "place swarmed with 'Jackies' [sailors]. I saw half a dozen torpedo vessels, and as many submarines.... The tall wireless towers were imposing, especially so when one learns they get messages from Honolulu." Meanwhile, Thomas Edison conducted experiments in anti-submarine technology. In December 1917, a train carried 125 naval aviators to the island to fly Curtiss N-9 Aeromarine Floatplanes.[47]

Miami, Key West, Jacksonville, and Pensacola used aggressive lobbying and naval connections to secure military contracts to house aviation facilities. Arcadia boasted no such advantage. Yet Arcadia—best known for phosphate mining and cattle-range wars—became home to two Army Signal Corps aviation schools: Carlstrom Field and Dorr Field. Locals insist that a daredevil young aviator flew his Curtiss Jenny plane through one of the empty hangars, one of many such hijinks reported during this period. Aviation pioneers Eddie Rickenbacker and John Paul Riddle trained

46 C. R. Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss: Pioneer of Flight* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991), 322, 424-426; Donald C. Gaby, "The Curtiss Flying School and U.S. Marine Flying Field," *South Florida History Magazine* 18, no. 3 (1991): 6-9; Parks, *Miami*, 102; *Miami Herald*, January 4, 14, March 15. 16, October 10, 1917, September 7-9, 2, 13, August 2, 13, 17,22, 24, November 1, 23, 28, 29, 1918; "Spend Half Million on Air Gunnery School at Miami Flying Station." *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 8, 1918.

47 Brown, *Florida's Aviation History*, 103; Paul Israel, *Edison: A Life of Invention* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998)),450-451; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 26, 1917; "Making Key West Torpedo Range," *Tampa Daily Times*, May 6, 1916.

at Arcadia's "Big Prairie." Carlstrom Field also served as a training site for early guided missile experimentation. The experiments brought to isolated Arcadia three remarkable inventors: Charles Kettering, Carl Norden, and Lawrence Sperry. Kettering achieved fame and fortune perfecting the electric starter and guiding General Motors; Norden invented the bombsight that would help win the next war; and Sperry invented the gyrocompass. In 1919, a curious Jimmy Doolittle arrived at Carlstrom Field to study pilotless flight. The Kettering Aerial Torpedo nicknamed "the Bug," was a biplane propelled by a dolly running along a track and guided by an intricate system of vacuum, pneumatic, and electrical controls. The Arcadia experiments attracted Col. H. H. "Hap" Arnold, who hurried to France to relay the results to General Pershing.[48]

The East Coast also welcomed an influx of young aviators. Since 1906, when Charles R. Hamilton had attained a height of 250 feet in a box-kite aeroplane towed by a racecar, Jacksonville residents had witnessed a succession of balloon ascensions, parachute jumps, and stunt pilots. In December 1916 the citizenry cheered at the news of the establishment of an aviation school. The *Florida Times-Union* described the day. "The whirr of a fast traveling Curtiss aeroplane encircling the business district...announced to the people of Jacksonville that the Earl Dodge School of Instruction in Aviation is in operation."[49]

Few communities felt the ramifications of wartime more than Arcadia. "Lots of people are turning their eyes toward Arcadia," an envious *Lakeland Telegram* noted, predicting, "The little city won't know itself in six months." The prophecy proved painfully true. In December 1917 a reporter observed, "The town is now almost filled up with strangers brought here by the coming activity caused by the camp...." In January 1918, papers throughout the Southeast featured an advertisement, "One Thousand Laborers Wanted, Arcadia, Florida. Wages $2.20 Per Day of Ten Hours." The shortage of available housing meant that imported workers had to live in camp tents or drive long distances. In January 1918, five hundred

48 Gene Burnett, "The Florida Birth of Hitler's Buzz-Bombs," *Florida's Past: People & Events that Shaped the State*, III (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1991), 5-7; *Tampa Daily Times*, March 2, 5, 1918; "Aviation Camp is Booming in Arcadia," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 4, 1917; See also January 8, August 15, 1918; *Miami Herald* November 28, 1917.

49 John P. Ingle Jr., *Aviation's Earliest Years in Jacksonville, 1878*-1935 (Jacksonville, FL: Jacksonville Historical Society, 1977), 3, 12; Davis, *The History of Early Jacksonville*, 262-66, 381; *Florida Times-Union*, December 5, 1916.

carpenters voted to strike, citing "hardships." Rumors circulated that strikers "would tear up the tracks going to camps and dynamite the buildings there." Labor posed such a critical shortage that Department of Justice agents rounded up "slackers," giving them a choice of jail or work. Violence also escalated in Arcadia and DeSoto County during the war—violence against property and humans. With a disturbing matter-of-factness, a 1917 newspaper reported, "Kill Negro in DeSoto Co. for Usual Offense."[50]

Despite disruptions, Florida gloried in its new status as an aviation center. War along the Western Front may have been grim but the media's depiction of dashing young aviators stirred interest among Americans. One such recruit was Bartow's Spessard Holland. Originally enlisting in the artillery, Holland received the Distinguished Service Cross for his exploits as an aviator in the 24th Flying Squadron in France. Many of the pilots were upper-class students from Ivy League colleges. In March 1917, the navy dispatched a unit of Yale volunteers to West Palm Beach for training. Such a presence had ripple effects. Miami High School offered classes in aviation for aspiring fliers. So many planes were landing at Fort Pierce, mostly on the city's paved roads, that a reporter called the locale "a mecca for army aviators."[51]

Despite the glamour above the clouds, the army on the ground was not forgotten. The struggle to secure an army base for Florida pitted U.S. Senator Duncan Upshaw Fletcher against General Leonard Wood, commander of the Southern Department under Secretary of War Newton Baker. Wood was no stranger to Florida, having commanded the famed Rough Riders when the rambunctious cavalrymen spent a hectic week in Tampa during the Spanish-American War. Fletcher had ascended to the chairmanship of the powerful Commerce Committee in 1916, securing several handsome waterway appropriations for the Sunshine State. Fletcher's quest to secure a military base for his hometown Jacksonville was unbounded. Reminding Baker of favors rendered, the senator noted, "Rejection of Jacksonville would place me in a most embarrassing and humiliating position." Although an army inspector derided the site as "mosquito-ridden and malarious [sic]," and

50 Kevin M. McCarthy, *Aviation in Florida* (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 2003), 114; "Want Floridians for Aviators: Chance for Them to go to Arcadia," *Tampa Daily Times*, March 5, 1918;

51 Brown, *Florida's Aviation History*, 99-101; *St. Lucie County Tribune*, August 27, 1918; *Miami Herald* May 14, 1917.

General Leonard Wood had previously criticized the proposed site, the War Department awarded Jacksonville a training camp.[52]

On September 1, 1917, Jacksonville rejoiced at the announcement that Black Point was to be converted into a quartermasters' training camp. Located twelve miles up the St. Johns River on the old Mulberry Grove plantation, Black Point brought 27,000 soldiers and over six million dollars to northeast Florida. Over 2,500 carpenters and laborers helped drain swamps, construct over five hundred buildings, and lay three miles of rail track. Named for Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston, the facility required twenty-one million feet of lumber, a boon for the state's major industry. "Every nail driven was a shot against the Kaiser," noted the *Times-Union*, championing economic growth and patriotism.[53]

Armistice

By November 1918, communities across the state were beginning to contemplate memorial halls and monuments to the heroes of the Great War. Individual Floridians won thirty-eight Distinguished Service Crosses. Overall, the state lost 1,044 men in the war, of whom over one-third were African Americans. Two women, nurses Cora David and Laura Baird, also died in the conflict. The most painful loss came in September 1918 when the coastguard cutter U.S.S. *Tampa* sank in the Bristol Channel, claiming twenty-four Tampans.[54]

Early in the morning of November 11, 1918, in flashes of communication along wireless receivers and the click-clack of the telegraph, news of the Armistice flowed to ships in the North Atlantic and express offices. Most Floridians lay asleep when telegraph operators and newsroom attendants received the joyous announcement. Along the routes of the Florida East Coast Railway and Atlantic Coast Line, engineers blew the train whistles, awakening rural settlers and urban dwellers.[55]

52 Flynt, *Duncan Fletcher*, 96-109; 115-16; Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 120-21; *Tampa Daily Times*, January 5, 1918.

53 Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 126; *Florida Times-Union*, September 2, October 14, 1917, November 18, 1918.

54 "Anniversary Recalls Tragic Loss of U.S.S.Tampa in World War I," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 19, 1947; "Memorial Services in the Park for Local Men," *St. Petersburg Independent*, October 4, 1919; *USCgc Tampa:, Tampa's Own: Pageantry, Protection & Patriotism* (Tampa,FL: Tampa Bay History Center 2017).

55 Gary R. Mormino, "Celebrating the Armistice," *Tampa Bay Times*, November 9, 2018; "Siren Whistle to Tell News of End of War," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 8, 1918.

Collectively, perhaps the most deliriously happy day in the history of the Western World dawned. November 11, 1918, marked the first time that most Florida residents shared an experience spontaneously and simultaneously. Previously, Floridians learned of the burning of St. Augustine, the announcement of statehood, and the Battle of Withlacoochee Bend, days, months, occasionally even years, after the events. But technology now linked villages, cities and states to a distant world. Only in 1916 had electricity and telephones reached Stuart and Immokalee. By 1917, Jacksonville could talk with Pensacola; in Key West, Havana was but an international phone call away.

No city in Florida—and few in North America—understood the importance of public ceremony as well as St. Augustine. For centuries the Plaza had witnessed the ritual of mourning and celebration, the funerals of royal governors and Civil War generals, the transfer of empires and the wedding receptions of *floridanos y hidalgos*. The early morning of November 11 blazed alight with Roman candles and electric light bulbs. Observing the scene, the St. Augustine *Record* contrasted the long line of Model T's with "local 'cowboys' racing on their fleet ponies, cracking their long whips."[56]

If generations of Saint Augustinians realized the role and place of public ritual, few Miamians had shared civic memories. The Magic City had not yet celebrated its twenty-fifth birthday, but its future was as optimistic as St. Augustine's was uncertain. For upstart Miami, Armistice Day signaled an end of the Old Order; the New Order belonged to the Gold Coast, airplanes, and ballyhoo. The *Miami Herald* printed eight editions as crowds snatched freshly printed papers. News accounts of the momentous events sped by truck, train, and steamer to Okeechobee, Key West, and Havana. Thousands of residents, tourists, and servicemen flocked to downtown Miami, congregating at Royal Palm Park. There, they watched airplanes perform heroic stunts, but mainly enjoyed each other. Mayor John W. Watson played traffic cop while E. G. Sewell, the head of the staid chamber of commerce, donned an Uncle Sam costume. "Miami will go to bed with a headache tonight," the *Metropolis* predicted. "But nobody cares— the great world war is over."[57]

56 "'Deafening' Is the Victory Celebration Locally," and "St. Augustine Celebrated Victory Day," *Saint. Augustine Evening Record*, November 11 and 12, 1918

57 "Pandemonium Rules in Miami," *Miami Herald*, November 12, 1918; *Miami Metropolis*, November 11, 1918.

Details of the Armistice arrived at Jacksonville, then Florida's largest city, at 2:47 a.m.; soon "Big Jim"—the city waterworks' whistle soon proclaimed victory. "Pandemonium then broke loose," observed the *Times-Union*, "as every whistle with steam under the boilers caught up the signal and from one end of the city to the other, whistles shrieked out the glad news. Bells were rung, fire arms discharged and everything that would make a noise was cut loose."[58]

Towns big and small shared the rapture of November 11, 1918. Tallahasseans built a bonfire at the corner of College and Adams. Locals pieced together a dummy of the Kaiser, placing the German scarecrow inside a coffin, which conveniently served as a funeral pyre. In St. Petersburg, a reporter called the events "unequalled in the history" of that youthful city. A riot nearly erupted on Central Avenue when a Pullman sleeper arrived, bearing the misbegotten name *Wilhelmina*. Happily, celebrants satisfied themselves with a paint bucket rather than a torch. The *Orlando Morning Sentinel* proclaimed, "Greatest Demonstration In The History of Orlando." In Webster, so many guns blasted that "birds thought the 'open season' was on." Residents of Lake Wales set a giant bonfire ablaze near the train depot. In Clearwater, a 5 o'clock morning procession featured a resident holding aloft a live American eagle. In Bartow, "almost the entire population had assembled on the court house square." In Lakeland, thousands of residents flocked downtown where the Home Guard fired three volleys over Lake Mirror and then attempted to control the chaos. Everywhere there was noise. Shotguns and dynamite sounded across the Peace River. Charlotte Harbor reverberated with "the big whistles at the plant of the southern utilities company and was echoed and re-echoed by church bells, pistols, tin pans and everything that could make a creditable noise." Millville shipyard workers on St. Andrews Bay rallied "when the big whistle at the mill started its deep-throated roar of joy." In Milton, "some four or five hundred school children, under the guidance of teachers, arrived in marching order in front of the court house, and under the leadership of Miss Thomas, the music teacher, sang the Star Spangled Banner and other patriotic songs...." [59]

58 Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 131-32.

59 "Victory Celebrated Throughout State," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 13, 1918; *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, November 11, 1918; "Bartow Went to Town Armistice Day, 1918," *Polk County Record*, August 14, 1945.

College students reveled in the festivities. It was an age of singing societies and, accordingly, students at Florida State College for Women, "singing joyously," marched in Tallahassee, while at Winter Park, the Rollins College Chorus sang at a ceremonial burial of the Kaiser. In Gainesville, remnants of the marching band stirred the crowd.[60]

In the Jim Crow world of 1918, the euphoria of victory camouflaged the harshness of southern race relations. For a few hours on the morning of November 11, blacks and whites seemed as one. Gainesville's crowd "included every man, woman and child, white and black." In Bartow, a locale of notorious racial violence, a "large delegation of the colored population came marching down the street, waving flags and shouting for joy... and led the singing." In Orlando, a reporter observed "the singing of twenty colored men" who carried an American flag through the business district, serenading the mayor and crowd. The *St. Lucie County Tribune* described the scene in Fort Pierce: "Leaving the white district, the enthusiastic paraders proceeded through colored town. Here, Wilber Myles, a leader among his people, asked that they be permitted to join the procession. Permission being granted, large numbers joined the crowd and marched back to town amid the clanging of bells, the blowing of whistles and patriotic airs of the band." In Miami, Colored Town's Magic City Coronet Band marched down Twelfth Street, cheered by the crowd. In Milton, a "Negro Band paraded the streets in the afternoon to the strains of martial music." A theatre without walls, the Armistice allowed Floridians of all races to make noise, get drunk, shoot firearms, retiring to separate spheres at the end of the day.[61]

The real meaning of the Armistice blended together the discordant tones of "Over There" accompanied by waving flags and "The Death March of Saul," played at mock and real burials. As Floridians mourned the fallen warriors and rejoiced the war's end, they quickly realized Armistice brought little domestic peace. While revivalists Billy Sunday, Billy Parker, and Aimee McPherson were crisscrossing the state, warning crowds of the wages of sins, a

60 "Victory Celebrated Throughout the State," and "Burn Effigy of Ex-Kaiser," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 13, 1918; "How Tallahassee Received News of End of War," *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, November 11, 1918.

61 "Victory Celebrated Throughout State," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 13, 1918; "Pandemonium Rules in Miami," *Miami Herald*, November 12, 1918; "Victory at Last," *Gainesville Daily Sun*, November 12, 1918; *St. Lucie County Tribune*, November 12, 1918.

more immediate but deadly threat stalked the lives of Floridians: Influenza.

Its origins inexplicable today, the influenza of 1918 began in October, cutting a terrible swath across the world, claiming millions of victims. Modern transportation systems allowed the epidemic to become a pandemic. Influenza hit Florida like a storm surge in October 1918. Not since the pox epidemics of the eighteenth century and the yellow fever outbreaks in the late nineteenth century had so many Floridians died so suddenly. By the end of the month, 2,712 Floridians had died of the illness, while thousands more were debilitated. In Jacksonville, almost one-third of city residents contracted the flu. "For the first time probably in the history of St. Augustine," confessed a reporter, "churches, schools, and theaters have been closed and public meetings canceled as a precaution against disease." The *Miami Herald* noted that four members of one family had already died. Over half of Tampa's cigarmakers lay ill during the flu's peak. The Great Flu of 1918 bore a terrible tendency to kill young adults, not simply the very young and old. A 1918 headline proclaimed, "Spanish Influenza More Deadly Than War."[62]

The Great Flu epidemic also scoured small towns. Influenza claimed twenty victims in Quincy and eight in Kissimmee. Greenville lost four citizens in one week alone. Another victim, Herbert Moore of Crawfordville, was the legislature's youngest member. Ten Seminoles died. Once living in the state's most isolated region, the Seminoles became infected when hunters penetrated the Everglades by automobiles and motorboats—the vanguard of "progress."[63]

Alarmingly, the Great Flu claimed hundreds of young Floridians in uniform. Over seventy percent of Florida's military casualties, from 1917 to1918, resulted from disease, not German bullets. Many Floridians died at Camp McPherson in Georgia, as epidemics

62 William M. Straight, "Florida and the Spanish Flu," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 68 (1998): 644. James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, FL: Old Hickory's Town, Inc., 1985), 200; Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 130-131; James C. Coleman, "The 'Flu' Epidemic in Pensacola" *The Echo* II (Winter 1981): 25-28; "Spanish Influenza More Deadly," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 20, 1918;"Drastic Steps," *St. Augustine Evening Record*, October 7, 1918; *St. Augustine Evening Record*, October 7, 1918.

63 *Madison Enterprise-Recorder*, November 22, 1918; *St. Andrews Bay News*, October 23, 29, 1918; *Pensacola Journal*, December 14, 1918; *Florida Times-Union*, December 1, 1915.

of measles and flu ravaged southerners unaccustomed to the cold winter and new diseases. The women of Fernandina volunteered en masse to make "flu masks" for soldiers in Florida and Georgia.[64]

Adding to the mysteriousness of the illness was modern medicine's inability to combat the terror. Physicians could do little to aid the sick. Tallahassee was reduced to one healthy physician, while both undertakers lay stricken. St. Andrews was left without a physician when the town's only doctor died ministering to the sick at Pensacola. Floridians resorted to home cures and patent medicines. Many of the state's schools, theatres, even churches were closed for a few weeks. Streetcars posted "No Spitting" signs while pedestrians wore gauze masks in public. Life insurance companies went bankrupt. At one moment, fully one-third of the students at the University of Florida lay ill with the flu. Dramatically, the epidemic ran its course in late 1918, but not before it had claimed over 4,000 Floridians, 600,000 Americans and 21 million victims worldwide.[65]

As influenza stalked the land, war's pent-up passions and awesome destructiveness unleashed new demons to haunt the course of the century. The Allies may have been victorious, but the headline of the November 11, 1918 *New York Times* foretold new omens and a new order: "ARMISTICE SIGNED, END OF THE WAR! BERLIN SEIZED BY REVOLUTIONISTS; NEW CHANCELLOR BEGS FOR ORDER."

By December 1918, the Bolshevik had replaced the Hun as the newest nightmare. In January 1919, Florida seemed a safe haven from the Spartacist violence raging in Germany and the civil war between the Red and White armies in Russia. A labor "movement" scarcely existed outside Tampa, Pensacola, and Jacksonville. But 1919 brought social and economic dislocation shaking the foundations of Florida and the United States. Nationally, four million workers participated in the greatest labor unrest ever witnessed in

64 "First Death in Florida Troops," *Tampa Daily Times*, January 2, 1918; *Fernandina News-Record*, November 15, 1918; Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 165-167; Department of Military Affairs, "Floridians: U.S. Army Killed or Died,"; "Florida Fatal Casualties, All Services, World War I," P.K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville.

65 Fred H. Davis, "Leon County During the World War" *Tallahassee Historical Society* 3 (1937): 27-52; *Pensacola Journal*, October 13, 23, November 3, 1918; Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); M. F. Hetherington, *History of Polk County* (St. Augustine: The Record Company, 1918), 111; "One Death at Southern College of Influenza," *St. Petersburg Times*, October 19, 1918.

American history. Workers' wages had not kept pace with the war's inflation, and a series of strikes rocked Florida seaports, lumber camps, and mining towns. In April 1919, more than a thousand phosphate workers held a strike parade in Mulberry. In Jacksonville, work stoppages crippled the docks and disrupted the city. Teamsters, fire fighters, and shipyard workers struck for higher wages as businessmen and paramilitary organizations sought to curb "*bolsheviki*" tendencies. In January 1920, U. S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer ordered a nationwide roundup of radicals, deporting thousands on the "Red Ark." W.A. Cooper, pastor of Tampa's First Methodist church, sermonized that the plotters "should be hung, not deported." A federal agent assigned to monitor the activities of radical cigarmakers in Ybor City wrote Washington, "[I] have the impression of being in Russia."[66]

If any city in Florida had reason to fear a radical threat, Tampa deserved such distinction. A radical culture had thrived in Ybor City, sustained and reinforced by a steady stream of immigrants, gallant leadership, and a militant, trade-union mentality. The Red Scare provided an excuse for Tampa's Anglo elites and cigar manufacturers to muzzle radicals. The Bureau of Justice infiltrated the immigrant colony's newspapers, while special agents identified suspected trouble makers. In November 1919, an agent wrote his superiors in Washington: "I can state that the Italian-Spanish colonies of West Tampa and Ybor City, Florida, are the most advanced toward the 'Social Revolution.' I could say that they have established here a Soviet on a small scale." Deportations, seizures, confiscation of presses, the closing of meeting halls, and the intimidation of leaders diminished Tampa's radical ranks. Undaunted, cigarmakers prepared for a lengthy strike in 1920. Cigar manufacturers, like farmers and lumber companies, had overproduced, expecting war and prosperity to continue. The boom ended suddenly in late 1918.[67]

66 Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 135; Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 251-58; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 30, 1918; "Says Plotters Should be Hung," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 29 and December 1, 1919; Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), agent quoted 154, see also 128-129.

67 Mormino and Pozzetta, 154-160; Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 116-122.

Prohibition and Suffrage

In times of tumult, vexing issues from the past frequently flare up as societies seek scapegoats and solutions. Drawing upon reform impulses of the nineteenth century, Prohibition and women's suffrage gained new intensity during the war. Few issues coalesced the conflicting elements that bewitched the American South and Florida more than temperance reform: city vs. country, Protestant vs. Catholic, Anglo vs. ethnic, and women vs. men. To be sure, the issues were never as Manichaean as portrayed. Some Protestants were wet; some Catholics were dry. Latin women typically rallied against prohibition; Baptists typically supported temperance reform. German Catholics *and* German Lutherans hated the Great Experiment. But whatever the sentiment, prohibition aroused great passions.

In Florida, Sidney Catts rode the political whirlwind of temperance reform and Nativism, winning the 1916 governor's race as a candidate on the Prohibition ticket. The candidate from DeFuniak Springs had promised that the first member of the legislature found drunk would be jailed for sixty days. For Catts, the issue of anti-Catholicism fit hand-in-glove with temperance reform.

Catts and his supporters were not mere "hicks." Many Americans, rural and urban, expressed genuine alarm at the deleterious impact alcohol was wreaking upon families and neighborhoods. Alcohol abuse led to a host of more serious problems: domestic violence, industrial accidents, and homicide. Illicitly brewed liquor, manufactured in forest stills and "Blind Tigers," often wreaked havoc upon consumers, the result of poisonous residues or overstimulation.

The Florida Constitution of 1885 allowed counties a local option provision; more than two-thirds of the state's counties immediately opted to go "dry." The temperance wars took on the tones of a moral crusade, as individuals and families "took the pledge." Florida's urban counties, Duval, Hillsborough, and Dade had stood defiantly "wet." In Tampa, cigar manufacturers threatened to relocate factories if Hillsborough County enacted prohibition. In 1904, the citizens of Tallahassee narrowly approved a prohibition referendum, but rural voters won the day, and Leon County promptly joined other dry counties. Regardless, moonshining and lax enforcement generally allowed imbibers to find a drink in dry Florida, a condition that outraged reformers. But plank by plank, county by county, the drys were outflanking the

wets. By 1908, the Anti-Saloon League reported, "only 330 saloons left in Florida." The 1915 legislature insisted that bars close at 6:00 p.m., forbade women from working in wholesale liquor establishments, and restricted food sales in places serving liquor. World War I energized advocates of the "Noble Experiment," as Prohibition's enemies suddenly became the nation's enemies. By the summer of 1917, St. Petersburg's last saloon closed its doors. In May 1918, Jacksonville voters elected to go dry. In July, Pensacola saloon keepers voluntarily agreed to dispose of liquor stocks on hand and be "bone dry" by October.[68]

White middle-class women fortified the ranks of Florida's Prohibition crusade. Across the state, chapters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) organized to educate, agitate, and legislate. Women such as May Mann Jennings, Mary Bryan, Ruth Bryan Owen, Bertha Palmer, Ivy Stranahan, and Virginia Trammell brought their persuasive powers to bear upon local and state government. Illustrating the linkage between the suffrage and prohibition movements, a sign held in a 1918 Eustis parade read, "We can't vote, neither can Ma, if Florida votes wet, blame it on Pa."[69]

The 1917 Florida legislature voted to prohibit the manufacture, sale, or use of alcoholic beverages, a constitutional measure ratified by adult male Floridians in November 1918. The State of Florida went officially dry January 1, 1919. In Tampa, a paper reported, "Nothing is left but stomach bitters." The Florida Brewing Company in Tampa had operated as the only such establishment in the state. With the Volstead Act of 1919, the rest of the United States was brought into the dry fold.

Voluntary associations, such as the temperance movement, permitted women entry into the new worlds of political and civic responsibility. Women in Florida, denied political office and the vote, concentrated their moral authority and influence to keep Florida dry, establish libraries, erect playgrounds, and preserve

68 Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 135, 177-178, 181, 184-86; Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 114-117, 122-23; Stephen Kerber, "Park Trammell of Florida: A Political Biography" (diss. University of Florida, 1979),143, 210-212; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 24, 1918; *Tampa Daily Times*, April 2, 1917; Jack E. Davis, "The Spirits of St. Petersburg: The Struggle for Local Prohibition, 1892-1919" *Tampa Bay History* 10, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1988): 29-30.

69 Vance, *May Mann Jennings*, 67-69, 93-96, 122-123; Peter, *Lake County*, 43; McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 62-63; Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 120-123.

nature. The war brought together diverse factions of pioneering reformers, middle-class associations, and expedient politicians to confront the issue of women's suffrage.

The battle for the Nineteenth Amendment to grant women the right to vote also exposed the regional, ethnic, and gender fault lines in Florida. The movement first attracted the interests of a handful of urban women in the 1890s. In 1893, Tampa's Ella Chamberlin helped found Florida's chapter of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), which by 1895 claimed one hundred members. When Chamberlin left the state in 1897, the movement lost its leader but not its cause. To Anglo, black, and "Latin" women in Tampa, measures such as the right to vote and the eight-hour day meant very different things.[70]

On the eve of the Great War, Florida's suffrage movement was revived and reenergized. From Pensacola to Key West, the Florida Equal Franchise League, Florida's Federation of Women's Clubs, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, National Women's Party, and the Political Equality League proselytized the cause. The war strengthened and accelerated the women's drive to secure the ballot. Three significant factors shaped and directed the movement in Florida: women's patriotic support of the war, successes at the municipal level to win local suffrage, and dedicated leadership.

The war focused attention upon women's patriotic efforts to bring victory. Rolling cigars or bandages, ministering first aid, and harvesting crops bolstered the crusade. The notion of women voters gained credence. The Sarasota Women's Club held a debate, "Certified Mentally, Morally, and Physically Fit— Why Not Politically?" The *Key West Citizen* wrote with irony, "Woman is the trainer and teacher of man during the years of his development. He is her student from childhood to maturity. The teacher then is denied the ballot while the student votes." The *St. Petersburg Times* advanced the idea of "equal pay for women" in a 1918 editorial, arguing "Fairness to the woman and fairness to the soldiers both demand a standard of pay based not on sex prejudice, but on actual ability and performance." The 1918 Florida Conference of the

70 Doris Weatherford, *They Dared to Dream: Florida Women Who Shaped History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), 175, 190-197, 202-204; A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (July 1957): 42-60; Nancy A. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s-1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Methodist Episcopal Church, South, endorsed the church granting laity rights to women.[71]

While women were denied the right to vote in state and national elections, they won the right to cast a ballot in local elections in twenty-three Florida municipalities. In 1915, the citizens of Fellsmere, an agricultural community in St. Lucie County, incorporated the town and wrote into the municipal charter that women be allowed to vote in local elections. Fellsmere's Zena M. Dreir cast her historic vote in June 1915, becoming Florida's first woman to exercise that hard-fought right. When the Florida legislature convened in April 1919, ten communities sought women's suffrage by local legislation. Clearly, women's suffrage had gathered credibility, if not irresistibility, in Florida. Miami, St. Petersburg, Orlando, Winter Park, and West Palm Beach rewrote municipal charters, allowing women to vote locally. The town of Moore Haven gained notoriety when in 1917 Marian Newhall Horowitz O'Brien became Florida's first woman mayor.[72]

Florida's suffrage movement attracted many remarkable individuals. The epitome of respectability, many of the leaders were married to or related to prominent civic leaders and politicians. May Mann Jennings, wife of Governor William Sherman Jennings, earned a reputation as a tireless organizer for conservation, civic, and women's causes. Annie Broward, widow of Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, also became a leader in the state suffrage movement. Ivy Stranahan, wife of Fort Lauderdale pioneer and merchant Frank Stranahan, fought hard for the rights of Seminoles and women. Mary Bryan, a recent Florida resident and wife of William Jennings Bryan, added national luster to the state movement. Caroline Mays Brevard, granddaughter of territorial governor Richard Keith Call, taught at Florida State College for Women, where she wrote several pioneering works in Florida history. She, too, worked to win the vote for women, organizing the Tallahassee Suffrage League in 1913.[73]

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71 *Key West Citizen* in *Tampa Morning Tribune,* September 16, 1918; "Florida Methodists Give Women Rights," *Tampa Morning Times,* December 7, 1918; *St. Petersburg Times*, November 2, 1918; *Miami Herald,* January 17, May 16, 1917

72 Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," 42-60; Kerber, "Park Trammel," 147-149; Flynt, *Cracker Messiah,* 241; Weatherford, *They Dared to Dream*, 196-267.

73 Sally Vickers, "Ruth Bryan Owen," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 445-474; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, May 29, 1913; Vance, *May Mann Jennings*.

Opponents of women's suffrage also girded for battle. Suffrage may have seemed irresistibly sound and progressive, but powerful elements in the state adamantly opposed giving the ballot to women. Florida's Protestant churches generally discouraged such reform and resisted the expanding role of women. The suffrage movement was strongest in Central and South Florida cities. Since the malapportioned legislature reflected the interests of rural Florida and the panhandle, political approval remained problematic. In 1917, a twenty-seven-year-old Wellesley College graduate arrived at Tallahassee determined to sway politicians to her cause. Marjory Stoneman Douglas remembered, "Talking to them was like talking to graven images. They weren't even listening." Douglas, then a *Miami Herald* reporter, explained, "These were the so-called 'woolhat boys in the red hills beyond the Suwannee' and they ran the state."[74]

U.S. Senators Duncan Fletcher and Park Trammell both opposed women's suffrage. Raising the bloody shirt of Reconstruction, Fletcher lashed out, "The Fifteenth Amendment was a mistake." Florida's senior senator warned that the Nineteenth Amendment would enfranchise two million black women, which in his language "would complicate the Southern problem which the Northern states do not understand." Few of the suffrage leaders publicly discussed the volatile issue of enfranchised black women; in fact, most opposed such rights. Congressman Frank Clark pontificated that no Christian could believe in the equal rights of men and women. In spite of Fletcher, Trammell, and Clark, the Sixty-sixth U.S. Congress passed the federal suffrage amendment in June 1919. Since the Florida legislature was still in session in early June, suffragists earnestly hoped that Florida would become the first state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. The enigmatic Governor Catts, formerly an opponent of women's suffrage, dispatched a message to state legislators, recommending ratification to "add an imperishable laurel to your state which can never die; the fact of being the first state of the union to recognize women as an equal with her brother man." But the Florida legislature balked, and

74 Douglas, *Voice of the River*, 106-107; Susan E. Marshall, *Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign against Woman Suffrage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Elna C. Greene, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

no vote was taken. The legislature did not ratify the Nineteenth Amendment until 1969.[75]

Consequences: A New Age Begins, 1920

To stand on the edge of Florida in 1914 and look across the time plane to 1920 is to sense a coming of age. On one side of the abyss, one finds a Florida characterized by Sidney J. Catts, forty-five cent cotton, and a population drawn largely from the South and residing within a day's wagon ride from the Georgia and Alabama borders. On the other side lies a Florida symbolized by Addison Mizner and George Merrick, the Tamiami Trail and the Gold Coast. Armistice seemed to underscore the stark contrast of two Floridas: one deeply committed to the values of old-time religion and the rhythms of harvest and redemption, a society alienated by the excesses of modern America and disapproving of cities rising from sandbars; another Florida emerging with a population attuned to the technological triumphs of the Model T and electric streetcar, a lifestyle increasingly detached from the countryside and desirous of urban comforts. The past belonged to DeFuniak Springs and the Chautauqua, mules and cane grindings, Victorian women and gallused men; the future pointed toward Coral Gables and the Venetian Pool, St. Petersburg and Babe Ruth, flappers and binder boys.

To draw a line from Yankeetown to Daytona Beach and characterize the region north of the demarcation as "the other Florida," a backward, fundamentalist Florida left in the fumes of the old century, is too simplistic. In November 1918, a correspondent from Ansley New Mill in Madison County observed, "Everybody in our burg has been enjoying cane grinding for the last two weeks and everybody was much delighted to see the airplane which passed through here Tuesday afternoon." Miamians, Tallahasseans, and Madisonians welcomed and cursed the 1920s with its culture of progress and iconoclasm. Moreover, many of the recent migrants to fast-growing cities ached for the farms and countryfolk left behind, expressing their pain of dislocation in jook joints, church revivals, and back pews. Lynchings occurred in Marianna and Miami, an expression of social unrest at its most violent. Looking back from

75 Flynt, *Fletcher*, 111-112, 140; Doris Weatherford, "Last Instead of First," *Forum: The Magazine of the Florida Humanities Council* (Winter 1995): 18-21; Kerber, "Park Trammell," 212-227; Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 241, 269; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 4, September 5, 1918; *Pensacola Journal*, September 10, 1918.

the early 1940s, the southern intellectual Allen Tate wrote, "With the war of 1914-1918, the South reentered the world but gave a backward glance as it stepped over the border." This "backward glance" and longing for the halcyon days before Sarajevo and bootleg gin became a powerful source of disaffection and protest.[76]

On the threshold of the 1920s, south Florida exuded an exuberant air of confidence, an optimism borne of tourist reservations, new highways and fresh possibilities. The war's terrible swift sword had decimated a generation of Europeans, but in Florida the Great War had left behind new shipyards, air hangars, and bulging bank accounts. Americans wanted relief from the depressing news of war, red scares, influenza epidemics, and baseball scandals, and Florida provided a dreamscape fantasy.

The year 1920 marked an important milestone. Florida, the underpopulated stepchild of the South, surpassed the one-million population mark. In the years to come, Florida would consistently lead the South in population growth. Growth became creed and for the next sixty years, the state consistently doubled its population every twenty years. If Florida's past was rural and agricultural, its future was urban and tourist. In 1880, fully nine of every ten Floridians lived on a farm or small town; by 1920, over one in three Floridians lived in a city. The character and pace of Florida's cities distinguished the Sunshine State from its rural southern neighbors.[77]

South and Central Florida, almost uninhabited for centuries following European settlement on the peninsula, and only lightly populated in the late nineteenth century, grew rapidly and leaped into the American consciousness in the 1920s. In 1900, two of every three Floridians resided in North Florida, the region lying above a line drawn from Lafayette, Alachua, Putnam, and Flagler counties. By 1920, over half of the states' population resided south of that border. Miami, Palm Beach, Sarasota, Orlando, and St. Petersburg, and cities not yet conceived—Coral Gables, Gulf Stream, and Boca Raton—stood in 1920 on the threshold of a remarkable boom.[78]

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76 Tate quoted in Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, 69; *Madison Enterprise-Recorder*, November 15, 1918.

77 Raymond A. Arsenault and Gary R. Mormino, "From Dixie to Dreamland: Demographic and Cultural Changes in Florida, 1880-1980," in *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South*, ed. Randall Miller and George Pozzetta (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 164-165.

78 Ibid.

Likewise, farmers, planters, and grove owners, buoyed with the optimism of war-inflated prices, invested in new tractors, trucks, and farmland. Before the hangovers from armistice lifted, Florida newspapers were promoting a plan whereby South Florida would be to World War I veterans what Iowa and Minnesota were after the Civil War—an agricultural frontier awaiting the plowman. Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane proposed that the U.S. government provide returning servicemen with farms. Governor Catts called for a new American land rush. The *Florida Times-Union* predicted 50,000 new farmers among America's doughboys. But the Jeffersonian rhetoric was quickly dashed on the rocks of an agricultural riptide. Depressed prices, foreclosures, and bankruptcies devastated southern agriculture in the 1920s. In Florida, cotton planters and tenant farmers felt the pain more than grove owners or truck farmers.[79]

Cotton, a crop of noble southern heraldry, suffered postwar misfortune. In fact, planters had drastically cut back cotton acreage before the war. Leon and Jefferson Counties, the heart of Florida's cotton belt, lost more than three thousand residents between 1910 and 1920. Between 1910 and 1920, twenty-eight Florida counties recorded population losses, twenty-one of them located in north Florida. Small farmers and sharecroppers faced extinction. Agricultural extension agents preached the gospel of diversification, motivating many survivors to plant pecan groves. Quail farms purchased by wealthy northerners replaced plantations. By 1920, the remaining cotton planters faced plunging prices, boll weevils, and exhausted soil. The year began with optimism—prices remained at flush time forty cents a pound—but the bottom soon dropped out, spiraling downward to thirteen cents.[80]

Castor beans, once a salvation, now became a worthless nuisance. U.S. Senator Fletcher lobbied furiously to reimburse Floridians left with crops of rotting castor beans. D. Collins Gillett abandoned dreams of a castor bean empire and instead invested in Florida's true miracle crop—land promotion. He helped found Temple Terrace in Hillsborough County.[81]

79 *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 17, 1918; *Florida Times-Union*, November 3, 24, 1918.

80 T. Stanton Dietrich, *The Urbanization of Florida's Population: An Historical Perspective of County Growth, 18130-1970* (Gainesville: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 1978), 21-22.

81 Robert E. Snyder and Jack B. Moore, *Pioneer Commercial Photography: The Burgert Brothers of Tampa, Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 98, 116, 197; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 12, 1919.

When Americans read the morning news during the bleak winter of 1919-1920, current events augured William Butler Yeats's vision of the "Second Coming" and T.S. Eliot's "The Waste Land." Tumbling agricultural prices, revolutionary violence in Europe, a fixed world series, and a police strike in Boston disillusioned the most ardent Pollyanna. To America's rich and middling classes, Florida emerged as an antidote, a counter-current of optimism, regeneration, and relief. Daily newspapers reported on the steady streams of tourists heading to the Sunshine State.

Already by 1919, the movie theater offered the most disillusioned Floridian a retreat from reality. In a state fascinated with illusion and dreamscapes, it was only natural that filmmakers found a home in Florida. Previously, Jacksonville had served as the center of Florida's fledgling film industry, but in 1918 producers discovered the Gold Coast. In 1918-1919, America's premier filmmaker, D. W. Griffith, brought his crew to Fort Lauderdale's New River to shoot *The Idol Dancer* and *The Love Flower.* In 1919 the *Miami Herald* urged owners of automobiles to assemble along Dixie Highway, so as to assist filmmakers. D.W. Griffith followed later to film *The Jungle Train.* The Miami River countryside conveniently served as a setting for Africa.[82]

Tourism had enjoyed modest traffic during the war; indeed, the closing of the French and Italian Riviera forced the wealthier classes to St. Augustine's Ponce de Leon Hotel and Palm Beach's Breakers. The postwar tourists, commentators noted, lacked the traditional look of the elites. The vanguard of the "tin can tourists," these new travelers represent a significant trend in the history of tourism. Florida offered unemployed veterans, respectable businessmen, and shady bootleggers a great escape, a fantasy, a complement to work and peace. The front-page headline of the November 17, 1918 *Miami Herald* underscored the optimism: "Hotel Men Prophesy A Big Season For Miami During Coming Winter."

Scores of cities established free municipal auto courts, predecessors to modern camp grounds, to accommodate Americans' love affair with their Maxwells and Fords. Photographs of the courts depict Americans' penchant for tinkering—adding beds

82 Janna Jones, *The Southern Movie Palace: Rise, Fall, and Resurrection* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 13-39; Shawn C. Bean, *The First Hollywood: Florida and the Golden Age of Silent Filmmaking* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008),92-94; Richard Alan Nelson, *Lights, Camera! Florida: Ninety Years of Moviemaking and Television Production in the Sunshine State* (Tampa: Florida Endowment for the Humanities, 1987), 14-49; *Miami Herald,* June 27, 1920; February 7 1999.

and kitchens to the ever-adaptable automobile. Many travelers pitched tents. Detroit and Toledo responded to consumer habits, marketing the era's first "trailers."[83]

At the other extreme, few individuals embodied the "new" Florida as did Addison C. Mizner. In January 1918, the quixotic Mizner arrived in Palm Beach, the guest of his intimate friend Paris Singer. It was a marriage of style and money: Mizner, the romantic adventurer and dreamer united with Singer, the fabulously wealthy scion of the sewing-machine family and recovering from a stormy relationship with the sensuous dancer Isadora Duncan, whom a friend referred to as "Is-a-bore when drunkin." In the winter of 1918, Singer and Mizner combined talents to begin construction of an elegant convalescent hospital for war-shattered veterans. Completed too late to nurse war casualties, the lavish structure, breathtaking with Moorish features, helped cement Palm Beach's reputation as the brightest jewel of the Florida Boom. The patriotic hospital became the exclusive Everglades Club, one of the first great "Mediterranean Revival" constructions.[84]

Elsewhere, the enterprise of selling modern Florida quickly collided with vestiges of Victorian America. Controversy first flared in St. Petersburg, but the oft conflicting themes of gender, sexuality, and youth reappear again and again. In 1918, St. Petersburg was poised for spectacular growth. The Sunshine City had just become the first city in the United States to hire a publicity agent. The ebullient and omnipresent John Lodwick aggressively sold St. Petersburg, propagating images of palm and surf, eternal youth and beauty. St. Petersburg was becoming a winter destination for the elderly. In 1916, the city mandated a uniform color of green for its downtown benches, a popular area for seniors. "The city of green benches" manifested a wholesome image. But in the summer of 1918, St. Petersburg's image of rectitude and propriety clashed with young women challenging the city's moral code. Custom and law had dictated that bathing attire reflect women's moral position in society as paragons of virtue. Since the late nineteenth century, women's bathing attire consisted of ankle-length smocks. Above the waist, extra lining served to de-accentuate the feminine

83 *Florida Times-Union*, September 19, 1917; November 21, 23, 1918; *Miami Herald*, November 18, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 6, 1918; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 4, July 30, 31, 1918; Snyder and Moore, *Pioneer Commercial Photography*, 36, 247-48; Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream*, 189 .

84 Donald W. Curl, *Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

figure. A judge convicted several women of "disorderly conduct" for defying the ordinance. One critic called such violators "Bolsheviks of dress." Controversy also erupted at the municipal pool. City commissioners, according to the *St. Petersburg Times*, "asked that the diving platform upon which the scantily-clad Amazons are wont to sun themselves be removed to a more respectable distance from the pier, where 'rail birds' roost during the bathing hours while they feast upon the 'human form divine.'"[85]

Jane Fisher, wife of Miami Beach mogul Carl Fisher, helped popularize the "modern" bathing suit. A swimmer, she designed a new suit, bare from her ankles to just below her knees. Her "form-fitting" creation caused Dade County preachers to denounce such behavior. In her book *Fabulous Hoosier*, she noted that "within a few weeks of my public pillorying, not a black cotton stocking was to be seen on the Beach."[86]

In Tampa, Capt. Sumter L. Lowry became an unlikely ally of the flapper. The war hero resolved to activate the veterans' political power. An ardent conservative, he helped found Tampa's first American Legion. Organizing a rally to recruit veterans, Lowry asked a troupe of Max Sennett bathing beauties to attend the patriotic function. He reminisced: "Of course, in those days women never appeared in public unless they had most of their body covered. A bathing suit had long sleeves to the elbow and the women wore bloomers down below their knees with black stockings and very often they even wore gloves." The women appeared, standing "before this audience of young men in their very daring bathing suits. There was thunderous applause."[87]

To many observers, the most startling change in 1920 Florida was not raised hemlines or bathing beauties but the heightened expectations of women. The Nineteenth Amendment became the law of the land in 1920. To Helen West, 1920 represented a watershed. Born on the outskirts of Orlando in 1892, she was graduated from the Stetson Academy, attended the Florida State College for Women, and became one of the first women admitted to the

85 *St. Petersburg Times*, June 4, July 30, 31, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, August 1, 1918; Arsenault, *St. Petersburg*, 186; Lena Lencek and Gideon Baker, *The Beach: The History of Paradise on Earth* (New York: Viking, 1998), 107-09, 135-36; Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 303-306.

86 Jane Fisher, *Fabulous Hoosier* (London: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1947), 148; *Miami Herald*, November 18, 1918.

87 Lowry, *Ole* 93, 25-26.

Florida Bar. On August 18, 1920, she became the first woman in Duval County to register to vote.

Although white women voters were uneasily accepted, across Florida, politicians, editors, and election officials opposed the franchise for black women. Such a position was consistent, since they had also disfranchised black males by the passage of the white primary, the creation of white municipal parties, and the poll tax. Defiantly, however, African-American women registered and voted, much to the chagrin of editors and election supervisors, who changed their tone from anti-suffrage posturing to preserving the vote for "intelligent" womanhood. Many cities mandated separate voting booths and lines for white and black women to protect the sanctity of race.[88]

Black businessmen, tenant farmers and yeoman farmers expressed confidence peace would finally bring racial accommodation, shared prosperity, and first-class citizenship. A metaphor of postwar dreams, the movie *The Birth of a Race* (1919) embodied such hopes. Black leaders and white liberals, appalled at the racist stereotypes in D.W. Griffith's wildly popular *Birth of a Nation* (1915), financed an ambitious and bold cinematic response. Producer Rex Weber predicted, "It will be the greatest film ever produced." Filmed in Florida, *The Birth of a Race* opened to bad reviews and box office disappointment.[89]

Dreams of racial harmony were quickly dashed. In symbolic and real ways, African Americans confronted a Florida little altered from 1914; in other ways, conditions worsened. Only a generation earlier, blacks held elective office in many Florida cities. Jacksonville graphically illustrated the worsening climate. James Weldon Johnson, remembering the Jacksonville of his youth when blacks shared power with whites, lamented it was now [1920s] a "one hundred percent Cracker town." In his book on African-American elected officials in Florida, Canter Brown Jr. observed, "By the early 1920s the legal and extralegal manipulations had worked their

88 'Separate Booths for Women Voters," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, September 8, 1920; "Women Taking a Hand," editorial, and "Women Seek Full Rights," *St. Petersburg Times*, March 7, 1920 and October 2, 1921

89 "History Taught on the Screen," *St. Petersburg Independent*, March 2, 1917; *Tampa Daily Times*, March 1, 1918; "St. Pete Negroes are Propaganda Sufferers," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 21, 1919; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 8, 21, 1917; Thomas Cripps, "The Making of *The Birth of a Race*: The Emerging Politics in Silent Movies," in *The Birth of Whiteness: Race and the Emergence of U.S. Cinema* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 38-55.

course. When an all-white council assumed office in Palatka in 1924, a fifty-seven-year era of black office holding ended."[90]

The white press decried the "new Negro" as far more menacing and less respectful of social boundaries. Removed from the paternalistic bonds of slavery, emboldened by war medals and supposedly "French womanized," black men were thought to pose a new threat to southern white womanhood. Lynchings resumed at a terrifying rate. In 1919, following a gruesome lynching, the NAACP protested to Governor Catts. The governor replied: "You ask me to see that these lynchers are brought to trial. This would be impossible to do, as conditions now are in Florida."[91]

In late October 1920, Judge Kelsey Blanton of Polk County wrote a letter to the Florida Democratic Party, declaring, "The Negro in politics is a menace to the nation.... no matter what advancement the negro might make, he is by racial characteristics unsuited and unfitted to exercise political rights in the government of white men." When two black men— one a veteran— attempted to vote at Ocoee, an agricultural hamlet near Orlando, the incident set into motion a savage race riot. At the end of the week, Ocoee's black district had been burned and hundreds of African Americans exiled. Six persons died in the struggle. A month later, a black man was lynched in Dade County.[92]

The First World War had generated a vast tidal wave, crashing and changing the landscape. For generations, African Americans in Florida had endured Jim Crow racism, stunted educational opportunities, and limited economic hope. Southern blacks simply had few options. Politically, law and custom had stripped blacks of the franchise and office-holding; socially, law and custom meted harsh punishments to critics of white supremacy. The Great War had loosened the foundations of race, labor, and migration, pulling African Americans northward. European emigration halted suddenly and absolutely in 1914. Pittsburgh steel mills and Chicago stockyards sought new sources of labor. Recruiters tapped new veins of labor

90 Johnson, quoted in Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 37; Charles Spurgeon Johnson, *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties: Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of 1104 Southern Counties* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 73-75; Canter Brown Jr. *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1924* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 69.

91 Catts quoted in *Chicago Defender*, April 19, 1919.

92 *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 25, November 3, 1920; *Miami Herald*, June 18, 1920; Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Code'" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (Winter 1977): 290-292.

in the Deep South. The American Diaspora known as the Great Migration constituted an enormous shift in population from the South to the North. Over one million African Americans fled the South between World War I and the Great Depression. At its peak, 1916-1918, five hundred blacks were leaving the South every day. By Model Ts and the Illinois Central, poor whites and blacks left only memories in the movement's wake. Between 1910 and 1950, the South may have lost as many as ten million people. Newspaper headlines announced what farmers and housewives already knew: "Exodus of Negro Labor from City," "Many Negroes Go North For Factory Work," and "Negro Labor Short."

Migration transferred individuals, families, and even communities between regions. To many, Chicago became the great source of hope, the lodestar for southern blacks. Scores of remarkable letters addressed to the *Chicago Defender* survive. "We will come by the thousands," promised a Pensacola writer. From St. Petersburg: "I will say at this junction that there are more than 250 men [who] desire to come north." A Jacksonville widow pledged, "We will do any kind of work..." Another Floridian wrote, "There is a storm of our people toward the North and especially to your city." Sunshine State refugees from the storm found comfort in Chicago with shops featuring names such as the Florida East Coast Shine Parlor. Appropriately, Isabel Wilkerson titled her 2011 study of the Great Migration, *The Warmth of Other Suns.*[93]

For over a century, white planters and officials criticized black work habits, but for all the stereotypes and caricatures, African Americans largely dominated the trades whites considered demeaning but essential: cane cutters and cotton pickers, maids and laundresses. The realization that the surplus of compliant black laborers was quickly vanishing set off a frantic panic. "The great exit of Negro labor to the North," pointed out the *Florida Times-Union* "is now being felt as never before." Noted the *Tampa Morning Tribune*, "The city [St. Petersburg] has lost many of its most reliable negroes." The *Miami Herald* noted with alarm, "The drain

93 "Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916-1918," *The Journal of Negro History* 4, No. 3 (October 1919): 331, 324-325, 316, and 318.The letters originally appeared in the *Chicago Defender*, a black newspaper. James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon University Press, 1991), 155; Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: the Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (New York: vintage Books, 2011).

is constant and has approached a stage that threatens disaster to the farming and milling industries of the county."[94]

White Floridians reacted with alacrity. Like a modern Pharaoh who refused to let his people go, Governor Catts promised to halt the exodus. Catts ordered county sheriffs to arrest labor recruiters without licenses and encouraged municipalities to enforce vagrancy laws. In a 1918 letter to Florida sheriffs, Catts argued that if slackers "will not work, after warning, put them on the hard roads of the county...." Jacksonville's City Council required that out-of-state labor recruiters purchase a thousand-dollar license. The 1917 Wauchula City Council passed a motion calling for the arrest of any person "disturbing the colored people." A citizen was entitled to a ten-dollar reward for the arrest of these body snatchers. Authorities moved in other ways to alleviate the labor crisis, encouraging the importation of Caribbean laborers.[95]

But neither laws nor public coercion nor appeals to loyalty could deflect the great migration from Florida. The movement, organized and chaotic, individual and familial, steady and sporadic, drained away large numbers of black residents and redistributed them within and outside Florida. In some areas, recruiting agents representing the Pennsylvania Railroad or Philip Armour Company settled black families in a systematic fashion, helping them purchase rail tickets and find housing; in others, a chain migration developed between specific locales in Florida and northern factory towns. Ultimately, the Great Migration was dependent upon thousands of individual decisions. "The cry of 'Goin' Nawth' hung over the land like the wail over Egypt at the death of the first-born," wrote Zora Neale Hurston in *Jonah's Gourd Vine*. "On to the North! The land of Promise."[96]

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94 *Florida Times-Union,* September 24, 1917; "Negro Labor Short at St. Petersburg," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, Editorial, *Miami Herald*, June13, 1917. See also *Miami Herald*, August 14, 15, 1918; *Pensacola Journal*, October 8, 13, 23, 1918; *St. Petersburg Times,* June 16, 1918; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, February 8, 1918; Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 95, 129, 146.

95 *Florida Times-Union*, September 15, 1917, May 2, 1918; Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 190-92; Drobney, *Lumbermen and Log Sawyers*, 176; "Protest Against Laborers' Exodus," *Miami Herald*, August 15, 1918; "Negro Exodus from South," *New York Times,* 11 November 1917; "Governor Orders Exodus Stopped," *Tampa Daily Times*, 30 May 1917; Tampa *Morning Tribune*, August 9, 1916, May 31, 1917, January 11, 1918; "Labor Problem Serious Here," *St. Petersburg Independent,* April 16, 1917; Wauchula City Council Minutes, September 3, 1917.

96 Zora Neale Hurston, *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1934), 149.

Ominously, Florida newspaper headlines amplified the population drain: "10,000 Negroes Have Gone North," "Negro Labor Shortages," and "Stop Negroes From Leaving." Such headlines came as little surprise to census takers. Many Florida cities *lost* population from 1915-20: Apalachicola, Arcadia, Baldwin, Blountstown, Brooksville, Cedar Key, DeFuniak Springs, Dade City, DeLand, Fort Meade, Havana, Kissimmee, Lake City, Lakeland, Live Oak, Lynn Haven, Manatee, Monticello, New Smyrna, Ocala, Okeechobee, Panama City, Punta Gorda, Quincy, St. Cloud, Starke, and Tavares. Dunnellon, Key West, Gainesville, Palatka, and Perry also noted large losses of black residents. For a state where growth was gospel, where decennial population increases since 1830 had *averaged* 48 percent, such losses sounded a sobering chord. The overall population increase between 1915 and 1920 was *less* than one percent, the lowest gain in state history. Forty thousand black Floridians may have left.[97]

Jacksonville served as a clearinghouse for Florida's African Americans, functioning as a crossroads for parties going northward. The Florida East Coast Railroad ran north from Miami, stopping at Jacksonville, Savannah, Richmond, Washington, Philadelphia, and New York. It was called the "Chicken Bone Special" because passengers packed shoeboxes of food— a necessary precaution in the segregated South.[98]

The full story of the Great Migration is multi-layered, however. If the Florida East Coast Railroad took Florida blacks northward, it also brought many other southern blacks *to* Florida. Indeed, among southern states, only Florida and Texas recorded more in-migration than out-migration, 1910-1920. During this era Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee, lost a staggering one million migrants. Florida gained a net one hundred thousand migrants. For African Americans and poor whites living in Vernon or Hastings, a future in Pittsburgh or Chicago may have seemed

97 *The Seventh Census of the State of Florida, 1945* (Tallahassee: Florida Department of Agriculture, 1946), 83-90; *The Fourth Census of the State of Florida, 1915*, 70-71; *Miami Herald*, January 10, 1917; *St. Petersburg Times*, October 29, 1916; Emmett J. Scott, *American Negro Migration in the World* War (Self Published, n.d.; republished by Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), 62-63, 73.

98 Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 95; Jerrell H. Shofner, "Florida and the Black Migration" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1979): 255-267; Shofner, "Forced Labor," 79.

alluring, but for thousands of rural Georgians, life in Miami or Jacksonville proved more tempting.[99]

Although black migration slowed after 1920, thousands of African Americans continued to flee Florida, swelling the river of the Great Migration. Artists and Floridians, Zora Neale Hurston and Butterfly McQueen found fame and freedom in Harlem. Hudson Whittaker, better known by his stage name "Tampa Red," left Tampa in the early 1920s to become a blues legend in Chicago. Although they left Florida, migrants took its rich cultural traditions with them. The affordability of the phonograph and guitar and the marketing of race records popularized the blues in Florida. The 1920s served as a golden age of black music, and Florida artists helped articulate the blues and jazz in thousands of jook joints. Florida was described by Hurston as "musically speaking... the most important place in America."[100]

Florida stood on the threshold of the Twenties, poised to take a monumental step. The war had changed nothing, but everything had changed. The war had not so much altered the course of Florida as it had accelerated the forces already shaping the state. Like a Gulf hurricane that sucks up warm air into a powerful system, the war years pushed Florida hurriedly toward a new future.

99 *The Statistical History of the United States,* 12-13, 44-47

100 Kent Kaster, "'I'm a Stranger Here:' Blues Music in Florida," *Tampa Bay History* 10, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 1998): 5-23; Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto Country* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1989, first published 1942), 183-93; Jill I. Linzee, Deborah S. Fant, and Ormond Loomis, *A Reference Guide to Florida Folklore from the Federal WPA Deposited in the Florida Folklife Archives* (Tallahassee: Florida Department of State, 1990).