

FROM CELERY CITY TO NAVY TOWN: THE IMPACT OF NAVAL AIR STATION
SANFORD DURING WORLD WAR II

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how Naval Air Station (NAS) Sanford impacted the nearby city economically, demographically, and socially during World War II. City commission minutes, newspapers, and census data highlight the efforts of city leaders and their cooperation with the federal government to get a naval base established at Sanford. Thereafter, it assesses the ways in which a naval base garnered economic and demographic development, and organizing among African Americans in a southern city.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAA	Civil Aeronautics Administration
CPTP	Civilian Pilot Training Program
NAS	Naval Air Station
WPA	Works Projects Administration

INTRODUCTION

Despite the explosion of World War II books and articles published over the last twenty years discussing the home front, no historian has examined how naval air station (NAS) Sanford – a base responsible for training almost half of all naval aviators that served in the Pacific theater – in turn impacted the local community.¹ Commissioned in November 1942, NAS Sanford provided the central Florida area a premier naval facility during World War II. This air station was one of 227 military facilities and thirteen naval air stations that, by war's end, transformed Florida into what historian Lewis Wynne termed “the world's largest aircraft carrier.”² (see map in Figure 1) This thesis builds upon previous historiography to evaluate the relationship between the station and Sanford, Florida, as a lens to view how World War II bases impacted southern communities.

This study analyzes how city leaders worked with the federal government to bring the Navy to Sanford and the subsequent economic, demographic, and social impacts the base created. During the Depression, the city and federal government cooperated to update urban infrastructure and expand the runways at the Sanford Municipal Airport. The latter played a significant role in establishing NAS Sanford in November 1942. Wartime training at the base, thereafter, presented Sanford urban development.

¹ ‘Command History of NAS Sanford, Florida From 24 April 1942-31 December 1958,’ located at the Sanford Museum NAS Collection, Enclosure 1, Folder #2, 1. Hereafter cited as ‘Command History of NAS Sanford.’

² Lewis N. Wynne ed., *Florida at War* (Saint Leo, Florida: Saint Leo College, 1993), 4. Hereafter cited as Wynne ed., *Florida at War*.

Economically, the base provided job opportunities for local residents in non-farm work like construction, retail, and administration. Officers and enlisted personnel also served as clientele for new retail businesses and the city's operating budget doubled from 1940 through 1945. Demographically, the war and base brought more than three thousand people (civilians and service personnel) to the city that facilitated new road and building construction. Socially, dances sponsored by the community, and war fundraisers connected the station and city behind the war effort. From 1935 through 1945, however, African Americans in Sanford were treated as second-class citizens. Nevertheless, black residents made efforts to organize and become more involved residents of a growing city. Particularly, Sanford African Americans requested that the city sponsor New Deal programs, designate resources for establishing a black United Service Organizations (USO), and draft stricter alcohol and noise ordinances to protect black residents. During the war, African Americans also registered to vote that built the foundation for large numbers to participate in postwar general and primary elections.³ City leaders played a significant role in bringing the Navy and establishing an overall cordial relationship between the base and town from 1942 through 1945. Consequently, NAS Sanford created

³ 'History of U.S. Naval Air Station, Sanford, Florida,' located at Sanford Museum, NAS Collection, Folder #2, 1; 'Assignment to Duty' Memorandum for Swiggum; Station History,' *The SANFLY*, Souvenir Pictorial Issue---Friday, November 3, 1944---U.S. Naval Air Station Sanford, Fla, p. 2; 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enclosure 1, Folder #2, 1; "Jimmie Kinney AMM 1c, of NAS Sanford, to Herschel Hamby, of Sanford on Thursday, May 25," *The SANFLY* Friday, June 16, 1944, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 1; Cf. 'Contract for Construction Has Been Awarded, According to Hendricks,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tuesday May 5, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 197, p. 1; 'Residents' High Hopes Took Off When the Navy Base Came to Town,' *Orlando Sentinel*, Sunday July 1, 1990, B1; Paolo E. Colletta ed., and Jack Bauer associate ed., *United States Navy and Marine Corps Bases Domestic* (Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1985), 589. Hereafter cited as Coletta and Bower eds., *Us Navy and Marine Corps Bases*. This concept was borrowed from Gary Mormino, "World War II," in *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1996), 337.

economic and demographic development and an organizing platform for African Americans despite numerous inequalities experienced by the black population before and during World War II.

Equally important, in the 1960s historiography emerged that challenged the “Great man” approach to history. As a result, historians became interested in lives of ordinary people. This practice, later known as social history, provided a “bottom up” approach instead of a history that accounted only for the lives of politicians, generals, and social elites. E.P. Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class*, for instance, documents late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England’s working class formation. Thompson focuses on the lives and class-consciousness the workers created.⁴ Also, in 1972 John Blassingame’s *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* ascribes slaves their own voice by relying on slave narratives and the Writers Project of the Works Projects Administration (WPA).⁵ These works approach history from the common persons’ perspective and offer a valuable framework for later generations of social historians.⁶

Similarly, during the 1980s and 1990s historians began evaluating how World War II bases provided an impetus for urban development and social change within surrounding communities. Two themes emerged from this body of work that are applicable to NAS Sanford’s relationship with the city and its population: economic and

⁴ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 9, 11.

⁵ John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* Revised and Enlarged Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972, 1979), xi. The Works Progress Administration was renamed Works Projects Administration in 1939. This paper refers to the agency as the Works Projects Administration.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xii.

social history approaches. The former discusses the ways military installations garnered economic and demographic expansion; the latter addresses how military facilities provided patriotic cohesion for local residents, while in some instances, heightening racial tensions, crime, and sexual deviancy. In the 1980s, a number of historians began combining the two themes.⁷ An increased popularity in African American and Civil Rights histories by the 1990s inspired many historians to analyze how World War II bases both fractured race relations and laid the foundation for the Civil Rights Movement.⁸

Published in 1976, James McGovern's *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola 1900-1945*, documents social change in Pensacola, Florida, society during World War II. Primarily concerned with Pensacola's early twentieth century development, McGovern's chapter, "The National Emergency," gauges how the war and the naval air station transformed Pensacola into a modern metropolis.⁹ Originally established during World War I, military expansion before and during World War II initiated economic and demographic development in Pensacola's business community

⁷ James Colwell, "Wings Over Texas: Pecos Army Air Field In World War II," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, Vol. 63 (1987): 42-62; James Colwell, "'Hell From Heaven!' Midland Army Air Field In World War II: (Part III)," *Permian Historical Annual*, Vol 27 (1987): 95-128; R. Launius, "A Case Study In Civil-Military Relations: Hill Air Force Base And The Ogden Business Community, 1934-1945," *Aerospace Historian*, Vol 35 No. 3 (1988): 154-163; Beverly Russell, World War II Boomtown: Hastings and the Naval Ammunition Depot," *Nebraska History* Vol. 76 (2-3): 75-83; James A. Schnur, "Persevering on the Home Front: Blacks in Florida during World War II," in Wynne ed., *Florida at War*, 49-69. All above articles retrieved from America: History & Life database.

⁸ Beverly Russell, World War II Boomtown: Hastings and the Naval Ammunition Depot," *Nebraska History* Vol. 76 (2-3): 75-83; James A. Schnur, "Persevering on the Home Front: Blacks in Florida during World War II," in Wynne ed., *Florida at War*, 49-69.

⁹ James McGovern, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola 1900-1945* (Pensacola, Florida: University of West Florida, 1976), 154.

and updated the city's infrastructure.¹⁰ Accelerated aviation training during World War II enlarged the station and increased its personnel. The arrival of more sailors increased prostitution and corrupted traditional sexual etiquette. Segregation and racism, moreover, allowed Pensacola's white population to receive the majority of the base's economic advantages. Despite such racial discrimination and limitations, McGovern, underlines how the war provided the beginning of "social change" for many Pensacola blacks.¹¹ McGovern's chapter examines the advantages and disadvantages the war and base offered Pensacola's white and black residents and serves as a model for other historians studying the impacts of other Florida World War II bases.

Carl Morgan's "Craig Air Force Base: Its Effect on Selma, 1940-1977," furthers the discussion of how a World War II base impacted a southern city. Morgan asserts that the air base economically and demographically changed Selma and united the city's white community with base personnel under an unofficial sacred union or union sacrée centered on winning the war.¹² Local businesses hit hard by the Great Depression benefitted from new customers and "welcomed the opportunity to restock their shelves and expand their merchandise."¹³ Selma citizens also supported the war effort by participating in war bond drives and blackout drills, serving in the armed services and home guard, and rationing food and war materials. This rapid development, however, presented housing and logistical problems; but municipal officials cooperated with base officers to overcome these challenges. Morgan's use of local newspapers, population

¹⁰ Ibid., 29-30, 154-6.

¹¹ Ibid., 160-7.

¹² Carl C. Morgan, Jr., "Craig Air Force Base: Its Effects on Selma, 1940-1977," *Alabama Review*, Vol. 42 Issue 2 (1989): 86-89.

¹³ Ibid., 94, 89.

statistics, city minutes, and chamber of commerce records demonstrates how the base spurred growth and social change more effectively than McGovern's chapter based primarily on oral interviews a decade before. The argument is persuasive but fails to mention how Craig Air Force Base affected race relations in Selma, a town that became a Civil Rights epicenter during the 1960s.¹⁴

In contrast, Dawn Truax's "Victory Girls and Social Protection in World War II Tampa" discusses how MacDill Army Air Base fractured sexual customs and race relations during World War II, themes earlier works omitted. The spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STD's) among MacDill personnel, prostitutes, and "Victory Girls" signaled to many Tampa citizens that the base deteriorated regional morals.¹⁵ Truax discusses how these problems created by the base enhanced local prejudices. In the spring of 1945, for example, Tampa's Social Protection Division reported 415 out of every 1,000 African American soldiers tested positive for STD's compared to only 158 out of every 1,000 overall servicemen. This reinforced racial stereotypes and inspired many Tampanans to blame black servicemen for infesting the city with sexually transmitted diseases.¹⁶ In August 1943, the Tampa *Daily Times* highlighted this sentiment among white authorities in Mayor Robert E. Lee Chancey's campaign speech that stated "every reasonable person, especially Southerners, knows it is very hard to suppress prostitution

¹⁴ Charles E. Fager, *Selma, 1965: The March That Changed the South* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1974, 1985), xii.

¹⁵ The term Victory Girl refers to young women who migrated to towns near defense centers in search of sexual relations with sailors and soldiers. Many believed it was their patriotic duty to provide a good time free of charge for American soldiers and sailors before oversea deployment. Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women* (Westport, Connecticut: 1981), 103-4. In Dawn Truax, "Victory Girls and Social Protection in World War II Tampa," in Wynne ed., *Florida at War*, 29-30, 34. Hereafter cited as Truax, "Victory Girls and Social Protection."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 37, 44. Cf. Social Protection Division Interim Report, April 24, 1945. In *Ibid.*, 43, 44, 37.

and vice among colored people.”¹⁷ Tougher policing of red light districts, testing and treatment of infected persons by civil and military authorities, and the massive demobilization of soldiers that began in 1945 produced more favorable statistics by the end of the war.¹⁸ Overall, Truax’s article represents a more critical view of the relationship between a southern city and adjacent World War II base.

Gary Mormino’s “GI Joe Meets Jim Crow: Racial Violence and Reform in World War II Florida,” furthers Truax’s discussion of race relations and their impact on postwar activism. This article details how the war and military installations in Florida exacerbated racial tensions, but at the same time, African Americans laid the groundwork for the Civil Rights Movement.¹⁹ During the war, many African American churches “spearheaded bond drives, socials, and fundraisers” that served as a springboard for future black social movements.²⁰ Inadequate treatment of Camp Gordon Johnston’s black servicemen in Tallahassee, along with wartime segregation and racism throughout the state, inspired many Florida blacks to seek the church as a conduit for social and political action. Therefore, the black clergy (that the 1940 US Census numbered at 979 compared to only nine black attorneys) served as a staging ground for the “Double V Campaign” – designed to fight fascism overseas and racism and segregation at home.²¹ Mormino’s article contributes a more comprehensive approach to World War II bases by connecting wartime limitations and organizing with postwar civil rights activism.

¹⁷ Cf. Tampa *Daily Times*, August 24, 1943. Cited in *Ibid.*, 44. Mayor Chancey lost the 1943 campaign to Curtis Hixon who reorganized the city’s social protection program.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁹ Cf. Dawn Truax, “Victory Girls and Social Protection,” 29-49. Cited in Gary Mormino, “GI Joe Meets Jim Crow: Racial Violence and Reform in World War II Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 73 (July., 1994): 34, n 40, 38, 42.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

²¹ *Ibid.*

This study also builds upon the body of literature that examines how the New Deal and World War II expanded the federal government and changed its relationship with state and local municipalities.²² In the late 1980s, historians started assessing how many states and cities began depending on an enlarged federal government for economic and welfare subsistence during the Depression. Eliot Rosen discusses how New Deal public works programs, airport, and highway development provided “regional economic diversification” and fabricated an interconnection between federal and state governments.²³ David Kennedy’s chapter “What The New Deal Did,” in comparison, expounds how President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s programs laid the foundation for the American welfare state. Kennedy argues accordingly that the New Deal imbued Americans with the expectation that the federal government should guarantee the well-being and economic stability of its citizens.²⁴ Other historians argued in the late 1980s that the New Deal induced many southern urban officials to market their cities to federal relief programs instead of waiting for Washington policymakers to implement modernization projects. Douglas Smith’s *The New Deal in the Urban South* promotes a

²² Philip J. Funigiello, *The Challenge to Urban Liberalism: Federal-City Relations during World War II* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1978), x-xv; Mark Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965* (New York, 1975), xii; Mark Harrison ed., *The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers in International Comparison* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xix; Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt To Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 113; Hugh, Rockoff, “The United States: from ploughshares to swords,” In Mark Harrison ed., *The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers in International Comparison* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 81; Morton Sosna, “More Important than the Civil War? The Impact of World War II on the South,” in James C. Cobb and Charles R. Wilson eds., *Perspectives On The American South: An Annual Review of Society, Politics and Culture*, Vol. 4, (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1987), 145, 155.

²³ Elliot A. Rosen, *Roosevelt, The Great Depression, and the Economics of Recovery* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 151.

²⁴ David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 377.

more comprehensive view of federal-city relations during the Depression. He argues that the “New Deal did not challenge the prevailing New South creed, at least not directly; thus municipal elites were able to sponsor projects designed to make their cities more attractive in the true booster spirit and at the same time maintain efficiency in city hall and social order and political control on their own terms.”²⁵ Mark Gelfand highlights in *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965* how the New Deal represented a time when southern cities began actively seeking federal programs and aid.²⁶ This aligned Washington D.C. policy makers with city officials in many southern states and created a lasting avenue for federal programs and appropriations.²⁷ This study employs the latter analyses as context to show how Sanford and Seminole County cooperated with the federal government to expand their airport in an effort to attract a military air base. Carl Morgan’s description of the Works Projects Administration (WPA) airport construction at Selma, Alabama shares similarities with the agency’s participation in prewar Sanford discussed in Chapters One and Two.²⁸ The Selma Kiwanis Club utilized the WPA-built airport to cajole the Army to transform it into an air base.²⁹ Likewise, the WPA began construction at the Sanford Municipal

²⁵ Douglas L. Smith, *The New Deal In the Urban South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988) 5.

²⁶ Mark Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965* (New York, 1975), 65-69, 380-86. Cited in Douglas L. Smith, *The New Deal In the Urban South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 5.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Morgan, “Craig Air Force Base: Its Effects on Selma, 1940-1977,” 88. In 1939, the agency became the Works Projects Administration. G.H. Bennett ed., *Roosevelt’s Peacetime Administrations, 1933-41: A Documentary History of the New Deal Years* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 82. The agency was renamed the Works Projects Administration in 1939.

²⁹ Ibid., 84, 86. Warren J. Brown, *Florida’s Aviation History: The First One Hundred Years* (Largo, FL: Aero-Medical Consultants, Inc., 1980), 14; Joseph and Anne Freitas, *Florida: The War Years* (Niceville, FL: Wind Canyon Publishing, 1998), 49-50; Coletta and Bauer ed., *United States Navy and Marine Corps Bases*, 589.

Airport in 1935. In 1941, the agency expanded the airport's runways with the city commission acting as project sponsor.³⁰ As sponsor, the city paid for engineering services, purchased the necessary building materials, and property. At the same time, the city commission sent representatives to Washington, D.C. to solicit the airport to the armed services as an ideal place to build an aviation-training base. City-federal relations' historiography offers an applicable framework to contextualize how Sanford boosters cooperated with federal programs for the benefit of the community.

This thesis applies a qualitative and quantitative methodology to address how the naval air station urbanized Sanford. The former depends on sources that do not require any raw quantitative material but instead use data and studies from the period 1930-1946. Consultation of bank deposits, city commission minutes, chamber of commerce minutes, and newspapers – available from museums and government offices in Seminole County – document the social changes World War II induced on Sanford. Secondary and primary sources discuss city race relations and organizing within Sanford's black community during the Depression and war years.

The following chapters address economic and demographic growth in Sanford during World War II. Chapter One, "Depression Era Sanford: 1930-1941," examines how the city co-sponsored New Deal projects designed to improve infrastructure, provide relief, and employment for white and black residents. This chapter also discusses the limitations of New Deal relief for Sanford African Americans during the 1930s. Chapter

³⁰ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, May 20, 1941, Vol 6, 482; Warren J. Brown, *Florida's Aviation History: The First One Hundred Years* (Largo, FL: Aero-Medical Consultants, Inc., 1980), 14; Joseph and Anne Freitas, *Florida: The War Years* (Niceville, FL: Wind Canyon Publishing, 1998), 49-50; Coletta and Bauer ed., *United States Navy and Marine Corps Bases*, 589.

Two, “The Navy Arrives,” analyzes how the city solicited federal assistance to expand the municipal airport in an effort to get an air-training base designated at Sanford. This chapter avers that the federal government and Sanford officials cooperated to expand the airport’s runways necessary to establish a defense center. Finally, Chapter Three, “Sanford goes to War: The Impacts of NAS Sanford On The City,” addresses how wartime training at the base created economic and demographic change within the city, and increased organizing among African American residents during and after World War II. NAS Sanford created economic and demographic growth and harnessed postwar organizing among African Americans.

CHAPTER ONE: DEPRESSION ERA SANFORD 1930-1941

Long-time Sanford resident Peter Schaal maintains in *Sanford as I Knew it, 1912-1935* that despite the reduction in celery and railroad industries and the Navy's 1942 arrival, "nothing of more than normal concern happened in Sanford from 1935 to 1969."³¹ Despite Schaal's valuable account of Sanford society during the 1930s, his simplistic analysis warrants a deeper interpretation of Depression Era Sanford other than being agriculturally stagnant. Rather during the 1930s, the city commission boosted New Deal projects that developed Seminole County and Sanford urban infrastructure.

From 1933 through 1940 the New Deal supplied Sanford economic relief and municipal development but did not change the status of African Americans as second-class citizens. Particularly, the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), and the Works Projects Administration (WPA) provided construction jobs on city streets and at the municipal airport. The city sponsored these projects by designating funds and furnishing construction materials. However, race relations changed little during this period. The city and county remained segregated and the majority of blacks – who comprised forty-five percent of Sanford's population – remained restricted to unskilled agricultural labor.³² Every social event of

³¹ Schaal, *Sanford as I Knew It*, 122. Peter Schaal reported for *The Sanford Herald*. Ibid., 98.

³² *1935 Florida State Census*, State Department of Agriculture, Table No. 27 (Continued), 130; 'Brief Sketch of Seminole County, Florida Also The Farming Industry In Seminole County,' Sanford, Fla., June 2, 1933, pg. 6. The Chase Papers Collection 'Personal correspondence of Sydney Octavius Chase,' Ms14, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, RG II, Series 8, Box 7, 'Seminole County History,' 9.76. See Appendix. Dillon, "Civil Rights and School Desegregation in Sanford," 311; Valada Parker Flewelly and the Sanford Historical Society, *Images of America: African Americans of Sanford* (Arcadia Publishing: Charleston, South Carolina, 2009), 7.

the decade cannot be covered herein, but instead, this chapter examines Sanford at the start of the Depression, and the ways in which city leaders used the New Deal for urban development. Even though the Depression witnessed a new relationship emerge between the federal government and city centered on providing jobs and urban improvement, the status of African Americans remained second-class from 1930 through 1941 despite attempts by some black residents to organize.

Sanford at the Onset of the Depression and New Deal

Before the New Deal, the federal government played no significant role in Sanford and many citizens held confidence in the region's farming and transportation networks.³³ Since its inception, the town represented many southern societies in that the majority of white and black residents depended on farming for employment.³⁴ The city's eight million dollar celery yield in 1926 earned Sanford the reputation as the "celery city," a label that characterized the town throughout the decade.³⁵ African American

³³ Henry Sanford founded the town in 1870 and it was incorporated in 1877. Governor Park Trammell's endorsement on April 25, 1913 officially established the city of Sanford. 'County Historical Timeline,' Museum of Seminole County History: <http://www.seminolecountyfl.gov/leisure/museum/timeline.asp>; Peter Schaal, *Sanford As I Knew It* (Orlando, Florida, 1970), 7, 122; Altermese Smith Bentley, *Black America Series: Seminole County* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2000), 90; Florida Department of Agriculture, *March of Progress* (Tallahassee, Florida: State Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Immigration, 1939), 31; 'Sanford History By Mrs. Whitner Is Released For Publication,' Sanford Florida, Oct. 23, 1952, 22. The Chase Papers Collection 'Personal correspondence of Sydney Octavius Chase,' Ms14, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, RG II, Series 8, Box 7, 'Seminole County History,' 9.76.

³⁴ 'Sanford History By Mrs. Whitner Is Released For Publication,' Sanford Florida, Oct. 23, 1952, 22. The Chase Papers Collection 'Personal correspondence of Sydney Octavius Chase,' Ms14, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, RG II, Series 8, Box 7, 'Seminole County History,' 9.76.

³⁵ Schaal, *Sanford As I Knew It*, 56; Green, *Lake Mary's Beginnings*, 29-30; Bentley, *Black America Series*, 90; Norman G. Rose, *Celery Production in Florida: A Historic Data Series* (Gainesville, Florida: Food and Resource Economics Department, Agricultural Experiment Station, Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, 1975). Other American cities like Oviedo have also held this title.

labor no doubt played an important part in earning Sanford this reputation.³⁶ On the eve of the Great Depression, Margaret Sprout Green recalled how Seminole County's agriculture, Clyde Steamship Line, and three rail systems connected the county with the rest of the state and country and imbued residents with a source of pride.³⁷ For the rest of the 1920s, the farming industry remained an important factor in the county and city's economy.

By 1932, however, the Depression created a decline in the national vegetable market that reduced demand for Seminole County crops. In comparison to the high agricultural yields of the 1920s, Sanford crops began depreciating in value. From 1931 through 1932, for example, railcar shipment of vegetables from Sanford decreased by four hundred and twenty-eight, from five thousand six hundred and eight to five thousand two hundred and thirty respectively.³⁸ Even before Franklin D. Roosevelt's March 4, 1933 inauguration, Sanford farmers began practicing "discontinuance" of celery.³⁹ The inability of national markets to absorb the region's high celery output compelled the

³⁶ Valada Parker Flewelly and the Sanford Historical Society, *Images of America: African Americans of Sanford* (Arcadia Publishing: Charleston, South Carolina, 2009), back cover.

³⁷ Schaal, *Sanford As I Knew It*, 57; Margaret Sprout Green, *Lake Mary's Beginnings and the Roaring Twenties in Lake Mary and Sanford Florida* (Chuluota, Florida: The Mickler House Publishers, 1986), 31. Hereafter cited as Green, *Lake Mary's Beginnings*.

Seminole County Florida Board of County Commissioners, *Seminole County Florida* (Sanford, Florida, St. Augustine, Florida: Record Company, 1926), 2.

³⁸ Exhibit No. 6, 'Statement showing number of cars of vegetables shipped from Seminole County, Florida, by rail during the years 1925-26 1932-33, inclusive,' The Chase Papers Collection 'Personal Correspondence of Sydney Octavius Chase,' Ms14, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, RG II, Series 8, Box 7, 'Seminole County History,' 9.76.

³⁹ G.H. Bennett, *Roosevelt's Peacetime Administrations, 1933-1941: A Documentary History of the New Deal Years* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 249; 'Plan to Restrict Celery Shipments To Be Continued,' *Florida Times-Union*, Thursday March 2, 1933, p.18. This involved harvesting less than one-third of the matured celery crop.

Florida Times-Union to cover what it termed an eight-week “curtailment” in early 1933.⁴⁰ Thereafter, Sanford’s economy remained at a moderate level, and despite a reduction in vegetable production, agriculture remained the key economic source and occupation for Seminole County whites and blacks.⁴¹ (see number of white and black agricultural workers in 1940 listed in Tables 7 and 8) By 1933, the Depression weakened demand on Sanford’s agricultural industry as the result of a diminished spending power among American consumers.

Even though the Depression strained Sanford’s agricultural production, the economy remained secure and the banks opened in the spring of 1933. More than a year before Roosevelt entered office, City Clerk Frank Lamson boasted on January 16, 1932, that Sanford building permits increased by 730 from 14,435 in 1931 to 15,165 in 1932.⁴² The *Florida Times-Union* reported on March 18, 1933, that the Sanford Atlantic Bank broke all previous bank deposits at \$275,000, \$15,000 in gold and currency, and a net increase in deposits totaling \$137,000 on March fifteen to sixteenth.⁴³ The Sanford Atlantic Bank reported additional deposit increases in 1934 over those recorded in

⁴⁰ ‘Curtailment of Celery to Continue,’ *Florida Times-Union*, Sun. March 19, 1933, p. 24; *Florida Times-Union*, Tue. March 28, 1933, p. 12; Orange-Seminole Joint Planning Commission. *History of Development in Orange and Seminole Counties: Growth Patterns of Urban Form in the Orlando Metropolitan Area* (Orlando, Florida: 1965), 28.

⁴¹ Amelung, ‘History of Economic Development of the Sanford Florida Area,’ 39; ‘Statistical Data Covering County Is Offered Readers,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Nov. 2, 1934, Vol. XXIV, No. 7, p.4; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1943) Vol. II, Part II, Tables XXIII, XXIII A, pgs. 69, 72; (2004). Historical Census Browser. Retrieved [Saturday May 29, 2010], from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>.

⁴² Schaal, *Sanford As I Knew It*, 98; Evasusanne Amelung, ‘History of Economic Development of the Sanford Florida Area,’ (Unpublished Master’s Thesis University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, 1971), 37.

⁴³ ‘All Records Broken In Business Volume By Bank in Sanford,’ *Florida Times-Union*, Sat. March 18, 1933, p. 6.

1933.⁴⁴ One of Florida's largest newspapers highlighted the county's moderate subsistence in April 1933. Seminole County Welfare Director Helen T. Morse and the Seminole County Emergency Relief Council called for all work crews to be suspended as a result of a decline in local unemployment.⁴⁵ David M. Kennedy and William E. Leuchtenberg provide contrasting examples of other American cities to Sanford at the beginning of the Depression. Kennedy's *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* emphasizes the uncertainty that prevailed in federal institutions by March 4, 1933. The New York Stock Exchange and the Chicago Board of Trade halted trading on inauguration day and banks in thirty-two states were closed with other states like Texas, permitted only limited withdrawals.⁴⁶ Leuchtenberg's *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, moreover, details how Detroit, Michigan — unlike Sanford where food prices decreased in early March 1933 and banks remained opened — witnessed a different scene when “city laborers, unable to buy food with their pay checks [due to the bank holiday], fainted at work.”⁴⁷ In comparison, Roosevelt's Bank Holiday issued on Sunday March 5, 1933, did not affect Sanford.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Peter Schaal recalls a dim setting as crowds, gathered in front of the Hofmann Radio Store at the

⁴⁴ *Orlando Morning-Star*, Friday Jan. 11, 1935, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Schaal, *Sanford as I Knew It*, 97; ‘Unemployment in Seminole Is Reported at Low Point,’ *Florida Times-Union*, Sun. April 2, 1933, p. 5. The federal government, however, paid for ten men to remain working in Seminole County.

⁴⁶ David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People In Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 132-33.

⁴⁷ ‘Bank Holiday Declared By Georgia Head,’ *The Sanford Herald* Fr. Mar. 3, 1933, Vol. XXIII, No. 295, p. 1; ‘Gov. Sholtz Orders Banking Holiday For State Banks In Fla: Sanford Bank Is Not Affected By Holidays Called By Governor And Federal Reserve,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. March 4, 1933, Vol. XXIII, No. 296, p. 1; Schaal, *Sanford as I Knew It*, 93-4, 97-98. Cf. *Time*, XXI (March 6, 1933), 18; (March 13, 1933), 45-6; *Business Week* (March 15, 1933), 6-7. Quoted in Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 42-43.

⁴⁸ Schaal, *Sanford as I Knew It*, 98. Consulting other works on the Depression reveals no similar scenario to the bank holiday not taking affect in Sanford and one can only speculate as to why this city's banks remained opened.

corner of Second Street and Magnolia Avenue on March 4, 1933, to hear President Roosevelt's Inaugural Address.⁴⁹ Sanford fared better at the beginning of Roosevelt's first term than other American cities.

New Deal Relief Programs in Sanford

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) began projects in Sanford and Seminole County in the fall of 1933 that improved infrastructure and employed hundreds of residents. By November 1933, 673 white and black Sanford men worked on CWA jobs and the city began planning for future projects. City officials played an active part in the approval of an \$85,000 project to rebuild Sanford's sewer system. On Tuesday November 28, 1933, *The Sanford Herald* reported how Mayor V.A. Speer and engineer Fred T. Williams traveled to Tallahassee to secure approval for the plan.⁵⁰ The following month, the CWA employed 754 white and black Sanford men and women on nearly twenty jobs.⁵¹ On December 2, 1933, the agency released over five thousand dollars to pay each of these workers seven dollars for a three-day workweek.⁵² In July 1934, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) replaced the CWA but continued providing Seminole County residents employment. In Sanford, the FERA employed 964 people, with African Americans comprising nearly seventy percent of this number, on eleven city

⁴⁹ On November 8, 1932 Sanford voted 719 for Roosevelt over 256 for Herbert Hoover. Seminole County voted 2,095 for Roosevelt over 931 for Hoover. 'For President,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Nov. 9, 1932, Vol. XXIII, No. 201, p.1; Schaal, *Sanford as I Knew It*, 95.

⁵⁰ '\$85,000 Sewer Project Given Okey [sic] By State,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. Nov. 28, 1933, Vol. XXV, No. 29, pgs. 1-2; '50 More Men T Be Employed On State Road Job,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Nov. 29, 1933, Vol. XXV, No. 30, p. 1.

⁵¹ '754 Workers Get Over \$5000 In Pay Checks,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. Dec. 2, 1933, Vol. XXV, No. 33, p. 1; Schaal, *Sanford As I Knew It*, 109.

⁵² *Ibid.*

street and sewer projects.⁵³ The CWA and FERA began public works projects in 1933 that improved infrastructure and provided residents construction jobs.

By 1935, Florida received additional federal relief funding and projects under the Works Projects Administration (WPA).⁵⁴ Created in 1935 and headed by Harry Hopkins, the WPA employed over eight million Americans during the Depression on highways and other public projects.⁵⁵ In April 1934, the Governor's Advisory Council on Unemployment and Relief created the State Advisory and Planning Board. Then on June 8, 1935, the Florida legislature designated the first WPA appropriations. Finally on February 7, 1936, the Planning Board Staff Project began operating on WPA funds with offices located at Roberts Building, Jacksonville, Florida. As a result, planning councils became established in all sixty-seven Florida counties in 1937. These committees stressed the idea of local assistance in federal government planning in the areas of transportation, drainage and irrigation, new industry, national defense, sanitation and mosquito control.⁵⁶ From 1933 through 1939, the State of Florida received a total of \$58,666,306 from the WPA and other New Deal agencies.⁵⁷ WPA budgets and planning appeared in Florida soon after the agency's 1935 creation.

⁵³ Schaal, *Sanford As I Knew It*, 109.

⁵⁴ The Works Progress Administration was renamed Works Projects Administration in 1939.

⁵⁵ Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*, 252-3.

⁵⁶ Michael Heale, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: the New Deal and War* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), xvii, 24; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 252-3; J.M. McDonald (Director) and W. Turner Wallis, Jr. (Associate Consultant), *The Advance of Governmental Planning in Florida and the Part of the WPA in Planning Activities* (Roberts Building, Jacksonville, Florida: WPA Sponsored Federal Project No. 3, March 1937), 1, 4,5, 61, 5-6.

⁵⁷ Office of Government Reports, Statistical Section, Report No. 10, Volume II, Washington, D.C., 1940. Copy in the library of the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.; Xerox copy in Utah State University Library, Logan, Utah. Cited in Appendix Table III, 'NEW DEAL ISSUANCE BY STATES,' Don C. Reading, "New Deal Activity and the States, 1933 to 1939," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 33 No. 4 (Dec., 1973): 810.

From 1935 through 1941, the city commission contributed money to WPA projects that modernized Sanford infrastructure and provided relief. On November 11, 1935, the agency released \$80,000 to widen Park Avenue from twenty-six to fifty feet from Fulton Street to Fourth Street and from twenty-six to forty-four feet from Fourth Street to Tenth Street.⁵⁸ By March 1936, the *Herald* reported the widening of First Street and Park Avenue as the largest WPA project within the city limits.⁵⁹ Federal grants allocated \$19,881 to resurface the twenty-five year old pavement and install concrete gutters on First Street, and \$19,893 to widen Park Avenue, one of the main north-south roads in the city too narrow to handle traffic flow.⁶⁰ As sponsor, the city matched these federal grants with a contribution of \$8,356 and donated materials for resurfacing other city streets in 1938.⁶¹ By 1940, the WPA allocated \$250,000 to expand Sanford's streets, sewers, and recreational facilities.⁶² In 1940, the agency also granted \$27,000 to complete a road leading from Geneva to Lake Harney to State Road 44.⁶³ In February of the same year, the city commission furnished the agency two trucks for its water works project to replace the city's main water supply.⁶⁴ Additionally, the city and county contributed \$1,825 to an \$11,588 federal grant that completed construction on the National Guard Armory located on East First Street in 1936.⁶⁵ The city commission, furthermore,

⁵⁸ Schaal, *Sanford as I Knew it*, 119.

⁵⁹ 'WPA Program Gives County Many Projects,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. March 12, 1936, Vol. XXV, No. 118, p.1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Nov. 14, 1938, Vol. 6, p. 2.

⁶² Cf. *The Sanford Herald*, January 18, 1940. Cited in Dillon, "A History of the Integration," 64-5.

⁶³ *The Sunday Sentinel-Star*, Orlando. Sun. May 12, 1940.

⁶⁴ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Feb. 28, 1940, Vol. 6, p. 255.

⁶⁵ 'WPA Program Gives County Many Projects,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. March 12, 1936, Vol. XXV, No. 118, p. 4.

supported WPA Sewing Rooms designed to provide clothing for residents in need and employment for local women.⁶⁶ To keep the WPA Sewing Room operating at the corner of First Street and Park Avenue, for example, the city and county split the fifteen-dollar monthly rent with each party paying seven and a half dollars beginning in December 1938.⁶⁷ The city commission also paid a portion of the forty-dollar license fee for the African American WPA Sewing Room in December 1939.⁶⁸ The city and agency, moreover, collaborated to promote the benefits of WPA projects to Sanford residents. During the week of May 20th, the city and agency held open houses at ten WPA projects part of the “This Work Pays Your Community Week,” designed to educate residents on the agency’s social welfare and infrastructure projects.⁶⁹ After 1935, federal and local grants provided the finances for WPA projects that updated Sanford and Seminole County roads, constructed a new armory, and furnished jobs and social relief programs.⁷⁰

The WPA also developed the Sanford Municipal Airport with finances sponsored by the city. The “Florida Proposed 10 Year Plan of Aviation Development 1935-1945” provided over one million dollars for developing airports throughout Florida and

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Dec. 12 1938, Vol. 6, p. 18.

⁶⁸ Ibid, Dec. 18, 1939, Vol. 6, 225-226.

⁶⁹ ‘Residents Urged To Visit WPA Projects Friday,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 23, 1940, Vol. XXXI, No. 233, p.1. The following WPA projects were opened to the public: the WPA Sewing Room, located on the upstairs floor of First Street and Park Avenue, the WPA Bedding Project, at the Takael building, the WPA Library Project, at the Public Library on Fifth Street and Oak Avenue, the WPA Book Repair Project at Seminole High School, the Housekeeping Aide at Celery Avenue, the Graves Registration conducted at the Evergreen Cemetery, the White Nursery, located at Palmetto Avenue and Sixth Street, the African American Nursery on Third Street, the Lunch Room project at public schools throughout Seminole County; and the Recreation projects in cooperation with the City Recreation Department projects. These ten projects employed 111 local people and a federal budget of \$60,961.40 comprised the annual payrolls. ‘County Has Ten WPA Projects In Professional And Service Division,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 30, 1940, Vol. XXXI, No. 239, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Schaal, *Sanford as I Knew it*, 113; Green, *Lake Mary’s Beginnings*, 1-3.

employed nearly 4,000 WPA workers.⁷¹ In 1935, the “10 Year Plan” designated \$8,500 to build the Sanford Municipal Airport.⁷² A WPA grant of \$11,588 and city contribution of \$1,825 equipped the airport with lighting in 1936.⁷³ By 1938, the Florida Aviation Association records cited how development of the Sanford Airport ranked the city as one of the state’s principal leaders in aviation.⁷⁴ Chapter Two details how the city and WPA contributed finances to build a new airport in 1940 through 1941 to secure a federal aviation-training center. WPA and city financial contributions established the Sanford Municipal Airport during the Depression. This facility served as a resource for additional federal improvements related to national defense in 1941.

Sanford Race Relations during the 1930s

Sanford’s segregated society restricted African Americans during the 1930s. The Ku Klux Klan existed in Sanford during the 1920s, but no government or newspaper

⁷¹ William C. Lazarus, *Wings in the Sun: The Annals of Aviation in Florida* (Orlando, Florida: Tyn Cobb’s Florida Press, 1951), 190, 200. Beginning in 1935, the “10 Year Plan” improved other Florida cities’ airports. In 1935, the WPA improved the lighting at Daytona Beach’s airport and constructed an emergency runway at Valparaiso, Florida that developed into Eglin Army Air Force Base where Jimmy Doolittle’s Raiders trained for their April 1942 Tokyo mission. Also, the “10 Year Plan” provided over seven thousand dollars to update the landing field at Orlando Airport. The enormity of aviation development during the Depression ranked Florida first in FERA, WPA, and CPT accomplishments. Lazarus, *Wings in the Sun*, 184, 250, 192, 221; Warren J. Brown, *Florida’s Aviation History: The First One Hundred Years* (Largo, FL: Aero-Medical Consultants, Inc., 1994), 191, 14.

⁷² Prepared by Major A.B. McMullen, Directory Aviation Division, State Road Department and Aviation Division, FERA, *Florida Proposed 10-Year Plan of Aviation Development 1935-1945* (Wis. Historical Library Public Document, July 22, 1935), 18.

⁷³ Ibid. ‘WPA Program Gives County Many Projects,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. March 12, 1936, Vol. XXV, No. 118, p. 4; William C. Lazarus, *Wings in the Sun: The Annals of Aviation in Florida* (Orlando, Florida: Tyn Cobb’s Florida Press, 1951), 190, 200; Warren J. Brown, *Florida’s Aviation History: The First One Hundred Years* (Largo, FL: Aero-Medical Consultants, Inc., 1994), 191, 14.

⁷⁴ Lazarus, *Wings in the Sun*, 208.

reports accounted their involvement in violence against blacks in the following decade.⁷⁵ Even though African Americans worked on New Deal projects, the majority remained employed as unskilled agricultural laborers. The WPA Federal Writer's Project, for instance, discussed the harsh working conditions of black agricultural labor in Sanford during the 1930s. It reported how black "laborers in and around Sanford are transported to and from the fields in huge trucks, with slatted sides and [with] so many Negroes in each truck that they stand wedged in literally like sardines in a can."⁷⁶ *The Sanford Herald* boasted in the fall of 1934 how Seminole County African Americans formed over forty-percent of the population and the majority of hired farm- labor.⁷⁷ As a result, city and WPA officials cooperated to keep black laborers working in Seminole County agriculture. On February 9, 1936, for example, Sanford Police ordered labor-recruiting agents from Sarasota, driving a truck half-full with African American laborers, to pay a two hundred dollar license fee or leave the city.⁷⁸ After receiving the ultimatum, the recruiters who had promised the laborers twenty-five cents more a day for work in Sarasota celery fields, left Sanford.⁷⁹ A meeting between the Sanford City Commission

⁷⁵ Green, *Lake Mary's Beginnings*, 7, 24; Schaal, *Sanford as I Knew it*, 35, 46; Letter from J.C. Chase to Cary D. Landis, Dec. 6, 1921. The Chase Papers Collection 'Personal correspondence of Sydney Octavius Chase,' Ms14, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, RG II, Series 8, Box 173 'Ku Klux Klan Folder,' 2.36; Letter from J.C. Chase to Josh (last name not specified) Dec. 6, 1921, p. 1. The Chase Papers Collection 'Personal correspondence of Sydney Octavius Chase,' Ms14, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, RG II, Series 8, Box 173, 'Ku Klux Klan Folder,' 2.36; Dillon, "Civil Rights and School Desegregation in Sanford," 313; The Lynching Calendar African Americans Who Died In Racial Violence in the United State, 1865-1965. Retrieved [Wednesday February 17, 2010]: <http://www.autopsis.org/foot/lynch.html>.

⁷⁶ Bentley, *Black America* Series, 89, 86.

⁷⁷ 'Statistical Data Covering County Is Offered Readers,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Nov. 2, 1934, Vol. XXIV, No. 7, p. 4.

⁷⁸ 'Police Order Recruiting Of Labor Stopped,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Feb. 10, 1936, Vol. XXV, No. 91,p. 1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

and WPA officials followed on February 10.⁸⁰ Addressing concerns that federal projects drained unskilled labor away from the agriculture industry, Division Head of the WPA O.P. Swope and District WPA Engineer T.K. Apgar pledged to release unskilled labor from government work programs to private industry whenever necessary.⁸¹ When local authorities expressed concern over New Deal programs draining agricultural labor, the WPA cooperated with city officials to keep African Americans employed in farm work.

Additionally, educated African Americans and city employees received less pay than white workers. Dr. George H. Starke graduated from Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1927. Thereafter, Dr. Starke opened his first office on September 15, 1927, above Jerry's Drugstore on Sanford Avenue.⁸² From 1900 to 1960, only two other black doctors Fred A. Smith, who eventually moved to Tampa, and a man identified only as Strickland, practiced in Sanford.⁸³ Because of a segregated society, Dr. Starke could not work as a primary physician at the Fernald-Laughton Hospital but instead treated black patients in the old house's basement.⁸⁴ Dr. Starke, moreover, could not receive the same pay as white physicians. Seminole County public health nurse Frances McDougal, for instance, estimated that during the Depression Dr. Starke offered \$27,000 worth of medical work for about \$2,000 pay.⁸⁵ African American city employees, in comparison, received fifteen cents less daily pay than white workers in

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Sally Vihlen, "The Black physician in Florida from 1900-1965 an examination of the desegregation process," (Master's Thesis. University of South Florida, May 1994), 53-4.

⁸³ Vihlen, "The Black physician in Florida from 1900-1965," Appendix 4 Cont., 173.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 57, n 149; Patricia Gatchel, interview by author, tape recording, Sanford Florida, 2 November 2009. Dr. Starke served as a secondary physician at Fernald-Laughton Hospital and received house calls in the evenings. Vihlen, "The Black physician in Florida from 1900-1965," 61.

⁸⁵ Leedell Neyland, *Twelve Black Floridians* (Tallahassee: Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University Foundation, 1970), 63. In Vihlen, "The Black physician in Florida from 1900-1965," 60, 152.

1939.⁸⁶ At the request of several African American city employees, the city commission raised pay rates in October 1941 not to exceed ten cents a day per worker, a wage still five cents below white city employees.⁸⁷ These examples underline how segregation restricted job opportunities and pay rates for Sanford blacks during the Depression despite organizing efforts by some African American workers to request better pay from the city commission.

Seminole County African Americans made additional efforts to become more involved citizens during the Depression Era by organizing politically. In October 1933, Jacksonville resident and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) member S.D. McGill responded to Walter White's request for information on establishing a Sanford branch.⁸⁸ McGill outlined that without support from nine local people there would not be enough backing to establish such a branch. However, no Sanford branch became established until the end of World War II, but an interest among some Seminole County blacks to organize existed during the 1930s.⁸⁹ No government reports or newspapers documented African Americans in Seminole County registering to vote in city, primary, or general elections during the 1930s.⁹⁰ *The Sanford Herald* reported in September 1940 that for the first time a large block of African Americans

⁸⁶ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Oct. 11, 1939, Vol. 6, p. 180.

⁸⁷ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Oct. 13, 1941, Vol. 6, p. 75.

⁸⁸ Emmons, "Flames of Resistance," 60-1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 60-1, 242-3. This date represents the first charter given to the branch.

⁹⁰ Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1937, and Ending December 31, 1938* (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1947), 73-4; Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1945, and Ending December 31, 1946*, 'Registration For Primaries—1946,' (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1947), 96-97; '68 Percent of Qualified Voted,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Nov. 7, 1932, Vol. XXIV, No. 11, p.1.

registered for the November fifth city primary election to elect a city commissioner for three years service.⁹¹ By the first of November, the *Herald* numerated seventy-one African Americans registered to vote in the city election.⁹² In comparison, a larger number of Seminole County blacks registered for the general election of November 5, 1940 to elect President of the United States.⁹³ A total of 289 new Seminole County residents registered to vote and African Americans comprised 230 of this number.⁹⁴ Because Seminole County blacks registered does not necessarily mean they voted. These instances illustrate instead how some Seminole County African Americans became more involved in city and national politics despite numerous inequalities by 1940. They also offer a gauge for assessing how World War II provided advantages and limitations for blacks in Seminole County.

Conclusion

Historian Michael Heale details the ways in which President Roosevelt's New Deal expanded federal involvement in state and local affairs. He highlights how the "New Deal, and the measures of the war years, not only reached into almost every facet of American economic and social life but also bequeathed institutions, practices and

⁹¹ 'Many Negroes Register For City Election,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Sept. 30, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 33, p. 1. All of the city commissioner candidates were white. Sanford City Commission Minutes, Sanford City Commission Minutes, Sept. 30, 1940, Vol. 6, 349.

⁹² 'County Interest In Election On Tuesday Is Shown,' *The Sanford Herald*, Nov. 1, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 61, p. 1.

⁹³ Ibid; 'Heavy General Election Vote Is Anticipated,' *The Sanford Herald*, Vol. XXXII, No. 63, p. 1.

⁹⁴ 'County Interest In Election On Tuesday Is Shown,' *The Sanford Herald*, Nov. 1, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 61, p.6.

relationships that were to survive for decades.”⁹⁵ Likewise, Seminole County resident Margaret Sprout Green remembered numerous New Deal road and school projects throughout Seminole County.⁹⁶ In October 1940, furthermore, State of Florida WPA Administrator, Roy Shroder, reported the agency’s benefits for Seminole County to the Sanford paper. From 1935 through 1940, the WPA constructed more than twelve public buildings, built almost thirty-five miles of roads and highways, paved over thirteen miles of streets, erected four bridges and twenty-two culverts, built the eighty-one acre municipal airport, and paid Seminole County workers “nearly \$600,000 in wages in that period to spend with merchants and other business firms of this section.”⁹⁷ Federal contributions for these projects totaled \$684,000 matched by city and county allocations of \$162,840.⁹⁸ New Deal agencies worked in conjunction with the city of Sanford and Seminole County officials to sponsor projects that modernized the community and created jobs during the 1930s.

Federal-city relations during the New Deal Era centered on creating jobs, improving infrastructure, and bringing federal appropriations to Sanford. This relationship, more particularly, provided a basis for city boosters and leaders to promote larger urban developments related to national defense during World War II. The city continued seeking and sponsoring federal infrastructure improvements in 1940 and 1941

⁹⁵ Michael Heale, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: the New Deal and War* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 76.

⁹⁶ Green, *Lake Mary's Beginnings*, 1-3.

⁹⁷ ‘\$847, 000 Spent On WPA Work In Seminole,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Oct. 11, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 43, p. 1.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

in an effort to improve the city and secure a more long-term economic base with the armed services.

Even though the New Deal provided African Americans jobs, the majority of black residents remained employed as farm laborers. African Americans who worked as doctors and for the city received less pay and professional opportunities than Sanford's white workers. Additionally, federal relief projects employed Seminole County African Americans but did not change their overall status as low-pay agricultural labor and second-class citizens. WPA cooperation with Sanford authorities to release African American relief workers to farm labor jobs in the private sector whenever requested emphasizes how the New Deal in some instances limited African American occupational mobility. Therefore, Douglas Smith's assessment that the New Deal served as a way for southern city leaders to promote urban development without jeopardizing the local status quo serves as an appropriate lens to view 1930s Sanford race relations.⁹⁹ A portion of Sanford and Seminole County African Americans, however, organized for better pay and registered to vote during the Depression Era.

⁹⁹ Smith, *The New Deal In the Urban South*, 5.

CHAPTER TWO: THE NAVY ARRIVES

As early as 1937, Japan's war against China and Germany's occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia the following year escalated the possibility of US intervention in another world war.¹⁰⁰ The need to ready the country for this potential threat persuaded policy makers in Washington to expand the armed forces and build new military training-centers. In July 1940, the United States Navy was unprepared for a modern air war. The branch possessed only 10,923 air service personnel and 2,965 pilots.¹⁰¹ In an effort to address this shortage, congressional and executive legislation enlarged preexisting aviation training centers while the armed services surveyed the country and particularly Florida for new base locations. Specifically, these initiatives created the Hepburn Board, the Naval Expansion Acts of 1940 and 1942, and the Civilian Pilot Training Program (CPTP). Together they supplemented one hundred and eighteen billion dollars to expand training facilities, manufacture planes, and train pilots from July 1, 1940, to January

¹⁰⁰ Japan attacked Shanghai in August and "the rape of Nanking" followed in December 1937. Japan also attacked the *USS Panay* in the Yangtze River in December 1937. Germany annexed Austria on March 11, 1937, the Munich agreement that ceded Czechoslovakia was signed on September 29, 1938, and Germany subsequently occupied the Sudetenland on October 5, 1938. Cf. Lyman P. Van Slyke, China 'Domestic life and war effort,' 'China Incident.' Cited in I.C.B. Dear Gen ed., and M.R.D. Foot Consultant ed., *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (Oxford, New York: 2001), 166,, 179-180; Hans Umbreit, 'Austria,' in *Ibid*, 71; Paul Latawski, 'Sudetenland,' in *Ibid*, 852; 'Chronology,' in *Ibid*, 1020. 'The *USS Panay* Memorial Website,' <http://www.usspanay.org/> R.A.C. Parker, *The Second World War: A Short History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 8, 72, 79. Specifically, German and Japanese expansion centered on the concept of lebensraum "living space" and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. John Costello, *The Pacific War 1941-1945* (New York: HarpersCollins, 1982, 2002), 58; Capt. Matt Portz USNR, "Naval Aviation in World War II: Aviation Training and Expansion," Part 1, *Naval Aviation News*, (July-Aug.1990): 22-27; Part 2, *Naval Aviation News*, (Sept.- Oct. 1990): 22-27.

¹⁰¹ US Bureau of Yards et al, *Building the Navy's Bases in World War II*, Vol. I, 37, 229; Cf. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, Jan., 10, 1946, A 14-15. Cited in I.C.B. Dear and Shelby Stanton, *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (Oxford, New York: 1995, 2001), Table USA 7, 936; John Costello, *The Pacific War, 1941-1945* (New York :HarpersCollins, 1982, 2002), 58.

1945.¹⁰² By August 31, 1945, American defense legislation equipped the Navy with 437,524 air personnel, 60,747 pilots, and over 67,000 planes.¹⁰³

The threat of war presented city officials throughout the country an opportunity to sell their airports to the Army and Navy as air bases. This chapter expands on historiography that analyzes how city boosters used national defense for regional development. James Colwell examines how city officials in Pecos, Texas employed the Civil Aeronautics Administration (CAA) and Works Projects Administration (WPA) to improve its aviation facilities and solicited it to the Army Air Force as a future training base.¹⁰⁴ More particularly, Roger Launius argues the Ogden, Utah Chamber of Commerce supported by local and state politicians acted as the driving force that established Hill Air Force Base outside of the city in November 1940.¹⁰⁵ The Ogden Chamber of Commerce and local Aviation Committee sent reports to Washington, D.C. outlining the strategic value of the area and cooperated with federal officials to obtain WPA funds for improving the existing facility all in an effort to bring money to their community.¹⁰⁶ In comparison, *The St. Petersburg Times* detailed in June 1940 that if the United States entered the war, the armed forces would transform many established

¹⁰² US Bureau of Yards et al, *Building the Navy's bases in World War II*: Vol. I, 36-7, 34. It should be noted the 1942 bill unlike the 1941 Naval Appropriation Act that called for \$97,640,362, the 1942 Act called for \$144,007,194, around half to be used for expanding and updating established facilities, and not for building new facilities. '118 Billion Dollars Is Given To Navy In Four Years,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Jan. 5, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 62, p. 4. These amounts are also rounded to the nearest million from \$17,722,565,474, \$132,273,194, \$74,868,694, and \$118,000,000,000 respectively.

¹⁰³ Cf. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, Jan., 10, 1946, A 14-15. Cited in I.C.B. Dear and Shelby Stanton, *The Oxford Companion to World War II*(Oxford, New York: 1995, 2001), Table USA 7, 936

¹⁰⁴ James Colwell, "Wings Over Texas: Pecos Army Air Field In World War II," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, Vol. 63, (1987): 44, 45, 47.

¹⁰⁵ Roger Launius, "A Case Study In Civil-Military Relations: Hill Air Force Base And The Ogden Business Community, 1934-1945," *Aerospace Historian*, Vol. 35, No. 38, (1988): 155.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 156-7, 159.

airports in Florida and the rest of the country into training bases.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, the Sanford City Commission and Seminole County Chamber of Commerce began proposing the armed forces designate the municipal airport as an air base. On September 7, 1940 Sanford leaders invited Army Air Corps officers to inspect the site for national defense purposes.¹⁰⁸ The outcome of this meeting set in motion a year and a half long campaign by local leaders to secure a defense center.

Overall, proactive attempts by Sanford officials, supported by Florida politicians, and in collaboration with federal authorities, brought the Navy to Sanford. Initially, the city invited Army Air Corps officials to view the airport in 1940 as a possible location for an air-training base but the service deemed the facility too small for military aircraft. City leaders, thereafter, began planning to build a new airport equipped with four thousand foot-runways, the necessary length for military training.¹⁰⁹ From 1940 to 1942, the city purchased eight hundred acres of property for runway expansion and sent representatives to Washington to acquire federal assistance for the airport project.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, civic leaders campaigned for the Army, Navy, and civilian flying schools to designate the airport as a training base. Between August 1941 and April 1, 1942, the city and federal

¹⁰⁷ 'Florida Gets Big Sum For Defenses,' *St. Petersburg Times*, June 24, 1940. Millard Filmore Caldwell Papers, RG 900000, Box 9, Vol. 40, 3033. Existing airports in other southern states also became military air bases. See Robert Hallack, "Selman Field: An Army Air Forces Navigation School," *North Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1985: 95. On June 17, 1942, the Army purchased 785 acres for \$267,000 to transform the Quachita Parish's Selman Airport in Selman, Louisiana into a navigation school. Also see Fred H. Allison, "Patriotic Prosperity and Social Change in World War II: The Impact of Majors Field on Greenville, Texas," *Journal of the Texas Oral History Association*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (1999): 38-9.

¹⁰⁸ 'Officials See Facilities Of Airport Here,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Sept. 9, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 15, p.1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Sept. 9, 1940, Vol. 6, 332.

¹⁰⁹ 'Officials See Facilities Of Airport Here,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Sept. 9, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 15, p.1

¹¹⁰ 'Navy Gets Sanford,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Apr. 24, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, NO. 190, p. 1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 6, 1941, Vol. 7, 2.

government contributed nearly \$400,000 to expand the airport.¹¹¹ As sponsor of the CAA and WPA project, the city invested almost \$70,000 purchasing property, drafting engineering plans, and donating materials matched by a federal contribution of \$360,000 to prepare and pave two four thousand foot runways.¹¹² During the construction process, Chamber of Commerce Secretary Edward Higgins supported by Mayor W.C. Hill and the Sanford City Commission solicited the new airport and the strategic and transportation benefits of the region to the federal government. As a result of these efforts, there existed a strong possibility of the armed forces converting the facility into an air base. City leaders, however, remained actively engaged in lobbying the armed forces until they signed an agreement with the Navy in January 1942 to develop the airport into a naval air station. This agreement and subsequent construction provided non-farm work for local residents. While the base's construction provided better paying non-agricultural jobs, African Americans continued receiving second-class treatment in 1942.

¹¹¹ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 21, 1941, Vol. 7, 8-9, Aug. 11, 1941, Vol. 7, 26, Aug. 22, 1941, Vol. 7, 30-34, Aug. 25, 1941, Vol. 7, 36-8; 'Airport Plans Sent To WPA For Approval,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 13, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 294, p. 1; 'County Chamber Activities Are Told At Meeting,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. Aug. 26, 1941, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, p. 1.

¹¹² The city's investment totaled \$65,895. *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Sept. 4, 1940, Vol. 6, 332; Feb. 10, 1941, Vol. 6, 420-3; March 10, 1941, Vol. 6, 444; June 26, 1941, Vol. 6, 506-7; July 21, 1941, Vol. 7, 8-9, Aug. 11, 1941, Vol. 7, 26, Aug. 22, 1941, Vol. 7, 30-34, Aug. 25, 1941, Vol. 7, 36-8; Oct. 27, 1941, Vol. 7, 78; Nov. 24, 1941, Vol. 7, 90, Dec. 8, 1941, Vol. 7, 96; 'Airport Plans Sent To WPA For Approval,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 13, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 294, p. 1; 'County Chamber Activities Are Told At Meeting,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. Aug. 26, 1941, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, p. 1; 'Dealers Request City To Revise New Liquor Law,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. Apr. 15, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 193, p. 1; 'Bill Empowering City To Borrow Money Supported,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 22, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 225, p. 1; 'Work On Airport Is Scheduled To Start this Week,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Apr. 7, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 187, p.1; 'It is Biggest Thing That Has Happened To Sanford,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. April 24, 1942. Vol. XXXIII, No. 190, p. 1. Specifically, this article praised Mayor W.C. Hill, Chamber of Commerce Secretary and Commissioner Edward Higgins, and Volie Williams.

Cooperation between Sanford civic leaders, federal agencies, and the armed services to secure a national defense rating for the new airport will be discussed. Government structure in Sanford deserves attention in order to identify the key persons involved in boosting the airport to the federal government. Thereafter, the initial efforts by city officials to attain a national defense certification for the municipal airport originally built by the WPA in 1935 and 1936 are discussed.¹¹³ The ways in which Edward Higgins—with the help of other local boosters and Florida politicians—solicited and sponsored the CAA and WPA projects are then assessed. Next, the efforts of the city commission and chamber to attract the Army and Navy with the new airport are detailed. Finally, this chapter examines the immediate impacts of the Navy’s arrival.

Government Structure in Sanford, Florida

In order to understand how civic officials attracted the Navy to Sanford, the government structure and key members involved in the decision-making process deserve attention. Sanford served as the government seat for Seminole County. More particularly, the five-member city commission served for three-year terms and named the mayor, who presided over the commission, every three years. In 1930, the Sanford and Seminole County Chamber of Commerce merged together. Thereafter, a five member Board of Directors headed the reorganized Seminole County Chamber of Commerce. Edward

¹¹³ Prepared by Major A.B. McMullen, Directory Aviation Division, State Road Department and Aviation Division, FERA, *Florida Proposed 10 Year Plan of Aviation Development 1935-1945* (Wis. Historical Library Public Document, July 22, 1935), 18; ‘WPA Program Gives County Many Projects,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. March 12, 1936, Vol. XXV, No. 118, p. 4; William C. Lazarus, *Wings in the Sun: The Annals of Aviation in Florida* (Orlando, Florida: Tyn Cobb’s Florida Press, 1951), 190, 200; Warren J. Brown, *Florida’s Aviation History: The First One Hundred Years* (Largo, FL: Aero-Medical Consultants, Inc., 1994), 191, 14.

Higgins served as mayor from 1937 through 1939 and from 1943 through the war's end. From 1940 through 1943, Higgins also served as city commissioner and secretary of the chamber of commerce. From these positions, Edward Higgins gained financial support from the CAA and WPA to expand the airport and worked with the armed services to establish an air base at Sanford.¹¹⁴ Other key city boosters included mayor and owner of the Hill Lumber and Supply Yard, W.C. Hill, Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Aviation Committee Chairman Volie Williams, and Chamber of Commerce President W.A. Leffler.¹¹⁵ Additionally, Senators Claude Pepper, Charles Andrews, and Congressman Joe Hendricks, submitted reports to CAA, WPA, and other Washington officials that detailed Sanford's national defense value. Local and state officials secured federal assistance for the new airport and promoted it to the armed services as a strategic location for pilot training. However, the determination among Edward Higgins and other Sanford boosters to use national defense as a means to improve the city served as the determining factor that established a naval base at Sanford.

Initial Attempts to Certify the Airport for National Defense

More than a year before the United States entered World War II the city began promoting the municipal airport to the federal government for national defense use. In May 1940, the Seminole County Chamber of Commerce presented state legislators with

¹¹⁴ 'Chamber of Commerce Has Existed In County In Some Form For Over 40 Years,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Nov. 2, 1934, Vol. XXIV, No. 7, Section 1, p. 5; 'Sanford Headlines Of 1940 Reveal Year Of Activity,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. Dec. 31, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 108, p. 1, 3; *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Sept. 17, 1941, Vol. XXXIII, No. 18, p. 1; 'Higgins Elected Mayor Of Sanford By Commission,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Jan. 6, 1943, Vol. XXXIV, No. 94, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ 'W.C. (Billy) Hill Elected Mayor At Commissioner Meeting,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Jan. 10, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 117, p.1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Jan. 9, 1941, Vol. 6, 400.

information highlighting the benefits of the region.¹¹⁶ The report detailed the strategic advantages of Lakes Monroe, Jessup, and the St. John's River to Senators Pepper, Andrews, Representative Hendricks, and Executive Vice President of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, Harold Colee. On May 23, *The Sanford Herald* reported these legislators' willingness to present Sanford to the CAA for consideration as an aviation-training base.¹¹⁷ Judged too small for military operations in east and west directions, CAA and War Department officials recommended expanding the airport.¹¹⁸ Thereafter, city officials began seeking federal assistance to enlarge the airport to meet these requirements. Initial attempts at securing a national defense rating failed but opened new options for the city.

As a result, the city expanded the airport during the summer of 1940 and invited federal authorities to inspect the site. The city needed additional property to build the new airport in accordance with CAA and War Department regulations of 4,000 foot long and 100 foot-wide runways necessary for military training.¹¹⁹ During a special meeting of June 27, 1940, city commissioners agreed to purchase 105 acres north of the airport owned by D.W. Venters.¹²⁰ The city commissioned, thereafter, sanctioned engineer Fred T. Williams to draft plans for a WPA project to clear and grade land adjacent to the

¹¹⁶ 'Sanford Seeks Air Base For Pilot Training,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 23, 1940, Vol. XXXI, No. 233, pgs. 1,

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁸ 'Enlargement Of Airport Planned In WPA Project,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. July 9, 1940, Vol. XXXI, No. 272, p.1.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ 'Enlargement of Airport Planned In WPA Project,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. July 9, 1940, Vol. XXXI, No. 272, p. 1. *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, June 27, 1940, Vol. 6, 323.

existing field.¹²¹ As a result, the commission adopted Resolution No. 579 in August. This agreement outlined the support of the city commission for the airport expansion project proposed by the Seminole County Chamber of Commerce.¹²² In September 1940, Chamber of Commerce Secretary Higgins and representatives from the Safair School for Advanced Flying and Army officers surveyed the airport.¹²³ Afterwards, Safair and Army representatives agreed to establish a training school at Sanford if the city made additional improvements to the existing facility.¹²⁴ Even though this agreement seemed promising, city officials continued to seek federal assistance for the new airport.¹²⁵ In order to gain federal support for the project, the city purchased land and invited federal representatives to inspect the airport in 1940.

Marketing Sanford for CAA and WPA Aviation Development

Historian Warren Brown contends that airports built by the WPA before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor served as the foundation for Florida's wartime military airbases.¹²⁶ The threat of war shifted the WPA into a defense contractor while legislation

¹²¹ Ibid. The city commission stipulated the cost of the WPA report not to exceed \$40.00. However, commission minutes of August 12, 1940 revealed the expense at \$240. The commission paid City Engineer Fred T. Williams this amount. *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Aug. 12, 1940, Vol. 6, 326.

¹²² *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Aug. 7, 1940, Vol. 6, 322-3.

¹²³ 'Officials See Facilities Of Airport Here,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Sept. 9, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 15, p.1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Sept. 7, 1940, Vol. 6, 332. President O.P. Hebert, Operations Manager M.E. Gravenberg, and Company Attorney James Travis represented Safair, Inc. Mayor W.S. Coleman, City Commissioners H.J. Gut, and M.J. Lodge, Chamber of Commerce President P.P. Campbell, Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Edward Higgins, City Clerk H.N. Sayer, Volie Williams, and A.W. Lee represented the city. Lieutenant Colonel George A. DeCottes, Captain W. E. Baker, retired Army pilot represented the Army.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Between September 1940 and March 1941, the local press provided little or no coverage of the status of the airport project.

¹²⁶ Warren J. Brown, *Florida's Aviation History: The First One Hundred Years* (Largo, FL: Aero-Medical Consultants, Inc., 1980), 14.

began opening Florida to the armed services in 1940 and 1941.¹²⁷ Between 1940 and 1943, for example, the WPA surpassed airport construction in the United States during the 1930s by building 141 landing fields that totaled over thirty seven thousand acres.¹²⁸ This represented a change in the agency from civilian to defense contractor as fascism and militarism expanded throughout Europe and the Far East.

By the fall of 1940, the city began lobbying for federal assistance to enlarge the airport in accordance with national defense regulations. Particularly, Sanford civic authorities realized the transition within the WPA to more defense-related projects and began working to secure a contract with the agency. On September 4, 1940 the city commission sanctioned engineer Fred T. Williams and architect Elton J. Moughton to estimate the cost to prepare the runways for extension in accordance with military needs and submit it to the agency for review.¹²⁹ Then on November 6, 1940, Resolution No. 583 brokered an agreement between the city and the CAA to develop the airport.¹³⁰ By year's end, the city had also applied for a WPA project.

In the spring of 1941, the CAA-WPA project received approval. Then on Thursday March 15, an Army Air Corps officer from Maxwell Field, Alabama inspected

¹²⁷ 'WPA Can Be Used As Military Aid Says Administrator,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. June 10, 1940, Vol. XXXI, No. 248, p.5; 'WPA Will Assign 75% Of Personnel To Defense Work,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tu. Dec. 31, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 108, p. 2; 'WPA Places Greater Emphasis On Defense,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. March 20, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 172, p. 1.

¹²⁸ Table 27. 'Selected Items of Physical Accomplishment On Certified War Construction Projects Operated By WPA, Continental United States, July 1, 1940-June 30, 1943.' Cf. Federal Works Agency, *Final Report on the WPA Program, 1935-1943* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 86. This included 9,276 acres worth of "Additions," and 43,681 acres of improvement "Reconstruction or improvement." These landing fields totaled approximately 37,229 acres.

¹²⁹ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Sept. 4, 1940, Vol. 6, 332.

¹³⁰ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Nov. 6, 1940, Vol. 6, 340-1.

the airport and reported favorably on the field's design.¹³¹ Edward Higgins also accounted to *The Sanford Herald* that several private companies had bid on an army contract to construct and run a flying school at the airport.¹³² Finally on April 5, the WPA announced an \$115,930 project, one of the largest in Seminole County, to clear, grade, and prepare two four thousand-foot runways and build an entrance road to the airport.¹³³ Construction began on Thursday April 10, 1941 with a crew of 125 men working under the supervision of foreman V.G. Hasty.¹³⁴ Acting as sponsor, the city contributed \$29,099 in trucks, property, and machinery and the Board of County Commissioners supplied tractors, grading equipment, and trucks.¹³⁵ Previous efforts by city leaders succeeded and obtained the CAA-WPA new airport project in 1941.

Once the WPA project received approval, the city commission and chamber of commerce requested national defense certification from the War Department and created a local housing authority in preparation of the Army's arrival.¹³⁶ Secretary Higgins explained to the local paper that if the airport became certified for national defense the federal government would pay the majority of the costs to develop it into a pilot training

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ 'WPA Project For Airport Approved,' *The Sanford Herald* Sat. Apr. 5, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 186, p.1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Aug. 22, 1941, 30-1.

¹³⁴ 'Crew Of Men Begins Work ON New Municipal Airport,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Apr. 10, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 190, p. 1

¹³⁵ 'Work On Airport Is Scheduled To Start this Week,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Apr. 7, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 187, p.1.

¹³⁶ Ibid; 'Report Of Chamber Is Mailed Out,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Apr. 18, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 196, p. 4; 'Sanford Trying For \$14,000,000 Air Corps Depot,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Apr. 23, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 200, p.1.

base.¹³⁷ Additionally, the chamber of commerce sent out membership reports summarizing the efforts of the city over the previous year in securing the CAA-WPA contract and promoting the airport to the armed services.¹³⁸ Congressman Joe Hendricks visited the site in April, voiced satisfaction at the progress of the new airport, and pledged his continued support for helping Sanford acquire more federal funding.¹³⁹ Officers from the Orlando Army Air Base also surveyed the airport during the week of May 15, while representatives from Sanford conferred with officials in Washington.¹⁴⁰ Representatives from the Orlando Air Base submitted a positive conclusion on Sanford to the War Department and General Henry “Hap” Arnold chief of the Army Air Corps.¹⁴¹ With construction at the airport underway, Mayor W.C. Hill and Chamber of Commerce Aviation Chairman Volie Williams commented to the local press in April 1941 that Sanford held the best opportunity to date for receiving national defense appropriations.¹⁴² CAA and WPA officials, moreover, informed the city that the airport held a good chance of receiving this rating.¹⁴³ After returning from Washington on Sunday May 18, 1940, Secretary Higgins and Volie Williams reported the CAA guaranteed to the pave the

¹³⁷ ‘Crew Of Men Begins Work ON New Municipal Airport,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Apr. 10, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 190, p. 1; ‘Report Of Chamber Is Mailed Out,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Apr. 18, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 196, p. 4.

¹³⁸ ‘Report Of Chamber Is Mailed Out,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Apr. 18, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 196, p. 4.

¹³⁹ ‘Hendricks Is Pleased At Airport Progress,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Apr. 16, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 194, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ ‘No Official Word Is Received On Army Airport,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 22, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 225, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² ‘Airport Increases Chance For Defense Funds, Group Declares,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Apr. 24, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 201, p. 1.

¹⁴³ ‘Sanford Trying For \$14,000,000 Air Corps Depot,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Apr. 23, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 200, p.1.

runways.¹⁴⁴ This increased the chances that the War Department would activate the airport for national defense. While in Washington, moreover, Senator Claude Pepper scheduled Secretary Higgins and Chairman Williams a meeting with Captain Lowe, assistant to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, to discuss other defense improvements for Seminole County.¹⁴⁵ Upon returning to Florida, and in an effort to strengthen the interest of the armed forces in Sanford, Florida Housing Authority representative Armon McClelland advised Secretary Higgins to establish a local housing authority.¹⁴⁶ Consequently, the city commission created a five-member Sanford Housing Authority on Tuesday May 20, 1941 under Resolution No. 602 in response to this suggestion. Establishing low income and defense housing if the Army designated a base at Sanford comprised the board's initial function.¹⁴⁷ Following approval of the WPA project in April 1941, city officials met with federal representatives, had them inspect the airport, and formed a housing authority to help secure the airport a national defense rating.

Throughout 1941, the city purchased 270 acres and borrowed money to enlarge the airport.¹⁴⁸ City commission minutes of February 10, 1941 discussed the need for additional lands for the new airport.¹⁴⁹ In order to purchase these properties, the

¹⁴⁴ 'War Department Inspects Air Port [sic] For Use As Army Training Center,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 19, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 222, p. 1; 'War Department Studies Airport For Army Training Center,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 19, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 222, p. 6.

¹⁴⁵ 'War Department Inspects Air Port [sic] For Use As Army Training Center,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 19, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 222, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, May 20, 1941, Vol 6, 482; 'Sanford Housing Authority Named For Slum Project,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. May 21, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 224, p. 1. State Housing Coordinator Armon McClellan assisted in the meeting. Mayor W.C. Hill placed Volie Williams, Harry Lee, James Gillon, Reverend W.P. Brooks, Jr., and F.E. Roumillat as members.

¹⁴⁸ 'Crew of Men Begins Work On New Municipal Airport,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Apr. 10, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 190, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Feb. 10, 1941, Vol. 6, 420.

commission approved and adopted Resolution No. 595 on March 10, 1941.¹⁵⁰

Specifically, this decision granted the commission authority to borrow \$14,837.60 to be repaid from partially paid property taxes.¹⁵¹ The same day the commission adopted this resolution it purchased land east of Mellonville Avenue from Nona A. Syllly for \$3,000 to be divided into payments over one year.¹⁵² The city also purchased land from Bennett F. and Eva E. Smith and M.G. and Ages Hodges for \$2,000.¹⁵³ By May 1941, the city of Sanford spent almost \$15,000 from its operating budget for the new airport but needed more money for other land purchases.¹⁵⁴ The city commission voted on July 21, 1941 to borrow \$30,000 from the Sanford Atlantic Bank and \$10,000 from the Florida State Bank of Sanford under the provisions of House Bill Number 1648 approved by the Florida legislature on June 16, 1941.¹⁵⁵ The Florida State Bank denied the commission's request, but the city managed to secure a \$15,000 loan from the Sanford Atlantic Bank and \$5,000 from the First State Bank of Deland under Resolutions No. 611 and 614 respectively.¹⁵⁶ The loans allowed the city to purchase lands from Eva Taylor for \$2,000 and C.W. Goodrich for \$958.75 in August 1941.¹⁵⁷ Heeding the advice of federal officials, the city

¹⁵⁰ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Feb. 10, 1941, Vol. 6, 419-420.

¹⁵¹ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, March 10, 1941, Vol. 6, 441.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 444-445.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ 'Bill Empowering City To Borrow Money Supported,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 22, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 225, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 21, 1941, Vol. 7, 8-9.

¹⁵⁶ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Aug. 11, 1941, Vol. 7, 24-5, Aug. 25, 1941, Vol. 7, 36-8. These city would repay Sanford Atlantic National Bank in eight installments of \$1,875. The First State Bank of Deland loan was to be repaid in eight \$625 installments. The first payments were due on January 1, 1941.

¹⁵⁷ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Aug. 22, 1941, Vol. 7, 30-1. Specifically, the loans provided another financial source other than tax revenue to pay for new properties for the airport project.

purchased several additional properties throughout 1941 for the new airport.¹⁵⁸

Efforts by the commission, chamber, and Florida politicians to secure a national defense rating continued during the summer of 1941. On June 21, Congressman Joe Hendricks sent a telegram to *The Sanford Herald* stating that the forthcoming CAA airport inspection would determine federal aid for runway improvements under the Department of Commerce Act of 1942.¹⁵⁹ More particularly, Senator Charles Andrews contacted the paper and stated that the new Sanford Airport was one of 191 installations in the US under consideration to receive CAA improvement appropriations.¹⁶⁰ After accompanying Mayor W.C. Hill to Washington in early July, Secretary Higgins gave an optimistic report to the local paper about the possibility for defense funding. He admitted, however, that until official confirmation came from the capital, the outcome was still uncertain.¹⁶¹ On Wednesday July 16, Secretary Higgins announced to the *Herald* that the municipal airport was one of 149 facilities approved for upgrades under an Army-Navy-CAA program.¹⁶² Under this two-staged project, the city would only pay for engineering expenses, construction of buildings, maintenance, and drafting plans for preparing two

¹⁵⁸ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Feb. 10, 1941, Vol. 6, 420-3; March 10, 1941, Vol. 6, 444; June 26, 1941, Vol. 6, 506-7; Aug. 11, 1941, Vol. 7, 21-22, Nov. 24, 1941, Vol. 7, 90, Dec. 8, 1941, Vol. 7, 96; 'Dealers Request City To Revise New Liquor Law,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. Apr. 15, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 193, p. 1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 25, 1941, Vol. 7, 14-15; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Aug. 11, 1941, Vol. 7, 22, Dec. 5, 1941, Vol. 7, 95.

¹⁵⁹ 'CAA Will Survey Airport For Development,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. June 21, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 249, p.1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Aug. 22, 1941, Vol. 7, 30-1.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Only 149 airports would be selected.

¹⁶¹ 'Hill Brings Optimistic Report ON New Airport From Washington,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. July 12, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 268, p. 1.

¹⁶² 'Sanford Airport Is Selected For Funds,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. July 16, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 271, p. 1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 28, 1941, Vol. 7, 15.

four thousand foot runways running northeast to southeast.¹⁶³ The first step involved, the CAA and city acting as co-sponsor of the WPA clearing, grading, and draining project then underway. The next step involved the U.S. Engineer's Office in Jacksonville drafting plans for paving the runways and taxiways before sending the plans out for bidding.¹⁶⁴ The CAA would also fence the area, sod the land surrounding the runways, and build roads inside the site. As co-sponsors, the CAA contributed \$63,000 for the WPA contract and the city paid \$14,000 to draft the plans for the \$215,000 project.¹⁶⁵ Contractors could then place bids on the \$138,000 contract for paving the two runways.¹⁶⁶ After securing the project, Secretary Higgins responded favorably to the efforts of the commission, chamber, and assistance of Senators Charles Andrews, Claude Pepper, and Congressman Joe Hendricks that forged this agreement.¹⁶⁷ Specifically, Secretary Higgins outlined in July 1941 how the city could now "take advantage of all possibilities for air training schools under the expanded national defense program as well as that of the Civil Aeronautics Authority."¹⁶⁸ He detailed further the new airport's

¹⁶³ 'Airport Project Is Approved By CAA For Paved Runways,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. July 26, 1941, Vol. XXXII, NO. 280, p. 1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 28, 1941, Vol. 7, 15, Aug. 22, 1941, Vol. 7, 34.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 28, 1941, Vol. 7, 15.

¹⁶⁵ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 21, 1941, Vol. 7, 8-9, Aug. 11, 1941, Vol. 7, 26, Aug. 22, 1941, Vol. 7, 30-34, Aug. 25, 1941, Vol. 7, 36-8; 'Airport Plans Sent To WPA For Approval,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 13, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 294, p. 1; 'County Chamber Activities Are Told At Meeting,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. Aug. 26, 1941, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶ 'Officials, Chamber Gratified At Success Of Airport Project As CAA Grant Assures Development,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. Aug. 2, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 285, p.1, 4; 'Runways Of 4,000 Feet To Be Built At New Airport,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Aug. 4, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 286, p. 1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 28, 1941, Vol. 7, 15, Aug. 11, 1941, Vol. 7, 24-5, Aug. 22, 1941, Vol. 7, 34. 'Airfield Construction Expected To Begin Within Next Ten Days,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. Sept. 13, 1941, Vol. XXXIII, No. 16, p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ 'Officials, Chamber Gratified At Success Of Airport Project As CAA Grant Assures Development,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. Aug. 2, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 285, pgs.1, 4.

¹⁶⁸ 'Enlargement Of Airport Planned In WPA Project,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. July 9, 1941, Vol. XXI, No. 272, p. 1.

benefits for commercial aviation after the end of hostilities overseas.¹⁶⁹ Sanford leaders lobbied and collaborated with federal officials for over a year before securing national defense certification in July 1941.

Selling Sanford's New Airport to the Armed Services

The city now turned its attention to marketing the new airport to the armed services and obtaining additional federal assistance. After returning from a meeting in Montgomery, Alabama on August 6, 1941, Secretary Higgins reported General Walter Weaver southeastern training area commander guaranteed to assist the city in requesting the federal government take over the airport.¹⁷⁰ Then on Thursday September 4, 1941, War Department, CAA, and city officials inspected the engineering plans and the runway preparation underway by the WPA.¹⁷¹ Phillips Moore from the CAA Atlanta office and assistant to the chief engineer on airports for the War Department in Florida, Ed W. Carroll of Jacksonville, voiced satisfaction with the plans and progress of the airport.¹⁷² The local paper did not cover news of the armed forces taking over the airport for the remainder of 1941. The first of the year, however, brought favorable reports on the status of the airport. In January 1942, Commissioner Higgins disclosed that the Army Air Force

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ 'Army Officer Promises Aid For Airport,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 6, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 288, p.1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Sept. 8, 1941, 46.

¹⁷¹ 'Officials Meet For Discussion Of Airport,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Sept. 5, 1941, Vol. XXXIII, No. 9, p. 1.

¹⁷² Ibid. Engineering Department representatives Fred T. Williams, Fred R. Williams, and Ralph Lubinski, Chamber of Commerce Secretary Edward Higgins, Mayor W.C. Hill, and City Clerk H. N. Sayer accompanied these officials.

planned to activate the site as a Third Air Corps Training Base once completed.¹⁷³ Commandant of the Orlando Air Base Colonel T.S. Voss notified *The Sanford Herald* and recommended another \$900,000 to enlarge the airport.¹⁷⁴ Secretary Higgins once again traveled to Washington during the week of January 19th to attain additional funding and defense contracts for Seminole County.¹⁷⁵ On Friday January 30, 1942, Congressman Joe Hendricks announced Washington's approval of an \$181,000 contract for paving the Sanford runways. The CAA paid \$130,000 and the WPA contributed \$51,000.¹⁷⁶ At this point, the Army seemed the most likely candidate to take over the airport, but the city solicited the facility to all the services until 1942. Navy officials studied the Sanford, St. Augustine, Daytona Beach, and Melbourne airports as secondary bases to NAS Jacksonville in February 1941. Representative Hendricks reported to the *Herald* that the Navy would only select a portion of the airports under consideration for a three to five million-dollar defense contract.¹⁷⁷ City officials cooperated with federal authorities from September 1941 through early 1942 to have the armed services take over the airport with promising but uncertain results.

¹⁷³ 'Local CAA Airport Designated To Be Auxiliary Base,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Jan. 15, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 114, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Jan. 6, 1942, Vol. 7, 111.

¹⁷⁵ 'Sanford To Try To Get Defense Contracts, Funds,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Jan. 16, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 115, p. 1; 'Ed Higgins Will Meet With State Road Department,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. Jan. 17, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 146, p. 1.

¹⁷⁶ 'Part Of Airport Contract Receives Final Approval,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Jan. 30, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 127, p. 1.

¹⁷⁷ 'Incompleted Local Airport May Become Auxiliary Naval Field,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Feb. 5, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 132, p. 1; 'Progress Is Being Made To Convert Airport To Base,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Apr. 10, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 180, p. 1.

The Navy Arrives

The decision among city officials to build a new airport with federal assistance finally paid off when the Navy announced plans to develop the site into an air-training base in 1942. On January 24, 1942, the Sanford City Commission and Navy agreed to the sale of 1,490 acres as a site for a Naval Operational Training Base.¹⁷⁸ This agreement outlined that when the base became supplemental in national defense or after war hostilities, the facility would revert back to the city for public use.¹⁷⁹ In addition, Resolution No. 613 outlined the city's responsibility for protecting and ensuring timely completion of the project.¹⁸⁰ The Navy paid the city ten dollars for the airport property located two miles south of the city.¹⁸¹ The federal government, however, spent five and a half million dollars to prepare the facility for training operations.¹⁸²

Under the supervision of Lieutenant Commander George T. Swiggum, barrack construction for billeting 1,400 enlisted and 300 officers commenced on May 26. In June

¹⁷⁸ Ibid; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Jan. 24, 1942, Vol. 7, 116, May 1, 1942, Vol. 7, 150, May 19, 1942, Vol. 7, 157-9; June 3, 1942, Vol. 7, 173-176; June 11, 1942, Vol. 7, 173-76; Robison and Andrews, *Flashbacks*, 251-2; 'Work is Expected To Start At Base Here In 10 Days,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. May 5, 1942, Vol XXXIII, No. 197, p. 1; 'Expenditure Will Be About \$4,350,000 For Construction Of Many Buildings,' *The Sanford Herald*, Apr. 20, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 194, p. 1; 'Offices of Navy, Contractor Will Be Moved To Field,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. May 26, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 212, p. 1; 'Condemnation Suits Filed,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. June 4, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 209, p. 1.

¹⁷⁹ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, June 11, 1942, Vol. 7, 173-76.

¹⁸⁰ 'Expenditure Will Be About \$4,350,000 For Construction Of Many Buildings,' *The Sanford Herald*, April 20, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 194, p. 1; 'NAVY Gets Sanford,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. April 24, 1942. Vol. XXXIII, No. 190, p. 1; Peter Schaal, *Sanford the War Years* (Orlando, Fl: 1975), 167; 'Navy Land Purchases In Florida Listed in Congressional Record,' *The Florida Times-Union*, Sat. Feb. 27, 1943, p. 3; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, June 11, 1942, 173, 176; '1,490 Acres Will Be Added to Base; Condemnation Suits Filed,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. June 4, 1942 Vol. XXXIII, No. 209, p. 1; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, May 24, 1941, 328-9, 331; Aug. 22, 1941, 32-34; Kevin M. McCarthy, *Aviation in Florida*. Sarasota (Florida: Pineapple Press, 2003), 110.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. Condemnation proceedings ended on June 3, 1942.

¹⁸² 'Expenditure Will Be About \$4,350,000 For Construction Of Many Buildings,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. May 26, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 212, p. 1; 'It is Biggest Thing That Has Happened To Sanford,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. April 24, 1942. Vol. XXXIII, No. 190, p. 1.

1942, the designated site comprised two four thousand feet by one hundred feet wide runways under preparation by the WPA and paving contract by Orlando's Hubbard Construction Company. Wartime urgency and the employment of nearly 2,000 workers during the construction process made the base almost fully operational by November 1942.¹⁸³

On November 2, 1942 Rear Admiral Arthur B. Cook, Chief of Naval Air Operational Training, deemed the station commissioned and placed Commander F. Massy Hughes, in command with official commemoration dated the following day. Student officers began arriving on November 15, 1942, and Lieutenant Commander J.S. Green served as Flight Training Superintendent. The station's original mission centered on Operational Training Units (OTUs) pilot checkout originally stationed at NAS Jacksonville. At first, thirty-four PV-1s, four Lockheed PBO Hudsons, one PV-3, and twenty-one SNBs trained at Sanford.¹⁸⁴ Twin-engine land bombers also trained at the station and provided domestic defense. During the 1942 German naval offensive known as Operation Drumbeat, for example, the station operated Lockheed PV-1 Venturas that patrolled the Atlantic from Jacksonville to the Florida Keys searching for U-boats and

¹⁸³ *The Sanford Herald*, Tuesday, June 2, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 207, p.1; 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enclosure 1, Folder #2, p. 1; 'Work At Navy Training Base To Start Soon,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 18, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 206, p. 1; 'Contractors For Navy Base Set Up Downtown Office,' *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. May 19, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 207, p. 1; 'Employment Will Start At Training Base In Few Days,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 21, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 209, p. 1; Colletta and Bauer, *US Navy and Marine Corps Bases*, 589; Richard E. Osborne, *World War II Sites in the United States A Tour Guide and Directory* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Riebel-Roque, 1996), 56, 62.

¹⁸⁴ The Lockheed PV-1 Ventura (twin engine patrol bomber) and later PV-3 served NAS Sanford primarily as a day and nighttime land-based bomber patrol plane and anti-submarine aircraft; the Lockheed PBO Hudson also served at NAS Sanford as a land-based anti-submarine patrol-bomber; the Beech Aircraft Company SNB (twin engine bomber) served as a bombardier trainer. Shettle, Jr., *US NAS of WWII*, 237-8. Also see Frans Bonne, *World War II Warbirds*, www.xs4all.nl/~fbonne/warbirds/ww2htmls/lockpv1.html; U.S. Centennial of Flight Commission, www.centennialofflight.gov/essay/GENERAL_AVIATION/beeceh/GA9.htm

torpedoed ships' survivors. In addition to PV-1 Venturas, Sanford also trained with PBO Hudsons and SNBs in navigation, gunnery, and bombing operations. Originally designed to train two bomber squadrons, Sanford received only one, VB-21 dive-bomber training unit and one patrol bomber-training unit respectively. The dive-bomber unit trained in the SBD Douglas Dauntless and the patrol-bomber unit trained in the PBO Hudson. The station's primary mission involved fifty-three officers, the training of 352 men in OUT VB-2 Venturas, 1,541 station keepers and ground school instructors, a Marine and Coast Guard detachment that contributed security, and 185 civilian employees.¹⁸⁵ By March 1944, station personnel totaled 358 officers, 1,385 enlisted men, and 289 civilians. Additionally, Grumman F6F Hellcats began training at Sanford in 1945 and by August, the station provided nearly fifty-percent of the U.S. Navy's fighter pilots.¹⁸⁶ The Navy

¹⁸⁵ 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enclosure 1, Folder #2, p. 1; 'Chronological Record of Commanding Officers of the Naval Air Station, Sanford, Florida,' Enclosure 2, Folder #2, p. 1; Colletta and Bauer, *US Navy and Marine Corps Bases*, 589; Sanford Airport Memorial Committee's website Naval Air Station Sanford Memorial History: http://nassanfordmemorial.com/NAS_history.htm p. 1; 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enclosure 1, Folder #2, p. 1; Freitas, *Florida: The War Years*, 50, 49; Michael Gannon, *Operation Drumbeat: the dramatic true story of Germany's first U-boat attacks along the American coast in World War II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990). David Coles, *Florida World War II Heritage Trail, Florida's World War II Memorial* (A Florida Heritage Publication), 32; Cf. Senator Judge (ret) Douglas Stenstrom, conversation with author at his home in Heathrow, Fla, May 11, 2009, 1-3:30pm.

¹⁸⁶ 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enc. 1, Fol. 2, p. 1; Coletta and Bauer, eds, *U.S. Navy and Marine Corps Bases*, 589; Freitas, *Florida: The War Years*, 50; Coletta and Bauer, *US Navy and Marine Corps Bases*, 589; Osborne, *World War II Sites*, 56; 'Station History,' *The SANFLY*, Souvenir Pictorial Issue---Friday, November 3, November 1944---U.S. Naval Air Station Sanford, Fla, p. 2; Sanford Airport Memorial Committee's website Naval Air Station Sanford Memorial History: http://nassanfordmemorial.com/NAS_history.htm p. 1; Coles, *Florida World War II Heritage Trail, Florida's World War II Memorial*, 32; 'F6Fs NOW,' *The SANFLY*, 3rd Anniversary Edition, Vol 2, No. 26, Friday Nov. 2, 1945, p. 15; 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enc. 1, Fol. 2, pg. 1; US Bureau of Yards et al, *Building the Navy's bases in World War II: Vol. I*, vii; 'History of U.S. Naval Air Station, Sanford, Florida,' Folder #2, p. 1; 'Residents' High Hopes Took Off When the Navy Base Came to Town,' *Orlando Sentinel*, Sunday July 1, 1990, B1, p. 1 of 5. SNAS Collection, Sanford Museum, Folder 1: 'The Beginning NAS Sanford 1942, Commissioning Construction Capt. G. Swiggum'; Kevin M. McCarthy, *Aviation in Florida*, 110; 'Double Holiday is Given Personnel at Navy Station,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wednesday, Aug. 15, 1945, Vol. XXXVII, No. 116, p. 1. For further discussion of the Wildcat see Gerald Astor, *Wings of Gold: The U.S. Naval Air Campaign In World War II* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004). Shettle, Jr., *US NAS of WWII*, 197.

activated the airport as NAS Sanford in November 1942 and the base made a significant contribution to the war effort by 1945.

In April 1942, the local press praised the hard work and determination of the City Commission and Chamber of Commerce in building a new airport designed to boost the local economy with a defense center.¹⁸⁷ *The Sanford Herald*, for instance, reported how eagerly city merchants and landlords awaited the economic growth sure to follow sailors and their families.¹⁸⁸ Designating a base at Sanford, more importantly, placed the city in a defense zone that assured infrastructure development and priority rating for materials.¹⁸⁹ In the last week of May 1942, Sanford resident Douglas Stenstrom recalled how construction officer Lieutenant George T. Swiggum and the contractor Belcher Oil Company from West Palm Beach employed numerous local people at NAS Sanford. Before the station arrived, the average wage for agricultural labor in Sanford was forty-cents an hour. In comparison, when construction at the station began, Douglas recalls that laborers received a dollar twenty-five an hour and underlines how the base provided

¹⁸⁷ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, July 21, 1941, Vol. 7, 8-9, Aug. 11, 1941, Vol. 7, 24-5, Aug. 22, 1941, Vol. 7, 31-4, Aug. 25, 1941, Vol. 7, 36-8, Oct. 27, 1941, Vol. 7, 78; 'It is Biggest Thing That Has Happened To Sanford,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. April 24, 1942. Vol. XXXIII, No. 190, p. 1. Specifically, the article praised Mayor W.C. Hill, Chamber of Commerce Secretary and Commissioner Edward Higgins, and Volie Williams. The \$36,000 covered the city's purchase of 800 acres to build the new facility through April 1, 1942.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid; 'NAVY Gets Sanford,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. April 24, 1942. Vol. XXXIII, No. 190, p. 1; '1,490 Acres Will Be Added To Base; 'Condemnation Suits Filed,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. June 4, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 209, p. 1.

¹⁸⁹ 'NAVY Gets Sanford,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. April 24, 1942. Vol. XXXIII, No. 190, p. 1.

better paying non-agricultural work.¹⁹⁰ Construction at the naval station offered economic growth and non-farm work.

The naval station created better paying non-agricultural jobs but African Americans remained confined to general labor positions and were susceptible to arrest under vagrancy ordinances created by white authorities. Historian Cindy Hahamovitch discusses “work or fight” campaigns in southern states during World War II designed to mobilize all residents behind the war effort.¹⁹¹ Additionally, Hahamovitch details how white police employed vagrancy laws to ensure African Americans either worked in war industries or lower paying farm work.¹⁹² In Sanford, vagrancy ordinances gave police authority to arrest anyone they believed lazy or not engaged in war or agricultural work. On November 18, 1942, for example, the white newspaper reported four black laborers from NAS Sanford “decided Monday morning that the idea of working on that day was distasteful to them,” and represents how a personal choice of some blacks not to work on a particular day was perceived as unpatriotic behavior by the white media.¹⁹³ Consequently, authorities at the station informed Sanford Police who subsequently arrested three of the four men.¹⁹⁴ The same paper that depicted these men as lazy classified other black laborers employed at the station as easily corruptible by high

¹⁹⁰ Doug Stenstrom, interview by author, tape recording, Heathrow, Florida, 11 May, 2009. The Navy and Belcher Oil Company employed Douglas as a liaison of sorts until his overseas deployment in November 1942; ‘Work At Navy Training Base To Start Soon,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 18, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 206, pg. 1; ‘Contractors For Navy Base Set Up Downtown Office,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. May 19, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 207, p. 1; ‘Employment Will Start At Training Base In Few Days,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 21, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 209, p. 1. Fred Fouts, who served in a civilian position under Lt. Swiggum during the construction process, employed Douglas.

¹⁹¹ Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor*, 6, 101-2.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 144-5.

¹⁹³ ‘Naval Station Laborers Picked Up For Vagrancy After Quitting Work,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Nov. 18, 1942, Vol. XXXIV, No. 62, p. 1. The term jooking refers to playing and dancing to blues music.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

wages.¹⁹⁵ Sanford Police Chief Roy Williams reported to *The Sanford Herald* on November 25, 1942, that “[t]oo much money,’ the pay for four days work at the Sanford Naval Air Base, was the self admitted cause for the downfall again of Henry White, negro, otherwise known as ‘Cruel Man.’”¹⁹⁶ African Americans employed in higher paying labor jobs at NAS Sanford were limited by vagrancy laws. This restriction demonstrates how the station reinforced limitations for Sanford’s black work force. Wartime construction provided African Americans better paying jobs¹⁹⁷ but gave local authorities new mediums to control black labor.

Conclusion

This chapter expands on previous literature that examines how southern officials used federal programs to spur municipal development related to national defense. Eliot Rosen and Mark Gelfand highlight how southern cities actively lobbied federal public works programs for economic and urban growth before World War II.¹⁹⁸ More importantly, federal assistance for urban development helped align local leaders with Washington policy makers and built a foundation for future projects and funding.¹⁹⁹ Additionally, this chapter advances historiography that examines collaboration among southern boosters, the CAA, and WPA to develop local aviation facilities for national

¹⁹⁵ “‘Too Much Money’ Proves Downfall Of Negro Laborer,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Nov. 25, 1942, Vol. XXXIV, No. 67, p. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Polenberg, *War And Society*, 116; Doug Stenstrom, interview by author, tape recording, Heathrow, Florida, 11 May, 2009; ‘Work At Navy Training Base To Start Soon,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 18, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 206, p. 1; ‘Contractors For Navy Base Set Up Downtown Office,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. May 19, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 207, p. 1; ‘Employment Will Start At Training Base In Few Days,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. May 21, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 209, p. 1.

¹⁹⁸ Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities*: 65-69, 380-86. Cited in Smith, *The New Deal In the Urban South*, 5.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

defense and use by the armed services. Historians James Colwell, Paul Hudson, and Troy H. Campbell, for instance, have documented the ways in which southern boosters lobbied the federal government for airport expansions as a means of securing a defense center and a more long-term economic source.²⁰⁰ Books and articles published over the last thirty years contextualize efforts by Sanford leaders to employ federal programs for infrastructure development related to national defense.

City leaders played the most active role in bringing the Navy to Sanford. As war engulfed Europe and the Far East, the Sanford City Commission and the Seminole County Chamber of Commerce searched for new ways to generate economic and regional development. Aware of the armed forces' interest in establishing new air bases in Florida, city leaders began lobbying the federal government to establish a complex at the Sanford Municipal Airport in 1940. After the War Department concluded the facility too small for military use, city officials collaborated with state legislators, CAA, and WPA officials to secure national defense funding for a new airport equipped with four thousand foot runways. Particularly, City Commissioner and Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce Edward Higgins, Aviation Committee Chairman Volie Williams, and Mayor W.C. Hill acted as the key boosters. Serving as envoys to state and federal representatives, these officials secured a deal with the CAA and WPA to build the new facility and presented it to the armed services for conversion into an air-training base. As sponsor, the city invested nearly \$70,000 in property, engineering plans, and materials to secure regional

²⁰⁰ James Colwell, Heaven From Hell: Midland Army Field in World War II," *The Permian Historical Annual*, XXV (1985): Vol. 25: 13, 16, 19; Paul Stephen Hudson and Troy H. Campbell, "The Best Years Of Their Lives: The Naval Air Station Atlanta and Lanson General Hospital During World War Two," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Winter, 1997): 991-2.

development sure to follow the armed services. Over a year and a half of campaigning by the city and cooperation with the federal government resulted in the Navy designating a base at Sanford in 1942. Afterwards, construction at the station created new job opportunities for Sanfordians even though it reinforced existing limitations for African American workers. The Navy's arrival in Sanford was not predetermined, but the result of desire and hard work by city planners supported by state and federal authorities, to build a new airport large enough for military use. Development of the Sanford Airport for national defense served as the source for wartime regional development discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: SANFORD GOES TO WAR: THE IMPACT OF NAS SANFORD ON THE CITY

Local and statewide case studies document the social impacts of air training bases and offer applicable frameworks to address World War II Sanford. Thomas E. Alexander's *The Wings of Change: The Army Air Force Experience in Texas During World War II* chronicles the economic and social changes spurred by sixty-five Army airfields operating throughout the state.²⁰¹ Alexander documents how the arrival of black troops and the 201st Fighter Squadron of the Mexican Expeditionary Force exacerbated wartime race relations in segregated Greenville, Texas.²⁰² No reports of violence toward non-white cadets surfaced in Greenville during the war.²⁰³ Many African American and Mexican cadets, nevertheless, recalled feeling like outsiders and sensed suspicion among the local population toward them; but Alexander contends this interaction built the foundation for more tolerable postwar race relations in Greenville.²⁰⁴ Gary Mormino presents a similar picture of Florida wartime race relations. He argues the hardships and advancements made by black Floridians and servicemen stationed in the state during World War II served as a springboard for postwar civil rights activism.²⁰⁵ Additionally, Roger Launius' "A Case Study In Civil-Military Relations: Hill Air Force Base And the Ogden Business Community, 1934-1945," captures the benefits and problems wartime training afforded the city of Ogden, Utah. After operations began at Hill Air Force Base

²⁰¹ Thomas E. Alexander, *Wings of Change: The Army Air Force Experience in Texas During World War II* (McWhiney Foundation Press: Abilene, Texas, 2004), 212.

²⁰² *Ibid.* 53-4.

²⁰³ W. Walworth Harrison, *History of Greenville and Hunt County* (Waco: Texian Press, 1977), 387. Cited in Thomas E. Alexander, *Wings of Change: The Army Air Force Experience in Texas During World War II* (McWhiney Foundation Press: Abilene, Texas, 2004), 53-4.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Mormino, "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow," 34.

on November 7, 1940, new jobs emerged for residents followed by infrastructure improvements to the city.²⁰⁶ Collaboration between military and civil authorities and the economic and building boom the base created allowed for an overall cordial wartime relationship.²⁰⁷ Previous historiography that analyzes the benefits and problems of World War II bases provide a useful model to examine the impact of NAS Sanford on the city.

The naval air station supplemented the war and helped alter the city's economic and social fabric from 1942 to 1945. Available data presents an overall favorable relationship between the naval station and the city of Sanford during World War II. Economically, the war and station increased retail businesses associated with urban centers, created non-agriculture jobs in these industries, enlarged the size of the city's operating budget by 1945, and provided a postwar economic base. In demographic terms, the station furnished population growth, a construction boom, and developed transportation infrastructure. Yet not until President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 9279 in December 1942 did the Navy begin accepting black volunteers and conscripts.²⁰⁸ Afterwards, ninety-five percent of African Americans still worked as mess men.²⁰⁹ No black aviator served in the United States Navy until the commanding officer of NAS Jacksonville issued Jesse Leroy Brown his pilot's wings on October 21, 1948.²¹⁰ As a result, less than one hundred and fifty African Americans served at NAS Sanford

²⁰⁶ Roger Launius, "A Case Study In Civil-Military Relations: Hill Air Force Base And the Ogden Business Community, 1934-1945," *Aerospace Historian*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (1988): 161, 162. .

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 161-2.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Claiborne Carson 'African Americans at War.' Cited in I.C.B. Dear and Shelby Stanton, *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (Oxford, New York: 1995, 2001), 4-5.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ Theodore Taylor, *The Flight of Jesse Leroy Brown* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998), xii, 176.

during World War II.²¹¹ Government and newspaper reports chronicled no incidents of racial violence toward black civilians or naval personnel in World War II Sanford.²¹² The 1945 Seminole County Census listed the one hundred and forty seven black service personnel stationed at NAS Sanford lived in the African American community of Goldsboro.²¹³ Racial violence may have been prevented between base personnel and the white community as a result of black sailors residing in the city's African American neighborhoods. As the naval presence developed the city, nevertheless, Sanford blacks became more involved citizens in local and national affairs. More particularly, African American organizing increased following the *Smith v. Allwright* Supreme Court case and the establishment of a Sanford NAACP branch in 1945. By registering in local and national elections and organizing, Seminole County blacks paved the way for increased postwar political participation. Segregation, however, continued to limit African

²¹¹ Brenda J. Elliott & Associates, "Historical And Architectural Survey Goldsboro Community, City Of Sanford Project Report" (Kissimmee, Fl: Brenda J. Elliott & Associates, May 26, 1993), Phase II, p. 17. Located at the Sanford Museum Black History Shelf. African Americans service and first aviator.

²¹² The Lynching Calendar African Americans Who Died In Racial Violence in the United State, 1865-1965. Retrieved [Wednesday February 17, 2010]: <http://www.autopsis.org/foot/lynchdates3.html>. No Klan activity or lynching reports emerged in Sanford or Seminole County during the war. This does not mean it did not occur. Nevertheless, Seminole County race relations fared better in the 1930s and World War II years than other Florida towns. By 1950 Central Florida Klan activity began to rise. For example, the same day the civil rights leader Harry T. Moore and his wife were murdered by a bomb in Mims on Christmas Day 1951, the Klan held a barbeque at Lake Jessup east of Sanford. Lake Jessup only fifteen miles from Mims provided the perfect alibi for some of the "most notorious 'head knockers' in the Klan's wrecking crew." The NAACP previously warned Moore of the growing power of the Orange and Seminole County Klan and how the head of the Mims Citrus Exchange "had complained that Moore was 'putting notions in niggers' heads' and 'his neck ought to be broken.'" Cf. Teletype, Miami to Hoover, March 10, 1952, FBI File 44-41181-199; Report by the ASAC W.W. Burke, Jan. 11, 1952, FBI File 44-4418-106. Cited in Ben Green, *Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore America's First Civil Rights Martyr* (New York, NY: The Free Press: A Division of Simon & Schuster Inc., 1999), 11, 259. No one ever received prosecution for the Moores' murder. Manfred Berg, "The Ticket to Freedom" *The NAACP and the struggle for Black Political Integration* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2005), 149; Simmons, 'Flames of Resistance,' 110.

²¹³ Brenda J. Elliott & Associates, "Historical And Architectural Survey Goldsboro Community, City Of Sanford Project Report" (Kissimmee, Fl: Brenda J. Elliott & Associates, May 26, 1993), Phase II, p. 17. Located at the Sanford Museum Black History Shelf.

Americans during the postwar years. The unifying cause and economic prosperity the war and naval presence afforded Sanford also offered an organizing platform for African Americans.

First, this chapter assesses how the war and naval station benefitted the city economically and demographically. The wartime relationship is discussed thereafter and the overall positive relationship between the base and city despite some instances of crime related to NAS Sanford personnel. Next, it discusses increased African American voter registration as a result of wartime organizing.

Economic and Demographic Development in the city of Sanford, 1941-1945

The commissioning of NAS Sanford on November 3, 1942 brought new people and money aside from agriculture²¹⁴ and retail businesses to Sanford. During World War II, NAS Sanford billeted 300 officers and 1,400 enlisted men.²¹⁵ The city's white and black civilian population also increased from 1940 through 1945 and generated new customers for local businesses. From 1930 through 1935, the total city population grew by 803 residents from 10,100 to 10,903 before declining by 686 to 10,217 residents in 1940.²¹⁶ From 1940 through 1945, the city's total population increased by 2,280 people

²¹⁴ Evasusanne Amelung, "History of Economic Development of the Sanford, Florida, Area," (Unpublished Master Thesis, University of Florida, 1971), 39. Located at the Sanford Museum.

²¹⁵ US Bureau of Yards et al, *Building the Navy's bases in World War II*: Vol. I, 235-236, 226; 'History of U.S. Naval Air Station, Sanford, Florida,' Folder #2, pg. 1; 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enclosure 1, Folder #2, p. 1.

²¹⁶ *The Sixth Census Of the State Of Florida: 1935, Population* (Tallahassee, Florida: Dept. Of Agriculture, 1936), Table, XXIII, p. 88; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population* (Washington, D.C., 1942), Vol. II: Characteristics of the Population, Part II, Table XXXI, p. 124.

from 10,217 to 12,497, or a twenty-two percent growth rate.²¹⁷ However, the population again decreased between 1945 and 1950 by 562 people detailing a population boon from 1940 to 1945.²¹⁸ Therefore, the city's population (excluding the nearly 1,800 service personnel stationed at the base) reached its highest point over the twenty-year period of 1930 through 1950 between 1940 and 1945. (see total populations of Sanford from 1930 through 1950 in Table 1)

Additionally, the Seventh Florida Census numerated a more rapid growth among Seminole County's urban population than rural residents between 1935 and 1945. The 1945 Florida Census points to a larger urban population growth throughout the entire county. In 1935, 12,858 urban residents lived in Seminole County. Between 1935 and 1945, the urban population increased by 1,848 residents or an fourteen percent growth rate while the rural population grew by only 560 people, or an six percent rate of growth.²¹⁹ This indicates that the county's urban population surpassed rural growth from 1935 to 1945. The United States Census, in contrast, numerated only Sanford residents as the county's urban population for the years 1930 through 1950 and excluded smaller towns like Altamonte Springs, Lake Mary, and Oviedo. (see number of urban and rural

²¹⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population* (Washington, D.C., 1942), Vol. II: Characteristics of the Population, Part II, Table XXXI, p. 124; Florida Department of Agriculture and Nathan Mayo, *The Seventh Census Of The State Of Florida: 1945, Population* (Tallahassee, Florida: Dept. Of Agriculture, 1946), Table XXII (cont.), p. 84. This number is rounded from 22.3%.

²¹⁸ Florida Department of Agriculture and Nathan Mayo, *The Seventh Census Of The State Of Florida: 1945, Population* (Tallahassee, Florida: Dept. Of Agriculture, 1946), Table XXI (cont.), p. 81; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population* (Washington, D.C., 1952), Vol. I: Number of Inhabitants, Florida, Table IV, p. 8; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population* (Washington, D.C., 1952), Vol. I: General Statistics, Table, III, p. 54.

²¹⁹ Nathan Mayo and the Florida Department of Agriculture, *The Seventh Census of the State of Florida, 1945: Electronic Version Created 2002*, State University System of Florida (Tallahassee, 1946), Tables XI, XII, pgs. 62, 63.

residents listed in the state and federal censuses located in Table 2) Census data highlights a decline in the rural and an increase in Seminole County's urban population from 1940 through 1950.

As a result, population expansion in Sanford from 1940 through 1945 propagated new retail businesses. City telephone books reveal an increase in retail businesses during World War II and particularly after 1942.²²⁰ In 1939, only five restaurants operated in the city. A year after the station began training naval aviators, the number nearly doubled to nine restaurants.²²¹ (see number of restaurants listed in Table 4) Three new department stores also opened between 1939 and 1944, an increase from two to five respectively.²²² Additionally, pharmacies nearly doubled from seven businesses in 1938 to twelve in 1945, a growth rate of seventy-one percent. Grocery retailers decreased from seventeen businesses in 1939 to sixteen in 1943 and 1944 before increasing to twenty-two in 1945.²²³ Automotive services witnessed the largest overall growth in businesses listed in the telephone directories between 1938 and 1945, and especially after 1942. In 1939, for example, fifteen automotive retailers served the city. Six more businesses opened in 1943 and 1944 with eleven more listed by 1945 totaling thirty-two.²²⁴ New automotive retailers listed in the telephone directories underline transportation services as the largest consumer business growth in World War II Sanford and an indicator of the overall expansion in transportation during this period. Wartime growth in consumer and retail

²²⁰ Only 1938, 1939, 1943, 1944, and 1945 telephone books are available at the Sanford Museum.

²²¹ *Sanford Telephone Books*, 1938, 1939, 1943, 1944, 1945, Sanford Telephone Directories Folder, 1931-1938, 1943-1946, pgs. 1 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 13, 14-19. Located at the Sanford Museum.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

businesses correlated with nearly two thousand naval personnel being stationed at the base and a civilian population boom of 2,280 residents from 1940 through 1945. New retail businesses represent the naval station developing a larger wartime consumer and transportation market after 1942.

New people and businesses generated consumer and retail job opportunities for workers in Sanford by 1950. Employment data from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth United States Censuses highlights a decrease in the numbers of white male workers engaged in the agriculture industry from 559 workers in 1940 to 553 in 1950.²²⁵ Retail jobs for white men, in contrast, grew from two hundred workers employed in the industry in 1940 to three hundred and twenty six by 1950, one hundred and twenty-six new workers or a sixty-three percent growth rate. At the same time, the number of white males employed in the construction industry increased from seventy in 1940 to one hundred and ninety four in 1950, or a one-hundred and seventy-seven percent rate of growth. Before and after the war, agriculture remained the largest industry for Sanford's white male labor force. The railroad ranked the second largest job industry that employed 297 white workers in 1940 and 298 in 1950. Retail workers comprised the third largest occupation among Sanford's white men. By 1950, moreover, growth in the retail and construction industries exceeded the number of new workers in the agriculture industry as a result of the naval base acting as a catalyst for business and occupational growth during and after the war. The city's white female workforce also secured more retail jobs than

²²⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United State: 1940, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part, 2, Tables, XXXIII p. 130 ; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. 2, Tables XXXIII, XXXV, pgs. 54, 64.

agricultural work from 1940 and 1950. Again, farm labor remained the largest job industry, but retail employees increased by sixty-nine, or an eighty-six and a quarter percent growth rate; while the number of white female agricultural workers grew by only forty-nine or almost an eighteen and a half percent growth rate. From 1940 and 1950, agriculture remained the largest industry group, followed by the retail industry second, and eating and drinking establishments third for the city's white female labor force. An enlarged wartime retail and service industry employed more white workers in these industries by 1950. (see occupations and industry tables for white men and women in Tables 6 and 7) Even though agriculture remained the largest employment base, more white workers entered non-farm occupations after World War II.²²⁶

During the same ten-year period, the number of black male workers entering Sanford's professional, clerical and retail industries increased but not to the extent these same jobs grew among white workers. Agriculture and non-farm labor served as the largest job industry for Sanford's African American male and female workers in 1940 and 1950. Census data numerated 416 black male farm laborers in 1940 that increased by twenty-four to 440 by 1950. The number of black males engaged in the non-farm labor industry, in contrast, decreased from 323 in 1940 to 254 in 1950, a reduction of sixty-nine workers. However, non-agriculture labor served as the second largest job industry among black men in Sanford in 1940 and 1950. Black male workers engaged as craftsmen and

²²⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United State: 1940, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part, 2, Tables, XXXIII pgs. 130 ; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. 2, Tables XXXIII, XXXV, pgs. 54, 64.

foremen grew from sixty-seven workers in 1940 to eighty-six in 1950, a growth of nineteen workers making it the city's third largest industry for black males. Professional and technical jobs expanded by twelve workers from twenty-eight in 1940 to forty workers in 1950, making it the fourth largest job industry for the city's black male population. Finally, clerical and sales jobs grew from twenty-two in 1940 to thirty seven in 1950, an increase of fifteen workers making it the fifth largest job base. The reduction in non-farm jobs indicates a shift into farm labor, professional and technical jobs, and clerical and sales industries for black male workers in Sanford by 1950. Specifically, non-agricultural workers decreased by sixty-nine from 1940 to 1950 while farm workers increased by twenty-four, craftsmen and foremen workers by nineteen, professional and technical workers by twelve, and retail and clerical jobs by fifteen workers. Overall, more black men entered the agricultural industry than white workers, while fewer African American male workers became employed as craftsmen, professional, and retail workers compared to white males employed in similar industries. This may indicate that as whites left the farming industry more blacks became employed in these recently vacated jobs. These numbers highlight that new job industries emerged for black men in Sanford in the postwar years but not to the extent that these same occupations increased among white male workers.²²⁷ (see occupational industries among black men listed in Table 8)

In comparison, the number of black female workers in Sanford employed as farm laborers increased at a greater rate than any other occupation from 1940 to 1950. In 1940, 194 African American females worked as farm laborers and by 1950, this number

²²⁷ Available census data provides only a partial picture of shifts in African American occupations from 1940 through 1950 because specific occupations are not listed as they are for white occupations during the same period.

increased by 112 to 306 workers. Similar to the decrease in non-farm labor among black men over the ten-year period, the number of black female workers engaged in non-agricultural work dropped by twenty-one from twenty-nine to eight respectively. The number of black women employed as managers, officials, and non-farm proprietors grew by six workers from seven in 1940 to twelve in 1950. The number of African American women employed in clerical and sales jobs increased by twelve from thirteen to twenty-five workers by 1950. The number of black women entering professional, clerical, and sales jobs by 1950 grew at a much slower rate than white female workers entering these same fields; while at the same time, more black men and women entered the agricultural workforce.²²⁸ (see occupational industries among African Americans listed in Table 8) Similar to the shift away from non-agricultural work among black men in Sanford, the data points to a shift away from non-farm labor jobs to agriculture, skilled, and sales occupations among African American women by 1950. New job opportunities surfaced for African American women in Sanford from 1940 through 1950 but agriculture remained the largest occupation industry.

Additionally, unemployment decreased from 1940 through 1950. The 1940 United States Census numerated 809 Seminole County residents registered as totally unemployed in 1937.²²⁹ By the first week of August 1945, through Victory over Japan

²²⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part 2, Tables, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIIIa, pgs. 127, 130-131; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part, 10, Section 2, Tables XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI, pgs. 54, 58, 67.

²²⁹ (2004). Historical Census Browser. Retrieved [June 22, 2010], from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>.

Day (V-J Day) on August 14, Seminole County reported no unemployment claims.²³⁰ The Seventh Census of the state of Florida omits employment statistics.²³¹ The 1950 Federal Census, however, listed 229 white and black men and 113 white and black women registered as totally unemployed in 1950.²³² Seminole County unemployment decreased by 467 people between 1940 and 1950 and indicates a more secure postwar job market.

From 1942 through 1945, NAS Sanford created nearly three hundred on-base jobs for local residents. Two hundred and eighty nine civilians worked at the station between November 1942 and March 1944.²³³ The Communications Building at the station supplied clerical work for Sanford resident Patricia Gatchel for nearly two years beginning in November 1942.²³⁴ African American resident Victoria Brown-Smith, moreover, recalls how the base employed many residents from the Midway neighborhood.²³⁵ Other World War II air facilities located near southern cities provided on-base jobs for the local population. At its highest operational point, for instance, Big

²³⁰ '1,406 Persons Jobless; None In Seminole,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Aug. 6, 1945, Vol. XXXVII, No. 154, p. 1; 'Only 2 Local People [were] Jobless Last Week,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 15, 1945, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, p. 4; '1,178 Persons In State Draw Jobless Pay,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Aug. 27, 1945, Vol. XXXVII, No. 6, p. 3. The national unemployment rate in 1945 was 1.9%. Cf. Table 1: 'Basic economic indicators, 1939-1946,' in D'Ann Campbell and Richard Jensen, 'Domestic life, war effort, and economy,' in I.C.B. Dear General ed. and M.R.D. Foot consultant ed., *The Oxford Companion To World War II*, 922.

²³¹ Florida Department of Agriculture and Nathan Mayo, *The Seventh Census Of The State Of Florida: 1945, Population* (Tallahassee, Florida: Dept. Of Agriculture, 1946), 4.

²³² (2004). Historical Census Browser. Retrieved [June 22, 2010], from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center:
<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>.

²³³ 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enclosure 1, Folder #2, p. 1; Senator Judge (ret.) Douglas Stenstrom, interview by author, tape recording, Heathrow, Florida, 11 May 2009; Colletta and Bauer, *US Navy and Marine Corps Bases*, 589; Freitas, *Florida: The War Years*, 50, 49. David Coles, *Florida World War II Heritage Trail, Florida's World War II Memorial* (A Florida Heritage Publication), 32; Shettle, Jr., *US NAS of WWII*, 197.

²³⁴ Patricia Gatchel, interview by author, tape recording, Sanford Florida, 2 November 2009.

²³⁵ Victoria Brown-Smith, *Midway-The Midpoint: My Precious Memories Of Times Gone By* (New Smyrna Beach, FL: Luthers Publishing, 2002), 27.

Spring Army Airfield in Big Spring, Texas employed 500 civilian employees, or one-half of the city's population.²³⁶ The exact numbers of Sanford residents employed at the station are lacking, but the nearly three hundred civilian jobs the base created offered job opportunities other than agriculture.²³⁷

In review, three years of naval operations at Sanford brought economic and demographic expansion apparent by 1950. An enlarged urban population developed throughout the county and created new businesses and jobs. Agriculture remained the largest job base for Seminole County whites and blacks but the number of non-farm workers increased between both groups during the ten-year period. White workers shifted away from agriculture to more urban oriented jobs in construction, clerical, and retail industries. Even though these non-farm industries increased among African American men and women, agricultural labor remained the largest employment industry by 1950.

Next, the growth within city departments and budgets serves as another gauge to assess wartime economic development. Between October 1, 1940 and September 30, 1941, the city police department operated on a \$15,205 budget that nearly doubled between October 1, 1944 and September 30, 1945 to \$29,723. The fire protection budget expanded from \$10,585 to \$24,105 during the same period. Finally, the overall budget for government operations increased nearly two-fold from \$130,575 for the period October 1, 1940 through September 30, 1941 to \$225,300 from October 1, 1944 through

²³⁶ Tommy Tune, "Big Spring and the Closing of Webb Air Base," *Permian Historical Annual*, Vol. 25, (1989): 3.

²³⁷ 'Command History of NAS Sanford,' Enclosure 1, Folder #2, p.1; Colletta and Bauer, *US Navy and Marine Corps Bases*, 589; Freitas, *Florida: The War Years*, 50, 49. David Coles, *Florida World War II Heritage Trail, Florida's World War II Memorial* (A Florida Heritage Publication), 32; Shettle, Jr., *US NAS of WWII*, 197.

September 30, 1945.²³⁸ The city's operational budget nearly doubled during these same years and emphasizes a larger financial basis for general government operations under the city commission during World War II.²³⁹ (see police, fire, and general budgets from 1941 through 1945 in Table 3) Additionally, the Seminole County Chamber of Commerce membership drive of April 1943 collected \$5,079 worth of pledges something not seen since the boom days of the 1920s and highlights wartime growth within the chamber.²⁴⁰ The naval station expanded the size of city departments and operating budgets by 1945.

Increased deposits in Sanford banks reflect additional economic growth during World War II. Deposits at the Florida State Bank of Sanford and the Sanford Atlantic National Bank increased annually between 1943 and 1945.²⁴¹ More specifically, the former bank reported deposits totaling \$719,242 on December 31, 1942. By June 30, 1945 total deposits at the Florida State Bank of Sanford totaled \$3,656,948.²⁴² Between 1942 and 1945, deposits at the Sanford Atlantic National Bank more than doubled from

²³⁸ *Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Minutes: Report of the Secretary*, Sanford, Florida, Friday, July 16, 1943, 1.

²³⁹ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Sept. 30, 1940, Vol. 6, pgs. 354, 355, 356; Sept. 29, 1941, Vol. 7, pgs. 60, 62-3, 65, 67; Sept. 28, 1942, Vol. 7, pgs. 218, 220, 223; Sept. 27, 1943, Vol. 7, p. 395, 398, 400; Sept. 25, 1944, Vol. 8, pgs. 43, 46-7, 49; Sept. 24, 1945, Vol. 8, pgs. 186, 189, 190-1.

²⁴⁰ *Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Minutes: Report of the Secretary*, Sanford, Florida, Friday, July 16, 1943, 1.

²⁴¹ '56 Percent Jump In Florida Bank Deposits Shown,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Jan. 24, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 67, p. 1; 'Atlantic Bank Reports Biggest Deposits Ever,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. July, 10, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 139, p. 1; 'State Bank Has Deposit Jump Of \$270,875 In Year,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 21, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 144, p. 1; 'Local Prosperity Is Reflected In Higher Deposits,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Mon. Jan. 8, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 63, p. 1; 'State Bank Shows Best Gain of Any In McNulty Group,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. July 11, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 143, p. 1; 'Sanford Atlantic Bank Has Big Gain In 6-Month Period,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 13, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 144, p. 1.

²⁴² 'State Bank Has Deposit Jump Of \$270,875 In Year,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 21, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 144, p. 1; 'State Bank Shows Best Gain of Any In McNulty Group,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. July 11, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 143, p. 1.

\$3,320,359 in December 1942 to \$8,292,345 in June 1945.²⁴³ (see deposit increases in Sanford banks from 1942 through 1945 in Table 10) Increased banking activity in Sanford underlines the economic health within the city by 1945.

Available building records highlight how the war and naval station also stimulated construction activity in Sanford. Building permits issued in 1939 totaled \$79,279.50. By the next year, the amount increased by more than one hundred percent to \$160,031, with \$85,000 of this amount representing residential construction.²⁴⁴ The last two years of the war witnessed substantial building development. In 1944, the permit value issued by the city totaled only \$88,500 due to construction material shortages.²⁴⁵ This amount still exceeded the 1939 total permit value by almost nine thousand dollars.²⁴⁶ Building permits issued in 1945 totaled \$173,042, an amount double the combined permit values issued in 1939 and 1944.²⁴⁷ Permits for repairing or enlarging existing structures comprised a large portion of this value because construction material shortages continued to hinder new building.²⁴⁸ Construction materials became more readily available for civilian projects after Japan surrendered in August 1945 and

²⁴³ 'Atlantic Bank Reports Biggest Deposits Ever,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. July, 10, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 139, p. 1; 'Sanford Atlantic Bank Has Big Gain In 6-Month Period,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 13, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 144, p. 1.

²⁴⁴ 'Building Permits Show Increase Of 100 Percent Over 1939 Total,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Jan. 2, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 109, p.1; '20 Homes Are Built In City In Past Year,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. Jan. 4, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 112, p.1.

²⁴⁵ Ibid; '1945 Building Permits amount To \$142,000,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Jan. 2, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 77, p.1.

²⁴⁶ 'Building Permits Show Increase Of 100 Percent Over 1939 Total,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Jan. 2, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 109, p.1; '1945 Building Permits amount To \$142,000,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Jan. 2, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 77, p.1.

²⁴⁷ 'Building Permits Show Increase Of 100 Percent Over 1939 Total,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Jan. 2, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 109, p.1; 'Improvements IN Business Area Are Reported,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Apr. 25, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 109, p. 1; '1945 Building Permits amount To \$142,000,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Jan. 2, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 77, p.1.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

prompted *The Sanford Herald* to predict, in January 1946, a building boom in the forthcoming year.²⁴⁹ (see total amounts of building permits issued 1939, 1940, 1944, and 1945 in Table 5) Building permits issued for the entire month of April 1946 totaled \$87,425 and represents increased postwar building accurately predicted by the local press four months earlier.²⁵⁰ Building permit growth indicates numerous infrastructure renewal projects and new building development during World War II.

Housing data from the 1950 federal census and road development discussed in the local paper offers additional insight into demographic growth in Sanford from 1940 through 1950. New housing units built in Sanford from 1940 through 1944 increased by ten percent.²⁵¹ From 1930 to 1939, four hundred and ninety housing units were built in the city of Sanford.²⁵² The number of new housing units built totaled 375 from 1940 through 1944 and 360 new structures erected between 1945 and 1950. The overall number of housing units built in Sanford from 1940 through 1950 totaled 735, or 245 more structures erected than in the nine-year period from 1930 to 1939.²⁵³ Housing construction in Sanford reached a high point from 1940 through 1944 and coincided with naval operations at the station from 1942 through 1946. (see housing units built from 1930 through 1950 in Table 9) The naval station also improved city transportation networks. In 1941, the city applied for a Florida State Road Department project to expand

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*

²⁵⁰ 'Building Permits Total \$87,425 In Month Of April,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. May, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 163, p. 1.

²⁵¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, General Housing Characteristics* (Washington, D.C., 1952), Vol. I, Table XX, p.28.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

Park Avenue.²⁵⁴ In the interest of Mayor Edward Higgins, city officials traveled to Tallahassee and Atlanta to gain approval for the proposed project.²⁵⁵ Not until NAS Sanford created a “military necessity” to improve traffic flow in this area did the project gain approval in 1943.²⁵⁶ In August, the State Road Department placed the project out for bids. Construction commenced in April 1944 on expanding nearly a mile of Park Avenue to forty-four feet, replacing and building new sidewalks, and installing drainage culminating in a project total of \$77,687.69.²⁵⁷ The military presence in Seminole County also developed additional roadways. The Navy and the U.S. Road Administration agreed to update the track leading from Geneva to the Osceola Air Field (NAS Sanford’s auxiliary station) in January 1944.²⁵⁸ On Tuesday September 11, 1945, the Seminole County Chamber of Commerce approved a plan for extending Highway 44 from the Geneva Bridge westward on Twenty-Fifth Street to the Paola Road northwestward to Mt. Dora and sent it to the State Road Department for approval.²⁵⁹ W.A. Leffler reported that extending Highway 44 to Twenty-Fifth Street would provide a central travel junction between the coast and the city and open new areas for postwar building in the undeveloped Paola region located south of Sanford.²⁶⁰ County Attorney L. F. Boyle

²⁵⁴ ‘Park Ave. Work Now Completed, Higgins Revealed,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Nov. 10, 1944, Vol. XXXVI, No. 34, p. 1, 6.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid; ‘Work Is Begun On Widening Of Park Avenue,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. April 24, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 106, p. 1.

²⁵⁸ *Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Minutes: Report of the Secretary*, Sanford, Florida, Jan. 1944, 1.

²⁵⁹ ‘C Of C Plans New Route For Highway 44,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Sept. 12, 1945, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 13, p. 1. Today this road is S.R. 46 and still serves as a major east-west route for Seminole County.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

reported the project's approval to *The Sanford Herald* on September 19, 1945.²⁶¹ Mayor Edward Higgins praised Senator E.F. Householder's cooperation with city leaders in securing the \$385,000 Road Department project to connect Highway 44 to Twenty-Fifth Street with a nine-mile road.²⁶² From January 1, 1943 through July 31, 1945 State Road Department projects totaled \$544,678 and signifies an increase in urban transportation networks following the Navy's arrival.²⁶³ NAS Sanford created a military demand that updated city and county transportation networks.

During World War II, city boosters worked to attract major airlines with the naval facility and designated monies to advertise Sanford as a postwar tourist location. At a meeting at the Hotel Mayfair on Wednesday August 4, 1943, Mayor Edward Higgins discussed postwar plans to the Sanford Kiwanis Club.²⁶⁴ Local contributions supplemented by city donations provided the financial basis to repair streets, build recreation facilities, and begin a park project in an effort to develop Sanford into a postwar tourist destination.²⁶⁵ Marking a shift in decision making within the city and a more bottom-up approach to urbanization, Mayor Higgins commented to the local paper that "each community must take care of its own post war [sic] work and not depend on the Federal Government which can give but small aid."²⁶⁶ The Seminole County Chamber of Commerce still utilized the federal presence at NAS Sanford as a springboard for postwar aviation development. Minutes from the Seminole County

²⁶¹ 'Improvements On 44 In This County Involve \$385,000,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Sept. 19, 1945, Vol. XXXVII, No. 16, p. 1.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ 'Mayor Higgins Discusses Plans For After War,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 4, 1943, Vol. XXXIV, No. 200, p. 1; Schaal, *Sanford and the World War II Years*, 207.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

Chamber of Commerce detailed in October and November 1943 the benefits of the naval station as a commercial airport once it reverted back to the city.²⁶⁷ Soliciting the station as a postwar commercial airport continued in 1944.²⁶⁸ Additionally, the city commission allotted eight to ten thousand dollars in 1944 for postwar advertising in the nation's largest newspapers in an effort to "sell Seminole County to the people of the North as an ideal spot for rest and recreation, as a place to find beautiful home sites and suitable locations for industrial plants."²⁶⁹ City and county leaders used the naval station to benefit postwar Sanford.

Wartime Relationship between NAS Sanford the city of Sanford

During World War II, civic organizations and individual citizens welcomed the Navy men that created a cordial relationship between the base and city. The Sanford Elks Club offered writing stations and recreation facilities to enlisted personnel and many sailors stationed at the base attended local churches.²⁷⁰ By 1944, an American bomber received the name "the Sanford Woman's Club" in recognition of the organization's

²⁶⁷ *Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Minutes: Report of the Secretary*, Sanford, Florida, Oct.-Nov. 1943, 2, July 1945, 2, Feb. 12, 1946, 2.

²⁶⁸ 'Proposed Air Line To Include Sanford,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. March 31, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 96, p. 5. 'Possibility of Transport Service From Sanford Seen,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 9, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 152, p. 1; 'City Seeks Option On Naval Station After War Is Over,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 30, 1944, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, pg. 1; *Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Minutes: Report of the Secretary*, Sanford, Florida, Nov. 4, 1943.

²⁶⁹ 'Key To The Future,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. April 17, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 104, p. 8.

²⁷⁰ The Sanford Elks Club provided enlisted men recreational facilities and writing stations 'Government And Defense,' *Florida Times-Union*, Thurs. June 11, 1942, p. 4; '\$10,000 Given For Swimming Pool By Chase & Company,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. June, 28, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 134, p. 1. 'Construction in Florida,' *Florida Times-Union*, Feb. 18, 1943, p. 4; 'Citation Awarded Power & Light Company Awarded Power % Light Co. For War Service,' *The Sanford Herald*, Friday, Feb. 4, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 72, p. 1; Patricia Gatchel, interview by author, tape recording, Sanford Florida, 2 November 2009.

contributions to the Buy-A-Bond campaign of 1943.²⁷¹ Additionally, Sanford resident Patricia Gatchel recollects how “Sanford really loved the Navy, and . . . the Navy loved being in Sanford. Particularly on Saturday nights sailors would come in and hangout on the main drag, and we were glad to see them.”²⁷² William J. Phillips who trained at NAS Sanford in 1944 recalls a similar relationship between the station and the city. “They were really very good and, in [Sanford] Florida, we had, you know, dances, and so forth, for all the cadets and all the girls, and I got to know a couple down there that were liked pretty well.”²⁷³ Volunteer organizations, bond drives, and churches formed a conciliatory wartime relationship between sailors and Sanford residents.

In addition, Seminole County residents served in various war-related positions. Co-chairmen Edward J. Nelson, Jr. and J.N. Gillon disclosed to the local paper how 8,006 Seminole County residents registered for civilian defense volunteer positions from June 2 through 3rd 1941.²⁷⁴ Out of this total *The Sanford Herald* numerated 1,361 black men, 3,105 black women, 2,067 white men, and 1,473 white women volunteered during the

²⁷¹ ‘Bomber Is Named For Woman’s Club,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Feb. 21, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 79, p. 3. “Yowell’s Department stored exhibited a photograph of the B-25 Mitchell named ‘the Sanford Woman’s Club.’ ‘4th of July Cast War Bond Drive’ *The SANFLY*, U.S. Naval Air Station, Sanford, Fla. Friday, June 16, 1944, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 1.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Mr. Phillips was born in Akron, Ohio on Feb. 25, 1923 and enlisted in the Navy Air Corps in March 1942 and was officially accepted in October 1942 and was sent to Bend, Oregon for preliminary flight training in March 1943 as part of the Civilian Pilot Training Program “sponsored by the Navy.” He recalls wearing a WPA uniform during his training time in Oregon. Then he went from Walla Walla, Washington to St. Mary’s College, California for preflight (ground-school) training, and then onto primary training at NAS Norman, Oklahoma, then to Corpus Christi, Texas for advanced training and was commissioned in Oct. 1944. This interview is part of the Rutgers Oral History Archives, part of the Rutgers History Department. Sandra Stewart Holyoak conducted it on Aug. 27, 2007 in Arlington, Virginia with Sandra Stewart Holyoak and Mrs. Rae Phillips. Transcript by Domingo Duarte, Patrick Lee, Daniel Ruggerio, William J. Phillips, and Sandra Stewart Holyoak. Permission to quote this interview granted by Sandra Stewart Holyoak and the Rutgers Oral History Archives.
http://oralhistory.rutgers.edu/Interviews/phillips_william.html

²⁷⁴ ‘Registration For Civilian Defense Is Over 6,000,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Sat. June 21, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 249, p. 1.

two-day period.²⁷⁵ A week later in June 1941, the Seminole County Defense Council, headed by Police Chief Roy Williams organized sixteen aircraft observation posts throughout Seminole County to defend the region against any potential foreign attack.²⁷⁶ On December 21, 1941, the Sanford City Commission passed Ordinance No. 320 authorizing the mayor to proclaim martial law during air raids or blackouts as a means to protect public safety.²⁷⁷ No reports emerged of martial law being issued in Sanford, but the city held a series of trial blackouts during the war. Midway resident Victoria Brown-Smith remembers many air raid, blackout drills, and rationing in World War II Sanford.²⁷⁸ African American physician Dr. George H. Starke served on the local selective service physical examination board beginning in March 1941.²⁷⁹ This example supports historian Patricia Dillon's assessment that the majority of Seminole County blacks supported the war "at least on the surface."²⁸⁰ White physicians also worked for the local draft board as medical examiners in 1941. Before entering active Army service in January 1941, Dr. Kenneth R. Bell acted as selective service physician.²⁸¹ Two other Sanford doctors filled the vacant position thereafter and represent war involvement by the city's professional workforce before Pearl Harbor. Seminole County white and black residents contributed to the war effort.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ 'Watchers Will Be On Lookout For Enemy Aircraft,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. June 9, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 238, p.1.

²⁷⁷ *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Dec. 22, 1941, 103-104.

²⁷⁸ Victoria Brown-Smith, *Midway-The Midpoint: My Precious Memories Of Times Gone By* (New Smyrna Beach, Fl: Luthers Publishing, 2002), 26-27.

²⁷⁹ 'Negro Doctor Is Named Examiner,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Mar., 13, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 167, p. 7.

²⁸⁰ Dillon, "Civil Rights and School Desegregation in Sanford," 314.

²⁸¹ '2 Local Doctors Get Appointments For Draft Board,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Jan. 8, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 115, p. 1.

In contrast, *The Sanford Herald* documented only one case of “Victory Girls”²⁸² in Sanford but reported several instances of crime related to the naval station. When three young white girls from Palatka, Florida, arrived in Sanford in August 1945, local police quickly arrested them for “their loud and boisterous talk and obvious attempts at attracting service men.”²⁸³ One of the girls nineteen received a twenty-five dollar fine or thirty days in jail for vagrancy. Another of the girls, only thirteen years old, was transferred to the Palatka Juvenile Court.²⁸⁴ Several instances underline wartime crime related to men stationed at NAS Sanford in 1944 and 1945. Patrolman Gerald Troutman for instance shot and killed nineteen-year-old Lloyd Niethé (white) a seaman first class stationed at NAS Sanford in Orlando, Florida, on Sunday August 27, 1944 for fleeing from a stolen car.²⁸⁵ The Navy and Orlando Sheriff Jim Black launched an investigation that at first concluded Niethé died “through his own misconduct.”²⁸⁶ The same Orlando paper, however, rescinded its assessment a week later on September. 9, 1944, after a coroner’s report ruled the death as “accidental.”²⁸⁷ It added further “that Winter Park Patrolman Gerald Troutman handled his gun in a careless manner, that he was not

²⁸² The term Victory Girl refers to young women who migrated to towns near defense centers in search of sexual relations with sailors and soldiers. Many believed it was their patriotic duty to provide a good time free of charge for American soldiers and sailors before overseas deployment. Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women* (Westport, Connecticut: 1981), 103-4. In Truax, “Victory Girls,” 29-30, 34.

²⁸³ ‘Three Young Girls From Palatka Get Into Trouble Here,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 15, 1945, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, p. 6.

²⁸⁴ The article did not discuss the third girl. Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Patrolman Troutman chased him for reckless driving in a stolen 1941 Plymouth belonging to E. Reel of 203 Holly Ave. Sanford. Sanford Sailor Shot And Killed In Winter Park,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Aug. 28, 1944, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, p. 1; ‘Sanford Base Seaman Shot By Winter Park Policeman,’ *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, Mon. Aug. 28, 1944, Vol. XXII-No.2432, p 1; ‘Inquest Ordered In Fatal Shooting Of Sanford Sailor,’ *Orlando Reporter Sentinel*, Tue. Aug. 29, 1944, Vol. XXIII-No. 2433, p. 1.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ ‘Coroner’s Jury Urges Dismissal of Officer In Shooting of Sailor,’ *The Orlando Morning Sentinel*, Sat. Sept. 9, 1944, p. 1; ‘Misconduct Caused Death Say Probers,’ *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, Fri. Sept. 8, 1944, Vol. XXII-No. 2442, p. 1.

competent to carry firearms and [that he] should be relieved of his duties.”²⁸⁸

Nevertheless, this example emphasizes how NAS Sanford increased criminal activity in other central Florida cities. In May 1945, Sanford Police arrested three sailors from NAS Sanford, W.A. Berry, M.E. Jackson, and E. Simmons, for severely beating V.H. McAlexander, a Seminole Tire Company auto mechanic. NAS Sanford Lieutenant W.K. Spry and Assistant State Attorney George A. Decottes investigated the matter jointly.²⁸⁹ After C.C. Gullie, W.A. Berry, and M.E. Jackson pled guilty to assault charges, Sanford Police turned the men over to naval authorities. The other sailor E. Simmons received no charges.²⁹⁰ Additionally, the paper reported a group of sailors stationed at NAS Sanford broke into the USO during the summer of 1945.²⁹¹ These examples do not imply that a large percentage of NAS Sanford personnel were involved in illegal activity but links crime to the naval presence at Sanford during World War II. The Navy absorbed criminal cases involving NAS Sanford personnel and helped limit the crimes from attracting too much public attention and damaging the relationship between the city and station.²⁹²

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ ‘Three Sailors Held Pending Investigation,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 14, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 118, p. 1.

²⁹⁰ ‘Three Service Men Plead Guilty To Charge,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 21, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 121, p. 1.

²⁹¹ ‘Many Cases Come Before City Judge In Recent Session,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 20, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 147, p. 3. Local police also transferred the men over to the Navy Shore Patrol. The Shore Patrol and Military Police also received NAS Sanford men and soldiers stationed in nearby Orlando involved in drunk driving accidents in 1944 and 1945, Army soldiers Frank T. Hale, W.A. Wallin, R.W. Brown, and Harold J. Wolfe respectively. Cf. ‘Food Handlers Are Arrested On Health Charges,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Feb. 21, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 82, p. 2; ‘Three Soldiers Turned Over To Military Police,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. June 21, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 131, p. 3.

²⁹² ‘Three Soldiers Turned Over To Military Police,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. June 21, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 131, p. 3.

Wartime Race Relations

Historian Patricia Dillon argues Sanford residents worked for desegregation of recreational and school facilities in the 1950s and 1960s.²⁹³ Despite the value of Dillon's account of civil rights in Sanford she fails to discuss African American organizing during World War II as a precursor to postwar activism.²⁹⁴ Gary Mormino, in contrast, contends that the church served as a political platform during and after the war for African Americans in Florida.²⁹⁵ He contends further that by registering as Democrats for the 1946 primary election Florida African Americans helped sow the seeds of the Civil Rights Movement.²⁹⁶ Sanford African Americans used churches as an avenue to redress wartime problems and supports this analysis. Newspaper, county chamber minutes, and voting records assist in better understanding the connection between African American organizing and voting during and immediately following World War II.

As the war and naval station brought urban development and more people to Sanford, African Americans began seeking the church as a conduit for political action. Beginning in May 1944 a group of pastors and residents from Georgetown and Goldsboro requested the city commission to limit the operational hours of alcohol and entertainment businesses in black neighborhoods on Sundays. Pastors representing the congregations of Allen Chanel A.M.E, New Mt. Calvary M.B. Church, and The Church of God in Christ denounced "beer gardens with music machines going full blast on

²⁹³ Patricia Dillon, "Civil Rights and School Desegregation in Sanford," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 3, (Winter, 1998): 310-25.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 314.

²⁹⁵ Mormino, "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow," 38.

²⁹⁶ Gary Mormino, "World War II," in Michael Gannon, *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 1996), 337.

Sundays as deplorable and a menace to the morale of colored youth during wartime” and how they inundated their neighborhoods with “out-of-town Sunday pleasure loafers.”²⁹⁷ Specifically the committee called for the city commission to prohibit jukebox noise within five hundred feet of churches and alcohol sales from twelve P.M. Saturday to eight A.M. Monday and from eleven thirty P.M. to eight A.M. weekdays.²⁹⁸ White churches and civic organizations supported these request as a way to solve wartime dilemmas. The Sanford Lions Club Secretary Clyde Ramsey, for example, opined to Seminole County commissioners in early July 1944 “against the prevalence of widespread gambling, operation of houses and juke-joints of ill-repute, disregard of speed laws, and other menaces to public safety, welfare, and morals in Seminole County.”²⁹⁹ Secretary Ramsey blamed inefficient policing practices permitted the problem to escalate since 1942.³⁰⁰ The church acted as a petitioning committee between Sanford’s African American community and the city commission.

In July 1944, the city commission adopted City Ordinance No. 256. It mandated a two hundred dollar penalty for anyone found guilty of “loud or boisterous noises, which are calculated to annoy or disturb public peace, quiet or sleep at reasonable hours of

²⁹⁷ ‘Negroes Petition City For Quiet Sundays,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. May 10, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 113, p. 1; ‘Negroes Ask County To Close Beer Hall,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. June 2, 1944, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No.123, pg. 1; ‘City Commission Takes Action On Juke Box Menace,’ *The Sanford Herald*, June 14, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 128, pgs. 1, 3.

²⁹⁸ ‘City Commission Urged To Control Juke Box Playing,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Vol. XXXV, No. 136, p. 1-2. This cooperation subsequently created the Sanford Ministerial Association.

²⁹⁹ ‘Protest Is Made Against Vice By Local Lions Club,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 7, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 138, pgs. 1-2.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

people living in the neighborhood or which disturb during worship.”³⁰¹ The ordinance of July 24, 1944, prohibited beer and wine sales to anyone under twenty-one and during state, county, or municipal primary elections. Particularly it addressed the concerns voiced by black pastors for limiting alcohol sales from twelve P.M. Saturday to eight A.M. Monday and from eleven thirty P.M. on weekdays.³⁰² On July 14, 1944, Sanford Police Chief Roy Williams reported that revoking beer and wine licenses of boisterous alcohol establishments decreased disorderly conduct cases and noise ordinance violations tried in Sanford Municipal Court.³⁰³ Tougher policing and the creation of specific ordinances solved the noise problem for nearly a year until requests emerged in the final months of the war for continued vigilant enforcement.³⁰⁴ African American church organizations succeeded in moving the city commission to redress their wartime concerns something not seen during the Depression.

From 1941 through 1946, black civic committees and political organizations developed within Sanford. Segregation did not prevent the formation of a committee to request the Seminole County Chamber of Commerce help establish recreational facilities for African American civilians and visiting servicemen in July 1943.³⁰⁵ The United Service Organizations (USO) cooperated with the chamber and allotted one hundred and

³⁰¹ ‘Commission Acts To Block Spread of Rat Diseases,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. July 12, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 140, pgs. 1, 3; ‘7 Beer Parlors Agree To Close During Sundays,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. June 5, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 124, p. 1.

³⁰² ‘Sale of Beer And Wine On Sundays Banned In Sanford,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. July 26, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 146, p. 1; ‘7 Beer Parlors Agree To Close During Sundays,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. June 5, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 124, p. 1.

³⁰³ ‘Revoked Licenses Reduces Number of Cases in Court,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 14, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 141, p. 3.

³⁰⁴ ‘Grand Jury Asks Enforcement Of Juke Joint Laws,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 27, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 150, p. 1.

³⁰⁵ *Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Minutes: Report of the Secretary*, Sanford, Florida, Friday, July 16, 1943, 1.

forty dollars per month to construct a five-acre recreation facility equipped with a baseball and football field, tennis courts, and dance room on Sanford's east side.³⁰⁶ Some white residents voiced disapproval of the plan, but the African American recreation committee gained support and funding for the project.³⁰⁷ On September 27, 1943, supported by Mayor Edward Higgins and NAS Sanford base officials, Dr. G.H. Starke announced the opening of the African American USO on the corner of Fifth Street and Sanford Avenue.³⁰⁸ In 1941, a Seminole County NAACP branch was established followed by a Sanford branch four years later in 1945.³⁰⁹ Organizing continued into 1946. D.C. Caldwell established the African American Chamber of Commerce on February 4, 1946 and acted as president at the weekly meetings.³¹⁰ Proprietor of a confectionary store located at Fourth Street and Cypress Avenue, President Caldwell outlined the organization's objectives to *The Sanford Herald* in May 1946. The chamber's main goal centered on "promoting better business and furthering the welfare of the negro citizens of Seminole County."³¹¹ Other projects included acquiring five new members for every existing member with a thirty-day membership drive and obtaining

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ 'Residents' High Hopes Took Off When the Navy Base Came to Town,' *Orlando Sentinel*, Sunday July 1, 1990, B1, 1. SNAS Collection, Sanford Museum, Fold. 1: 'The Beginning NAS Sanford 1942,' 2; 'Colored USO Center Will Open Tonight,' *The Sanford Herald*, Sept. 27, 1943, in SNAS Collection at the Sanford Museum, USO, Fold. 19.

³⁰⁹ Simmons, 'Flames of Resistance,' Appendix A, 242-243. This date represents the first charter given to the branch. Arthur James was the first NAACP president followed by Earl Williams of Midway as second president. 'Appendix A: NAACP Branch Charter Dates,' in Caroline Simmons, 'Flames of Resistance: The NAACP in Florida 1910-1960' (Tallahassee, Florida, The Florida State University of Arts and Sciences, PhD dissertation, Summer, 1998), 242-243. This date represents the first charter given to the branch.

³¹⁰ 'Negro Trade Body Submits Request For Incorporation,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. May 1, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 161, p. 1.

³¹¹ Ibid.

equipment to build a black playground on Beardall Avenue.³¹² By 1946, economic and political organizations became established in Seminole County and represent how African Americans became more active citizens of a growing city.

Complete voting records for Seminole County are incomplete but available materials provide insight into the connection between wartime and postwar voting among Seminole County African Americans. Voter registration records located at the Seminole County Supervisor of Elections Office only date back to 1950 and *Reports of the Secretary of State* omits African Americans from primary registration records until 1945 and 1946.³¹³ Journalist Ben Green documents the role of Harry T. Moore and the Progressive Voters League (PVL) in organizing a political meeting at the Seminole County Courthouse in Sanford in 1951 to establish a legislation platform.³¹⁴ The meeting signaled the first time a black political organization was permitted to meet in any Florida courthouse since Reconstruction.³¹⁵ Green also addresses the role of Harry T. Moore and the PVL in registering Florida African Americans for the 1948 statewide and national elections.³¹⁶ No evidence of the PVL operating in Sanford has surfaced, but African American registration increased after 1945.

Florida repealed the poll tax in 1938 but reports of African Americans participating in local and national elections did not surface in *The Sanford Herald* until

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Conversation between Seminole County Election Supervisor Mike Ertel and author, 15 June 2010; Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1945, and Ending December 31, 1946*, 'Registration For Primaries—1946,' (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1947), 96-97

³¹⁴ Ben Green, *Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), 126.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid. , 73-78.

1940.³¹⁷ Particularly, seventy black Sanford residents registered for the city election and 230 registered to vote in the general election of 1940.³¹⁸ African American registrants totaled one hundred and thirteen on the eve of the May 5, 1942 primary, out of 6,500 eligible Seminole County voters.³¹⁹ In the primary and general elections following World War II, more African Americans voted than the entire period from 1940 through 1944. Between 1946 and 1950 nearly five thousand Seminole County African Americans registered as Democrats. (see black and white city of Sanford populations and total numbers of registered Seminole African American voters between 1946 and 1950 in Tables 1 and 11)

After the Supreme Court ruled against excluding black voters from primary elections in 1944, followed by the establishment of a Sanford NAACP branch the following year, large numbers of Seminole County African Americans registered for primary elections beginning in 1946.³²⁰ Historian Michael J. Klarman attributes the increase in southern black voter registration following World War II to three factors: the establishment of more than six hundred NAACP branches between 1940 and 1946; increased membership during these same years that enlarged the financial resources of

³¹⁷ Steven F. Lawson, *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976) 59; Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1937, and Ending December 31, 1938* (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1947), 73-4; Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1945, and Ending December 31, 1946*, 'Registration For Primaries—1946,' (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1947), 96-97.

³¹⁸ 'Many Negroes Register For City Election,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Sept. 30, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 33, p. 1; 'County Interest In Election On Tuesday Is Shown,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Nov. 1, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 61, p. 1; 'Heavy General Election Vote Is Anticipated,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Nov. 1, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 63, p. 1. The 1940 African American and white populations of Sanford totaled 5,098 and 5,119 respectively.

³¹⁹ '6,500 Citizens In Seminole Are Eligible To Vote,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Apr. 29, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 193, p. 1.

³²⁰ Emmons, "Flames of Resistance," 242-3.

the organization; and finally, the 1944 Supreme Court decision that ruled in favor of Houston, Texas resident Lonnie E. Smith whose race excluded him from voting in the 1940 State's Democratic Primary.³²¹ David Goldfield furthers this interpretation by contending NAACP voter registration drives coincided with wartime urbanization and laid the ground work for postwar organizing and voting.³²² Advancing Klarman and Goldfield's interpretations to the local level reveals a correlation between the establishment of the Sanford NAACP branch, the *Smith v. Allwright* ruling, and large numbers of Seminole County African Americans registering for primaries in 1946. *The Sanford Herald* headline of April 3, 1944 detailed the Supreme Court ruling that guaranteed the constitutional rights of blacks to vote in Texas primaries "As Being Of Far-Reaching Importance In Southern States."³²³ Nevertheless, Voting Registrar W. J. Thigpen indicated to the paper a day before the May 2, 1944 election that it would "be strictly a white man's primary" in Seminole County.³²⁴ Subsequent articles mentioned no information about African American registration in this or the second primary held on May 23, 1944.³²⁵ The numbers of black residents registered for the general election of November 1944, in comparison, actually fell below the amount listed in 1940 from 230 to

³²¹ Michael J. Klarman, "The White Primary Rulings: A Case Study In The Consequences Of Supreme Court Decision Making," *Florida State University Law Review*, Vol. 29, No. 55 (2001): 69, 76, 77.

³²² David Goldfield, "The Urban Crusade: Race, Culture, and Power in the American South Since 1945," *Amerikastudien*, Vol. 42, Issue 2, (1997): 182, 184.

³²³ 'Court Upholds Negro'es [sic] Vote In Primaries,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Apr. 3, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 97, p. 1.

³²⁴ 'Polls Will Open At 7 Tomorrow Close At 8:04,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 1, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 109, p. 1.

³²⁵ 'Lee Predicts Big Vote In Second Primary Tuesday,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 22, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 118, p. 1.

104 Seminole County African Americans respectively.³²⁶ Not until the 1946 primary did newspaper articles document African Americans registering in larger numbers. State reports totaled 744 Seminole County black residents registered as Democrats and 123 as Republicans for the May 7, 1946 primary or 631 more than those registered in April 1942.³²⁷ The paper attributed the large number of African Americans registering to “a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.”³²⁸ Precinct clerks stated on Tuesday May 7 that the majority of new registrants had voted.³²⁹

Seminole County African Americans registered in larger numbers for primary and general elections over the next four years. By May 3, 1948 *The Sanford Herald* announced the largest number of registered voters in Seminole County’s history for the primary election scheduled the following day. Seminole County Voting Registrar Lourine Beal reported a total of 9,213 qualified voters, and 1,431 African American Democrats and 158 Republicans registered in the county.³³⁰ State totals numerated 1,430 Democrats and 154 African American Republicans registered in Seminole County representing minor discrepancies between local and state numbers. (see total African Americans registered as Democrats and Republicans in Table 11) The upward trend continued over

³²⁶ ‘County Interest In Election On Tuesday Is Shown,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Nov. 1, 1940, Vol. XXXII, No. 61, p. 1; ‘Notice: Certified List Of Qualified Voters Of Seminole County For General Election On November 7, 1944 As Certified By W.J. Thigpen Supervisor Of Registration Seminole County,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Nov. 1, 1944, Vol. XXXVI, No. 30, p. 2.

³²⁷ ‘Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1945, and Ending December 31, 1946*, ‘Registration For Primaries—1946,’ (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1947), 96-97; 6,500 Citizens In Seminole Are Eligible To Vote,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Apr. 29, 1942, Vol. XXXIII, No. 193, p. 1; ‘Tomorrow’s Primary,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 6, 1946, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 164, p. 4; ‘Seminole Gives Former Governor Large Vote,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. May 8, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 166, p. 1.

³²⁸ ‘Tomorrow’s Primary,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 6, 1946, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 164, p. 4.

³²⁹ ‘Election Returns At Herald Office Tomorrow,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Tue. May 7, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 165, p. 1.

³³⁰ ‘Seminole County’s Biggest Vote In History Predicted At Poles,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. May 3, 1948, Vol. XXXIX, No. 131, p. 1.

the next two years. *Secretary of State Reports* numerated 2,635 African American Democrats and sixty-seven Seminole County African American Republicans registered for the general election of November 2, 1950.³³¹ Seminole County voter registration records tallied 2,662 black Democrats and seventy-two black Republicans registered from January 3, 1950 through March 31, 1950 and highlights increased African American voter registration despite minor discrepancies between local and state records.³³² (see African American voters registered for primary elections from 1946-1950 in Table 11) By 1953, Matthew Lee Williams became the first African American to run for the Sanford City Council.³³³ Even though he lost to a white candidate, this instance represents additional postwar attempts by Sanford African Americans to become more politically involved. Large numbers of Seminole County African Americans registered to vote after the *Smith v. Allwright* ruling and the establishment of the Sanford NAACP.

Despite increased political participation, African Americans continued experiencing second-class treatment in Sanford from 1942 through 1946. Enforcement of vagrancy ordinances during the war allowed police to arrest anyone they termed a vagrant. Cindy Hahamovitch discusses how vagrancy ordinances allowed many southern police to arrest anyone they believed obstructed the war effort at any given time.³³⁴

Similar scenarios occurred in Sanford during the construction of the naval station in 1942

³³¹ Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1949 and Ending December 31, 1950*, 'Registration of Voters 1950,' (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1951), 261.

³³² 'New Voter Registration In Seminole County Jan. 3 Through Mar. 31, 1950,' courtesy of Mike Ertel Seminole County Supervisor Of Elections.

³³³ Cf. *The Sanford Herald*, Oct. 13, 1953; *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Nov. 4, 1953, Vol. 11, 143. Cited in Dillon, "Civil Rights and School Desegregation in Sanford," 317.

³³⁴ Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 6, 101-2.

and again in 1944. Serving the request of Mayor Edward Higgins, Police Chief Roy Williams stepped up a “work or fight” campaign in early 1944 to ensure war effort participation among all residents.³³⁵ By the end of January 1944, Police arrested eighteen African Americans in a poolroom they believed were not engaged in meaningful work.³³⁶ Additionally, the paper reported vagrancy charges filed against white and black citizens in early 1945.³³⁷ When Jackie Robinson arrived in Sanford playing for the Montreal Royals, moreover, the Hotel Mayfair refused to lodge him and his wife Rachel.³³⁸ Consequently, Robinson played only three innings of one game after white Sanford citizens complained to Police Chief Roy Williams about integrated baseball games.³³⁹ Thereafter, Robinson spent the rest of the 1946 season playing in Daytona Beach.³⁴⁰ Vagrancy ordinances and segregation limited African Americans in Sanford during and after the war.

Conclusion

This chapter builds upon recent scholarship that examines the impacts of World War II bases on nearby cities. By assessing the ways in which a naval base garnered

³³⁵ ‘Drive On Vagrancy Started By Police,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Jan. 28, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 69, p. 7; ‘Judge Sharon Gives ‘Work Or Fight’ Edict To Loafers,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Feb. 2, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 71, p. 3.

³³⁶ ‘Drive On Vagrancy Started By Police,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Jan. 28, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 69, p. 7.

³³⁷ ‘Thirteen Cases Of Vagrancy Filed In Police Court: All Those Not Working Are Rounded Up Other Cases Made,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. March 5, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 87, p. 1; ‘Six More Vagrants Given Jail Sentences,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. March 19, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 93, p. 1; ‘Vagrancy Cases Are Found In Court,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Feb. 14, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 79, p. 2.

³³⁸ Jules Tygiel, *Baseball’s Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York, 1984), 101, 103, 106-7 in Dillon, Civil Rights and School Desegregation in Sanford,” 314-315.

³³⁹ Julian Stenstrom, interview by June Shrine, transcribed copy, Sanford Florida, 14, July, 1989, p. 5. Located in the Jackie Robinson Folder at the Sanford Museum.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

economic and demographic development, and organizing among African Americans in a southern city, it provides a contribution to previous historiography centered primarily on the impacts of Army Air Force bases.³⁴¹ Previous methodologies that rely on local newspapers, city commission minutes, and census data have, however, provided an invaluable template to analyze the relationship between the Navy and city of Sanford during World War II.

One could argue from a Whig interpretation that economic growth in Sanford from 1941 through 1945 was a natural historical process. Instead this work avoids a teleological approach to the impacts of NAS Sanford during World War II by discussing not only the benefits but also the minor problems and limitations associated with this relationship. Available data presents the base as leaving an overall positive imprint on the city of Sanford. The war and naval station melded the community and base together and furnished economic and infrastructure developments. The naval station acted as a catalyst particularly, for the arrival of 2,280 new civilian residents by 1945 that created new retail businesses and related jobs by 1950. An enlarged financial basis for the city government also surfaced from 1942 through 1945. Additionally, 375 new housing units were constructed from 1940 through 1944 and more than \$544,000 worth of transportation developments in Seminole County completed by the State Road Department from 1943

³⁴¹ James L. Colwell, "Wings Over Texas: Pecos Army Airfield in World War II," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, Vol. 63, (1987): 55; Truax, "Victory Girls and Social Protection," 29-49; Mormino, "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow," 34, n 40, 38, 42; Todd. Todd Petersen, "Kearney Nebraska, And The Kearney Army Air Field In World War II," *Nebraska History*, Vol. 72 No. 3 (1991): 118-126; J. Crowder, "More Valuable Than Oil: The Establishment And Development Of Tinker Air Force Base, 1940-1949," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 70 No. 3 (1992): 228-257; L Verigan, "Barksdale Air Force Base: Satellite Operations In Northwest Louisiana," *North Louisiana History*, Vol. 25 No. 1 (1994): 16-33; Thomas E. Alexander, *Wings of Change: The Army Air Force Experience in Texas During World War II* (McWhiney Foundation Press: Abilene, Texas, 2004), 212.

through 1945. Finally, an organizational platform for new African American registered voters began in 1940 and increased following the Supreme Court ruling in *Smith v. Allwright* and the foundation of an NAACP branch in Sanford in 1945.

However, the base created problems and exacerbated existing limitations for African Americans. As the naval presence at Sanford spurred urban development, several reports of crime involving sailors stationed at the base emerged in 1944 and 1945. Prostitution and increased sexually transmitted diseases among civilians, however, did not accompany the over three year naval presence. Despite African Americans organizing, no “Double V” campaign occurred in Sanford during World War II and the city remained segregated after 1945. Agriculture stayed the largest employment industry for Sanford African Americans from 1940 through 1950 compared to white residents who gained more jobs in professional, construction, sales and clerical positions over the same decade. Particularly, the number of black men and women entering professional, clerical, and sales jobs by 1950 grew at a much slower rate than white male and female workers entering these same fields; while at the same time, more black men and women entered the agricultural workforce. Available census data points to a longer occupational shift among whites to non-farm work than African Americans from 1940 and 1950. Therefore, James McGovern’s assessment that the economic benefits presented by NAS Pensacola during World War II applied mainly to the city’s white population are represented in the disparities between white and black non-farm job growth in Sanford.³⁴² Vagrancy ordinances also allowed authorities to arrest anyone they termed a loafer. Despite these

³⁴² McGovern, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South*, 163-67.

shortcomings, race relations between African American residents, sailors, and Sanford's white population remained civil during World War II compared to other Florida cities like Tallahassee's Frenchtown where violence erupted between black servicemen and white MP's and local police in September 1942.³⁴³

³⁴³ Mormino, "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow," 26.

CONCLUSION

After World War II, the station reverted back to the city and continued to provide economic opportunities but not to the same extent as the Navy.³⁴⁴ On May 15, 1946, the base became officially “disestablished” with all surplus materials transferred by the War Assets Administration.³⁴⁵ The city received the base’s property on August 15, 1946 a year after Sanford citizens visited the station for the first time.³⁴⁶ Thereafter, the facility served as the city’s airport.³⁴⁷ From 1946 to 1950, the facility also provided multiple purposes ranging from the New York Giants spring training camp, retirement housing, clothing manufacturer, Christian colony, and Dusty Boots Riding Club. In 1947, Florida Fashions, Central Florida Foods, Inc., and the Fellowship Front operated businesses at the station. Meanwhile, the New York Giants leased a section of the base and buildings for five years as a farm league training camp. Team members lived in the Officer’s Club and

³⁴⁴ The Navy leaving Sanford initially created financial strains. From October 1946 through April 1947 the City of Sanford spent \$12,500 maintaining the station. ” Cf. Letter from Edward Higgins to Senator Spessard Holland, April 30, 1947,’ pgs. 1-2. Sanford Naval Air Station Folder, 36-I, Box, 150. Spessard L. Holland Papers, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

³⁴⁵ ‘City Is Formally Handed Full Title To Naval Station,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Aug. 15, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 237, p. 1.

³⁴⁶ Letter to BuBocks from Rear Admiral, Ralph Davison, USN, ‘NAS, Sanford, Florida – Request for Buildings by FWA, Bureau of Community Facilities,’ Pg. 1. Sanford Naval Air Station Folder, 36-I, Box, 150. Spessard L. Holland Papers, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

³⁴⁷ ‘City Will Get Naval Station Next Thursday,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Aug. 8, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 232, p. 1; Public Is Invited To Inspect Naval Air Station Tomorrow,’ *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Aug. 29, 1945, Vol. XXXVII, No. 7, p. 1. The paper reported, “Several thousand Sanford citizens attended the open house.” *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. Aug. 31, 1945, Vol. XXXVII, No. 8, p. 1; Letter to BuBocks from Rear Admiral, Ralph Davison, USN, ‘NAS, Sanford, Florida – Request for Buildings by FWA, Bureau of Community Facilities.’ Pg. 1. Sanford Naval Air Station Folder, 36-I, Box, 150. Spessard L. Holland Papers, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

played on eight baseball diamonds.³⁴⁸ Additionally, the Seminole County Chamber of Commerce entered into agreement with the USO in February 1946 for the city to receive the building as a tourist-welcoming center.³⁴⁹ Federal facilities offered postwar economic income as a business center, baseball training camp, and tourist-welcoming center.

The Navy reacquired the station one year after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and trained aviators there until 1968.³⁵⁰ From 1968 through 1971 retired naval commander Red Cleveland supervised the station and recalls “[i]t was a black day” and economic hit to the community when the Navy left Sanford.³⁵¹ When the Navy left Sanford it brought uncertainty and opportunity as city officials faced the task of generating a new and lasting economic basis but the outbreak of conflict on the Korean peninsula brought the Navy back in 1951.

Today the station serves central Florida as the Orlando-Sanford International Airport and illustrates how the war and station furnished lasting economic infrastructure. In 2003, the airport’s annual 9,000 passenger flight record and its rating as the state’s tenth most active airport underlined the continued economic incentive NAS Sanford

³⁴⁸ Coletta and Bauer eds, *US Navy and Marine Bases, Domestic*, 590; Joseph and Anne Freitas, *Florida: The War Years*, 50; Osborne, *World War II Sites*, 56; ‘Residents’ High Hopes Took Off When the Navy Base Came to Town,’ *Orlando Sentinel*, Sunday July 1, 1990, B1, p. 2. In SNAS Collection, Sanford Museum, Fold. 1: ‘The Beginning NAS Sanford 1942,’ 2. ‘History of U.S. Naval Air Station, Sanford, Florida,’ Fold. 2, 1; Sanford Airport Memorial Committee’s website/ Naval Air Station Sanford Memorial History: http://nassanfordmemorial.com/NAS_history.htm, p.1; McCarthy, *Aviation in Florida*, 110; ‘The Sanford United States Naval Air Base and the New York Giant’s Baseball Club,’ p. 177. Located at the Sanford Museum.

³⁴⁹ *Seminole County Chamber of Commerce Minutes: Meeting of Tourist and Convention Committee*, Feb. 12, 1946, p. 2. Today the Chamber of Commerce operates in the old USO building.

³⁵⁰ Robinson and Andrews, *Flashbacks*, 252.

³⁵¹ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 252; Doug Stenstrom, interview by author, tape recording, Heathrow, Florida, 11 May, 2009. ‘History and General Information,’ Orlando-Sanford International Airport Website <http://www.orlandosanfordairport.com/history.htm>

initiated in 1942.³⁵² In 2008, the airport's passenger count totaled 1,837,247, 1,071,666 domestic and 765,581 international commuters.³⁵³ Since 2000, the Orlando-Sanford International Airport has served as the city's largest private employer.³⁵⁴ The airport's annual passenger output and employment source represents the lasting effects of Sanford's transformation from celery city to Navy town.

Further scholarship examining the station's social impacts still remains. Consultation of the "several hundred pages" of records pertaining to NAS Sanford housed at the Naval Historical Center — recently renamed the Naval History and Heritage Command — in Washington D.C., can provide information and data not available at the local level.³⁵⁵ There lacks substantive material on the ways in which the city used the old station between 1946 and 1950 in an attempt to substantiate economic and infrastructure development left vacant by the Navy. Research on the relationship between the station and the city during the Korean and Vietnam conflicts compared to World War II also deserves attention. This study, nevertheless, has built upon a body of literature that has evolved since the 1970s to a more comprehensive and critical examination of how World War II bases impacted southern cities.

³⁵² Coletta and Bauer eds, *US Navy and Marine Bases, Domestic*, 590; Joseph and Anne Freitas, *Florida: The War Years*, 50; Osborne, *World War II Sites*, 56; 'Residents' High Hopes Took Off When the Navy Base Came to Town,' Orlando Sentinel, Sunday July 1, 1990, B1, p. 2. In SNAS Collection, Sanford Museum, Fold. 1: 'The Beginning NAS Sanford 1942,' 2. 'History of U.S. Naval Air Station, Sanford, Florida,' Fold. 2, 1; Sanford Airport Memorial Committee's website/ Naval Air Station Sanford Memorial History: http://nassanfordmemorial.com/NAS_history.htm, p.1; McCarthy, *Aviation in Florida*, 110.

³⁵³ 'Passenger Counts, Calendar Years, Passenger Totals,' Orlando-Sanford International Airport Website <http://www.orlandosanfordairport.com/pass.asp>

³⁵⁴ 'Economic Development,' The City of Sanford, Florida 1877 Website: <http://www.sanfordfl.gov/econ/default.aspx>

³⁵⁵ Michael J. Crawford, to Author, 17 December 2008, Naval Historical Center. Due to time and financial restraints, I was unable to travel to Washington D.C. and access these records.

This study is not a comprehensive or total history of urban development in Sanford during the New Deal and World War II years. Instead this thesis highlights how Sanford and Seminole County officials played an active role in securing federal projects to boost the local economy. During the New Deal, federal and city officials established a relationship centered on improving infrastructure and providing jobs. After the outbreak of World War II in Europe in 1939, city officials used this existing relationship within the context of national defense to secure a new airport large enough for military training. In effect, the New Deal structure of the federal government and city collaborating to modernize Sanford served as a springboard for a more long-term economic source related to national defense.

The Navy urbanized Sanford as the result of efforts by city boosters like Edward Higgins, Volie Williams, and W.C. Hill. From 1935 to 1945, a direct correlation existed between the ways the New Deal, the war, and the naval station changed Sanford. Relief programs designed to combat the Depression expanded federal involvement in state and local affairs, provided employment, relief, and created a lasting relationship between federal, state, and city leaders. Specifically, the city employed a hands-on but collaborative approach to New Deal programs and defense expansion instead of waiting for Washington policy makers to send relief appropriations and select Sanford as a future air-training center. Naval training during World War II expanded the city's urban population, created non-farm businesses and jobs, furnished a building boom, and expanded transportation infrastructure. Economic and demographic growth resulted from active lobbying by city leaders to get a defense center established at Sanford.

The war and naval station also perpetuated preexisting limitations among African Americans but presented opportunities as well. Sanford African Americans formed the majority of the agricultural workforce and received second-class treatment during the 1930s and 1940s. This status did not hinder them from organizing during the Depression and World War II that planted the seeds for postwar civil rights activism. During the war, black religious and civic leaders became more involved in politics, petitioned the city commission to create ordinances that protected their right to worship undisturbed, and worked for the establishment of a black recreational facility and USO.³⁵⁶ Organizing during World War II coincided with a Supreme Court decision that guaranteed African American participation in state primaries and the establishment of a Sanford NAACP. As a result, wartime organizing provided a platform for further postwar economic and political organizing. This study has examined these themes as a direct result of cognitive efforts by city leaders to bring the armed forces to Sanford.

³⁵⁶ Gary Mormino, "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow: Racial Violence and Reform in World War II Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 73 (July., 1994): 34, n 40, 38.

**APPENDIX A:
MAP**

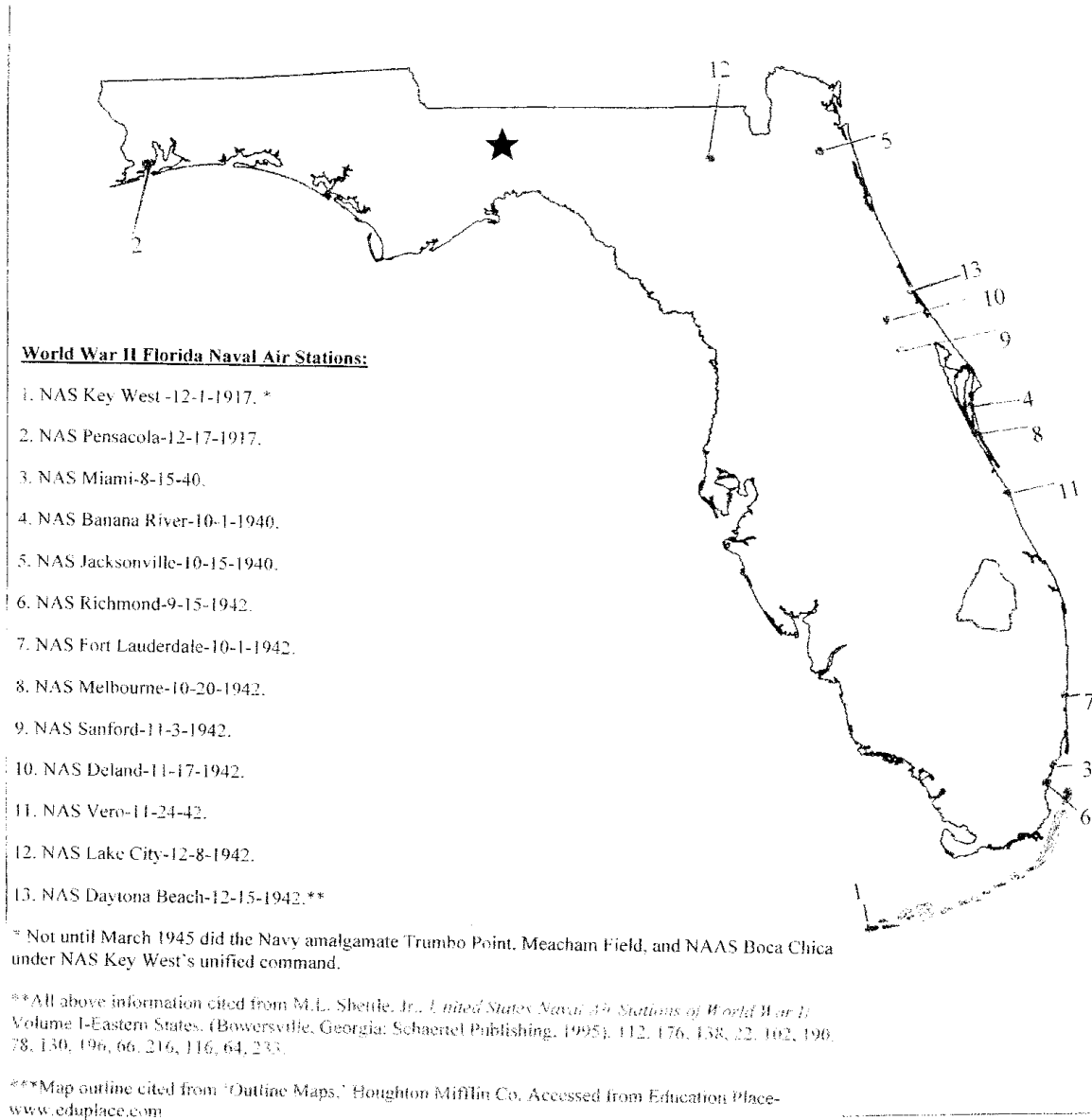


Figure 1 World War II Florida Naval Air Stations

*Not until March 1945 did the Navy amalgamate Trumbo Point, Meacham Field, and NAAS Boca Chica under Key West's unified command. **All above information cited from M.L. Shettle, Jr., *United States Naval Air Station of World War II*, Volume I-Eastern States (Bowersville, Georgia: Schaertel Publishing, 1995), 112, 176, 138, 22, 102, 190, 78, 130, 196, 66, 216, 116, 64, 233.***Map outline cited from 'Outline Maps,' Houghton Mifflin Co. Accessed from Education Place: www.eduplace.com

**APPENDIX B:
ADDITIONAL MAP**

**APPENDIX C:
POPULATION TABLE**

Table 1 Population in the city of Sanford, 1930-1950

Years	Total Population of Sanford	White Population*	African American Population
1930	10,100	5,216	4,884
1935*	10,903	5,431	5,472
1940	10,217	5,119	5,098
1945*	12,497	6,268	6,229
1950	11,935	6,146	5,789

*Indicates both native and foreign born. The 1935 and 1935 numbers are listed in the Sixth and Seventh Censuses of the state of Florida.

Cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population* (Washington, D.C., 1942), Vol. II: Characteristics of the Population, Part II, Table XXXI, p. 124; , *The Sixth Census Of the State Of Florida: 1935, Population* (Tallahassee, Florida: Dept. Of Agriculture, 1936), Table, XXIII, p. 88; Florida Department of Agriculture and Nathan Mayo, *The Seventh Census Of The State Of Florida: 1945, Population* (Tallahassee, Florida: Dept. Of Agriculture, 1946), Table XXII (cont.), p. 84; Florida Department of Agriculture and Nathan Mayo, *The Seventh Census Of The State Of Florida: 1945, Population* (Tallahassee, Florida: Dept. Of Agriculture, 1946), Table XXI (cont.), p. 81. Digitized from the original copy and accessed through Florida Memory via University of Central Florida Libraries. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population* (Washington, D.C., 1952), Vol. I: Number of Inhabitants, Florida, Table IV, p. 8; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population* (Washington, D.C., 1952), Vol. I: General Statistics, Table, III, p. 54.

**APPENDIX D:
URBAN POPULATION EXPANSION**

Table 2 Seminole County Urban and Rural Populations, 1930, 1935, 1945

1945 Florida Census:

Population group*	1930	1935	1945
Urban	11,741	12,858	14,706
Rural	6,994	9,294	9,854

*These totals include white and black males and females.

Cf. Nathan Mayo and the Florida Department of Agriculture, *The Seventh Census of the State of Florida, 1945*: Electronic Version Created 2002, State University System of Florida (Tallahassee, 1946), Tables XI, XII, pgs. 62, 63.

1930, 1940, 1950 US Census:

Population group	1930	1940	1950
Urban	10,100	10,217	11,935
Rural	8,635	12,087	14,948

Cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Composition and Characteristics of the Population, Florida* (Washington, D.C., 1933), Vol. III, Part 1, Table, XIII, p. 415; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United State: 1940, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part 2, Table III, p. 213; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States,: 1950, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Table V, p. 9; (2004). Historical Census Browser. Retrieved [May 16, 17, 18 2010], from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>.

**APPENDIX E:
CITY BUDGET EXPANSION**

Table 3 Operating Expenses for the city of Sanford, 1941-1945

Departments	Budget Summary October 1, 1939- September 30, 1940	Budget Summary October 1, 1940- September 30, 1941	Budget Summary October 1, 1941- September 30, 1942	Budget Summary October 1, 1942- September 30, 1943	Budget Summary October 1, 1943- September 30, 1944	Budget Summary October 1, 1944- September 30, 1945	Budget Summary October 1, 1945- September 30, 1946
Division of Police Protection	\$14,290	\$15,205	\$16,565	\$17,913	\$21,361	\$29,723	\$31,497.25
Division of Fire Protection	\$9,385	\$10,585	\$12,550	\$12,877	\$16,013	\$24,105	\$24,525
Total budget for general government operation	\$118,322.50	\$130,575	\$130, 168.75	\$143,150	\$185,573.84	\$225,300	\$243,900

Cf. *Sanford City Commission Minutes*, Sept. 25, 1939, Vol. 6, pgs. 169, 170, 171; Sept. 30, 1940, Vol. 6, pgs. 354, 355, 356; Sept. 29, 1941, Vol. 7, pgs. 60, 62-3, 65, 67; Sept. 28, 1942, Vol. 7, pgs. 218, 220, 223; Sept. 27, 1943, Vol. 7, p. 395, 398, 400; Sept. 25, 1944, Vol. 8, pgs. 43, 46-7, 49; Sept. 24, 1945, Vol. 8, p. 191. Vol. 8, pgs. 186, 189, 190-1.

**APPENDIX F:
WARTIME BUSINESS GROWTH**

Table 4 New Businesses Listed In the Sanford Phonebook, 1938, 1939, 1943, 1944, 1945

Type of Business	Number of businesses in 1938	Number of businesses in 1939	Number of businesses in 1943	Number of businesses in 1944	Number of businesses in 1945
Restaurants	1	5	9	9	7
Grocery Stores/Markets	15	17	16	16	22
Drug Store/Pharmacists	7	10	8	9	12
Automotive Services**	22	15	21	21	32
Department Stores	2	2	3	5	4
Transportation (bus lines and taxi services)	0	1	3	4	5
Hardware***	3	7	4	4	6
Funeral Homes	3	3	4	4	4

*This table represents only businesses with telephones listed in the phonebook directory for that year. Businesses that closed, changed ownership, or went out of business are not recorded.

**Indicates filling stations, automotive dealers, garages/repair shops, tire and automotive parts retailers.

***Indicates stores selling lumber, paint, glass, and mirror supplies, and other building materials.

Cf. *Sanford Telephone Books*, 1938, 1939, 1943, 1944, 1945, Sanford Telephone Directories Folder, 1931-1938, 1943-1946, pgs. 1 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 13, 14-19. Located at the Sanford Museum.

**APPENDIX G:
BUILDING DEVELOPMENT**

Table 5 Building Permits Issued In Sanford 1939, 1940, 1944, 1945

1939	1940	1944	1945
\$79,279.50	\$160,031	\$88,500	\$173,042

Cf. 'Building Permits Show Increase Of 100 Percent Over 1939 Total,' *The Sanford Herald*, Thurs. Jan. 2, 1941, Vol. XXXII, No. 109, p.1; '1945 Building Permits amount To \$142,000,' *The Sanford Herald*, Wed. Jan. 2, 1946, Vol. XXXVII, No. 77, p.1.

**APPENDIX H:
WHITE WORKER OCCUPATIONS**

Table 6 Employed White Workers In Sanford, Florida By Occupations Group, 1940 and 1950

Employed white workers in Sanford by occupation group	1940 Male	1950 Male	1940 Female	1950 Female
Total population	5,015	5,645	4,136	6,290
Persons 14 or older	3,942	4,196	4,126	4,844
In labor force	3,220	3,629	1,625	1,938
Not in labor force	722	927	2,501	2,906
Employed	2,959	3,157	1,479	1,879
Unemployed/seeking work 1940	115	110	68	58
Private wage and salary workers	2,476	2,425	1,218	1,536
Professional workers, technical, and kindred workers*	106	182	122	192
Farmers and Farm managers	63	53	1	3
Managers, officials, and proprietors except farm	438	463	35	90
Clerical, kindred, and sales workers	347	392	211	363
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	307	436	3	15
Service Workers, except private households	162	141	114	179
Farm laborers, except unpaid and farm	441	466	196	308

foremen**				
Laborers, except farm and mine	360	302	30	10
Government Workers	75	216	17	169
Occupation not reported	12	103	5	66

*The 1940 Census listed only professional workers.

**1940 included farm wage laborers and foremen; the 1950 census excluded unpaid family workers and farm foremen.

Cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United State: 1940, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part, 2, Tables, XXXIII pgs 130 ; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. 2, Tables XXXIII, XXXV, pgs. 54, 64.

**APPENDIX I:
WHITE WORKER INDUSTRIES**

Table 7 Employed White Workers In Sanford, Florida By Industry Group, 1940 and 1950

Employment and industry group	1940 Male	1950 Male	1940 Female	1950 Female
Employed	2,959	3,157	1,479	1,879
Agriculture	559	553	266	315
Construction	70	194	4	8
Food and kindred products (manufacturing)	52	34	2	4
Printing, publishing, and allied industries	24	28	4	8
Railroads (incl. repair shops and express)	297	298	2	6
Trucking service	16	57	2	5
Utilities and sanitary services	68	70	7	6
Food and dairy products stores and milk retailing	122	142	34	57
Eating and Drinking Places	42	54	51	80
Other retail trade	200	326	80	149
Business and repair services	15	97	1	11
Amusement, recreation, entertainment, etc.	30	64	7	12

Finance, insurance, and real estate	91	92	22	39
Industry not reported	17	99	8	66

Cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United State: 1940, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part, 2, Tables, XXXIII pgs. 130; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. 2, Tables XXXIII, XXXV, pgs. 54, 64.

**APPENDIX J:
AFRICAN AMERICAN WORKER OCCUPATIONS**

Table 8 Employed Nonwhite* Workers in Sanford, Florida By Occupation and Industry Group, 1940 and 1950

Employment and industry group	1940 Male	1950 Male	1940 Female	1950 Female
Total population	2,493	2,716	2,605	3,071
Persons 14 or older	1,951	1,939	2,042	2,289
In labor force	1,634	1,492	1,152	1,162
Not in labor force	317	477	890	1,127
Employed	1,478	1,421	1,088	1,121
Unemployed/seeking work 1940	66	70	45	40
Professional workers, technical, and kindred workers**	28	40	43	64
Farmers and Farm managers	13	8	—	—
Managers, officials, and proprietors except farm	36	36	7	12
Clerical, kindred, and sales workers	22	37	13	25
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	67	86	1	—
Farm laborers, except unpaid and farm foremen***	416	440	194	306
Laborers, except farm and mine	323	254	29	8
Occupation not	2	77	3	41

reported				
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*The 1940 Census did not report any other races listed aside from African American in the nonwhite category. The 1950 Census recorded two people (a male and female) of race other than white or black.

**The 1940 Census listed only professional workers.

***1940 Census included farm wage laborers and foremen; the 1950 Census excluded unpaid family workers and farm foremen.

Cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part 2, Tables, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIIIa, pgs. 127, 130-131; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Part, 10, Section 2, Tables XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI, pgs. 54, 58, 67.

**APPENDIX K:
HOUSING DEVELOPMENT**

Table 9 Housing Development In Sanford, Florida, 1930-1950

All Dwelling Units 1950	3,821
All Occupied Dwelling Units	3,645
Number Reporting	3,460
Built from 1930 to 1939	490
Built from 1940 to 1944	375
Built in 1945 or later	360

Cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, General Housing Characteristics* (Washington, D.C., 1952), Vol. I, Table XX, p.28.

**APPENDIX L:
WARTIME BANKING ACTIVITY**

Table 10 Bank Deposit Increases in the city of Sanford, 1942-1945

Bank Deposits by Year As of June	The Florida State Bank of Sanford	The Sanford Atlantic National Bank (As of Dec. 31)
1942	\$719,242	\$3,320,359
1943	\$1,662,884	\$4,294,113
1944	\$2,950,140	\$5,524,501
1945	\$3,656,948	\$8,292,345 (As of June 30, 1945)

Cf. '56 Percent Jump In Florida Bank Deposits Shown,' *The Sanford Herald*, Mon. Jan. 24, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 67, p. 1; 'State Bank Has Deposit Jump Of \$270,875 In Year,' *The Sanford Herald*, Fri. July 21, 1944, Vol. XXXV, No. 144, p. 1; State Bank Shows Best Gain of Any In McNulty Group,' *Sanford Herald*, Wed. July 11, 1945, Vol. XXXVI, No. 143, p. 1.

**APPENDIX M:
POSTWAR AFRICAN AMERICAN VOTER REGISTRATION**

Table 11 African American Primary Voter Registration In Seminole County, 1944-1950

Primary Election Years	Democrat	Republican
1944	—	—
1946	744	123
1948	1,430	154
1950	2,635	67

Cf. Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1945, and Ending December 31, 1946*, 'Registration For Primaries—1946,' (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1947), 96-97; Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1947 and Ending December 31, 1948*, 'Registration Of Voters—1948 Primary,' (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1949), 262; Secretary of State R.A. Gray, *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, For the Period Beginning January 1, 1949 and Ending December 31, 1950*, 'Registration of Voters 1950,' (Deland, Florida: The E.O. Painter Company, Jan. 1951), 261.

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