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On the Other Side of the Tracks: Hannibal Square and Eatonville in the Interwar Years

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Preface

I want to use this preface to discuss the methodology of this study, address the accuracies of the sources used, as well as other limitations of the study. This thesis heavily relies on data from the United States governmental documents, especially the federal census. The research process undertaken was the utilization of multiple spreadsheets of data collected from both Hannibal Square and Eatonville from 1920, 1930, and 1940 censuses. It is from this data that the conclusions of this thesis were drawn, supplemented with other primary source material. The federal government conducted a census of the United States population every decade, and the information is used by historians and everyday people alike to gain an understanding of what the "numbers" reveal about the history of the United States. The census is a snapshot itself: a photograph of what the population looked like in terms of occupations, and demographics, among other markers, every ten years. It is also used to "determine how members of the House of Representatives are apportioned" and the amount of federal funding allotted to towns and cities.[1] Other governmental documents utilized in this paper include draft registration cards, city directories, and state censuses. All of these documents were pulled from *Ancestry.com*, which is a database of records.[2]

The census numbers are one of the best sources of data from the period but are biased by the enumerator's methods and personal biases. This is not in the sense of just the person who filled out the chart, but also who sanctioned the creation of the document and the purpose of the information. [3] The conduction of the Federal Census had a strict protocol. It included:

> To facilitate the count, census planners divided the country into enumeration districts. These were geographic areas designed to allow a census taker (enumerator) to visit every house in the district within a two-week period (in rural areas, enumerators had a month). Enumerators were instructed to 'visit every house, building, tent, cabin, hut, or other place in which any person might live or stay, to insure that no person is omitted from the

> enumeration' and to count 'each person alive at the beginning of the census day, i.e., 12:01 A.M. on April 1, 1940.'[4]

The strict protocol of the census meant that enumerators were expected to be quick and efficient at collecting data. They had to write things concisely and were easy to decipher. Yet, the federal census is not an unbiased or infallible document. It is as much controlled by the enumerator itself. For example, in Eatonville, a man named Paul Potts collected the census data in 1940. He came to Eatonville on May 6, 1940, as noted on the top of the document.[5] Potts was tasked with collecting the census records from the citizens of Eatonville. The data is concise on the surface but does not consider the bias of Potts.

The biggest issues with census information are the variability and prejudices between the census takers. Issues with census-taking included: a language barrier, especially in deciphering regional vernacular, skipping over homes if residents were not there, irregular housing, and those that rented their homes. [6] If residents were not home, enumerators would ask neighbors for information, who may not have had or misspoken about other residents' families. Enumerators also would omit or skip Black neighborhoods entirely, meaning that the Black population was underrepresented in most of the Federal Censuses.[7] For example, Paul Potts did not distinguish Eatonville as an incorporated town, and wrote Eatonville as a street name. The rest of Eatonville was all combined with another district rather than as an own individual area. Because of the uncertainty of the geographic barriers of Eatonville, it is impossible to know how many families Potts missed because of the misclassification. Though it is impossible to know the parameters of these effects on the census, it is important to keep in mind.

Another issue with the census is the questions vary each census. For example, the 1920 census did not collect specific addresses from families, nor home value or income. The only item collected economically about home value was if the home was owned or rented and if the home

was mortgaged. This changes in the 1930 and 1940 censuses respectively, as both collect addresses, income, and home value. This variety in data means that certain numbers cannot be contrasted across the three years.

Limitations of this study extend out of the nature of the census data. There is a lack of a one-to-one comparison between Hannibal Square and Eatonville. While both were thriving Black communities in their rights, Hannibal Square was a part of a White city, Winter Park. It was not independent, nor did it have its infrastructure. Eatonville, on the other hand, did have its local political system, and remained independent from the nearby Maitland, as it was designed to be. The independence versus the dependence from Eatonville to Hannibal Square does craft an unequal comparison in the sense that the communities were not in the same category. Yet, the analysis against them is still valid as they were both Black communities that flourished. However, care needs to be taken to clarify that they are in two different categories.

I want to thank those that have helped shaped this experience and contributed to this work. Thank you, Claire Strom, for all of your guidance, advice, and patience. Thank you to the staff of the Rollins archives, especially Rachel Walton, for your help in shaping the primary source documents used in this paper. Thanks to Fairolyn Livingston at the Hannibal Square Heritage Center, for her wisdom, and willingness to share and discuss her knowledge on the residents of the community.

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[1] "About the 1940 Federal Census," *Ancestry.Com*, accessed January 19, 2022, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/2442/

[2] "About the 1940 Federal Census," *Ancestry.Com*, accessed January 19, 2022, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/2442/

[3] Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 63.

[4] "About the 1940 Federal Census," *Ancestry.Com*, accessed January 19, 2022, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/2442/

[5] Line 35, Sheet Number 5A, Precinct 27, Orange County, Florida, Sixteenth Census of the United States; Found in Ancestry.com. *1940 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations,

Inc., 2012.; Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1940. T627, 4,643 rolls.
[6] William P O'Hare, *Differential Undercounts in the U.S. Census: Who Is Missed?* (Cape Charles: Springer Open, 2019), 125.
[7] O'Hare, *Differential Undercounts in the U.S Census*, 130.

Introduction

The Other Side of the Tracks: Hannibal Square and Eatonville in the Interwar Years

In 1910, Meadie Colston lived on a small farm in Northern Florida. Together, he and his wife had five children, Allie, Celeste, Josephine, and Callie. By 1920, the family had moved to the Central Florida area, now residents of Sanford, Florida. There Meadie rented his home and worked on a truck farm. Yet, by 1924, the family had moved again, this time to a small town called Winter Park, Florida. Within Winter Park, they lived in the West Side, an area designated for African American housing, otherwise known as Hannibal Square. Instead of living or working on a farm, as he had in years past, Meadie instead owned his own home and business at 889 Fairbanks Avenue. His store, which became the neighborhood grocery store, flourished throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The family enjoyed much greater prosperity than they had in Northern Florida. In 1930, Colston owned the home at 889 Fairbanks Avenue at a value of $10000: only 1.4 percent of African Americans in the United States owned a home of comparable value.[1] The Colston's prosperity was also evident in the success of their children later in life. Callie became a teacher at Jones High School in Orlando in the 1940s and the first librarian of the Hannibal Square Library. James became president of Bethune Cookman College in 1942 and a host of other schools before he retired in 1976 from Bronx Community College in New York.[2]

Meanwhile, in 1920, Travis Spencer grew up surrounded by farmland in New Hope, Mississippi, a small town in Webster County, where he lived with his father Gregory and mother Vergie, along with his two brothers. His father and mother lived in Webster County throughout the 1920s and early 1930s and worked on farms. In the mid-1930s, the family split. By 1940, Gregory lived away from his family in a small, rented house in Webster County, Mississippi.

Travis and his mother Vergie traveled to a small, incorporated Black town in the Central Florida area: Eatonville. There, Travis rented a home valued at $8 a month and worked as a common laborer. He most likely worked on the plentiful orange groves or turpentine industries in the area. The family, though poor, was able to find steady income in the area, as Gregory eventually moved to Eatonville to join his family in the mid-1940s.[3] These two Black families migrated to communities that were established in the late nineteenth century, but experienced growth throughout the 1920s and 1930s: Hannibal Square and Eatonville.

Incorporated in the same year as Winter Park but a couple of months earlier, Eatonville was the dream of town founder, Joseph E Clark. Clark moved from Georgia to the community of Maitland in 1880. He worked for a man named Josiah Eaton in his orange groves and became involved in the town's politics, serving as Town Marshall, a form of law enforcement, for one year. Many Union Veterans from the Civil War moved to Maitland and wanted to incorporate the town. To get the minimum number of registered voters necessary for incorporation, they asked Black workers in the area to become residents of Maitland. With the Black population of Maitland included, it was officially incorporated on July 17, 1887, and Clark was one of the founders. Despite Clark's involvement with Maitland, he desired to establish a town away from White Maitland where Black residents could operate independently from White infrastructure. White voters also were in support of this idea as the number of Black voters outnumbered the White voters in Maitland. Thus, with support from both Black and White residents, the community of Maitland worked to establish Eatonville.[4]

White philanthropists Isaac Vanderpool, Josiah Eaton, and Lewis Lawrence worked to gather support and land from White residents for Eatonville. The three men procured 112 acres and sold them to Joseph Clark to establish the original town boundaries of Eatonville. On August

15, 1887, twenty-seven Black men gathered in Oddfellows Hall in Maitland and voted to incorporate Eatonville. The vote passed unanimously, making Eatonville the earliest incorporated all-Black town in the United States. After Eatonville started, Clark "subdivided the land and sold off lots to Black families, many of whom worked as farmhands, grove workers or housekeepers in nearby Maitland, Winter Park or Orlando."[5] Clark worked to advertise Eatonville and its benefit to nearby African Americans, starting a weekly newspaper for the town, *The Eatonville Speaker*, that touted:

> Six years have passed, and today Eatonville is the incorporated city of between two and three hundred people with a Mayor, Board of Alderman, and all the necessary adjuncts of a full-fledged city, all colored and Not A White Family in the whole city. Five and ten tracts can be bought for five and ten dollars an acre according to location and improvements. In Eatonville, lots to actual settlers (colored): 44 x 100, can be bought for thirty-five dollars cash; and fifty on time. For further particulars address: J. E. Clark, Eatonville, Orange, Co., FLA.[6]

Eatonville offered African Americans a perk not enjoyed by those in other Black neighborhoods: political independence without White oversight and interference, which encouraged African Americans to move to the town during its early years. Eatonville native and town daughter, anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston, described Eatonville and its founding in the Federal Writers' Project's *Guide to Florida* published in 1939:

> Dating back to 1886, one of the first towns incorporated by Negros in the United States. It was named for Captain Joseph Eaton of Maitland, a friend of H. W. Lawrence, who built an Odd Fellows Hall and a church, and gave them to the community…. Maitland is Maitland until it gets to Hurst's corner, and then it is Eatonville…you don't meet a thing that people live in until you come to the Green Lantern on the main corner. That corner has always been the main corner because that is where Joe Clarke [Clark], the founder and first mayor of Eatonville, built his store when he started the town nearly sixty years ago so that people have gotten used to gathering there and talking.[7]

The first White settlers came to the Winter Park area in 1858. David Mizell, who purchased eight acres of land from a man called Isaac W. Rutland, brought his family to settle between Lake Virginia, Lake Berry, and Lake Mizell. Initially, the community was named Lake

View.[8] Winter Park was founded as a seasonal home for wealthy northerners, who liked to spend their winters in the relative balm of Central Florida. In its early years, Winter Park augmented this prosperous tourism with more traditional southern economies such as agriculture, specifically turpentine and citrus production.[9] In 1881, construction on the Sanford/Orlando railroad line finished. This made transportation south easier, linking the St. John's River directly into Central Florida, which further boosted winter visitation.[10] The same year, Oliver Chapman and Loring Chase moved from New Hampshire to the Central Florida area. Together, the pair purchased six hundred acres of land to establish the town of Winter Park. Winter Park was officially incorporated in August of 1887.

Black settlers began to move to Winter Park in the late 1870s before the town's incorporation. William Frazier, James Leake, and Charlie William bought land in Winter Park and became the first African Americans to settle in the area. Once Winter Park was formally established, the White town planners began to formulate how to attract African Americans to the area to serve the White residents. When planning the city, they designated the portion of the community that was west of the railroad tracks as the housing for Black residents. Named after the Carthaginian General, Hannibal, Hannibal Square was originally thirty-eight 50'' by 70'' lots. The Winter Park Land Company sold them at $20 a piece exclusively to African Americans. This enticed Black families to move to Winter Park and led them to establish their churches, stores, and homes.[11] Yet, the White residents of Winter Park only wanted to attract certain types of African Americans. In an 1881 issue of *The Reporter*, the advertisement for Winter Park noted specifically that "lots will be sold to Negro families of good character who can be depended upon to work in the family and the groves."[12]

Migration to Hannibal Square and Eatonville over the early twentieth century fluctuated but that soon changed at the dawn of World War I. The United States' entry into World War I spurred one of the largest migrations in the nation's history: The Great Migration. With the increased need for labor during World War I, more African Americans found work and higher wages in factories. War created new industries, such as the production of munitions, arms, and ships. The increased need for labor meant that factory owners were more willing to recruit African Americans. With the outbreak of the Great War, labor recruiters came flocking to the South to tempt Black sharecroppers and farmhands with jobs in northern factories.[13] Thus, during World War I, African Americans moved from rural areas in the South to cities in both the North and South to find industrial work.[14]

This movement continued after the armistice. Over 903,000 African Americans migrated from the South to northern cities from 1920 to 1930.[15] Many traveled to find greater economic opportunities in cities, especially after the 1924 National Origins Act stemmed the flow of immigrants. This opened job opportunities for African Americans, along with rapid industrialization in the 1920s.[16] Some employers were also more interested in hiring Black workers for "negro work," giving them harder and more labor-intensive jobs.[17] Yet, while they had better wages than their counterparts in the rural South, inequality and discrimination persisted in the workplace during the 1920s.[18]

The move north also had the potential of giving African Americans more political agency. Though African Americans legally could vote, racially motivated poll taxes, literacy tests, and fear of violence restricted their political involvement, especially in the South.[19] This desire for civic engagement along with the better economic conditions available drove many up

North. Black activist Rowena Moore discussed her engagement in civic activity after she and her family moved to Omaha, Nebraska:

> We didn't come here 'til 24…. My father, he worked at the packinghouse, and in a way, we fared fairly well. My father bought a brand new convertible back in 1927, and he always had some car. He taught me how to drive at an early age….I've always down through my life been active in social and mostly civic things…. Mrs. Bush took me to the first NAACP meeting in 1935, and in fact, I served as a secretary…. They were interested in people registering so they could vote. In fact, I went out when I was only fifteen years old to encourage them to go and register.[20]

Moore's story highlights the pull of Northern cities: well-paid employment and the possibility of political involvement.

The desire for a better life often came from the dismal status of African Americans in the South. African Americans who worked on farms in the South found themselves stuck in a crop peonage system called sharecropping. Sharecropping was a system of labor found throughout the South that was created after the abolition of slavery. The Civil War had not redistributed land as many freedmen hoped; it merely put it back in the hands of the wealthy landowners.[21] Landlords, however, had no cash to pay laborers. Therefore, landowners divided their plantations into small, farms, which they allotted families. The sharecropper then paid the landlord with a portion of the crop. Unfortunately, the remaining crop was typically not enough for the sharecroppers to sell to afford basic goods to feed their families, and thus they had to rely on taking credit from their landlords and furnishing merchants to keep them alive. This build-up of credit left many sharecroppers in permanent debt, toiling in poverty, and stuck in one place by their contracts.[22]

World War I did improve positions for Southern sharecroppers somewhat. The increased movement of labor recruiters worried the landlords as there was a shortage of labor in agriculture, even before the outbreak of the war.[23] Those who stayed in the South commanded higher wages because of the labor shortage.[24] Additionally, with the rising price of cotton

because of the increased need for wartime production, many sharecroppers paid off their debt and enjoyed a brief period of prosperity.[25] Black workers in other industries also saw wage increases, even in the South. For example, African Americans working in the lumber industry enjoyed a wage increase from $0.130 an hour to $0.147 during the war.[26] Additionally, the need for labor resulted in more African American women working in industrial positions.[27] Black women in the South found work in munitions, paper products, tobacco, candy, glass, and garment factories during World War I.[28]

After the boom of the war, the agricultural depression of the 1920s pushed many sharecroppers further into debt and poverty. African Americans saw the South as a poor and desolate area to be avoided. The *Chicago Defender*, a Black-run newspaper published an article in 1919 that claimed that "the South is destined to become a barren waste and a deserted wilderness if it persists in its indefensible methods to brutalize, humiliate and subjugate the members of our group residing there."[29] African Americans thought they could make a better livelihood in the North, and thus the number of African Americans moving North increased. Yet, economic factors were not the only push factors keeping African Americans out of the South.

The fear of racial violence also led many to leave their homes in the South to move North. Between 1882 and 1930, nearly 1,663 African Americans were lynched by mobs in the Cotton South, not including undocumented cases.[30] The federal government was not oblivious to the extreme racial violence and hate crimes targeted towards African Americans in the South before the 1920s. In a 1919 Department of Labor Report on the reasons for the large number of Black Southerners migrating North, stated that "another one of the most effective causes of the exodus, a cause that appeals to every Negro whether high or low, industrious or idle, respected or

condemned, is the Negroes insecurity from mob violence and lynching's."[31] A desire to escape such violence and fear of loss of property and life pushed some migration from the South.

The Black culture created by the Great Migration also fueled African American movement. One of the famous cultural centers of The Great Migration was the African American neighborhood of New York: Harlem. Harlem became a launching point for many Black artistic, social, political, and cultural movements. Many of the notable Black figures of the early and mid-twentieth century emerged from this cultural center point. Harlem nightclubs blasted jazz and blues music as famed Black singers like Ella Fitzgerald and Bessie Smith entertained Black and White patrons.[32] Black academics also emerged from the Harlem Renaissance. Alan Locke, a philosopher, and educator wrote a revolutionary book called *The New Negro* that reexamined the Black identity within the United States. He called for the new Black community to "lay aside the status of beneficiary and ward for that of a collaborator and participant in American civilization."[33] Eatonville resident, Hurston, moved to Harlem in the 1920s and worked on her anthropological and creative skills. She earned two awards at the *Opportunity Awards* dinner for her play *Color Struck* in 1926. Later, she would go on to collect the stories of African American folklore throughout the South and document them in her book *Mules and Men*.[34] The Harlem Renaissance stressed a desire for cultural and social development of Black communities. This need for such open communities led some African Americans to migrate North.

As is clear, the established narrative of the Great Migration is one of Black migration from the South to the North. Poor working conditions, racial violence, the promise of opportunity, and a new cultural identity pushed many African Americans to leave the agricultural South. Yet, other movements during the Great Migration have been little studied. The Great Migration was more than just migration North. All of the factors mentioned also pushed African

Americans to communities in the South where they thought they could prosper, such as Eatonville and Hannibal Square. Though they are both southern communities, they both grew or maintained their towns' populations throughout the Great Migration period when theoretically they should have lost residents to the draw of the North. If they maintained, then what was keeping African Americans or drawing them to the two communities? Overall, the purpose of this study is to add nuance to the understanding of the Great Migration period, not only as a period of migration of North to South. The lives and migration of African Americans living in Hannibal Square and Eatonville highlight that African Americans were not just moving North. The Great Migration became more than a simple movement; it was a complex tapestry of African Americans moving where they felt the best opportunities were. This examination will stand within the bound of the early Great Migration period, from 1920 to 1940. The growth of each community will be analyzed from three different perspectives: men's employment, women's employment, and culture. These three different areas highlight why African Americans moved to each respective community and their key differences.

The first chapter discusses the identity of both communities and why each attracted new Black residents during the interwar years. In Eatonville, African Americans lacked White oversight and thus were able to be more independent with business and entertainment opportunities. In Hannibal Square, African American residents enjoyed a level of higher prosperity and disposable income that led to flourishing Black towns and approved moral institutions.

The second chapter details the migration patterns of each community. Both communities grew throughout the interwar years. Hannibal Square attracted much more Black residents from the North and Northern Florida due to plentiful domestic work and family ties. Eatonville

attracted more residents from Northern Florida and Mississippi due to cheaper land and housing prices, and the work in citrus groves.

The third chapter examines the employment of African American men during the interwar years. More African American men in Hannibal Square worked as common laborers, working in the homes of wealthy winter residents that employed them as chauffeurs, butlers, and gardeners. In Eatonville, many men worked on the plentiful orange groves that cropped up around them in Maitland and the surrounding areas. Yet, these men also had more access to specialized work in political institutions.

Finally, the fourth chapter details the breakdown of women's employment in both communities. Women moving to either neighborhood found work in the domestic field. Though uncommon throughout the United States, Black women had access to specialized work within their communities. In Eatonville, established Black institutions led to more women in political and public work. In Hannibal Square, more Black women-owned businesses.

Eatonville and Hannibal Square both experienced the effects of and growth from the Great Migration. By examining these two Southern Black communities in the interwar years, Eatonville and Hannibal Square, this study aims to illuminate the greater discrepancies and subtleties of the Great Migration period that are often under-discussed and examined. The stories of Black residents moving to Hannibal Square and Eatonville highlight a more nuanced narrative of the Great Migration. Rather than simply moving North, African Americans moved for cultural, economic, and social incentives, no matter if they were in the North or South.

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[1] Table 23, Chapter 1, Volume Sixteen: Families, Fifteenth Census of the United States, United States Census Bureau.

[2] Clyde W. Hall, *An African- American Growing Up on The West Side of Winter Park, Florida 1925-1942* (Savannah: Savannah State University Press, 2005), 78.

[3] All information about individuals comes from data from the federal census data base on Ancestry.com, unless otherwise noted.
[4] Olga Fenton Mitchell, Glorida Fenton Magbie, and Marion Givelle Elden, *The Life and Times of Joseph E Clark: From Slavery to Town Father* (Jonesboro: Four-G Publishers, 2003), 36.
[5] "Many Orange Towns Bear the Same Names as Founding Fathers," *The Orlando Sentinel*, October 20, 1991.
[6] Mitchell, Magbie and Elden, *The Life and Times of Joseph E. Clark*, 42.
[7] *A Guide to Florida: The Southernmost State*, (D.C: Federal Works Agency, 1939), 362.
[8] Hall, *An African- American Growing Up on The West Side of Winter Park*, 3.
[9]. Jim Norris, Claire Strom, et al., *Images of America: Winter Park* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2015), 2-4.
[10] Jim Norris, Claire Strom, et al., *Images of America*, 2-4.
[11] Hall, *An African- American Growing Up on the West Side of Winter Park*, 5.
[12] Chase Scrapbook, 1881, Volume V1, p2. Rollins College Archives. Winter Park, Florida.
[13] Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 85, 87.
[14] Stephen Reich, *A Working People: A History of African American Workers Since Emancipation* (United Kingdom: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2013), 61.
[15] Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South*, (New York: Basic Book Inc Publishers, 1986), 201.
[16] Paul Street, "The Logic and Limits of "Plant Loyalty": Black Workers, White Labor and Corporate Racial Paternalism in Chicago's Stockyards, 1916-1940." *Journal of Social History* 29 no. 3 (Spring 1996): 660; Joe William Trotter, "African Americans in the Industrial Age," The Industrial Revolution 15 no. 1 (Fall 2000): 19-23.
[17] Paul Street, "The Logic and Limits of "Plant Loyalty," 661.
[18] Trotter, "African Americans in the Industrial Age," 19-23.
[19] Blair Imani, *Making Our Way Home: The Great Migration and the Black American Dream*, (California: Ten Speed Press, 2020), 24.
[20] Rowena Moore "I've Always Been Active in Social and Mostly Civic Things," in *Encyclopedia of the Great Migration: Volume 3*, Primary Sources ed. Stephen A. Reich (Westport: Greenwood Press,2006), 95-96.
[21] Douglas Hurt, *American Agriculture: A Brief History* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994), 166.
[22] Hurt, *American Agriculture*, 169.
[23] Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor*, 85, 87.
[24] Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor*, 90.
[25] Gilbert Fite, *Cotton Field No More: Southern Agriculture 1865-1980* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 96.
[26] Wright, *Old South, New South*, 203.
[27] Bryant Simon, *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 60.
[28] Reich, *A Working People*, 68.
[29] "Checking Migration," The Chicago Defender, August 9, 1919.
[30] Stewart E Tolany and E. M Beck, "Rethinking the Role of Racial Violence," in Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South, ed. Alferdteen Harrison, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 27.
[31] Tolany and Beck, "Rethinking the Role of Racial Violence," 27.
[32] Imani, *Making Our Way Home*, 29.
[33] Imani, *Making Our Way Home*, 31.
[34] Imaini, *Making Our Way Home*, 35.

Chapter 1

"Make it and Take It": The Community Identities of Eatonville and Hannibal Square[1]

In 1938, Zora Neale Hurston traveled to Eatonville to begin her research of African American folklore. Returning to her hometown brought back memories of Eatonville residents and cultural pastimes. She described her thoughts as she recalled her childhood in Eatonville in *Dust Tracks on a Road*:

> There were the two churches, Methodist and Baptist, and the school. Most people would say that such institutions are always the great influences in any town…But I know that Joe Clarke's store was the heart and spring of the town. Men sat around the store on boxes and benches and passed this world and the next one through their mouths. The right and the wrong, the who, when, and why was passed on, and nobody doubted the conclusions. Women stood around there on Saturday nights and had it proven to the community that their husbands were good providers, put all of their money in their wives' hands and generally glorified them. …There were no discreet nuances of life on Joe Clarke's porch. There was open kindnesses, anger, hate, love, envy and its kinfolks, but all emotions were naked, and nakedly arrived at. It was a case of 'make it and take it.' You got what your strengths would bring you. This was not just true of Eatonville. This was the spirit of that whole new part of the state at the time, as it always is where men settle new lands.[2]

Writer Bucklin Moon, a professor at the nearby Rollins College in the 1930s and 40s, wrote similarly about Hannibal Square. Moon advocated for racial justice and wrote about the disparities between White and Black citizens in Winter Park. He set his novel, *With Magnolias,* in Hannibal Square. In the novel he wrote "ahead lay Hannibal Square- a cluster of several grocery stores, a barbershop, three poolrooms, and what passed for a hotel; in the morning light all had the soft silver grey of unpainted and weather-worn wood seen not too closely."[3]

Both writers touched on the culture of these communities during the interwar years, which is important to a greater understanding of why African Americans were moving to Eatonville and Hannibal Square during the Great Migration. While employment became

important for the movement of African Americans to the central Florida area, the culture of each community developed differently throughout the interwar years. Eatonville, though retaining importance as a Black-incorporated town, did not have a strong enough economy to attract people to live within its borders. The population of the town was transitory: many African Americans moved through on a season to season, day-to-day basis. Though the influx of Black-owned businesses, churches, and other amenities attracted seasonal or weekend leisure visits from African Americans in Orlando, many African Americans preferred to live elsewhere to find better and more stable employment opportunities. Hannibal Square, on the other hand, was influenced by a relationship of paternalism with the adjacent White Winter Park. This meant that, despite Hannibal Square residents enjoying higher incomes and some Black institutions, such as churches, the residents in Eatonville lacked the White control in comparison. Thus, why many Hannibal Square residents and other Black Orlando residents, in turn, traveled to Eatonville to enjoy the amenities of the area.

The biggest reasoning for the cultural differences of Eatonville and Hannibal Square derived from Hannibal Square's connection to Winter Park. While Hannibal Square retained its identity as a Black community, it never lost the connection with White Winter Park, even when Winter Park residents refused to acknowledge such connection. Originally, Hannibal Square was included in the incorporation of Winter Park. Because of the large number of Black voters in the town, two Black men were elected to the first City Council of Winter Park: Walter B Simpson, and Frank R Israel. The two men remained on the council until June 21, 1893. In 1893, House Bill #157 of Florida passed, which excluded Hannibal Square from the original Winter Park city limits, at the request of the White Dixiecrats who feared the political power of the Black voters in Hannibal Square.[4] This remained the situation for multiple decades. White Winter Park did not

consider Hannibal Square as a part of their community again until 1925. Then, to be designated as a city rather than as a town, Winter Park needed to include Hannibal Square as a part of their population to be large enough. In their desire for better community funding, Winter Park reluctantly reclaimed Hannibal Square and its Black inhabitants.[5]

Eatonville, on the other hand, lacked such a relationship with their adjacent White neighborhood: Maitland. Though the founding of Eatonville involved White philanthropy, the relationship never developed further.[6] The residents of Eatonville sometimes worked in the business and homes of White Maitland residents. However, Eatonville was not created for White Maitland like Hannibal Square was created for Winter Park.

The relationship between White Winter Park and Hannibal Square appeared different from most communities that emerged in the urban North or South. Relationships between White and Black communities in the United States were often defined by antagonism around housing and jobs. In many big cities, covenant laws severely restricted Black living space. Los Angeles, led by the California Real Estate Association, used covenant laws to control where African Americans could purchase property and live in the city.[7] The Chicago Real Estate Board also adopted the policy of selling houses to African Americans only in blocks that they determined as African American.[8] These laws often led to legal challenges from Black residents to contest them. In 1926, African Americans challenged racially restricting covenant laws in the case, *Corrigan v. Buckley*. In that case, the US Supreme Court decided that restriction and enforcement of racially restricting covenant laws were legal and upheld this decision until 1948.[9] Such antagonisms were minimized in Hannibal Square because its founders had platted a sizeable area that was designed for Black housing. While still segregated, African Americans did not lack housing, nor did they have to fight for it as they did in so many other cities.

In Winter Park, Black housing was planned from the beginning. Chase and Chapman planned a section of housing on the West side of the railroad tracks. They were sold to African American families for $20. The low cost of the lots, led to higher homeownership, and no in-fighting for housing.[10]

The different nature of Black employment in Winter Park created a close—if unequal—the relationship between the White and Black neighborhoods in Winter Park/Hannibal Square, which was manifestly different from the majority of racial relationships elsewhere in the United States. The small size of Winter Park limited both the size and variety of its minority community. Hannibal Square had Black businesses and an African American community, but its small size and the domestic work of most of its inhabitants meant it was inextricably linked to White Winter Park.

African Americans in Winter Park could never challenge or threaten the wealth and status of their extremely rich White neighbors and employers, thus, avoiding economic tensions. At the same time, the physical proximity of the two communities and their economic co-dependence was manifest in paternalism: White Winter Parkians frequently directed their philanthropy to African American institutions in Hannibal Square. For example, in April 1916, the *Winter Park Post* reported that the Winter Park Women's Club had realized that thirty African American caddy boys at Winter Park Links, who were mostly around fourteen years old, had no schooling past 1st grade. The women raised funds "to keep the children regular in attendance" at school, while they continued working.[11] Paternalism between Black neighborhoods and their White counterparts was not exclusive to Winter Park, though. During the Progressive era, Whites throughout the South focused on uplifting their local Black communities, with varying degrees of cooperation from African Americans. Reflecting a deep commitment to the Lost Cause and

romanticized notions of slavery, southerners sought to improve African American education, health, and housing. However, the paternalism exhibited in Winter Park differed from much of the rest of the South in two important ways. First, many White Winter Parkians were snowbirds or permanently relocated northerners, which rooted their actions in practicality rather than romance. And second, while all White philanthropy can be interpreted as self-serving, that of the White Winter Park residents was more obviously so. In a call from the Hannibal Square associates, a group "incorporated, 1937, for the Welfare of the Negros in Winter Park", they advocated for funds for a new nursing home in Hannibal Square. They commented that:

> The health of any part of the community is a matter of definite concern…. the need of the Negroes of Winter Park, for a place in which to care for the sick--especially children and patients just out of the hospital--is urgent…Doctors tell us that a well-equipped "Nursing Home" for our Negro citizens will greatly reduce illness among them, the danger of infection and time needed for recovery.[12]

The influence of philanthropy is visible in many of Hannibal Squares' institutions with longevity. One of the biggest recipients of White philanthropy was its Black nursery—which provided a vital service to allow Black women to work long hours in White homes. During the Great Depression the nursery accepted large amounts of charity from the Winter Park Woman's Club. According to the treasurer of the Woman's Club, Mrs. Bonties, "the nursery is supported entirely by donation."[13] In 1937 the nursery joined with the Winter Park Day Nursery Association, which was a branch of the Winter Park Community Fund, to help fund another building. Indeed, the fund also helped feed children who were unable to bring meals for themselves.[14] In the late 1930s, students at Rollins College established the Rollins College Interracial Council, which also engaged in local philanthropy, including donating funds to the nursery.[15] The nursery still operates today, but its survival during the interwar years was due to perseverance- in effect, a hidden cost Whites paid to ensure their Black labor force.[16] While

Hannibal Square weathered through the storm of the Depression with the assistance of wealth from Winter Park, they lacked the self-governance of Eatonville.

As a Black incorporated town, Eatonville offered its residents more disconnect from White spaces. An incorporated town has its own municipal government and local governing body. This meant that African Americans had the chance to vote and be elected to serve their own community. Incorporation crafted a place where Black residents were no longer the invisible. For example, Mound Bayou, Mississippi was established by former slaves in 1887 and became a prominent Black town in the Mississippi Delta. Its citizens both owned businesses and voted. Residents of Black towns had control over their own self-governance and stable opportunities for land and business ownership.[17] Neighbors relied on neighbors for financial assistance and providing services to each other.[18] However, very few Black towns existed in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century and many of them were in the West, as a large number of African Americans moved to western states like Kansas and Texas for agricultural industries.[19]

Eatonville residents demonstrated some of the benefits of living in a Black town. Some owned massive amounts of land. When Zora visited Eatonville in the 1930s, she noted some of the most prolific landowners. In the 1920s and 1930s, James Steele owned the most land in Eatonville, including a large house and a large orange grove. He often rented his property and employed some residents of Eatonville in his orange grove.[20] Yet, Black towns were not the perfect solution for African Americans looking for independence from White communities.

Black towns nationally faced multi-faceted issues. Firstly, many Black towns did not have the basic infrastructure for longevity, such as local money for road development, institutions, or better water or electrical lines. Especially in the early twentieth century, White

county governments often did not give funding or proper infrastructure to Black towns within their jurisdiction. Black neighborhoods of White towns, on the other hand, benefited from citywide infrastructure investments. White-governed local governments were more likely to give funding to a sector if White residents were living in the area or even just adjacent to the neighborhood. State or county governments did not give Black towns the same care. In a study about Black towns, Danielle M Purifoy and Louise Seamster noted that: "Neither municipal incorporation in towns like Princeville, North Carolina and White Hall, Alabama, nor utility district designations of otherwise incorporated places like Tamina or Taylortown, North Carolina, resulted in the sustainable provision of sanitation and water infrastructure, much less the desired Black-center economic development."[21] The lack of funding and infrastructure became starkly apparent during the Great Depression. Residents in Black towns over the country lack economic stability. Towns in the West that relied on agriculture suffered a disastrous agricultural crisis as the Dustbowl destroyed crops. A combination of poor infrastructure, poverty, and the agricultural crisis drove residents out of Black towns. Many older and more established families watched as the town's young people migrated out and towards larger cities, searching for any opportunity of employment. An article published in 1935 by the *Journal of Negro Life*, about a small Black town called Nicodemus, Kansas, reflected this hardship. The writer remarked:

> In 1928, the farmers of Nicodemus were cultivating from fifty to one thousand acres each…everyone knows what happened to business in 1929, and what subsequently happened to the farmer's prices. Almost all of the young people left Nicodemus during the financial upheaval, further Nature has given a freak sideshow of weather conditions…. entire families deserted this unproductive region.[22]

Lack of infrastructure was not the biggest problem of Black towns. Black towns, along with Black neighborhoods, faced racially fueled violence and hate from White law enforcement

and surrounding locals. Many White locals felt threatened by the opportunity within Black towns. For example, Rosewood, Florida, was a prosperous Black town with Black businesses and a Black middle class. In 1923, the town suffered a violent race riot that ended in the destruction of the town. Fannie Taylor, a White woman, accused a man of assaulting her while her husband John was at work. While witness testimony conflicted on whether it was a White or Black man, the mob eventually ended at the door of Rosewood resident, Sam Carter. The mob believed that a man who had recently escaped a chain gang, Jesse Hunter, was the culprit, and Carter attested to hiding him. When Carter walked the mob to Hunter's supposed hiding place, he was not there. The mob shot Carter, and four days later attempted to kill another Black man named Sylvester Carrier. The mob surrounded the house of Sarah Carrier, which had over twenty-five people inside, looking for Hunter, who was not there. African Americans inside open fired on the men outside out of self-defense. Two White men were killed. The deaths led to the Klan descending upon Rosewood. Black residents fled, and when they returned to their homes two days later, they found them burned down, along with two of the Black churches in the area.[23] The community of Rosewood was completely destroyed and never rebuilt.

Racial violence was certainly not unknown in the nearby Floridan Black towns or neighborhoods in the Orlando area. Only about twenty miles away from Winter Park, a race riot broke out in the small Black neighborhood of a town called Ocoee in 1920 after a Black man, Moses Norman, attempted to vote. This led to a confrontation between him and the White poll workers. After Norman retreated to his friend—July Perry's—home, a mob of angry men, intending to put Norman in his place for challenging the status quo, surrounded the house and a gunfight ensued, leaving two White men, and an unknown number of African Americans, dead. The resulting anger spread through the community and a mob of antagonized White men, some

of them Klan members, burned the African American section of Ocoee, and lynched Perry. Within days, most African Americans left Ocoee and avoided the town for many decades.[24] Despite the riot revolving around the election, Blacks in Ocoee—like those elsewhere in the country—represented an economic threat to local Whites. One-third of the African Americans in Ocoee owned their own homes and many owned citrus groves as well. Indeed, Norman owned groves worth $10000.[25] Having such racial violence in such proximity led the White residents of Winter Park to control the residents of Hannibal Square through paternalism.[26]

Eatonville, on the other hand, lacked a paternalistic relationship with Maitland. Black residents considered Eatonville a quiet place, compared to other Black towns. According to Professor Frank Otey, an Eatonville resident, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a "full-time policeman and several part-time deputies were hired to ensure that law and order were maintained."[27] Families felt that they were safe there. Zora Neale Hurston remembered some moments, though, from her childhood, when Eatonville faced similar problems to other Black towns, in terms of racial violence. Hurston recalled an indicative dialogue between her mother and father in *Mules and Men*. A group of wealthy White men attacked a man nicknamed "Old Bonner" who had been spending time at a local lake near the White neighborhood. In the exchange, she described in the voices of her father and mother:

> ""Oh, it wasn't Jim Watson at all, Lulu. You remember 'bout a week ago Old Man Bronner wrote something in de Orlando paper about H.'s daughter and W.B.G.'s son being seen sitting around the lakes an awful lot?"
>
> "Yeah, I heard something about it."
>
> "Well, you know those rich White folks wasn't going to 'low nothing like dat. So some of 'em waylaid him this evening. They pulled him down off of a load of hay he was hauling and drug him off back there in de woods and tanned his hide for him."
>
> "Did y'all see any of it?"

> "Nope, we could hear him hollering for a while, though. We never got no further than the lake. A White man, one of the G--boys was standing in the bushes at de road. When we got ready to turn off round de lake he stepped out and spoke to us and told us it didn't concern us. They had Bronner down there tied down on his all-fours, and de men was taking turns wid dat bull whip. They must have been standing on tip-toes to do it. You could hear them licks clear out to de road."[28]

Race-based violence existed in and around Eatonville but being disconnected from a White neighborhood meant that families felt safer.

The foundation of the two communities led to the development of their unique cultures. Hannibal Square and Eatonville had drastically different origins. Hannibal Square, as a Black neighborhood, was designed by White Winter Parkians, who thus had a much greater influence over the Black residents. They exhibited their influence primarily through paternalism, fueling some particular businesses, such as daycares or churches, and residents for either moral or personal gain. This paternalism created a particularly wealthy, and well-off Black neighborhood. Eatonville, on the other hand, had little connection with the White neighborhood of Maitland. The nature of a Black town benefited the residents as a place to self-govern and be able to vote. In *The Florida Negro,* a book written by historians of the Federal Writers Project during the Great Depression, Eatonville was described as: "the town…has three small churches, the Hungerford Industrial School, the public school, and a full force of city officials. It's noted for its spirited elections."[29] Black towns, on the other hand, tended to be poor and this restricted access to basic infrastructure. Both Black towns and Black neighborhoods experienced racial violence. Thus, Eatonville was economically unstable and poor, but, at the same time, was a place where African Americans could act independently, without, at least local, White governmental control. Self-governance combined with lack of White surveying led to much more opportunities for small businesses.

Paternalism, White philanthropy, and a steady stream in domestic work in Hannibal Square led to a much higher standard of living compared to national trends. This was reflected in the homeownership and rentership values of Hannibal Square throughout the interwar years. In 1920, 62.8 percent of Hannibal Square residents owned their homes (see figure 1) . This compared to lower numbers in both Florida and United States, both at 46 percent, respectively.[30] While the number of owned homes did drop throughout the 1920s and 1930s in Hannibal Square, from 62.8 to 47.5 to 46 percent by 1940, this was not a trend exclusive to Hannibal Square. Both Florida and the United States saw a greater decline of about 20 percent in the percentage of owned homes, from around 46 percent to 27 percent.[31] This was most likely due to the economic tightening brought on by the Great Depression.

The value of homes in Hannibal Square also differed from the national average for African Americans, delineating a more prosperous community. In 1930, 30 percent of Black homeowners in Hannibal Square had a home valued at $1500 to $2000 (see figure 3). This was much higher than the national average of home prices for Black-owned homes. Around 39.9 percent of African Americans nationally owned a home valued at $1000.[32] Only 8.8 percent of Black Americans owned a home between $1500 to $2000, and this was also true in Florida.[33] The higher prices, along with the higher number of owned homes highlight a better standard of living throughout Hannibal Square.

Year	Home Status	United States	Florida	Hannibal Square	Eatonville
1920	Owned	29	27.7	46	60
	Rented	71	77.3	54	40
1930	Owned	46.8	42	47.5	73
	Rented	53.2	58	52.5	27
1940	Owned	46.8	46	62.8	70
	Rented	53.2	54	37.2	30

Figure 1: Home Ownership and Rentership values, percentage

Value	United States (White)	United States (Black)	Florida	Hannibal Square	Eatonville
Less than $300	3.4	19.5	27.7	0.1	0
$300 to $499	2.7	13.1	15	7.6	33.3
$500to $699	3.8	13	15.7	32	33.3
$700 to $999	3.1	10.8	11.6	34	33.3
$1,000 to $1,499	8.7	12.9	13	15	0
$1,500 to $1,999	8.7	8.2	6.3	6.5	0
$2,000 to $2,499	9.4	6.5	4.6	3	0
$2,500 to $2,999	8.4	3.9	2	0.1	0
$3,000 to $3,999	16	5.7	3.4	1.6	0
$4,000 to $4,999	10.8	2.5	0.1	0	0
$10,000 to $14,999	2.9	0.3	0.1	0.1	0

Figure 2: Home Ownership Value Range, by percentage, 1940

Value	United States (White)	United States (Black)	Florida	Hannibal Square	Eatonville
Under 1,000	7.6	39.3	52	8	64
$1000 to $1499	5.4	13.8	15.8	20	12
$1500 to $2000	5	8.8	9	30	8
$2000 to $2999	11.1	12.4	10.8	18	8
$3000 to $4999	22.3	12.4	6.5	14	4
$5000 to $7499	21.9	6.6	2	6	0
$7500 to $9999	9.4	2.1	0.4	1	4
$10000 to $14999	8.6	1.4	0.32	2	0
$15000 to $19999	3.2	0.4	0.12	1	0

Figure 3: Home Ownership Value Range, by percentage, 1930

This better standard of living and higher incomes was reflected in the story of one of Hannibal Squares residents. Roy Ray moved with his mother Josephine to Winter Park during the 1910s. Previously, the pair had lived in Cumberland, North Carolina, with her husband Louis D. Ray. Louis owned a farm and was employed. Louis owned the home without a mortgage. The census marks her as widowed in 1920. By 1920, she worked as a janitor at Rollins and owned a mortgage-free home. Roy was sixteen. Though he does not appear in the 1930 census, by 1940, Roy married a woman named Tabitha and continued to live in Winter Park. His home was valued at $1200, and he made a monthly income of $900 a month. In 1940, only around 13 percent of African Americans in the United States owned their homes at a value between $1000 and $1499, indicating that Roy had risen socioeconomically during his time in Hannibal Square (see figure3). He worked as a gardener for H. M. Sinclair. Sinclair was a prominent man in the Winter Park social circles. His wife was an active member of the community. On February 13th, 1932, she "entertained some of the members [of the Pi Beta Phi Sorority at Rollins] of the young generation at a party given on Thursday afternoon at her home."[34] She was also a member of the Winter Park Garden Club Board.[35] Roy's change in occupation and increased income from his youth revealed the prosperity available for the Black residents of Winter Park.

Increased wealth also led to the growth of a Black middle class in Hannibal Square. Residents established businesses that continued throughout the interwar years. Payton Duhart, for example, was a tailor who owned a business in Thomasville, Georgia, in 1910. He decided to move with his wife and two children to Hannibal Square. By 1922, Duhart established a tailor shop at 243 New England**,** which he maintained throughout the 1930s. Paul Laughlin, with his previously mentioned wife Chanie, followed a similar path. Laughlin was born in 1888 in Hancock, Georgia, and he worked on his family farm. During the 1910s, Laughlin worked for a spell as a butler for Ralph Peter in Garden City, New York. In 1923, Laughlin married Chanie and together they established the Laughlin Hotel in Hannibal Square at 444 West New England Avenue. Though acting more as a large boarding house, than a hotel, the Laughlin's business survived the Great Depression, housing a handful of patrons at a time, serving the African American community of Hannibal Square. Chanie conducted integral work to help race relations between Winter Park and Hannibal Square. Into the 1950s, she formed the Benevolent Club for women in Winter Park, and eventually established the DePugh Nursing Home on 550 W. Morse Avenue, with the help of White philanthropist, R. T Miller.[36] The Laughlins' story highlights the opportunities for business ownership in Hannibal Square, and the influence of White philanthropists. Other African Americans established grocery stores, ice cream shops, or tailor shops to service both African Americans in Hannibal Square and in some cases, the wealthy White Winter Park residents. Phylis Moore recalled that her stepmother "Siraella Moore…she was the owner of Moore's Tea Room located in the 500 block of New England Avenue," an area which held many of the prominent businesses in Hannibal Square. Moore moved to Winter Park from Volusia County, Florida with her husband, Sam, who was born in Georgia. The two most likely ran the business together, as Sam is noted as self-employed when registering for the draft.

The pair owned the tearoom throughout the 1940s. Other African Americans opened businesses from their own homes, selling and providing services to their fellow residents when they were not working in the homes of Winter Park. The presence of White philanthropy paired with Black perseverance led to a growing Black community in Hannibal Square.[37]

Despite the growth of the Black-business class, Hannibal Square residents were controlled by the White community. The connection to White Winter Park meant oversight from the White residents. When homes in Hannibal Square were advertised in the newspapers in the early 1880s it was described as "lots which will be sold to negro families of good character…. Who can be depended upon for work in the family and in the grove."[38] From the beginning, the Black citizens of Winter Park were watched to make sure they were "maintaining the standards" of how Black citizens should behave according to the White residents. Thus, their businesses reflected this. On June 1, 1935, the *Orlando Sentinel* reported on "Negro Beer Garden Closed" (see figure 4). The article noted that "the negro beer garden of Shadrick Paul was padlocked and a warrant issue for the proprietor early this afternoon…the warrant was issues following a fight last night in Hannibal Square beer garden…. the night police forced raided the house at an early hour this morning and arrested negros allegedly involved in the fighting."[39] This incident showcased the control that White Winter Park exerted over the Black neighborhood.

NEGRO BEER GARDEN CLOSED

Special to Orlando Morning Sentinel

WINTER PARK, May 31—The negro beer garden of Shadrick Paul was padlocked and a warrant issued for the proprietor early this afternoon by Police Chief L. W. Morris. The warrant was issued following a fight last night in the Hannibal Square beer garden in which several negroes were cut with knives and razors. The night police force raided the house at an early hour this morning and arrested negroes allegedly involved in the fighting.

Figure 4: "Negro Beer Garden Closed," *Orlando Sentinel*, June 1, 1935,

Where Hannibal Square was restricted by its relationship and connection to Winter Park, Eatonville was more independent. While most Eatonville residents owned or rented homes at a lower value than African Americans in Winter Park, there was some exceptions. Zora Neale Hurston described Eatonville during the interwar years in her book, *Dust Tracks on the Road*, which described a handful of large plots of land (see figure 5). John Dash, born into slavery in 1851, moved from Tennessee to Georgia mid-1910s. While in Georgia, he was a clergyman. Dash moved to Eatonville in 1920. He ran a small general store from the porch of his home. Eventually, Dash procured enough land to start a small orange grove next to his large home, where he lived with his wife, son and three boarders in 1930. After he died, Dash's wife took over the store until the late 1940s.[40] The Dash's story from slavery to owning his own general store and grove highlighted the opportunity of work within Eatonville. While some Eatonville's residents stayed for many generations, much of the foot traffic throughout Eatonville was temporary.

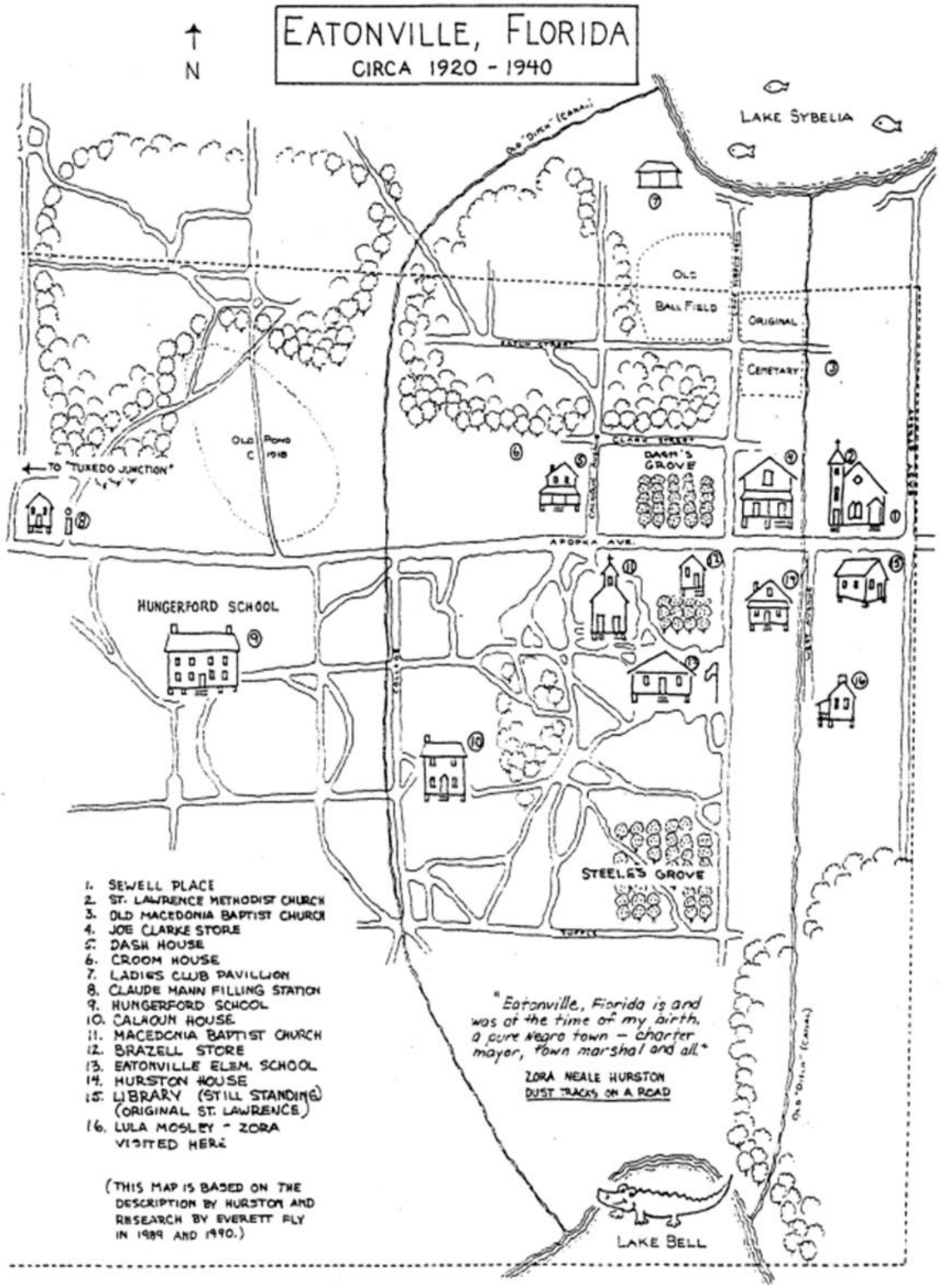

Figure 5: Eatonville, Florida, ca. 1920–1940. Sketch map by Alice M. Grant based on the work of Zora Neale Hurston and Everett L. Fly. Originally published in "Eatonville Historic Trails ISTEA Proposal," 1996. Courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

The transitory nature of the Eatonville population was reflected in the ratio of the homes that were owned versus rented. In 1920, 30 percent of Eatontites rented their homes. By 1940, this had risen to 40 percent. This compares to 67.8 percent in Florida that then shifted to 58 percent by 1940 (see figure 1). On the surface, the living conditions of Eatonites seem less transitory than overall Florida trends. Fewer people rented their homes. Those who migrated for employment, such as seasonal labor, would be more likely to rent their homes rather than own a home. Yet, the value of such rented homes contradicts this assumption. For the purpose of this examination, the numbers from the 1930 and 1940 censuses will be used. The 1920 census did not collect home values. In 1930, 78 percent of households in Eatonville rented their homes for under $10. This compares to 54.2 percent of Black households in Florida, and 37.2 percent in the United States (see figure 6).[41]

Value	United States	Florida	Hannibal Square	Eatonville	(White US)
Under $10	37.2	54.2	17	78	12.7
$10-$15	18.7	25.2	68	11	10.8
$15-$20	10.4	7.6	11	0	10.5
$20-29	14.6	7.2	3.4	0	20.6
$30-$49	11.6	1.8	0	0	26
$50-$74	8.8	0.24	0	11	12.2

Figure 6: Home Rentership Value Range, by percentage, 1930

For example, worker Jack Tatum moved to Eatonville in the 1930s. Previously, he lived in Altamonte Springs, a community close to Eatonville. There he worked as in the orange groves. In Altamonte, he owned a home at $200, a low value in comparison to national trends. By 1940, though, he lived in Eatonville. He worked as a general laborer and rented a home at a value of $5 a month, which was about average for Black families renting in Eatonville. Tatum's move to Eatonville highlights a movement for economic reasons. Owned home ratio and values

contribute to this story of workers coming to Eatonville. The lower home values reveal a lower standard of living and a poorer economic condition. Poor economic conditions reveal the necessity to move for better working conditions.

Eatonville might appear more prosperous more generally because of lower renting percentage, but this is contradicted by lower rent prices overall. The value of owned homes in Eatonville also reveals cheaper land prices and an overall poorer community than Hannibal Square. In 1930, 64 percent of owned homes in Eatonville were valued under $1000. This compares with only 39.3 percent of Black homes nationally and 52 percent statewide that were valued under $1000 (see figure 3).[42] Eatonville residents did not have access to the same jobs or incomes as African Americans in Hannibal Square. The average incomes in 1940 between the two communities are deceiving. The residents of Eatonville did have a slightly higher average income than the residents of Hannibal Square, $416 compared to an average of $360, but Hannibal Square had more members of the community with higher income. The highest income recorded by the census in Hannibal Square was $1200 while in Eatonville it was only $600. Major L. Cherry earned the most income of any African American in Hannibal Square, according to the 1940 census. He moved from Hillsborough, Florida, in the 1930s in order to work at the Baptist Church in Hannibal Square. He continued to work as a preacher into 1940. Richard Jones made the highest income in Eatonville in 1940. Jones moved from the nearby Maitland to live in Eatonville in the 1920s. He worked at the Gentile Brothers Orange Packing Factory in Winter Park, which other African Americans from Hannibal Square also worked in. Both employment differences reflected the nature of either community.

While African Americans in Eatonville did live in a worse economic situation, the benefits of living in an incorporated town are apparent in their business ownership and

community. Without the adjacent White community, Eatonville became a center of Black leisure and entertainment in Central Florida. The businesses of Eatonville attracted migratory and communicative patrons. Hurston wrote about the foot traffic that came through Eatonville in the evenings and on weekends. In an exchange with her childhood friend Armetta in 1932 included in *Mules and Men*, Hurston described a "toe-party" that was happening on the outskirts of Eatonville:

> While we rolled along Florida No 3, I asked Armetta where was the shindig going to be…" At Edna Pitt's house," she told me. "But ain't she givin' it by herself; it's for the lodge."
> "Think it's gointer be lively?"
> "Oh, yeah. Ah heard that a lot of folks from Altamonte and Longwood is comin'. Maybe from Winter Park too. [43]

This exchange revealed the draw of Eatonville, African Americans being able to celebrate without the oversight of a White neighborhood. Entertainment and Black businesses attracted weekend visitors to come and enjoy the businesses. Some Black businesses owners had their start in Eatonville and moved to other areas. Willie Blunt, a Winter Park resident, started a shoe repair shop in Eatonville. The shop became so popular that he opened another location in Hannibal Square by the 1940s.[44] In the mid-1950s, Club Eaton became a hotspot for African Americans in the Central Florida area. "It was one of the few places in central Florida where Blacks could sit down, socialize, and enjoy alcoholic beverages," stated the club manager Harry Bing.[45] Eatonville gave Black businesses and landowners the space to grow and catered to a clientele of transitory Black residents in Orlando, without White oversight.

Eatonville also became a center of learning for African Americans in the Central Florida area. African Americans throughout the county and state sent their children to the Hungerford School. While originally a boarding school, more Black families in the surrounding area began sending their children when the school opened up to day students. Students in Winter Park began

going to Hungerford after Orange County established a bus system between the two communities. James Dixon, the local barber in Hannibal Square, drove the bus. The Hungerford school also became a center for White philanthropy, like many of the institutions in Hannibal Square. Rollins Interfaith and Race Committee helped to fund school buildings and bring speakers to the Hungerford Campus throughout the 1930s and 1940s.[46]

The foundation and conditions of Eatonville and Hannibal Square created drastically different cultures. Hannibal Square, thanks to the adjacent Winter Park community, had increased wealth fueled by paternalism. This wealth led to a thriving Black middle class, and a wealthier Black community. Yet, the institutions established and had longevity in Hannibal Square were the only institutions that the White Winter Park felt were beneficial to them. Thus, churches, nurseries, and other important and "moral" institutions received more funding. This funding led to greater longevity of these institutions in Hannibal Square. Eatonville, which had a more transitory and poorer population (with cheaper land prices), became a haven for Black residents in the Orlando area. With no White neighborhood in control of the affairs of the community, Eatonville residents were able to thrive and open more businesses open to all African Americans in the area. While churches were popular, restaurants, barber shops and other technical shops became important to the Orlando Black community.

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[9]. Sides, *L.A. City Limits,* 18.

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Chapter 2

Moving Down South: Migration to Hannibal Square and Eatonville

Washington "Buddy" Straughter and his wife Edith moved to Winter Park in the late nineteenth century and were one of the first African American families to settle in the area. Together, they created an extensive family that became involved in all aspects of life throughout Hannibal Square. Their son Arthur owned a pool room and an ice cream parlor throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Myrtle Straughter, their daughter, became a hairdresser for the Hannibal Square community. Another daughter, Blanche Straughter, married a man named Gilbert Brookins, started a large family and worked in the homes of White Winter Park residents, who had designed Hannibal Square to house the people that serve them and their families. [1]

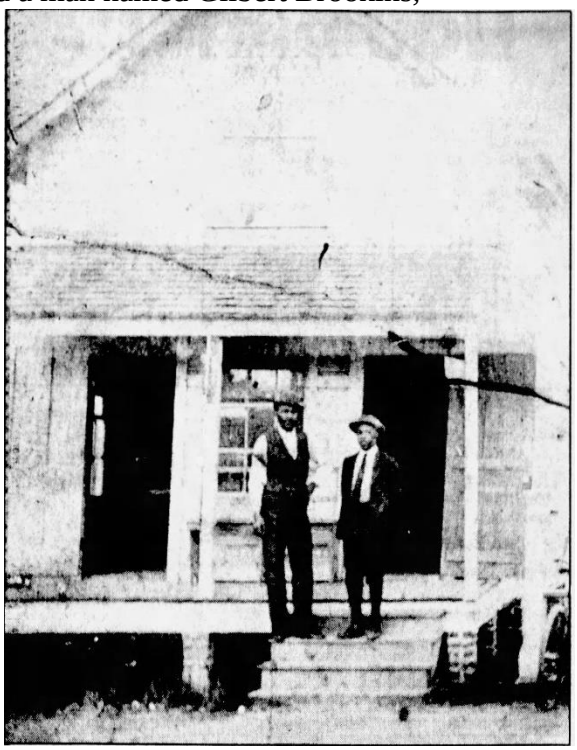

Figure 1: Joe Clarke in Front of His Store. Source: "Place Names give clues to history of an area," *The Orlando Sentinel*, October 20, 1991.

Joseph "Joe" Clark, born in 1859 into slavery, moved to Florida to Maitland in the late 1870s. He became connected with a handful of White Maitland residents-- Isaac Vanderpool, Josiah Eaton, and Lewis Lawrence--who were intrigued by his work ethic. Clark worked in Eaton's large orange grove and raised enough money to bring his three children in Georgia down to Florida in the early 1880s. His wife had already died in the year previously.[2] Working with Eaton and Lawrence, he garnered support for Eatonville among the freedmen that had moved to the Maitland. The White philanthropists sold 112 acres of

land to them to create Eatonville. Considered the "father of Eatonville," Clark's general store that he established in the 1890s became a cornerstone of the community (see figure 1).[3]

The stories of these men highlight the beginnings of both Eatonville and Hannibal Square. African Americans migrated to both Eatonville and Hannibal Square throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Most of these migrants came from areas where either war industries were on the decline or were escaping the poverty of certain agricultural sectors. Hannibal Square attracted more migrants from Georgia, while Eatonville attracted more migrants from Mississippi and the Carolinas, though Hannibal Square did attract a smaller number of residents from both. Both communities experienced a growth in the population during the 1920s and a stall in growth during the 1930s. Not all the new Black residents in Hannibal Square or Eatonville in the interwar years came through in-migration, however. Many of the founding families or early migrants to each community established large families that spread throughout the community in the interwar years.

The Great Migration saw a large influx of African Americans migrating from the Southeast elsewhere. In a study following the distribution of African Americans in different regions in the United States, Economist William J. Collins found a drastic shift in distribution between 1910 and 1970 (see figure 2). In 1910, the majority of African Americans lived in the South, especially in the South Atlantic or Southeast regions. By 1970, the majority of African Americans lived in the Northeast or the West.[4] Yet, some smaller southern towns, like Eatonville and Hannibal Square, experienced growth in the interwar years despite these trends.

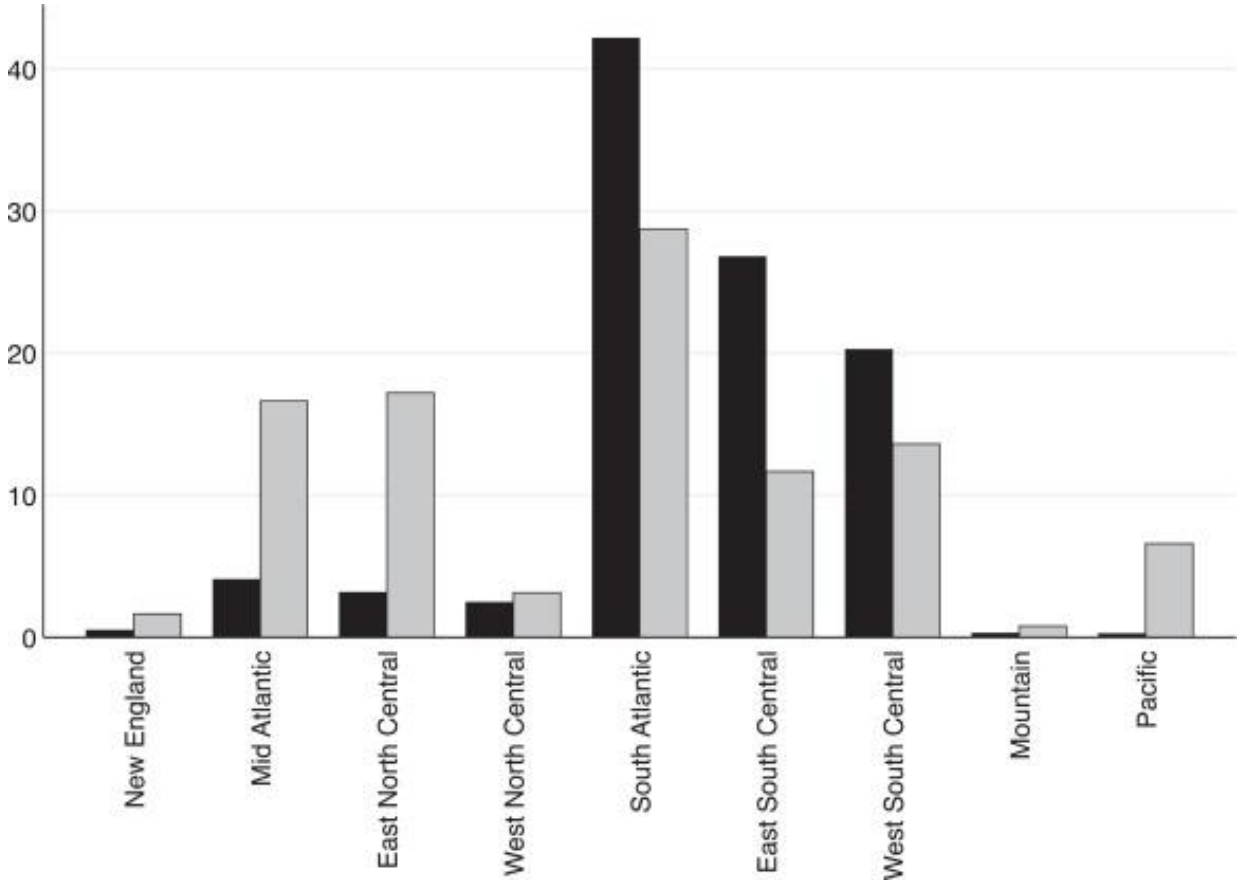

Figure 2: Distribution of African Americans in the United States, by Region. Source: "Selection and Economic Gains in the Great Migration of African Americans: New Evidence from Linked Census Data." By William J., Collins, and Marianne H. Wanamaker.

Eatonville grew slowly during the interwar years, but the census numbers do not reveal the full picture. While the census for both 1920 and 1930 rightfully considered Eatonville an incorporated place, the 1940 census taker did not classify the Orange County information that way. Thus, it is hard to determine where the boundaries of Eatonville started and ended in 1940. According to the census, Eatonville maintained its population, during the interwar years: going from 136 to 137 to 101 residents. Though the population living within Eatonville remained small, many people commuted to Eatonville to work at the Hungerford School or lived in the

nearby neighborhood of Woodbridge, which lay adjacent to Maitland and Eatonville (see figure 3). In 1930, of the 70 percent of households that appear in the 1920 federal census, 75 percent came from Florida, 17 percent came from Georgia and 17 percent came from South Carolina.

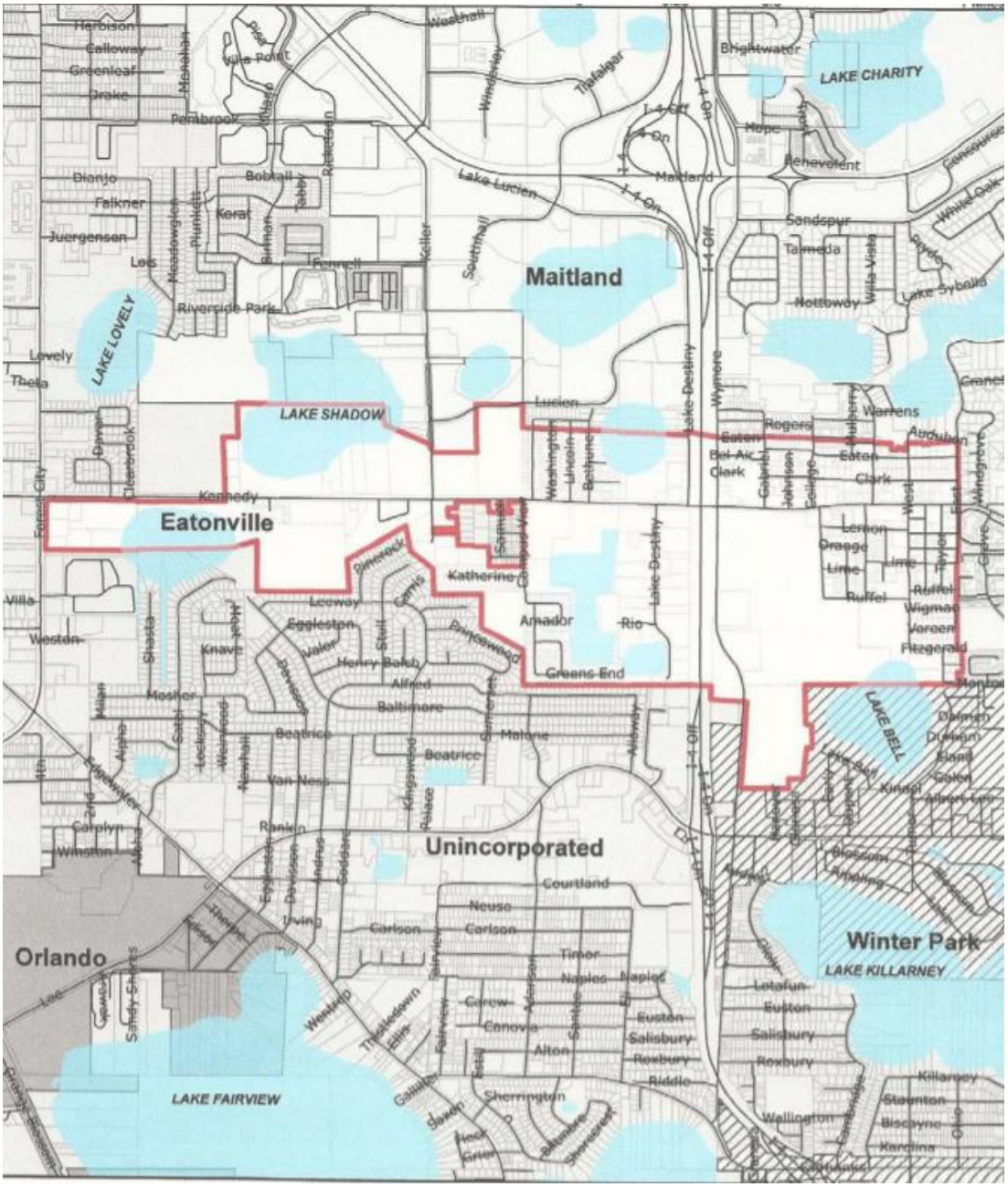

Figure 3: Map of Eatonville and Surrounding Areas. Source: "2018 Comprehensive Plan Amendment." Town of Eatonville. http://www.townofeatonville.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/2018-CompPlan-Supportive-DataAnalysisRequired-by-FS-No-Ord-Adoption-Required-1.pdf

A more substantial percentage of Eatonville's residents came from South Carolina during the interwar years than in Hannibal Square (see figure 6). In the 1920s, more African Americans came from South Carolina to Eatonville from Georgia or elsewhere outside of Florida. Many came from Allendale County, South Carolina, a county bordering the state line of Georgia. Before the Civil War, the town of Allendale was a plantation hotspot. African American slaves raised corn, cotton, and sugarcane.[5] After the war, no longer able to use slave labor, and with the rise of the industrial revolution, Allendale's population expanded into watermelon and asparagus production and became involved in the shipbuilding industry.[6] Cotton and tobacco sharecropping remained prominent, especially for African Americans. In the 1920s, a series of bad cotton seasons along with poor cotton prices and the agricultural depression led to massive poverty in Allendale County. In 1928, *The State* reported that "Rains Drown Crops: Play Havoc with Cotton and Tobacco All Over County:" The article continues that "continuous heavy, washing rains for several days are believed to have played havoc with cotton and tobacco crops and have greatly impeded harvesting, curing, and marketing of tobacco."[7] Allendale also suffered racial violence. For example, in early June of 1924, the *Columbia Record* detailed that a Black man was charged with shooting a prominent White resident in Allendale. When the man was caught by the police, a group of "masked men" boarded the train and took him away from police custody. The next evening, neighbors found his body charred and a wire cable rung around his neck. This violence, along with other factors that influenced sharecroppers nationally, most likely impelled African Americans to move.[8] Duncan Doe lived with his wife Ada in Allendale, working as a farmer and renting his home. During the 1920s, he moved to Eatonville and worked as a farm laborer, most likely in vegetable farms or citrus groves. Doe moved to find greater prosperity and self-governance in Eatonville.

Hannibal Square witnessed similar trends of in-migration of African Americans, yet experienced greater growth over the interwar years. African American residents in Hannibal Square increased as Winter Park grew substantially from 506 in 1920, to 1,047 in 1930, to 1,335 in 1940 (see figure 4).[9] Maps of Hannibal Square reveal this massive expansion: lots that were vacant in 1930 became homes to large families by 1940.[10] Many of the African Americans arriving in Hannibal Square in the 1920s came from rural agricultural regions of the southeastern United States. Of the 30 percent of African American households that were in Hannibal Square in 1930 that can be found in previous federal censuses, 51 percent came from other regions of Florida, 37 percent came from Georgia, and 6 percent came from South Carolina. The remaining 6 percent came from a mixture of areas around the United States, including Tennessee, New Jersey, and Delaware.

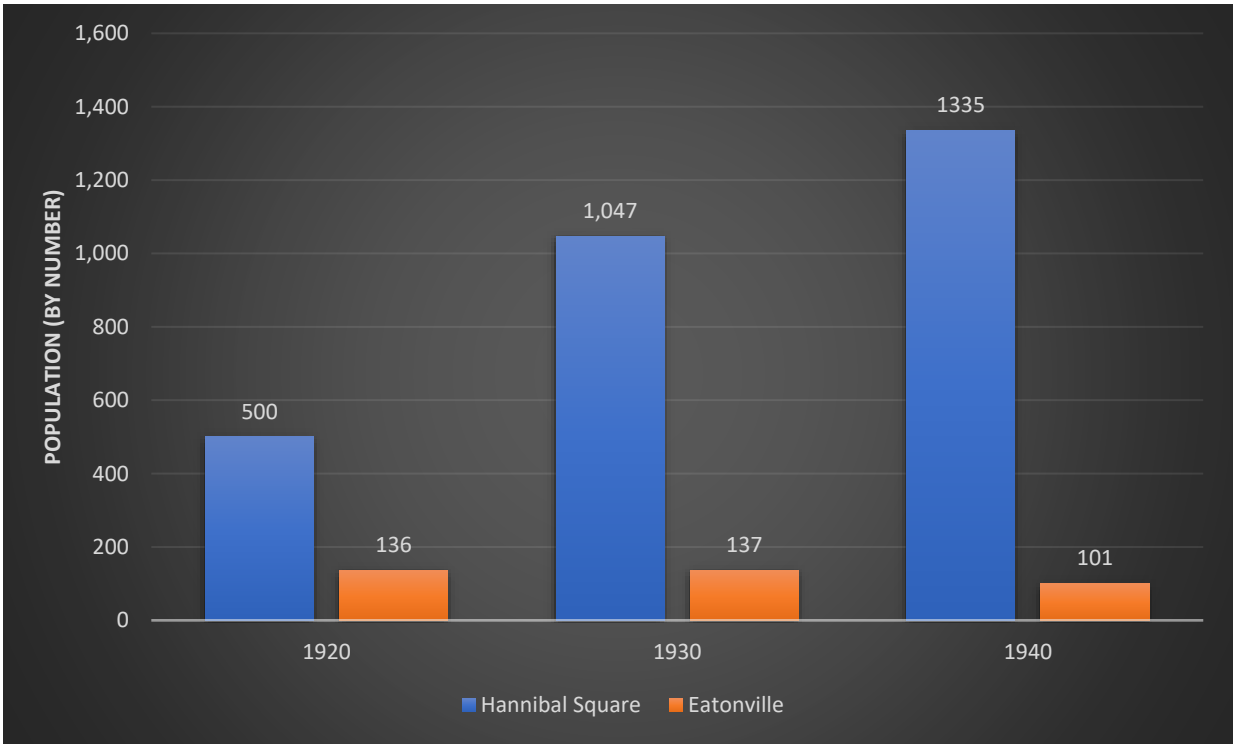

Figure 4: Population of Hannibal Square and Eatonville, 1920-1940

Much of the migration from outside of Florida came from Georgia or South Carolina. Migrants, most commonly, came from poor agricultural areas in decline. For example, Lesso

Fennell migrated to Winter Park with his wife by 1930 to work as a laborer in Hannibal Square. Fennell's family was from North Carolina, but he was born in Georgia and first appeared in the census in 1910 at age seven, living in Waresboro, Georgia. Fennell's father worked in the turpentine industry, while his older brother, Robert, worked the farm the family rented. By 1920, the family had returned to North Carolina, to Long Creek, a small township outside Charlotte. Now the oldest child at home, Fennell worked with his father on the land the family rented. This area of North Carolina focused mainly on the production of tobacco, with some manufacturing of textiles—a predominantly White industry.[11] By 1930, Fennell—likely a victim of the contraction of the tobacco market--was a grove worker in Winter Park.

Eatonville and Hannibal Square were similar as many of the migrants moved to both from within Florida. The 1920s migration from within Florida was mainly from rural agricultural small towns, characterized by areas with deteriorating industries. A large portion of migrants from northern Florida came from Gadsden or Jefferson counties. Gadsden boasted a large shade tobacco industry in the early to mid-1900s, which spurred much of its economy, in both the agricultural and manufacturing sectors.[12] Jefferson County, in contrast, thrived off food production. Agricultural industries boomed during World War I, with products in high demand: in 1918 an article from the *Tallahassee Democrat* boasts a headline that "Gadsden expects 3,500,000 from tobacco crops" for the fiscal year.[13]

Yet, the end of the war saw an immediate contraction of demand for a majority of crops, which, combined with a decline in US agricultural sales abroad, which sent crop prices plummeting.[14] Farmers across the country suffered, and marginal farmers, such as African Americans, often found themselves unable to continue farming. In northern Florida, specifically, many African American farmers lost their farms to consolidation as richer farmers leveraged low

prices to buy out poorer ones.[15] By the middle of the decade, many farmers were selling up and getting out while they still could, with an advertisement in the *Tampa Bay Times* offering 680 acres of land in Gadsden County "well adapted to the raising of cigarette tobacco" at "the very lower price of $27.50 per acre."[16]

James Simmons was one of these displaced farmers from northern Florida who moved to Hannibal Square. In 1920, Simmons was a farm laborer who, together with his wife Rosebud, rented a home in Quincy, the county seat of Gadsden. By 1930, he moved to and rented a home on Lyman Avenue, which housed Simmons, his wife, Ula, and their four children, his sister-in-law and niece, and a boarder. Simmons worked as a laborer in Winter Park. Throughout the rest of the decade, Simmons worked as a gardener and eventually began working as a farmer again into the 1940s. He was known for his yearly crop of "corn, butter beans, okra and tomatoes" plowed with his donkey Minnie (see figure 5). Simmons lived in Hannibal Square until his death.[17]

Figure 5: James Simmons and His Donkey "Minnie." Source: "James Simmons - Oldest resident of Winter Park," *Sun Herald*, April 3, 1975

Many of Hannibal Square's residents also came from around Orlando and Orange County. Some of this local migration was motivated by a desire for better jobs, but also to avoid hardship elsewhere. Richard Lynch, James Langamade, and Eva A. Langmade moved from the city of Ocoee, Florida to West Swope Avenue in the 1920s after the Ocoee race riots and stayed

in Hannibal Square permanently. Other African Americans came from closer communities, such as Altamonte Springs, and Maitland.[18]

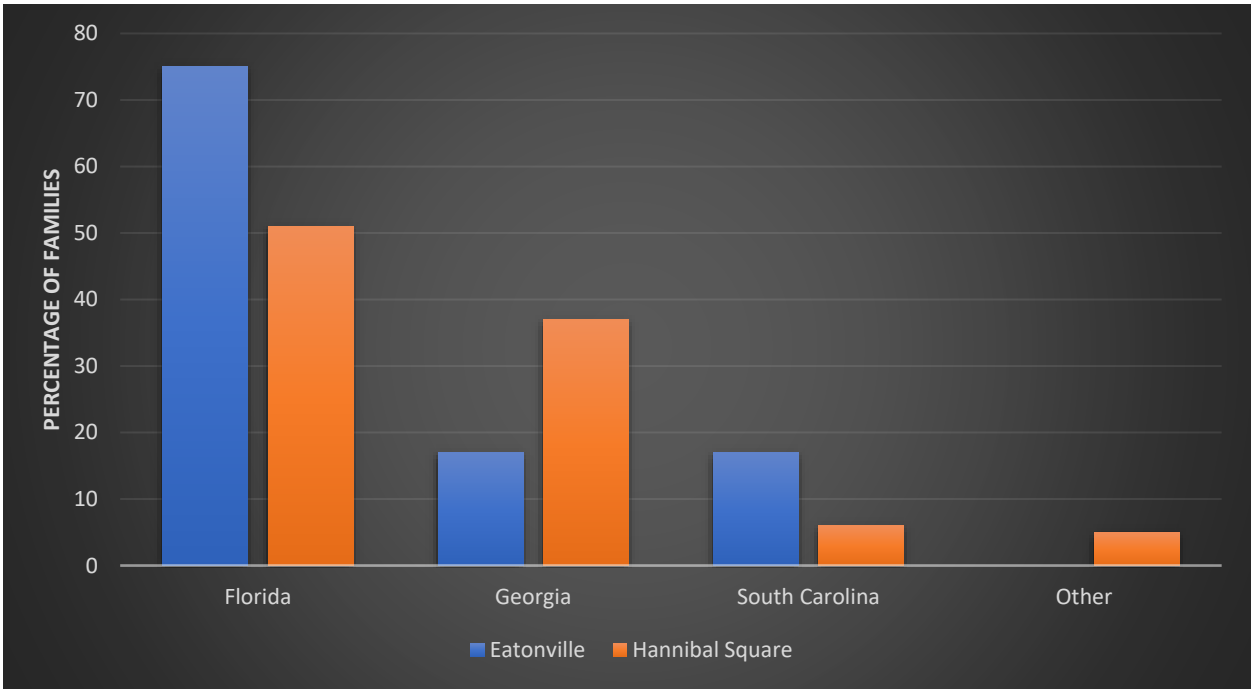

Figure 6: Places of Migration From, Percentage, 1930

In Eatonville, migrants came from other declining industries in Northern Florida. Ben Singleton moved from Jacksonville in Duval County to Eatonville in the 1920s to work on the nearby farms. In Jacksonville, he had worked in the lumber industry for a company called Carpenter Drive Co. During World War I, Duval County became a massive center for shipbuilding and industry. It also became a repair center for the Western Seaboard Railroad, which employed around two hundred men.[19] The St. Johns River was a focal point for Floridan commerce and transportation. Jacksonville was nicknamed the "Gateway City," and thousands of African Americans moved there to work in the lumber and shipping industries. After the war, though, many facilities that had opened to meet wartime needs begin to close, which led to a loss of jobs in Duval County, most likely the main factor for Singleton's move.[20]

Duval County also reflected the instability and intolerance that made life for African Americans in the county worse. In the 1910s and 1920s, the population of African Americans was nearly equal to the number of White residents in Jacksonville. Thus, the Black community became fairly independent and thrived throughout Jacksonville. Yet, they were still interconnected with the White city and not an independent Black town. African Americans were not represented in politics and were prohibited from voting. The Jacksonville Klan held a "Klan Circus" every year in Jacksonville and remained active throughout the twentieth century.[21] It is clear that Jacksonville with lackluster employment and high racial tension had a hostile and unstable environment for African Americans. Thus, many like Singleton left Duval County for greener pastures, and hopeful self-governance.

Hannibal Square did have residents from Northern Florida, but others moved from much further away. African Americans who migrated from the North during the 1920s to Winter Park were similarly propelled by economics. Unlike the African Americans who were coming from the South, mainly migrating from small towns with a population of five thousand or less, some from the North were coming from larger urban centers. For example, Nelson Horton had been born in Georgia in the mid-1800s. By the turn of the century, he lived with his brother in Winter Park. He moved out of his brother's house before 1910, and, by 1920 was living in Wilmington, Delaware. In Wilmington, Horton worked in house construction and shared a rental with two other African American men--one who worked in the shipyards and one who worked in a leather factory. The fourth person in the house, Myrtle Armstrong, worked in a laundry. Horton had clearly moved north to benefit from the economic boom surrounding World War I. Wilmington, situated on the Delaware River, began to urbanize during this time, with steel factories, chemical

manufacturing, and shipyards sprouted up to support the war effort.[22] Prosperous times did not last for long, however. Wilmington had a massive population increase: from 21, 650 in 1860 to 110,168 in 1920. The war stimulated industrial work, but with the huge influx of the population, the competition was fierce for the waning jobs after the war.[23] By the early 1920s, Horton was back in Winter Park, not living with his brother, but with his wife, Faith, in a house, they owned on Carolina Avenue. He lived there until he died in 1942. Horton's short sojourn up north seems to be motivated by economic factors and a desire to profit from the war.

While Hannibal Square attracted some African Americans from the North, Eatonville attracted a population of transitory workers. These workers stayed in Eatonville temporarily, in search of employment, and often left within the season or a couple of years. Many of these were agricultural workers. Nero Smith moved nearly constantly over the early twentieth century. Born in Privateer, South Carolina, Smith was the second son of Enoch Smith. Enoch worked as a farm laborer with his wife Mary. By 1900, Nero moved to Ray Mill, Georgia, to work as a turpentine laborer. He lived in a boarding house. In 1910, he still worked in the turpentine industry, but instead had migrated to Conway, Florida. This is most likely due to the decline of turpentine throughout the early twentieth century. He remained in Conway throughout the 1910s and 1920s and married and changed industries. No longer a turpentine worker, he worked as a farmer and owned his own mortgage-free home. By 1930, he had moved to Eatonville and worked on a truck farm. Truck farms populated Orange County and the Central Florida area. For example, the *Orlando Evening Star* reported that a four-acre truck farm was sold to a large buyer in Orange County, as part of a $15,000 deal. The truck farm owner was "arranging to plant it in strawberries" and was "one of the highly productive truck farms within the local area."[24] The appeal of lucrative employment may have drawn Smith to the area. By 1940, Smith, however,

had moved again. He lived in Orlando and was unemployed. Smith's story highlights the draw of migrant labor to Eatonville, and the population the town attracted. Yet, some migrant workers did not travel for just agricultural work.

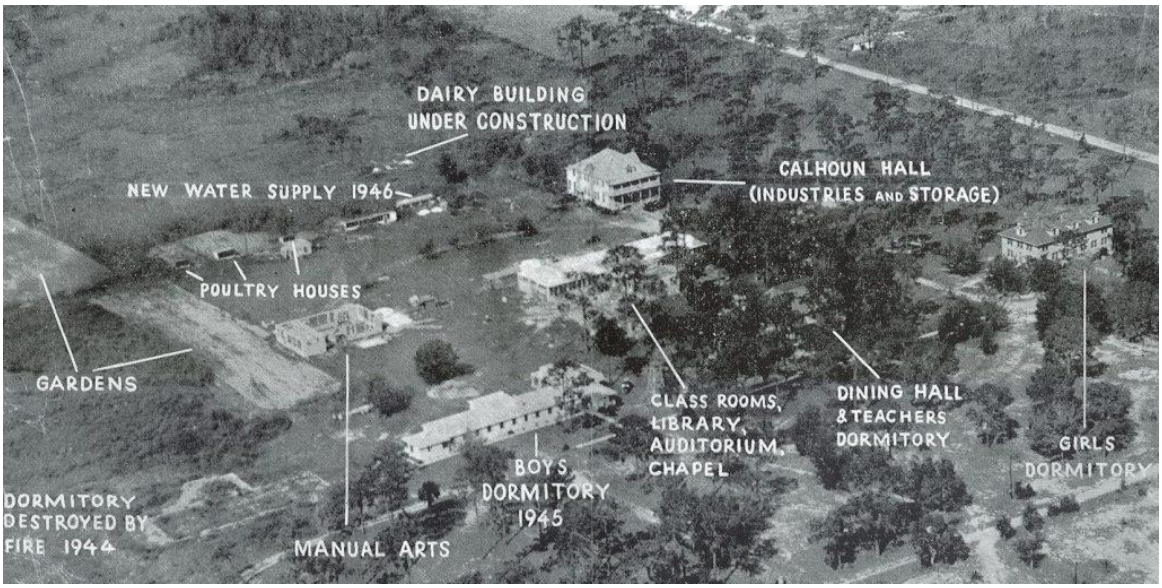

Figure 7: Hungerford School, 1947; Source: Rollins Archives

Some professional workers were drawn to Eatonville institutions. The Hungerford School in Eatonville, a technical school for African Americans modeled after the Tuskegee Institute, attracted Black teachers from around the South and North, such as Dorothy C. Warner (see figure 7). Warner was born in 1907 and lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, with her father, Alfred, and mother, Julia. Her father, born in Massachusetts, worked as a janitor in a paper store while Julia, born in Columbia, South Carolina, worked as a laundress for a family. Her parents were able to give Dorothy a better education than they had received. By 1930, she had moved to Eatonville and worked as a teacher for the Hungerford School. Yet, Warner did not stay in Eatonville for long. By 1940, she lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, with her cousin. There, a White family employed her to do housework. She most likely moved due to the Hungerford School's decline during the early 1930s. Warner's story highlights the draw of Eatonville to attract

migrants for specialized work. The institutions of Eatonville, such as the Hungerford School, and churches, were a large draw for African Americans in specialized work.

Overall, the 1920s saw a period of migration from declining agricultural areas to both communities. African Americans who migrated to either community from the North came from the declining industries. Yet, no matter where the families came from, they were propelled by an economic and situational push. As the Great Depression hit the country, migration slowed and even stalled in Hannibal Square and Eatonville, and the nature of that migration shifted.

During the 1930s migration to Hannibal Square continued but slowed. The African American population grew from 1,047 to 1,335 (27.5 percent), a must less significant increase than the previous decade.[25] Based on data from about 35 percent of the African American families in Winter Park identifiable in the 1940 census, migration to Winter Park from other places in Florida grew by 7 percent to 58 percent, and migration from Georgia reduced slightly from 38 to 32 percent (see figure 8). Additionally, movement from cities within fifty miles of Winter Park, such as Sanford, Orlando, Haines City, and Oviedo, became increasingly common in the 1930s. For example, Linnie Allen was a widowed dressmaker who lived in Orlando in 1930 with her child and two other roomers. During the 1930s, she moved to Winter Park and started working as a laundress. At the time, Winter Park had many laundry services to cater to its wealthy White residents. The most prominent, American Laundry Service and White Star on Orlando Avenue advertised many services boasting "now, more than ever before, you may obtain the best in dry cleaning…get your clothes done a 'little better.'"[26] The growth of the African American community in Winter Park during the decade was less than the state average for urban areas, which was 36.5 percent, and for Orlando at 37.9 percent. However, statewide, the number of African Americans grew only 19 percent from 1930 to 1940, indicating that

Winter Park was still an attractive destination to many, and that rural to urban migration continued during the 1930s.[27]

Migration declined to Eatonville during the 1930s according to the census. The Eatonville population declined from 137 to 101. The makeup of migrants who moved to Eatonville shifted. Rather than a number moving from South Carolina, many more moved from Mississippi. Overall, fewer new residents came from Florida: 64 percent came from Florida, 6 percent from Georgia, and17 percent came from Mississippi. Yet, a great number of new migrants and their families came from areas close to Eatonville like Hannibal Square, Maitland, Altamonte Springs, and Orlando. Andrew Redding moved to Orlando from Valentine, Georgia, in the 1920s. By 1925, he married a woman named Anna, and together the two started a family. By 1930, he worked in the turpentine industry in Orlando and rented a home at a value of $8. This was around the average value that most African Americans rented their homes in 1930. By 1940, though, he and Anna had moved to Eatonville. They owned a home valued at $500, which despite being the average for most African Americans in 1940, still represented an improvement over renting a home. He worked in the citrus groves that lay adjacent to Eatonville. Redding's story highlights the difference in the African Americans moving to Eatonville as in comparison to Hannibal Square. While most were migrating from deteriorating agricultural centers, most of the migrants coming to Eatonville continued to work in agriculture, while the majority in Hannibal Square went into domestic work.

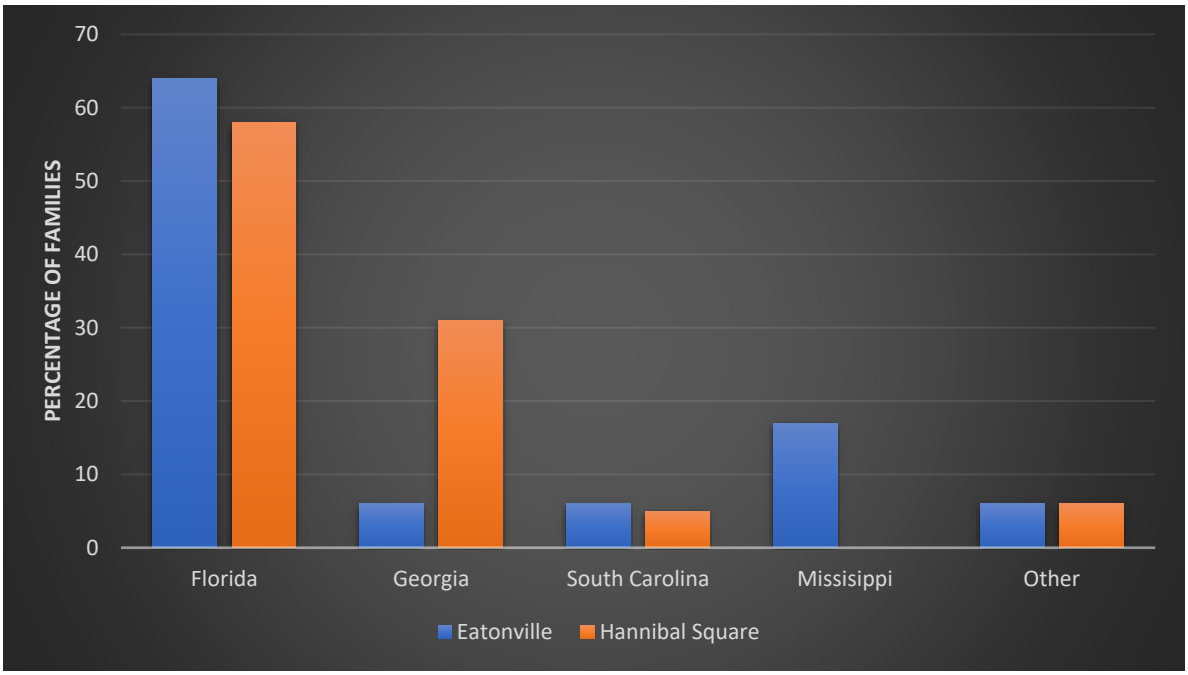

Figure 8: Places of Migration, percentage, 1940

In the 1930s, the number of South Carolinians moving to Eatonville declined and were replaced by new residents from Mississippi (see figure 8). Mississippi experienced many natural and fiscal hardships in the late 1920s and the early 1930s that drove many African Americans out. Erosion of farmland soils due to overcutting of trees led to a decline in the lumber industry. By 1929, many lumber workers who had moved to Mississippi to work became unemployed.[28] Other African Americans left due to the destruction of farmland. In 1927, the Mississippi River flood destroyed sixteen million acres of farmland, displacing thousands of African Americans and poor white sharecroppers. Red Cross workers established camps with rows and rows of tents to provide a semblance of shelter for the lost farmworkers. African Americans were treated significantly worse than White farmers. They were given worse shelters, less food, and became virtual prisoners who were forced to repair levees.[29] Woodrow Spencer moved to Eatonville during the 1930s from Webster County, Mississippi. He worked on the family farm, with his father Gregory and mother Virgie. Together, the family worked on a farm that his father rented

in Mississippi. Spencer moved to Eatonville by 1940, now with a wife and a two-year-old son. His wife Lucile moved from Webster County with him, coming from a poor farming family as well. Spencer worked as a caretaker for L. H. Sheppard in Maitland. Spencer's move to Eatonville highlights the availability for work in the area and reasoning for increased migration to Eatonville.

Several families who had moved to Hannibal Square in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries established deep roots in the community. Their large multi-generational families contributed to the population's growth. An example of one of these large African American families was the Lemons. Elisha Lemon was resident in Winter Park in 1900, where he rented a home with his wife, Maggie, his children, and his widowed mother. By 1910, the family was living on a farm they owned free and clear on Forbes Avenue. Elisha was employed as a woodchopper, his eldest child, Henrietta, was a nineteen-year-old laundress, seventeen-year-old son, William, was a day laborer, and his second son, Elisha, was a fifteen-year-old worker in a citrus packing house. Ten years later, the family was still on the farm. William and Elisha had left home, and Henrietta had returned home having been married and widowed during the decade and was working as a cook. Another daughter, Melinda, was single at twenty-four and worked as a laundress, while the oldest son at home was eighteen-year-old Stephen who was employed in the groves. Elisha lived in Winter Park until he died in 1929. He left his wife and children, Henrietta, Henry, John, Elisha, Melinda, John, Stephen, Alexander, Theresa, Gracie, and Walter. His children, and grandchildren, continued to live in Hannibal Square. The year after Elisha's death, Maggie had moved to 105 Pennsylvania Avenue in 1930 and was living with all eleven of her children, plus her son, Elisha's, wife Nannie, and their five children including two sets of twins. During the Great Depression, perhaps with the continued contraction of the agricultural

sector, his son Elisha became a plasterer. He died in 1962, and his wife, Nannie petitioned successfully to have a military headstone placed for him at Pinewood Cemetery because of his service in World War I. He served on the 63rd pioneer infantry from June 21, 1918, to December 19, 1918.

The Ambroses were another large extended family. Charles Ambrose moved to Winter Park in the late 1800s with his wife, Missouri, from Madison County, Florida. Together they had ten children. Their children continued to live in Winter Park while moving houses and changing occupations. One of their sons, Arthur, married twice and worked many jobs, including laborer, porter, and chauffeur. Their eldest son, Chester, had moved back in with them by 1930 after getting divorced, bringing two granddaughters. By 1940, Chester was still living at home, and their youngest son, Charles Ambrose Jr., also lived with his parents and worked as a yardman.

In Eatonville, the first families that moved and stayed for decades on end were the *founding* families. Unlike Hannibal Square, they were instrumental in the formation of Eatonville itself. Joseph Clark, one of the town founders of Eatonville, had a large extended family that spread throughout Eatonville. He was born in 1859 in Tennessee and moved to Maitland in the early 1880s. His father William moved the family to Atlanta, where Clark married his first wife, Julia Hightower, a Blackfoot Indian. Together, they had three daughters Matte, Mande, and Mamie.[30] Though Clark's daughters eventually moved away from Eatonville in the late 1890s, Clark's brother, Isaac, made a home and name for himself in Eatonville.[31] Isaac worked as a laborer in the orange groves and brought his wife and five children with him from Georgia. All his children graduated from the Hungerford School. Their son Joseph Clark, who was born in the town, left Eatonville temporarily during World War I to work for a company called Baldwin Loco Works in Pennsylvania. A job advertisement in 1916 in the *Delaware County Daily Times*

revealed that they were searching for male workers "machinist and erectors on loco. Work. Ap. Baldwin Loco. Works, Eddystone."[32] After the war, he returned to live with his mother in Eatonville. There he worked in the orange groves. Catherine Clark, the youngest child in the family, married a man named Cephus Alexander and had a large family. After divorcing her husband, Clark worked to support her five children and owned her own home by 1930. The Clark family journey from slavery in Tennessee to members of the town founding family highlights the longevity and influence that these first families had in Eatonville.

There was often intermarriage between the founding families of Eatonville that led to an influx of new residents. Some of Clark's children married into large families that moved to Eatonville in its early days. Samuel 'Sam' Moseley moved to Eatonville in the early 1900s and became a major political figure in Eatonville. He was the mayor of Eatonville from 1920 to 1922 and encouraged the growth of the community in Eatonville, including church activity, and better schools. When he moved to Eatonville around 1900, he brought his wife Mattie and their five children.[33] Matilda Clark, the daughter of Isaac Clark, married Sam Moseley's oldest son James 'Jim' Moseley. Jim worked as a farmer for James H. Hirsch. Together, the two raised a family of four children and many grandchildren in their owned home on Taylor Street. Matilda became a popular and active figure in the Eatonville community. She was an alumna of the Hungerford school and used her knowledge to help her own community.[34] She attended services weekly at the St. Lawrence African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.) Church, taught Sunday school and directed the choir. Eatonville residents called her the "mother" of the church, and the "walking historian of Eatonville," the latter was because of her deep involvement with the founding families of the town. [35] It is clear in both the stories of James Moseley and his wife Matilda that these large families often became integral members of the community.

Hannibal Square and Eatonville both experienced growth throughout the 1920s and 1930s leading to a boom in institutions and community leaders. Hannibal Square grew exponentially more than Eatonville. Eatonville and Hannibal Square attracted similar migrants who were driven by economic factors Those that came from the North in the 1920s moved after industrial work begin to dry out after the end of World War I. Those that migrated from much of the South came from poor agricultural areas where industry was on the decline. Yet, the migration to Eatonville and Hannibal Square during the interwar years should not only be determined of why African Americans left their homes but why they moved specifically to Eatonville and Hannibal. For many families and individuals alike, it became rooted in the employment opportunities in either neighborhood.

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[1] All information about individuals in Hannibal Square comes from federal census data or from documents on Ancestry.com, unless otherwise noted. All specific data from the census about Hannibal Square or Eatonville, such as migration patterns, home ownership values, and others also come from the federal census data or Ancestry.com documents.

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[3] Mitchell and Magbie, *The Life and Times of Joseph E. Clark*, 41; "Place Names give clues to history of an area," *The Orlando Sentinel*, October 20, 1991.

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[5] Louis Arthur Searson, *The Town of Allendale: A Gem of the South Carolina Low Country*, (South Carolina, 1949) 7.

[6] Searson, *The Town of Allendale*,9

[7] "Dillon Rains Drown Crops," The State, September 8, 1928.

[8] "Supreme Court Upholds Verdict Against Allendale County on Negro's Death," *The Columbia Record*, June 26, 1924.

[9]. These figures represent the number of African Americans in Hannibal Square that we aggregated from census data. The number of African Americans in Winter Park was slightly larger because of Blacks living in the White homes where they worked. I did not use this census number because it is lacking for 1920. *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, Bureau of Commerce (Washington D.C. Government Printing Office, 1921); *Fifteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1930*, Bureau of Commerce (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931); *Sixteenth Census of the United States*: *1940*, Bureau of Commerce (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942).

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[17] "James Simmons - Oldest resident of Winter Park," *Sun Herald*, April 3, 1975
[18] Clyde W. Hall, *An African-American Growing Up on the West Side of Winter Park, Florida* 1925-1942 (Clyde W. Hall: 2003), 62.
[19] Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County, Including Early History of East Florida* (Florida: Record Company, 1922), 211.
[20] Philip Warren Miller, "Greater Jacksonville's Response to the Florida Land Boom," University of North Florida Thesis Publication, accessed March 1, 2022, https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1719&context=etd ,14.
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[25]. *Sixteenth Census of the United States*: 1940, Bureau of Commerce (Washington D.C: Government Printing Office, 1942).
[26]. "Laundry Services," *Orlando Evening Star*, 07 October 1937.
[27]. Tables 4, 5, and 31, Florida, Volume II, Population, *Sixteenth Census of the United States*; Table 15, Florida, Volume III, Population, *Fifteenth Census of the United States.*
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[34] Otey, Eatonville, Florida, 36.
[35] Otey, *Eatonville, Florida*, 37.

Chapter 3

Where is the Promised Land?: Black Male Employment in Hannibal Square and Eatonville

In 1880, James Dixon lived in Edisto, Orangeberry, South Carolina. He was seven years old and lived with his mother, Ann, and father, Atticus, who were both illiterate farmers. By 1920, however, Dixon lived in Winter Park, Florida, and owned a home mortgage-free on Fairbanks Avenue. He and his wife Marie had three children. In Winter Park, James worked as a caretaker for a private family. By 1930, he owned a home at a value of $3000 on Comstock Avenue. By then, he owned a barbershop in Hannibal Square, and based on the value of his home, enjoyed an income that sharply contrasted his roots. Dixon's story highlights a large driver for the migration to Hannibal Square: opportunity for jobs and wages that were not common for African Americans during the interwar period.

The life of Eatonite, James Hamilton, reveals a similar story of migration to Orlando employment. Hamilton was born around 1877 in Calhoun County, Georgia, to his mother Mollie and father Dick. He worked on his family farm until he rented a plot of farmland with his wife Ada in 1910. Sometime in 1920, Hamilton with his family moved to Eatonville and owned a home valued at $500. He worked as a general laborer.

Both stories reveal the opportunities for African American men in Hannibal Square and Eatonville. Men's employment patterns in both Hannibal Square and Eatonville unearth a different picture than national trends in the Great Migration, in some respects. Though the towns were a mere five miles apart, they paint variable narratives for African American male employment. Eatonville offered African American men opportunities in the agricultural and professional work sectors, creating a community that relied on Black-owned businesses and the citrus industry. Hannibal Square, fueled by a tourist-based economy, had jobs in the domestic

and manufacturing sectors. Though both towns follow national trends, at least regarding the decline in the agricultural sector during the interwar years and a rise in manufacturing, the nature of both towns crafted more unique job markets than in the nation or state.

By 1920, trends of Black male employment had begun to shift. Many Black men began to move from the agricultural sector to the manufacturing sector. The Federal Census classified manufacturing work as mainly unskilled workers, such as general laborers in factory work, but also included some specialized laborers such as "glass blowers.. electricians...Blacksmiths, factory foreman, and apprentices".[1] Black men often came to these jobs, leaving the floundering agricultural industry in the South. World War I created an opportunity for them as there was a need for industrial workers as White men left to fight in the war, in large urban centers like Chicago, New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia. By 1920, nearly 40 percent of African Americans in the North lived in these four cities.[2] Black men flocked to these cities to take jobs in unskilled labor and escape the agricultural poverty of the American South. For example, in 1910 only sixty-seven Black men worked in the packing houses of Chicago. By 1920, that number had increased to three thousand.[3] Even Black men who worked in specialized and skilled work in the South migrated North to work in unskilled work. Southern White customers typically passed over Black artisans in favor of White artisans. The inability to find work in their specialties drove many to find skilled workers to work anywhere.[4] Such massive growth was evidence of the desire to escape not just agricultural poverty but a lack of jobs for African Americans in southern cities. As a poem titled "Bound for the Promised land" published in 1919 in the *Chicago Defender* expressed:

> *Thousands now are going North,*
> *From Georgia and below.*
> *This chance affords the greatest draught*
> *That we've ever had before.*

Oh! Praise the lord, each house and steeple,
And have a glorious dance.
What a blessing it is for our people
If they would take a chance. [5]

The "promised land" of employment that many African American men hoped the North to be never became a reality. In the North, as in the South, Black men faced hostile and dangerous workplaces. White employers assigned Black men often the hardest, most dangerous jobs, and they received significantly lower pay than their White counterparts.[6] For example, many African American men employed in steel mills often worked next to the blast furnaces. Many White employers believed that their African descent helped them to endure high temperatures.[7] Black male workers faced workplace discrimination and more job instability than White workers in the North. They had little possibility for promotion and were more likely to be laid off.[8] The work was long and tiring. This is reflected in an interview with Frank McLean, a resident of Reading, Pennsylvania, a major steel, and railroad city in the 1920s. In an interview about his father, McLean commented that:

> He left, he went to Detroit, and he came to Reading, Pennsylvania following his brother who had been here since about 1919…. There was the steel industry, there was textile, you know, there was the railroad. And so, they came here for opportunity…. Yeah, my uh…they worked in the steel mill. It didn't work for my father. He told me that, when he first came, times were really hard. They used to work construction for five cents an hour. And the way they worked those men back then. They would stand in line and the guys would fall over, fallout from, you know, exhaustion. They would take them out in a wheelbarrow and the next guy would go in his spot.[9]

African Americans were the first to be fired, increasing their economic desperation. This, in turn, positioned them to be exploited by companies as scabs, used to try and break the many strikes that flared across the country in the late 1910s and early 1920s. From the coal mines of Pennsylvania to the stockyards of Chicago, the use of African Americans to break industrial unions worsened race relations and often led to violence, from dynamiting of Black dwellings to

full-scale race riots.[10] From July 27 to August 2, 1919, in Chicago, for example, the competition over jobs, exacerbated by returning servicemen ended in a riot that left thirty-eight dead, over five hundred injured and more than one thousand homeless.[11] Yet, despite these problems with Northern labor, African Americans still flocked to these jobs, away from the poverty of Southern labor and opportunities.

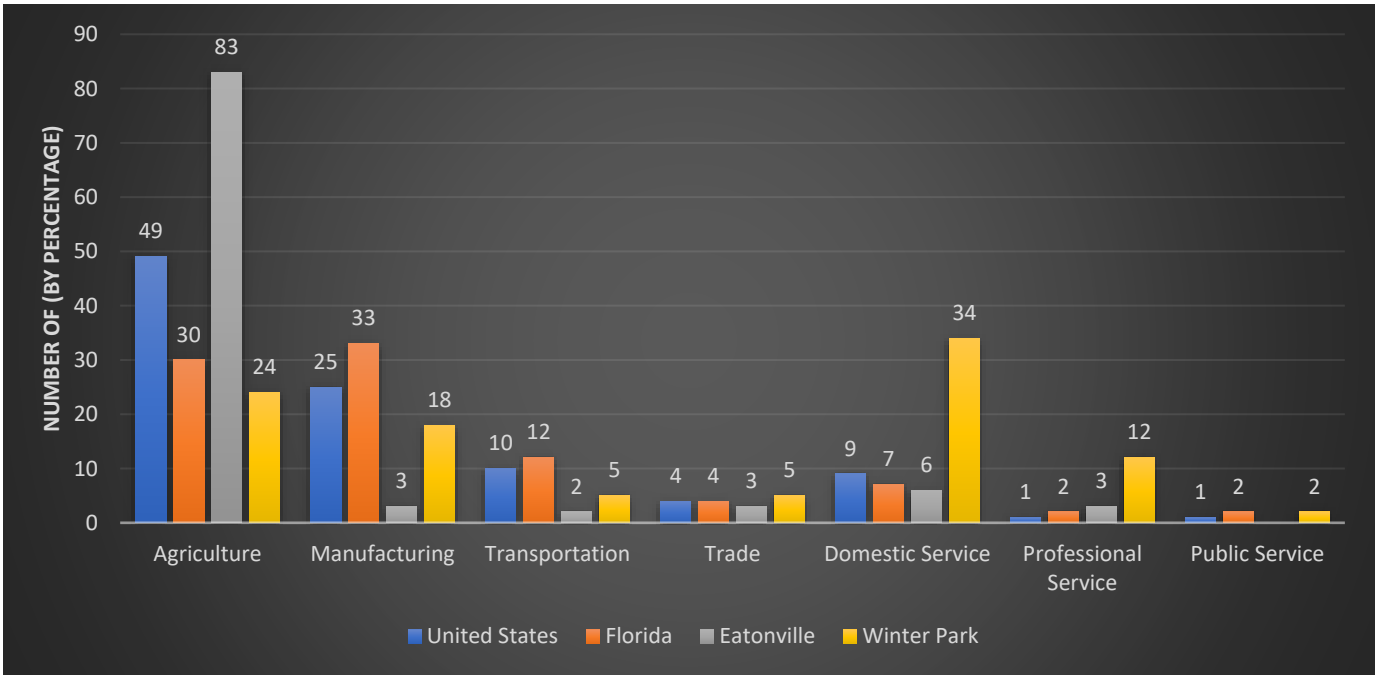

Figure 1: African American Male Employment, percentage, 1920

Despite this, Black male workers preferred these jobs to those that they had left in the South. This is apparent in the changes marked by the census between 1920 and 1930. The number of men in the manufacturing sector in the United States rose to 26 percent throughout the 1920s, while the number in agriculture dropped from 49 to 42 percent (see figure 1 and figure 2). The census numbers illustrated a shift in employment as more Black men traveled North to escape the poverty and oppression that pervaded work in southern agriculture.[12]

The growth of Black men in manufacturing reflected the problems that they faced in the agricultural South as the prosperity of World War I faded. By 1920 nearly half of all employed

African American men in the nation worked in agriculture. [13] The 1920 census classified agricultural work as farm owners and laborers for a variety of crops and products.[14] In the South, most agricultural workers were involved in producing the three most lucrative cash crops: cotton, rice, and tobacco. Cotton remained the most prominent crop in the South, as many plantation owners held onto the ideals of the Antebellum South, and belief in "King Cotton." For a time, cotton remained prosperous for large plantation owners: at the beginning of 1920 the cotton South harvested nearly $2 billion of cotton.[15] During the war years, tobacco and rice farmers also enjoyed a measure of prosperity. The price of tobacco rose five-time higher during World War I, and grain production increased during the war to compensate for wartime need.[16] Yet, this prosperity began to fade as the wartime boom ended.

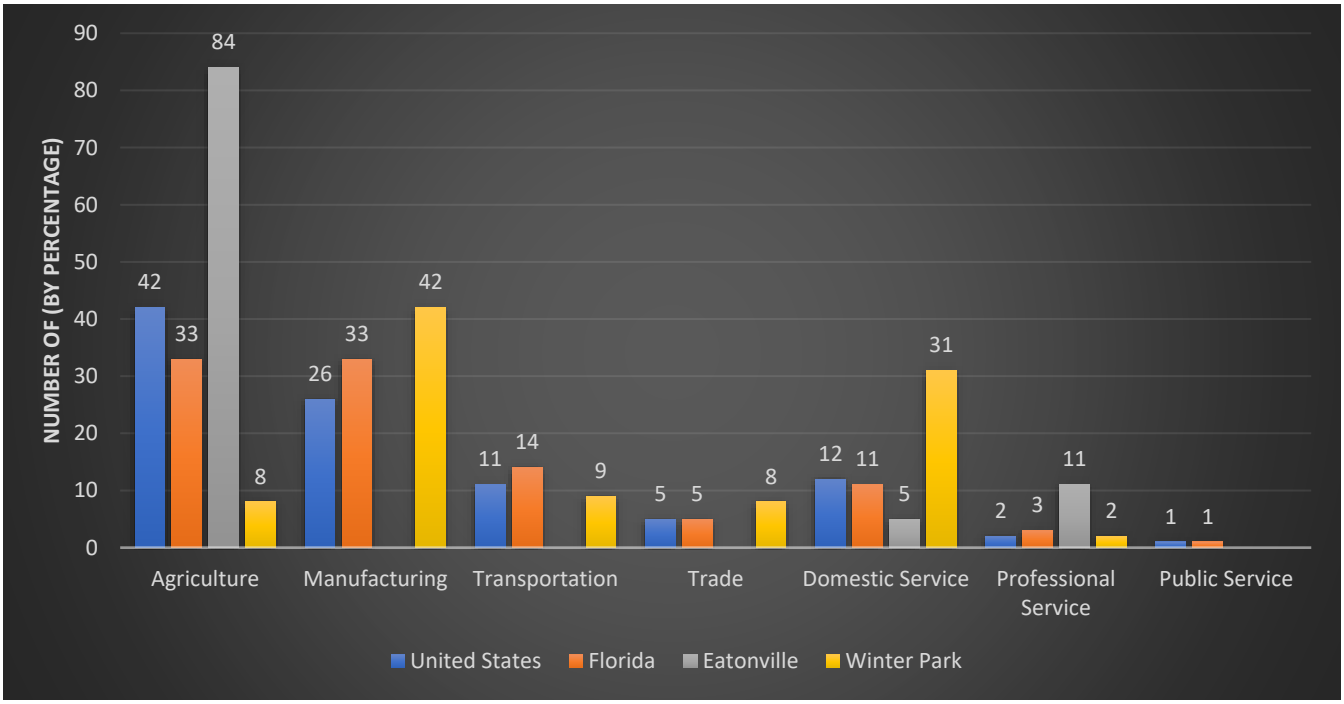

Figure 2: African American Male Employment, percentage, 1930

Despite wartime prosperity, by the early 1920s, many Southern agricultural workers faced massive poverty. This was exacerbated after World War I. Though agricultural prices increased during the war, the sector crashed as the war ended.[17] Crop prices bottomed out during

1920 and remained stagnant throughout the decade. This was due to multiple factors, including no longer needing to meet wartime demands.[18] Low prices decreased farmers' ability to cover their overheads, including paying for labor. Luckily for the landowners, labor needs were reduced by increased mechanization. Throughout the 1920s. the number of tractors on American farms increased significantly from 246,000 to 920,000, reducing the need for farm laborers.[19] Throughout the nation, farmers struggled and tried, as much as possible, to reduce their labor costs to survive. In the South, this agricultural crisis was heightened by a widespread infestation of cotton crops by the boll weevil, and, in 1927, by the devastating flood of the Mississippi River that destroyed cropland and impoverished rural communities along the river.[20] Yet, Black farm laborers faced more than just the declining agricultural economy. [21]

The nature of employment in the agricultural South hindered Black men from making a reasonable living from agricultural work. Many worked on large plantations under a system known as sharecropping.[22] Sharecroppers worked on a plot of land owned by wealthy landowners and raised crops. The landowners took a portion of the wares of the crop, no matter if the sharecropper had produced more or less each year.[23] By the second decade of the twentieth century, sharecropping, which had been met by many African Americans with hope at the end of the Civil War, had degenerated into a crop peonage trap that bound African Americans and poor Whites in a cycle of debt and poverty. White landowners often cheated Black sharecroppers into unfair contracts. Most sharecroppers lived in poverty.[24] While White landowners generally survived the environmental and economic trials of the 1920s and 1930s, it was often at the expense of their sharecroppers. When the Great Depression struck the nation, many sharecroppers found themselves pushed off the land. Many of these joined the Great Migration. Eddie Simpson Jr., who was born to a sharecropper in the 1920s, remembered in the 1930s that:

> Those in the age from around fourteen or fifteen years to those in their twentys disappeared. This was one of those time we would see lot of travel coming by my house. I remember some saying they were going to California. Some say Chicago and some to New York. I remember those that were in school, the older ones, would disappear.[25]

By 1930 the number of Black men who worked in agriculture across the country had dropped from 49 to 42 percent (see figure 1 and figure 2). The struggles of the agricultural sector were evident in the multiple farmland that began to go on sale throughout the rural South. On August 5, 1925, a Georgian newspaper, the *Atlanta Constitution* published an article titled "Premier List of Georgia Farms: More than two hundred desirable farms…eighty thousand acres" of land.[26]" As Black men moved to cities, they mainly worked in the manufacturing sector. Yet, a handful found work outside of both agricultural and manufacturing work.

Very few Black men worked in domestic work throughout the 1920s. Only about 9 percent of Black men worked in the domestic field in 1920, and it increased slightly to 12 percent by 1930. It was more acceptable to hire Black women into the home rather than Black men. The White middle class perceived Black men as dangerous to their children and homes and as an extension of otherness.[27] The most pervasive image was that of danger that Black men posed to White women, especially as a threat of sexual violence. [28] Papers reported on alleged rapes of White women by Black men that often led to violence. For example, the *Orlando Evening Star* reported on May 7, 1939, that in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, a Black man named Sylvester Williams was charged with the assault of a White farm girl. He was given the death penalty.[29] Cases like this were prominent throughout the country, and often kept Black men from employment in the domestic field nationally.

Florida offered a different employment profile for African American men. Though largely rural, Florida was dominated by agricultural industries. So, the census for 1920 showed more African American men in Florida working in manufacturing than nationwide—33 percent

as opposed to 26 percent (see figure 1 and figure 2).[30] In part, this was due to the booming turpentine and lumber industry. This highly mobile industry that laid waste to the southern piney woods, became fully entrenched in Florida in the early twentieth century, generating a significant portion of the lumber for the nation. The bountiful stands of pines led to an abundance of turpentine stills and lumber mills throughout Northern and Central Florida that attracted African American workers.[31] Like in other mechanized and non-agriculture work, Black men suffered long hours and little pay. Many of the men who worked in the Florida turpentine industry were "leased out:" prisoners with debt would be sent to turpentine camps to pay it off. No union existed or would be able to advocate for the rights of Black male workers in the turpentine industry, and thus camp owners were able to enforce this peonage system throughout the early twentieth century without issue. [32] Other workers were migrants: they followed the turpentine camps to find work, wherever necessary.[33]

Turpentine workers worked under difficult positions that often lead many to leave the industry, if they could. Difficulty of life for turpentine workers extended past their work hours. Turpentine camps and the life around them always remained on the fringe. Often a collection of living quarters with an adjacent general store run by the company, turpentine camps were places of drinking and fighting. As a turpentine worker J. B. Brooks recalled:

> I pulled a dead man out of this one [a shack] on a cold morning. They came and got me and said that one of the workers had died and was laid up in his house. When I got here, he was laying on the floor over there. His wife just sat staring straight ahead, never said a word as me and my son pulled his body out and loaded him into the truck. We loaded him up and took him to the police station in Andalusia. He got a bad deal in a knife fight, I guess. I never found out who it was.[34]

The nature of such turpentine camps paired with the quick destruction of the piney woods by the 1920s meant that life remained precarious and unstable for turpentine workers. Many African Americans followed the turpentine camps as they moved South, a wake of environmental

destruction in their path. Often these workers would live off the hunting of rabbits and fish in the area.[35] The instability led many turpentine workers to find work elsewhere.

The other main industry of Florida was citrus. Citrus began to gain traction in the late 1800s. Wealthy northerners like Henry S. Sanford bought large plots of lands throughout central to pursue an interest in citrus crops.[36] With the construction of railroads, the citrus industry boomed, and independent orange farmers established small farms throughout the Florida Citrus Belt.[37] African Americans worked in the citrus groves, picking fruit on large farms seasonally. Some worked within the industry as packers or truck drivers, and, therefore, would not have been designated by the census as working in agriculture. According to the census, agricultural workers included farm managers, and laborers, not the men who worked in either transportation or packaging of the product.[38] The industry moved away from small farms toward corporations during the late 1920s as growers were hit by a number of natural disasters, including the disastrous "Medfly" that infected nearly 80 percent of Florida's citrus crop in 1929.[39] This meant that many of the handful of African American men who did own their own citrus farms were bought out from larger corporations.

With more men working in agricultural industries, the census records a smaller number of Black men in Florida in agriculture than in the nation as a whole, and this declined from 40 percent in 1920 to 33 percent in 1930.[40] African American men who worked solely in agriculture often owned small independent vegetable farms and grew crops like tomatoes, cucumber, celery, potatoes, cotton, and peanuts.[41] The decline in agricultural work in Florida reflected national trends like the agricultural depression and also the fickle nature of Florida's weather. For example, a Category 4 hurricane hit the state in September of 1926 causing 1.31 billion dollars' worth of damage.[42]

More African Americans men worked in the domestic field in Florida than in the nation, with 7 percent in 1920 growing to 11 percent by 1930 (see figure 1 and figure 2).[43] Domestic work for men included waiters, bus boys, golf course workers, chauffeurs, gardeners, janitors, butlers, and porters.[44] This increase was based in the blossoming tourist industry throughout Florida. The seasonal tourist industry offered job possibilities African American men and women alike. Many originally migrated to North Florida from Georgia seasonally, often to work in agriculture on large vegetable farms, but ended up staying to work in the domestic sphere in cities that they settled in.[45]

Overall, for Black men in Florida and in the United States, agriculture remained the most prominent grouping of occupations. Nonetheless, the number of Black men in agriculture declined during the 1920s, reflecting the impact of the agricultural depression, the advent of mechanization, and the desire of African American men to escape sharecropping. Over the same decade, the number of men in manufacturing rose. In Florida, more Black men worked in domestic work than nationally due to the seasonal tourist industry. Eatonville, though on paper seemed to fall into these trends, had more Black men involved in professional work within the community.

Eatonville aligned with other Floridan rural areas, at least agriculturally. Around 83 percent of Black men in Eatonville worked in agriculture. Like many African Americans in Florida, Eatonville residents mainly worked in citrus groves. Eatonville was adjacent to the nearby Maitland which had many wealthy northerners who wanted Black help to work in their citrus groves.[46] One such worker was Stephen Brown. In 1910, Brown lived in Blue Springs, Florida, a small town in Gadsen County. Gadsen County, known for its shade tobacco in the early 1900s, felt the effects of the decreasing prices for products.[47] Shade tobacco was more

expensive than normal tobacco, and was much more meticulous to grow and cure.[48] Though the industry lasted until the end of World War II, some economic and natural hardship hit the industry in Gadsen. A fungus called Blackshack decimated many Gadsen fields in the mid-1920s. Competition also rose with the booming shade tobacco industry in the Connecticut Valley, often closing many farms and driving workers from tobacco plantations.[49] This drove laborers like Brown to migrate elsewhere to find better and more stable agricultural opportunities, and in this case, the flourishing citrus industry of central Florida. By 1920, Brown lived in Eatonville with his wife and family, and worked as a laborer in an orange grove. Brown's story highlights the migrant workers that pervaded Florida's workforce, some of which came to Eatonville.

Despite its agricultural focus, Eatonville provided other opportunities for African American men. In 1920, 3 percent worked in professional service, and by 1930 that had grown to eleven percent, five Black men, at least in the census records (see figure 1 and figure 2). Professional service included teachers, artists, actors, clergymen, and librarians.[50] This compares to only 3 percent nationally and 3 percent statewide in 1930. This was mainly due to the growth of the Hungerford School in the area. Russel C Calhoun opened the Hungerford Vocational School in 1899.[51] The school based its teaching style off Tuskegee Institute, Calhoun's alma mater, and focused on uplifting African Americans through community involvement and vocational education.[52] Calhoun and his wife, Mary, ran the school for many years up until his death in the 1920s. Then John C. Jordan became principal, a position he held until 1931. The number of teachers living in Eatonville rose from three in 1920 to a boarding house of ten in 1930, highlighting the growth of the school and Eatonville. The Hungerford school also gained help from outside of the Eatonville, especially from Rollins College, that facilitated its growth.[53]

Outside of the Hungerford School, the need for Black men in specalized work was evident in the census records. Many men who had moved to Eatonville for work in the citrus farms often served the community in other ways. For example, Christmas Graham was born in 1881 in Northern Florida, and he farmed in Jefferson County for the first part of him life. By 1917, however, he had moved to Eatonville. No longer a farmer, he served as a minister in the Methodist Church of Eatonville. It boasted the biggest congregation in the town, and was one of the first churches to be estalished in Eatonville. It had grown so large that in 1910 the congregation built a new building for the church.[54]

Throughout the 1920s, business ownership continued to expand. Matthew Brazell's life, whom Hurston wrote about in the first chapter of *Mules and Men*, reflected this growth. Brazell and his wife, Hannah, moved to Eatonville by 1900 from North Florida. He initially worked as a general laborer, designated with no specific work from the census taker. In 1907, according to a record from the US post office, the General Postmaster at the time and the local congressman elected him the town's postmaster. By 1920, he owned a store of his own and a home without a mortgage. George Thomas was another business owner of the 1920s. His father, Walter, came from South Carolina, although George himself was born in Florida. By 1930, Thomas owned a barbershop in Maitland, where he served White customers. On the weekends, he would travel to Eatonville and cut the hair of the Black residents.[55] He owned the barber shop until his late sixities when his son took over the business.

Though not reflected in the census, some Black men found opporunity in public service in Eatonville. The Federal Bureau designated jobs in public service as people who worked in politics, public safety, or in the army.[56] The census taker in Eatonville did not note any men who worked in public service in Eatonvile in either 1920 or 1930, but other evidence contradicts this.

Hiram B. Lester, who moved to Eatonville in the late nineteenth century, became the mayor of Eatonville from 1922 to 1924. While Lester was in office, he advocated for self-sufficiency for Eatonville residents, encouraging business growth in the community. He also raised funds to build the first gas station, next to the Eatonville general store.[57] Hurston wrote about Lester. She remarked that when she returned to Eatonville: ″Hello, heart-string," Mayor Hiram Lester yelled as he hurried up the street. "We heard everything about you up North. You back home for good, I hope.″ [58] Despite Lester's position as mayor, the census notes him as a cook in 1920 and a butler for a private family in 1930. Matthew Brazell was also the mayor of Eatonville, serving in the position from 1916 to 1920.[59] The 1920 census taker noted that he was only a store owner. This may have come down to the methodology of the enumerators who visited Eatonville. One limitation of the census is that the census takers wrote down the occupation of which made the most income.[60] So, despite the absence in the census, Eatonville men contributed to their community through public service.

In the 1920s, Black men in Eatonville reflected similar trends agriculturally compared to other African American settlements in Florida or the United States. They depended on work in the agricultural sector, yet some were able to work in the booming Florida tourist industry of the 1920s. Eatonville remained different, despite some similarities, as a self-governed Black town. Such the nature of the community led to open doors for specialized work for Black citizens in institutions purposed for the town of Eatonville. This included work as politicians, business owners, and as teachers. Hannibal Square also found itself deviating from the norm of African American male employment in the 1920s, but for different reasons than Eatonville.

Hannibal Square tended to differ from national or state trends for African American male employment, especially with respect to domestic and agricultural work. In 1920, 34 percent of

African American men worked in the domestic field in Hannibal Square, and this remained consistent through 1930 (see figure 1 and figure 2). This contrasts with only 9 percent of Black men nationally and 7 percent statewide who worked in domestic work in 1920. The main reason for this was the tourist-based economy of Winter Park. While this defied national and state trends, tourism was not unique to Winter Park. Other Florida towns like St. Augustine, Sarasota, and St. Petersburg thrived off a tourist economy, enticing seasonal visitors with elaborate festivals, serene beaches, and other attractions.[61]

With opportunities in domestic work, African American men in Hannibal Square were less engaged in agriculture than their counterparts throughout the nation as a whole or in Florida. The 1920s showed a distinct drop in the number of men in agriculture from 25 percent in 1920 to 8 percent in 1930. These numbers reveal the different employment prospects that the tourist-based economy afforded African American workers. Instead of working as farmers year-round, they worked as gardeners, porters, or chauffeurs for the wealthy White Winter Park residents. As written in *The Reporter* in 1881, Hannibal Square had "lots [that] will be sold to Negro families of good character who can be depended upon to work in the family and in the groves."[62] For example, Haskell Shumate's move to Hannibal Square saw him change occupations. In 1920, Shumate was working on a rented farm in Greenville, South Carolina. By 1930, he moved to Hannibal Square. By the end of the decade, he was a truckdriver for a store, probably, Shepard and Fuller, a local White general store located at the junction between Park Avenue and Morse Boulevard, which employed him two years later as a porter.[63]

Other African American men worked in the booming manufacturing industry of Winter Park, as more citrus companies, such as Lake Charm Fruit Company and Tree Gold Packing Company, were established Central Florida to capitalize on the market of northern visitors who

wanted to ship a little sunshine back home. Central Florida area became the hub of the citrus industry throughout the 1920s as growers moved South to avoid the colder areas of northern Florida. This was, in part, to prevent another economic disaster like one that occurred from the Great Freeze of 1894. Thus, these companies expanded and folded the workers of Hannibal Square into the "Big Citrus" industry.[64] The Lake Charm Fruit Company, for example, began to buy large plots in the late 1920s. The *Orlando Sentinel* noted in 1928 that the company had "recently purchased from Mr. C. S. Lee" a plot of land "located across the railroad tracks from their packing house."[65] Such companies offered African American men work as both pickers and packagers.[66]

The stories of African Americans in Hannibal Square reflect these statistics. In 1880, Robert T. Peterkin lived on a rented farm in Marlboro, South Carolina, with his family and siblings. Though what kind of farm is not specified, it most likely would have been a tobacco or cotton farm, which were the staple crops of that county.[67] By 1910, he had moved to Orange County, Florida, and rented a home with his wife Priscilla, and their two children. He was working in the turpentine camp. Yet, by 1920, Peterkin lived in Hannibal Square with his family and owned a house mortgage free on New England Avenue. He was working in an orange grove. In 1930, he continued to live in Hannibal Square and was a dishwasher for a private business. Peterkin's stories reveal an inclination towards domestic work, even with presence of agricultural work in the area, highlighting the stability found in such jobs.

Ultimately, the stories and statistics of Hannibal Square and Eatonville expose a different narrative for African Americans migrating during the 1920s. Hannibal Square and Eatonville created an environment with different employment opportunities for Black men. Hannibal Square opened doors for men to work in the domestic jobs, and in the booming citrus industry of

Central Florida, in both the fields and the factories. Eatonville, while mainly becoming a home for African American migrant farmworkers to find stability in the flourishing citrus industry of the 1920s, also crafted an environment where Black men could own businesses. Yet, the decade following would spell shifts in patterns of employment for Black men nationally, statewide and in these two communities.

The Great Depression spelled massive poverty and hardships across the United States, for peoples of all races. Hundreds of businesses collapsed and shuttered their doors. Employers cut wages for most workers, and wages fell 60 percent from before the stock market crash. Prices for agricultural and industrial products fell and devastated most industries. [68] In the West, the dust bowl, and other environmental problems decimated farmlands and left many penniless.[69] Thus, in these conditions, competitions for jobs rose, and positions once given to African American laborers were given to White workers.

African American workers across the nation experienced the effects of the Great Depression. The United States government estimated, in 1930, that nearly 38 percent of African Americans needed some type of assistance in order to live. [70] The Great Depression affected African American employment, although not always in ways that were represented in the census. The percentage of African American men working in agriculture stayed about the same as in the 1920s. However, average wages for farmers dropped from $1.60 per week in 1925 to $1.20 in 1932.[71] Prices for products dropped. For example, cotton sold for eighteen cents a pound in 1929, but by 1933 this had dropped to a mere six cents. Farmers sometimes resorted to killing livestock that they could no longer afford to feed. Others would not bother even bringing products to market as it did little to ease debts. For the African Americans that did own land, many lost at least 10 percent of their total acreage.[72] Around 100,000 sharecroppers in the 1930s

throughout the country lost their possessions and began to move into urban areas for employment.[73] By the end of the 1930s, two-thirds of African Americans in the country lived in the cities.[74]

The federal government attempted to alleviate agricultural poverty, by easing the hardships of farm owners, but this hurt farm laborers in the process. The federal government paid farmers to reduce crop production, hoping to encourage a rise in prices.[75] This led to more laborers falling into deeper poverty as they were often laid off from their land and jobs as landowners reduced production. The Fair Labor Standards Act passed in Congress on June 25, 1938. This act was intended to help set up a minimum wage for workers industries, which at the time was a forty cent per hour minimum wage for a forty-hour work week.[76] The act was only able to pass because of all the exemptions layered into the writing of the bill. For example, employers in agricultural work were able to set lower wages than the forty cents an hour and exempted agricultural workers. Thus, the Fair Labor Standards Act did little to help poor Black or White agricultural laborers in the South. [77] This was not helped by the increased mechanization of agriculture throughout the 1930s. Farmers with large amounts of land often would use money from the federal government to purchase machinery rather than pay laborers. Often these laborers migrated to large cities, and the number of African American men in manufacturing rose from 25 percent in 1920 to 26 percent in 1930 to 38 percent by 1940 (see figure 2 and figure 3).[78] The number of Black men in domestic work also increased in the 1930s slightly, rising 3 percent, reflecting the growing difficulty to find employment (see figure 2 and figure 3).[79]

Though the number of Black men in manufacturing rose through the 1930s, the census numbers fail to reflect the instability of the period (see figure 2 and figure 3). The federal

government attempted to salvage jobs through New Deal legislature but did little to improve the situation for Black industrial workers. Organizers barred Black workers from the most effective unions because of racial discrimination. Without the power of unionization, they could not bargain for better wages or conditions, so relied on federal policies during the Great Depression.[80] New Deal policy relief efforts did not do much to help these African American workers. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933 attempted to fix economic issues by having large industries self-regulate. This act allowed industries to enforce their own minimum wages and hours. Unfortunately, these decisions were made by the large business executives, and thus these regulations did nothing to help the common worker. Thus, both Black and White laborers found little benefit from the NIRA.[81] The Civil Works Administration, Works Progress Administration, and Civilian Conservation Corps, which employed male workers of all races for federal projects, gave different wages to Black and White workers.[82] The failure of these policies for Black workers was reflected in their wages. In 1933, there was still about a 12-cent difference between the average wages of a White worker and a Black worker.[83] This wage disparity was not exclusive to Black workers. Native Americans had their own division of the CCC where they were paid significantly less than White workers. Hispanic farm workers in California competed with White families migrating to the area, and thus faced similar trials.[84]

Despite the instability, many African Americans continued to move to cities looking for jobs, increasing competition. In the urban South, unemployment grew in just one year, from one-third of the Black population in 1931 to one-half in 1932. [85] When they moved to cities, they often worked in textile mills, sawmills and factories, such as tobacco factories. They also were attracted to shipbuilding and Dry dock companies. [86] Many found the prospects in cities and employment in factories better than working as sharecroppers or farmers.[87]

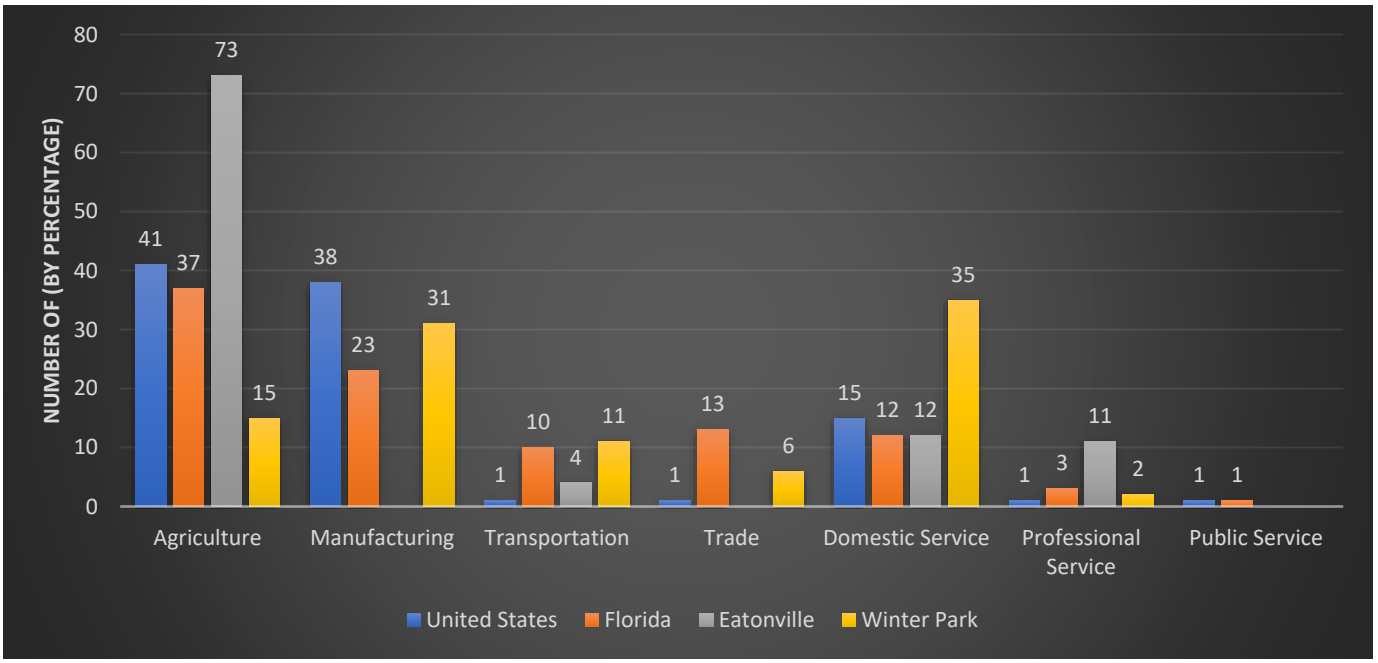

Figure 3: African American Employment, percentage, 1940

The experiences of Black male workers in Florida did not always follow national trends. The number of Black men in manufacturing in the state decreased during the 1930s, dropping from 32 percent in 1930 to 23 percent in 1940. This is most likely because African American men were often the first to be laid off, as they were in most other workplaces nationally. Additionally, the overcutting of trees in the Piney Woods reduced turpentine and lumber production.[88] In comparison, the number of Black workers in agriculture increased slightly from 33 to 37 percent, which perhaps speaks to the continued expansion of settlement south along the

peninsula (see figure 2 and figure 3).[89] The number of men in domestic work maintained in Florida, staying at 11 percent in 1930 and 12 percent in 1940.

The Great Depression took great tolls on the job market for African Americans both in Florida and nationwide. New Deal legislature did little to improve the massive poverty of male Black workers nationally. drove many African American men out of agriculture nationally. Though more men flocked to manufacturing jobs in urban centers, these jobs were not much better than those that they had left behind. Eatonville and Hannibal Square faced similar upheavals within their job markets during the 1930s.

Eatonville faced a changing job market through the 1930s. Agriculture remained the dominant, but the percentage of men engaged in agriculture dropped from 83 in 1930 to 73 percent in 1940. The residents of Eatonville felt the strain from the Depression and found any way to make money throughout. Some men continued to stay in agriculture for work. Andrew Redding moved to Eatonville in the 1920s. The census taker noted that he worked in the turpentine industry in 1920. By the time he moved to Eatonville in the 1920s, the 1930 census taker noted that he worked on a citrus grove. He continued to work on them through the 1940s into World War II.

Men in Eatonville did turn to domestic work, like in Hannibal Square, but for other reasoning. They had no adjacent or interconnected White community counterpart like Hannibal Square to Winter Park. The influx of men in domestic work most likely came due to the hardships of the Depression. For example, Attaway Ward, a man who moved to Eatonville from Windemere, a community within a couple of miles of Orlando, was a farmer for most of his life. When the Great Depression hit, his jobs started to change frequently. In 1930, he worked as a chauffeur in Windermere. He rented a home at a value of $10 a month. By 1940, when he had

moved to Eatonville, he worked as a truck driver, owning his own home in Eatonville valued at $900. His story highlights the movement of jobs for economic purposes, including into domestic work. They had to find work in whatever employment sphere was available. Another example is the previously mentioned Travis Spencer. He lived in Mississippi until the mid-1930s when he moved to Eatonville to work in the citrus groves, and then as a private laborer. He was making around $400. At the age of twenty-five, he worked for Jack Hays, most likely as a domestic worker, who was a lawyer at the Tilden and Hays law firm. Hays himself was a popular figure in the Orlando area and was written about frequently in newspapers. On August 3, 1932, a newspaper article titled "Jack Hays Now a Benedict" dove into Hay's love-life, and his marriage to Louise Vaughn in Maitland. He was noted as a "popular young partner" who was "one of Orlando's eligible bachelors of several years."[90] In 1933, the *Orlando Sentinel* reported that Hays was the "new president of the Orlando chess club," showing a high involvement within the Orlando community.[91] Spencer's movement from farmer to working for one of the most popular men in Orlando highlights the opportunities outside of agriculture for men in Eatonville.

The Hungerford school continued to serve as a strong staple of the Eatonville community, meaning that Black men continued to find work in the professional sphere in the 1930s. The school did begin to decline during the first half of the 1930s. The beginning of Depression had taken a toll on the campus, due to a lack of funding, and a lack of enrollment for the school. Captain L. E Hall moved to Eatonville and became the principal from 1931 until the end of the decade. To help the school, he recruited a large and wealthy White Board of Trustees that contributed funding to the school. This included residents of the Orlando area, even Winter Park, including Reverend Richard Wright, A. Buel Trowbridge Jr, and William E. Howard. Rollins College president Hamilton Holt served on the Advisory Board for the school.[92] Throughout his

time as principal, Hall added multiple buildings and headed recruitment efforts to bring teachers to the school. Through his efforts, Hungerford lasted through the Depression and onward into the 1940s.[93] Hall's efforts are visible in multiple newspaper articles throughout the decade that promote Hungerford's Sunday afternoon concert, a popular fundraiser event put on for White tourist and locals. As remarked in the *Orlando Evening Star* on March 13, 1931:

> Hear the jubilee singers of the Hungerford School. The best in Plantation melodies, in Negro Spirituals, interspersed with lively readings. Lots of new songs. Thirty trained voices will cause these songs to linger forever to your soul. Come and bring your friends.[94]

Advertisements for the school's concerts permeated 1930s newspapers. In 1935, the *Orlando Sentinel* advertised the Hungerford School Jubilee singers reporting that "Hungerford's students to sing spirituals…. [at] the flower pageant, "A Floralia" on Tuesday evening, April 23." Advertisements like these highlights the presence of the school throughout Eatonville, and the wider Orlando community.[95] By 1940, Hungerford had the largest enrollment in its history, 111 students.[96] Hungerford's continued presence meant continued work as teachers and on the campus ground for Black men. This is reflected in the census data. The number of Black men in professional work maintained throughout the Great Depression.

The continuation of a strong tourist economy and the subsequent need for domestic workers is evident in the 1940 census data for Hannibal Square. The number of Black men working in domestic work increased from 31 to 35 percent by 1940.[97] Many of the men in domestic sector often moved from job to job, taking whatever employment was available. Baker De Pugh was one of these men. Originally from Cook, Illinois, he moved to Winter Park in the 1920s with his wife and child. In 1930 he lived on 415 Webster Avenue with a White man named George Kraft. He lived there up until 1935. By 1935 he and his family lived at 881 Fairbanks Avenue where he worked as a decorator and gardener. His home was valued at $3000.

De Pugh's story reveals that the tourist town nature of Winter Park lent itself towards domestic work for African American men.

Additionally, although agricultural employment remained static for Black workers nationwide, in Hannibal Square, agricultural opportunities increased. The number of Black men working in the industry rose to 15 percent by 1940. This was probably due to the arrival of new citrus companies close to Winter Park. Like the surrounding Orlando area, Winter Park continued to see growth in its citrus industry. The biggest of these was the Gentile Brothers, who opened an orange-packing factory in 1937 on Park Avenue, directly next to the railroad line for easy access to national markets. [98] Joe B. Arnold was one of the many workers who migrated to Winter Park and began to work in the citrus industry. In 1930, Arnold was a farmer in Greenville, South Carolina. By 1940, he had married his wife Martha and moved to Hannibal Square where they rented a house on Rear Street. By 1942, he was working the Gentile Brothers factory.[99]

The general affluence of the Winter Park community helped maintain African American retention and employment in Hannibal Square through the Great Depression. Through even the height of the Depression, the businesses of Winter Park continued to promote the wealth and luxury that its White residents expected. For example, in 1934, the *Winter Park Topics* ran an advertisement for a home on Morse Avenue, priced at $16,000. The paper boasted a house with "gas, electricity, water, and automatic hot water system. Servant's porch," the landscaping as "among the finest in point of natural beauty and landscaping in the city" and situated in a neighborhood "surrounded by handsome and costly residences and fronts upon palm lined avenue."[100] The unusual affluence of the community supported local businesses and the African Americans who worked for them even in the depths of the Depression. For example, Arthur

Straughter was born in Hannibal Square in the 1890. By 1917 he was a laborer for the M. J. Darling Company, a local business. Straughter clearly had connections or talent or both because, in 1920, he was the manager of a pool room, and by 1928 he bought his own ice cream parlor on New England Avenue. He and his wife kept the business going throughout the Great Depression, and into the 1940s, which reflects on a certain level of disposable income circulating in the community despite the national economic crisis.[101]

It is clear that the 1930s created shifts in the job market for both Eatonville and Hannibal Square, though in different ways. The types of jobs differed for each town. African American men in Hannibal Square shifted towards working in domestic work as the tourist-based economy provided for jobs not typically seen for Black men nationally. The Depression also opened doors for larger citrus companies to capitalize on the growing citrus industry in central Florida. The presence of such companies like the Gentile Brothers provided new employment opportunities for African American men.

Eatonville, though with the decline in agriculture, saw a continued presence of opportunity for African American men in specialized work. Community leaders like Captain L E. Hall and Hiram Lester who had often come from farming backgrounds became cornerstones in the development of Eatonville. Though reflecting the decline of agriculture as seen nationally, and statewide, Eatonville proved to be different in the sense that it opened doors for Black business ownership, and self-governance not seen in many places, even in Hannibal Square.

Overall, both places provide unique job markets than to the typical for Black men during the 1920s and 1930s. Hannibal Square crafted a space with a plentiful amount of domestic work due to the tourist-based economy, along with jobs in the citrus industries seasonally. Eatonville followed national trends in the sense that African American men mainly worked in agriculture

during both decades. Yet, it remained unique because of its status as an incorporated town. Black men could provide specialized work as business owners, and politicians to serve their fellow Eatonville residents. The residents of Hannibal Square, though enjoying higher business ownership due to the economy of Winter Park, were not a separate entity from it. These two communities provide stark contrast to the typical stories of those moving North during the Great Migration for African American men. Most Black men moved away from agriculture to find work elsewhere: in Eatonville, many men moved into agricultural industries because the work was more plentiful in the area. Hannibal Square provided a haven of domestic work and ebbed off the tourist town of Winter Park. In both, a different picture of the Great Migration occurs. Not just moving North but migrating to places of stability and opportunity for work.

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Chapter 4

More than Maids: Women's Employment in Hannibal Square and Eatonville

Nestled among the crowded streets of Hannibal Square, there is a ninety-year-old Black day nursery that continues to serve the community. Its founder, Rachel M Lester, an African American woman, was originally from Maitland.[1] In the 1920s, Lester trained as a nurse in Savannah, Georgia. When she returned to Florida in 1927, she settled in Hannibal Square and established the Welbourne Avenue Nursery and Kindergarten.[2] The nursery gave the low-income families of Hannibal Square a place to take care of their children and educate them while the parents were working, and it quickly became a prominent part of the community. The Welbourne Avenue Nursery and Kindergarten persisted through the economic depression of the 1930s, despite the poverty and unemployment around it. Indeed, the nursery has survived into the twenty-first century, due, in part, to community support, and continues to uphold its mission of supporting low-income families and their children.

Meanwhile in Eatonville, a different type of institution for older children was helmed in 1920 by Mary Calhoun. In 1888, Calhoun moved to Eatonville along with her husband Russell. Both alumni of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, they aimed to start a school for the Black children of the Eatonville area. Inspired by the Tuskegee model of teaching, the two started the Hungerford School.[3] Both taught at and helped to run the school throughout the early twentieth century. In 1909, Russell died, and the widowed Mary became the principal of the school. She ran the school for another ten years after her husband's death, into the 1920s. Through her time as principal the institution grew rapidly and attracted many students from all over Florida the school continued even after her death.[4]

The stories of these two Black women highlight some of the possibilities for female employment in each community. The interwar years were characterized by a steady trend for

women's employment throughout the United States, Florida, and even in Hannibal Square and Eatonville: a concentration in domestic work. Yet, the stories of Calhoun and Lester represent a nuance in the stories of Black women during the early Great Migration period. Lester's success and the thriving of the Welbourne Avenue Nursery and Kindergarten to this day highlight the influence of the affluence of Winter Park on the opportunities for Black women in Hannibal Square. Not only did it provide foundation for a heavy reliance on domestic work for women, but also ways for Black women to own businesses and specialize in other fields. And at least one, Eatonville woman, on the other hand, had the opportunity to branch out of domestic work due to the inherent opportunities available in the independent Black town. Overall, the unique nature of each community contributed to opening other doors in work outside of the domestic field for Black women and revealed a more nuanced vision of Black women in the workplace during the 1920s and 1930s.

Women of all races, generally, faced more obstacles for employment than men. In the 1920s and 1930s, it became more popular for White middle-class women to get an education and the work as either teachers or in clerical work. These jobs included stenographers or secretaries. [5] Educated women struggled to work in other forms of specialized work, such as business ownership, doctors, and lawyers. Most White women in unskilled employment worked in the domestic or personal services such as waitresses, maids, cooks, and workers in hotels. Maids that worked in homes struggled to make ends meet and often either lived with the family they worked for or in a boarding house.[6] For African American women, the field of employment was narrow.

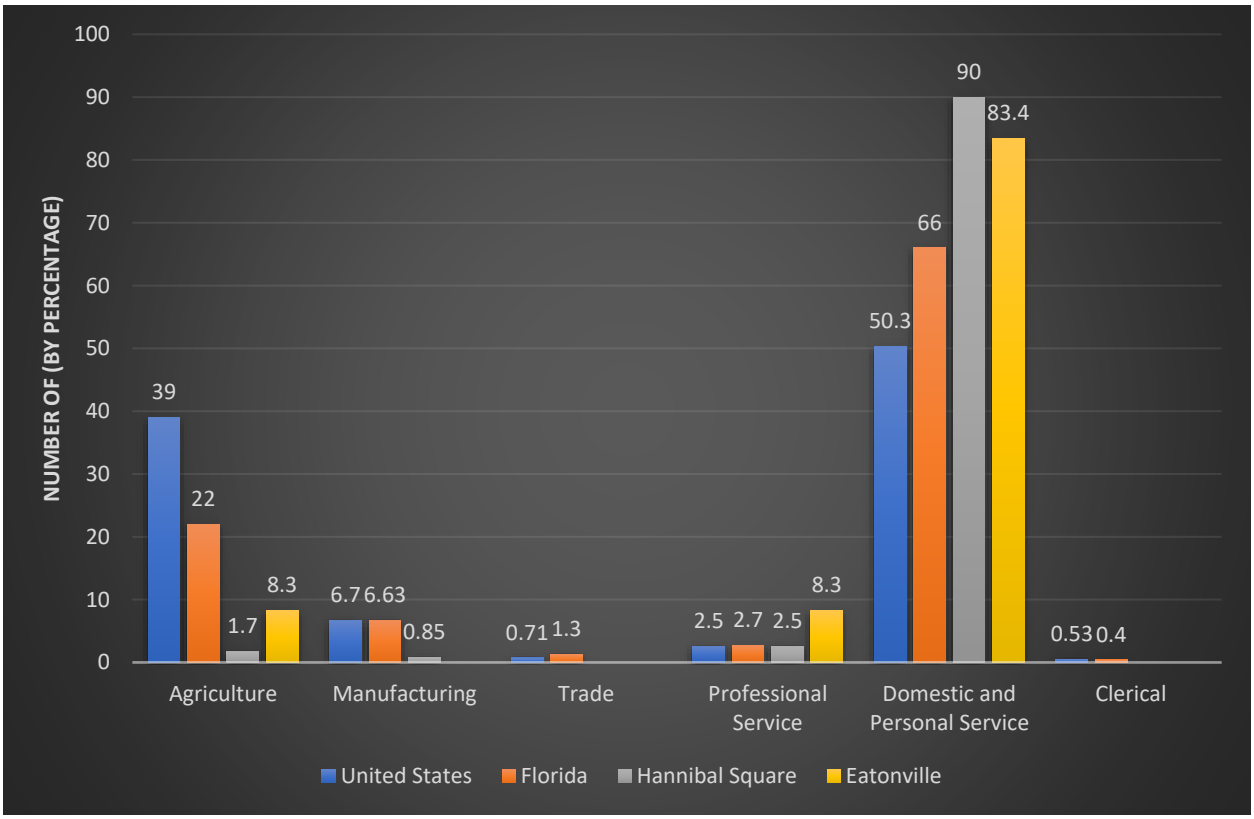


Figure 1: African American Women, Occupation, 1920, percentage

Domestic service became a staple of work for African American women. The 1920 census classified domestic workers as mainly servants, rail car workers, butlers, laundresses, restaurant workers, cooks, janitors and beauticians.[7] In 1920, 50 percent of employed African American women in the United States worked within domestic service and this increased to 63 percent by 1930 (see figure 1 and figure 2).[8] Most women were employed as laundresses, maids, cooks, and nannies by wealthy and middle class families.[9] In the South, many Black women became domestics as they moved to cities in the early 1900s. Most of the major cities in the South had a large proportion of domestic employees in comparison to the population. Atlanta was 1:14, Nashville was 1:16, and Richmond was 1:13. Often these were the easiest jobs to obtain for Black women, as many coming from rural areas lacked education. Racial prejudice also restricted what jobs Black women obtained in the South.[10]

During the Great Migration, Black women flocked to northern cities in search of work and stability. Especially in the domestic sphere, the North attracted many female domestic workers due to its higher wages. *The Chicago Defender* wrote in 1916 that women were earning "$5 to $7 a week with room and board, as maids, nurses, and cooks" in North about double of what they were earning in the South.[11]

A movement away from agriculture, and more work in Northern homes derived from a shift in the perception of which women should work in the home in the North. The image of a "perfect" domestic servant in the household changed throughout the early twentieth century. The idea that women should remain in the private sphere, working within the home, meant that primarily women of all races worked in the domestic field.[12] White female servants were more prestigious for employers than Black women.[13] Despite this, White women preferred to work in clerical jobs, such as secretarial or stenography, moved away from work within the home in the 1920s. With the downward trend of White women working as domestics, northern middle- and upper-class White residents hired Black women. The number of Black women working as domestics in the North also grew from the movement of the Great Migration. Very few African American women were in the North to work as domestics in the early twentieth century, and in the 1920s employers could now employ the plethora that moved to booming cities. For White employers, hiring a Black woman had two major threads of significance. A stigma attached since the end of slavery servants in households became a status symbol for the middle and upper class, highlighting a disposable income in-front of greater society. Yet, hiring a Black women created a different dynamic than hiring a White woman. Instead of an employer-employee relationship, it created a power dynamic of master- servant, and the racial superiority of the master or lady of the house was affirmed by the nature of the work that the woman performed.[14]

The increased number of Black women in domestic work was also due to the pervasive stereotypes that permeated the United States since the pre-Civil War period. Generally, middle-class White society viewed it as more acceptable and safer to hire Black women in homes than Black men due to the perception and stereotypes that surrounded African Americans. Fearmongers, from politicians to newspaper editors, had portrayed Black men as lascivious beasts for generations, while Black women were often cast as a "mammy:" a stereotypical Black woman who is happy and content serving in the homes of White families and taking care of White children.[15] The "mammy" served a White family as an ideal mother and slave. She was seen as "a passive nurturer, a mother figure who gave all without expectation of return, who not only acknowledged her inferiority to Whites but who loved them."[16]

Despite the concentration of Black women in domestic occupations, work hours and conditions varied. The failure of several economic sectors during the 1920s meant that African American women did face more competition from each other and White women. As more competition arose in the job market, wages decreased, and, since no union existed for female domestic workers, they were unable to reverse the trends for lower wages and longer hours.[17] The job market, and the nature of the work created, for some women, harsh and unforgiving working conditions. This is evident in the newspaper article from *Negro World* in "Negro Women Leaving Domestic Service Alone." The article cites that:

> Among some reasons for the low state of domestic service as a desirable vocation are the long hours and lack of standardized wages. The fact that there is no incentive arising from hope of increases due to efficiency is also gives as a retarding force…. Family relations were given as another reason for the constant decrease. Married women who do domestic service for the most part are away from their families…Other factors included lack of opportunity for recreational activities at the place of employment and the consequent necessity to spend the nights away.[18]

Women who worked in domestic work outside the home also faced similar issues. For example, the Black women who cleaned railroad cars, designated by the census as domestic workers, were

prohibited from using the bathrooms designated for White female passengers and had no access to a bathroom during work shifts. They also had no lunchrooms or locker rooms, unlike their male counterparts.[19]

Despite the problems of domestic service, many women migrating to northern cities preferred it to working on the farms that they had left behind. Beluah Collins moved to Philadelphia in the 1920s and cooked for a family throughout the 1930s. She moved from a farm in Georgia. She commented that "I didn't care to go back to that. I didn't want to go back and live down there on the farm no more…I wanted to stay up here where my baby could have a better education. I was living for him."[20] Domestic work became more prominent for Black women throughout the early twentieth century due to urban migration.[21]

Not all Black women working in domestic occupations worked in traditional environments. Domestic work included a niche profession for Black women: beauticians. The dislike of the domestic field by African American women led some to start their own businesses. Black women could not go to White hairdressers, and Black beauticians catered to a consumer demand. Black beauticians were highly valued in their respective communities because of their expertise in beauty culture and hairdressing.[22] Some Black women attended beauty colleges, but most were self-taught. Many women opened a business within their homes or served customers on their front porches.[23] Around 3.5 percent of Black women in Chicago served as hairdressers, barbers, or manicurists.[24] Though a large portion of women were not in this industry, it is still significant to mention as it highlights a niche for women outside of the traditional work. The occupations. Women in "domestic work" served their own communities, they happened to fall under that classification.

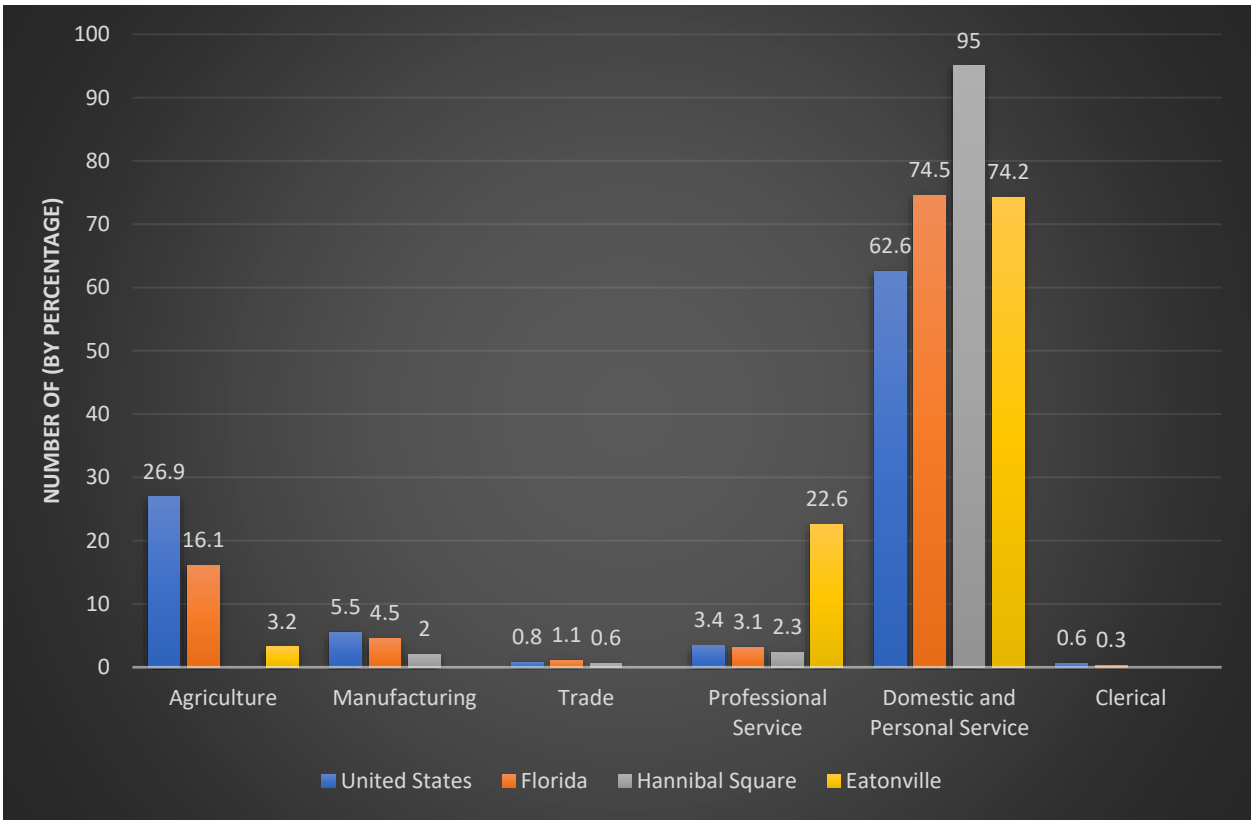


Figure 2: African American Women, Occupation, 1930, percentage

African American women who were not in domestic work mainly worked in agriculture during the 1920s.[25] Black women who worked on farms did everything on the farm that their husbands and children did, from collecting eggs to picking their own crops. This included doing all the work inside the house as well.[26] Many women who moved to Florida seasonally often worked on truck farms. They harvested a variety of crops and products including tomatoes, peanuts, strawberries, and beans.[27] Women learned to do everything besides plowing with a mule, which required great physical strength.[28] Nearly 40 percent of Black women worked in agriculture in 1920 and this dropped significantly to 26 percent by 1930, as the agricultural depression took its toll.[29] The drop of African American women in agriculture also came from increased mechanization within agriculture. Women sometimes took the railroad into other

towns to work as laundresses when money from farming proved insufficient.[30] For example, The Aluminum Company of the Americas (ALCOA) bought seven hundred acres of land in Maryland and built a smelting plant. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, women, Black and White alike, commuted from their farms to work in the factory. Eventually a company town formed around the plant, and families were attracted by the lure of amenities like running water, indoor plumbing, and electricity. In the case of ALCOA, women that once farmed the land in the South, turned to manufacturing work.[31] Black women turned North or to booming factories close to their own farms looking for a better future.

As more factories bloomed in southern cities and in rural areas, more Southern women found work outside of agriculture. Black Women in manufacturing, who mainly worked in tobacco-packaging plants in the South maintained their numbers during the 1920s, at around 7 percent of the Black female work force.[32] Women who moved North to work in factories found jobs within manufacturing including cotton mills and food-processing plants. Others moved North during World War I to take advantage of the deficit in work as men were drafted into war (see figure 3). Though having better pay than agricultural jobs, these jobs had high hazards, and long hours.[33] Despite these movements away from agriculture and attempts to find work elsewhere in the city, most women struggled to find work outside of domestic service due to the barriers created by race and

Figure 3: Black Women Wrapping Coil. Source: Lynn Dumenil, *The Second Line of Defense*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 165

gender, as well as lack of education. Though women did find some work in manufacturing in unskilled labor, it was limited. Most Black women could not find skilled work because they were prohibited from a proper education. Yet, some women managed to work within skilled work.

The final area where a small number of Black women found employment was in professional service, mainly as teachers. This number grew slightly in the United States during the 1920s, rising from 2.5 percent to 3.4 percent.[34] Many of the women who became teachers received higher education, going to a secondary school after finishing high school. They were often educated at Black-only colleges or technical schools like Hampton-Tuskegee Institute. Tuskegee graduates were significant as they often spread around the North and South to teach in small Black technical schools that promoted the Tuskegee's model of schooling.[35] By the end of World War I, Tuskegee Vocational School had moved past the original model of training for women, which often taught them basic skills like sewing, and laundry to teaching them curriculum of education in schools, like mathematics and grammatically skills. Yet, a number of Black women who became teachers had no formal training. White philanthropists started the General Education Board in 1902 to attempt regulate the curriculum and teacher training at Black schools. This was unsuccessful as trainings were never consistent and well-organized. Many African American female teachers that taught in rural schoolhouses had little training: the need for teachers often forced the schoolboard to pick anyone.[36] Yet, this became a viable avenue for as more Black women received a better education throughout the Great Migration period.

The employment picture for African American women in Florida was like the rest of the nation despite a lower agricultural and manufacturing presence. The dominance of domestic service was even more pronounced, with 75 percent of Black women working in this sector in

1930 as opposed to 63 percent nationwide.[37] While the 1920s was bad for some economic sectors, others did extraordinarily well, resulting in prosperity for some. More middle and upper-class White people had disposable incomes, more people traveled, and so tourist destinations needed more hotels, restaurants, and employees to cater to them. Florida became one of these destinations, with tourists flocking to its natural wonders. Thus, many African American women were employed in this sector. With the burgeoning demand, they faced long work hours with little pay.[38] The pay varied based on the sector in which they worked. Women working in households often made less than those working within places for tourists. For example, most domestic servants were making around $8.50 a week in Tampa, Florida. Yet, the Tampa Floridian Hotel paid its chambermaids $10 a week in 1920.[39] Though, these wages were average for Black domestic workers. In 1935, the annual average wage for Black families in the cities ranged from the highest of $980 in New York City to $301 in Mobile, Alabama.[40] This highlights that despite the availability of domestic work for Black women in Florida, the work still fell into national trends of instability and poor work conditions for these women.

Seasonal work complicated the nature of employment for Black women in Florida. Some Black women found steady employment with winter residents but needed work for the spring and summer. Thus, many women in Florida who worked in the domestic sector often worked multiple jobs throughout the year. This entailed working for multiple White families on different days of the week or even working within agriculture.[41] Despite the surplus of Black workers, some seasonal visitors refused to have local Black women in their homes. Some Seasonal business often preferred White workers to Black women while year-round businesses were usually more inclined to hire Black women. Around 56 percent of workers in year-round

businesses were Black women while 44 percent were White. White women also received better incentives and compensation in domestic work, such as housing, and meals.[42]

A substantial percentage of Black women in Florida worked in agriculture, although less than nationwide. Around 22 percent of Black women in Florida worked in agriculture, and much like the nation, the percentage dropped to 16 percent by 1930.[43] It is harder to gauge the true extent of women working in agriculture, as their jobs would have changed frequently with the seasons. Depending on when the census was conducted, a woman could have held a different job. These women, like Black men, were concentrated on small, independent farms or as sharecroppers and renters. Many of these were truck farms that sprouted around Florida during the 1920s, focusing on producing a variety of crops including tomatoes, cucumbers, beans, strawberries, corn, and potatoes, among others.[44] Women worked alongside with their husbands and children to earn income for the family. In either capacity, they were part of the nation and state's underclass.

In line with the nation, few African American women worked in manufacturing, with the percentage falling from 7 to 5 during the decade.[45] Some women worked within the phosphate industry of Florida, though they struggled to retain jobs because employers did not see these tasks as "women's work." They often with were given menial jobs, such as picking ore and other objects out of running streams of water.[46] Most Black women in manufacturing worked in either the tobacco or citrus industry. For the citrus industry, African American women worked as graders, packers, and canners.[47] Others worked in cigar factories, such as the Florida Cigar Company in Quincy, a city in North Florida. African American women considered cigar factories one of the best places of employment and often would encourage family to join. Lucille Love worked in the Florida Cigar Company in the late 1930s and 1940s and remarked:

> My aunt, Leola Watson, taught me how to make those cigarillos. You know she would slip and bring them home and she would teach me how to roll them. She would slip and bring home the wraps and the paste and the blade. We had to have a blade to cut that wrapper with and she would slip and bring home because she would say that way I . . . won't have to go to the farm if you learn how to make, to roll those cigarillos.[48]

Lucille Love proved to be an exception to Floridan trends though. Most women remained in the agricultural or domestic sectors, confined to jobs with long hours, low pay, and more instability due to the seasonal nature of work in Florida.

Women in Hannibal Square faced many of the same difficulties of women within the tourist economy of Florida. Throughout the 1920s, an overwhelming 95 percent of working Black women in Hannibal Square were employed in domestic service. The majority worked as servants, cooks, and laundresses. The wealthy tourist base of the town's economy just made more domestic jobs available than elsewhere in the nation. For example, in 1920 Gussie Morton lived with her husband and son, Oscar, in Jacksonville, Florida. Gussie was a cook, and the family rented a room. By 1930, Morton was a servant in Winter Park and owned a home in Hannibal Square, valued at $1500, where she lived with Oscar. Only around eight percent of African Americans nationally owned a home in the $1500 to $2000 price range in 1930, highlighting that Morton enjoyed a higher income than other African Americans.[49] Through the 1930s, although Morton changed jobs, she always remained a maid or cook. By 1935, her son had attended college—a rare achievement for an African American—and was working as a chauffeur. Ten years later, she was living with Oscar and his wife, Shirley, and their children. Morton's experience highlighted the plenitude of employment in domestic service available in Winter Park and its relatively lucrative nature, at least in comparison to other employment options available to African American women.[50]

Though some women like Morton experienced prosperity in Winter Park, others felt the instability that often came with domestic work. Josephine Ray grew up in Cumberland, North

Carolina, with her mother and father, who worked on a farm. By 1910, she married her husband Louis and was not employed at the time. The family lived on a farm in Cumberland, North Carolina. By 1920, she moved to Hannibal Square and owned a home with her two children, though she was widowed. She most likely moved due to her close family already being in the area. Her sister Willa moved to Winter Park with her husband James Bronson earlier in the century, before 1910, and worked as a janitor. James worked as a golf caddy. Josephine became a janitor at Rollins College. By 1930, she no longer worked at Rollins and instead worked as a laundress. Ray's story underlines the instability of work for women within the domestic field and the difficulty for Black women in the workforce, even in such wealthy areas like Winter Park.

Significantly fewer Black women in Hannibal Square worked in agriculture than state or nationwide. Out of the 118 working Black women in Hannibal Square in 1920, only 1.7 percent worked in agriculture, and this dropped to nearly none by 1930. This is compared with 39 percent in the nation and 22 percent in Florida in 1930. The women that did work in agriculture in Hannibal Square mostly worked in the orange groves that sprouted throughout Central Florida during the 1920s. Yet, retention of women in agriculture in Hannibal Square, drawing from census and city directory records, was only for a handful of years. The story of Sallie Williams is a testament to this. Sallie, born in Alabama, moved to Winter Park by 1910 with her husband Isaac and their five children. In 1910, the census records that she worked as a cook within a private home. Her husband was a truck farmer. Yet, by 1920, Isaac and Sallie, owned a home on New England Avenue, worked in the orange groves. Following trends in the decline of agricultural work generally throughout the United States, it is not surprising that the 1930 census notes both individuals as no longer working in the agricultural sector. Isaac worked as a gardener, while a family employed Sallie as a servant. Sallie died during the 1930s, but Isaac

eventually moved to the Maitland where he owned a home valued around $4000 and became a business owner. Sallie's story is significant as it reveals that, despite the presence of agricultural jobs in Hannibal Square, women often preferred domestic work which was more lucrative and stable.

Hannibal Square also provided an environment where African American women could work in specialized jobs. Though it was not a significant number of women, the handful that contradicted the trends of female employment in the 1920s revealed the different opportunities for Black women in Hannibal Square. One of the most notable community members was Belle E. Cowart. Cowart grew up in Winter Park and started working as a laundress in 1922. She lived with her parents up until 1925, when she began working for an African American Life Insurance Company. She moved to 413 New England Avenue and lived there until the early 1930s. She owned a home at a value of $3500 and lived by herself. Only 12 percent of the African Americans in the country owned homes at such a high value, with most owning homes under $1000.[51] Her home ownership values revealed a level of prosperity in comparison to other African Americans. Though she eventually left Hannibal Square in the late 1930s and moved to Eatonville, Cowart's success within the community highlights the benefits of living adjacent to the prosperous Winter Park.

The stories of these Black women revealed a distinct shift from typical narratives of the Great Migration, in some regards. Black women worked heavily in domestic work, though a number still worked in agricultural sectors. Black women in Hannibal Square benefited from the tourist economy of Winter Park that made domestic work more plentiful and employment more stable. The need for workers in the home and the wealth of Winter Park created a need for Black unskilled labor as domestics in the White homes. Yet, Hannibal Square also created a vacuum

for specialized jobs for the Black women of Hannibal Square. This specialization, of jobs though present in Hannibal Square, was maximized in Eatonville.

Black women in Eatonville maintained similar national and statewide trends, at least for domestic work during the 1920s. In 1920, 83.4 percent worked in domestic service, most likely due to the proximity of the White Maitland community. They primarily worked as cooks and laundresses for private families. One of these women was Catherine Clark Alexander. Born in 1904, Alexander lived with her mother Laura Clark, who was widowed by 1920. She was educated at the Hungerford School. Laura, who was related to town founder Joe Clark, worked as a cook for a private family and owned a home mortgage free in Eatonville. By 1930, Alexander owned her own home at a value of $500 in Eatonville and lived there with her four children. Her home value ranged into typically what most African Americans owned in 1930. She worked as a servant for a White household. Later in life, Alexander became an active member of the community, serving as town clerk from 1942 to 1964. Alexander's story is a testament to, again, like trends in Hannibal Square, Florida, and nationally, Black women were mainly confined to domestic work, at least when they first started working. Despite this, the census records reveal that there was a drop in the percentage of women in Eatonville employed in domestic service, 74.2 percent in 1930 compared to 83.4 percent in 1920. More women were educated in the school as it grew throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Women like Catherine Clark

Alexander moved up from domestic jobs to work elsewhere in their communities. The Hungerford School attracted more educated Black women to

Eatonville offered other avenues of employment that branched out of the traditional agricultural or domestic work. The most common of these was within professional service. In 1920, 8.3 percent of women in Eatonville worked in professional service, and this rose to 22.6 percent in 1930. Out of a pool of around 31 working women in 1930, seven of those worked as teachers in the Hungerford School. Most of these women were not born in Eatonville: a handful came from Massachusetts, and Georgia. In 1930, many of them lived in the same boarding house, owned by the principal of the Hungerford School, John C Jordan. Dorothy C Warner, a Springfield, Massachusetts, native born on August 3, 1907, moved to Eatonville in the 1920s. She attended Central High School in Springfield and graduated in 1924 (see figure 4). Though it is unclear what college she attended the census taker noted her as college educated in the 1940 federal census. When she graduated college, she moved to Eatonville in the late 1920s to teach at the Hungerford School. Though she returned to Springfield by 1935, Warner's spell in Eatonville highlighted those opportunities within Eatonville, such as within the Hungerford School offered specialized employment for African American women, such as teaching.

Figure 4: Springfield Central High School Junior Class (1923). Source: Ancestry.com

Other women gained leadership positions within the community. The previously mentioned Catherine Clark Alexander is a prime example of this. Not only did she serve as town clerk for twenty-two years, but she also served as the postmistress from 1942 to 1972.[52] Moving from a domestic servant to a governmental position, her story was a testament to the possibilities for leadership for women in Eatonville. While this was a possibility in community institutions such as a church or women's clubs in other Black neighborhoods like Hannibal Square, Eatonville, as an independent town, crafted an environment where women could hold positions in the government. This was not a common occurrence, even among women generally. In 1940, around 41 percent of postmistresses were women (around 17,000), yet very few were African American. Some of the first Black female postmasters were elected, chosen by the Postmaster General and the local congressman, after the end of the Civil War during the reconstruction era, but White officials often found ways to push them out of their positions. As reported by United States Postal Service:

> One of the best known was Minnie Cox, who was appointed Postmaster of Indianola, Mississippi, in January 1891, and served until late 1902. Cox became embroiled in a political controversy when President Theodore Roosevelt refused to accept her resignation, which she had tendered under pressure from some White citizens.[53]

Women in Eatonville branched out into the community, compared to other Black neighborhoods. Like Black men, they were not constrained by a White local government: they could govern themselves, and vote for who they wanted in office. Nathaniel Vereen, a resident of Eatonville through the late 1940s, remarked in an interview in 1970:

> I*: Have voter registration drives been held in Eatonville?*
> V: uh, yes and no. uh, we have, during election time normally we somewhat put on somewhat of a personal type effort, to get people registered…I think sometime in September…
> *I: What percent of the population of the eligible people in Eatonville, we've been able to get registered?*
> V: Well I think that we, about 75%-80% of the eligible people in Eatonville, we've been able to get them, uh, get them registered.[54]

From the beginning, Eatonville women served in spaces for the Black residents of Eatonville. One of the town founders Joe Clark, who established the first general store, was helped by his wife Martha. During the day, the pair monitored a grocery store but at night it would become a popular spot for the town to gather and enjoy recreational activities. The most famous resident of Eatonville, anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston, wrote about the Clark's store as the hotbed of recreational activity in her *Mules and Men*: "As I crossed the Maitland-Eatonville township line I could see a group on the store porch. I was delighted, the town had not changed. Same love of talk and song…. deep in a game of Florida-Flip." [55]

Overall, the 1920s denoted a period of opportunity for domestic work nationally, within Florida, Hannibal Square, and Eatonville. Fewer women worked in the agricultural sector, due to the agricultural depression, and increased mechanization. Within Florida, Black women, like Black men, were at the mercy of seasonal work: working in the citrus industry for a part of the year, and then domestic work for the other. Black women in Hannibal Square overwhelmingly worked in the domestic sphere, emphasizing the unique environment crafted by the adjacent wealthy Winter Park that allowed for a plentiful demand for domestic service. Eatonville women generally worked within the two most main areas of occupations for Black women, reflecting the state and national trends. Yet, Eatonville's self-governance and strong, Black community created institutions where Black women could find work not typical in the period, such as at the Hungerford School and the Eatonville government. The 1930s rang in a mixture of hardship and growth in employment for Black women in both communities, though manifesting in different ways.

The Great Depression created hardship and further difficulty in finding employment for African American women nationally. The number of African American women in the United

States working in domestic jobs increased during the labor crisis of the 1930s, reaching 70 percent by 1940 (see figure 9).[56] The numbers of African American women in agriculture continued to fall, reflecting the two-decades old crisis in that sector.[57] Like African American men, Black women continued to migrate from rural areas, particularly in the South, to find jobs, often in domestic work, in cities.

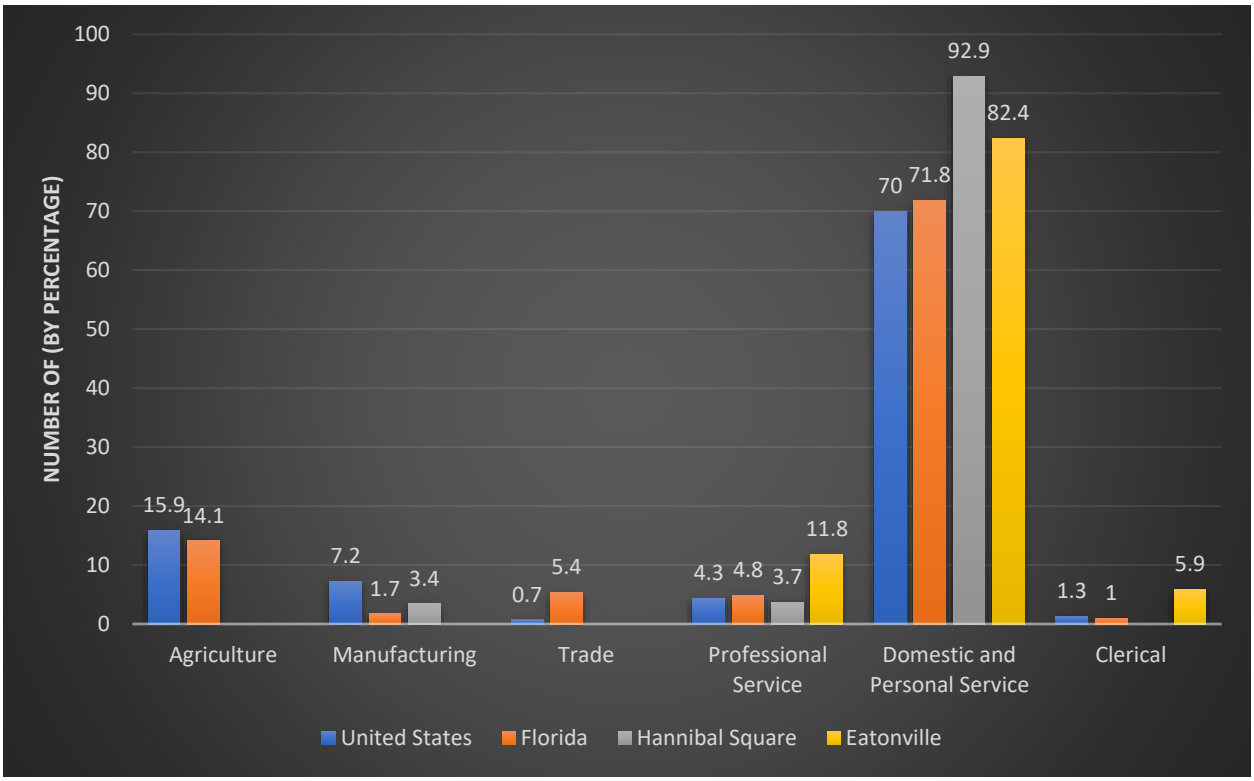


Figure 5: African American Women Occupation, 1940, percentage

Despite the availability of domestic work for African Americans during the Depression, the nature of that work changed, and working conditions declined in the face of national economic hardship. Without unions and with high competition for jobs, African American domestic workers often exchanged their work for a pittance, such as meals or articles of clothing.[58] Poverty persisted for female African American domestic workers throughout the 1930s.[59]

Federal relief did little to allay the poverty and hardship of African American women

during the Great Depression. Ellen S Woodward became the first director of the Women's Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the first New Deal program that predated the Works Progress Administration (WPA). FERA created opportunities for unskilled and skilled labor in both local and state governments. Yet, the needs of Black women who applied were not met or passed over entirely. Woodward, a Mississippi native, ignored the plight of the Black female workers, deeming them not as important as White workers.[60] The program emphasized female nurses, librarians, and other forms of specialized and professional workers. Other relief programs included connecting women with sewing or domestic work. Yet, this was limited to White working-class or middle-class women, often with families. Local governments often were put in charge of who was hired under the FERA or the WPA in their cities.[61] WPA workers came from the local relief rolls and often these were not exhaustive lists. FDR established that New Deal programs were to be operated locally, meaning that payments, who was employed and relief varied for cities. It also meant that Southern cities could pay Black workers less. Priority for relief and jobs went to White men with families and then were given to women with families or unmarried. Those who received financial help were watched by the local relief offices.[62] Thus, women of color, or women who were considered societal outcasts, were barred from any significant benefits of these programs.[63]

When the WPA replaced FERA in 1935, more Black women were employed in federal relief programs, specifically in sewing rooms. Though in some cases White and Black women worked side by side on these projects, many were segregated.[64] Though it was an improvement based on previous administrations like the CCC, which had certain quotas of the limit of Black male workers they could accept, the WPA was not as effective. Though creating more available work relief opportunities, the local WPA offices still paid Black women less, and the stigma

remained that Black women were not fit to use industrial machines, even sewing machines.[65] Southern women often traveled to work in seasonal agricultural WPA programs to provide for their families.[66] The National Youth Administration, helmed by Mary Mcleod Bethune, a Black educator and activist, granted money to young Black students, both male and female, to attend school, and remained out of poverty.[67] Overall the WPA and other federal relief projects did little to improve the situations for working Black women during the 1930s.

In Florida, Black women continued to search for any jobs that could provide money during the Depression. There was a small decrease in the percentage of women working in domestic work, dropping from 74.5 percent to 71.8 percent (see figure 5).[68] This drop in percentage most likely comes from a decline in tourism due to the hardship. A mixture of a drop in land prices, as well as the decline of the citrus industry meant that jobs were harder to come by in both the agricultural and domestic sectors.[69] The decline in tourism nor poverty did not deter the yearly migration of workers seeking work in Florida's tourist industry. In 1938, the Federal Writers Project report on African Americans in Florida noted that in "1937, during the Winter season, the Negro population of the state is believed to have been increased by at least 100,000."[70] The report also noted that Orlando's Black population is believed to be doubled from November 1 to April 1.[71] This meant increased competition for ever-dwindling jobs in the Florida tourist industry.

The number of African American women in agriculture was also on the decline in Florida. It fell from 16.1 percent to 14.1 percent (see figure 5).[72] Independent Black farms that had once dotted the Florida countryside in counties like Gadsden, Jackson, Leon, and Jefferson were sold due to a mixture of economic depression and the desire for a better life from Black farmers. They also fell prey to large agribusinesses that began to take over Florida's industries in

the 1930s and 1940s.[73] The tung industry was one that began to replace the turpentine and shade tobacco industries in Northern Florida. Tung trees became a major industry for Floridan workers in the mid-1930s.[74] A town in Jefferson County called Capps, once a turpentine center, transformed to the hub for the St. Joe Paper Company's tung farming exports. The small town became a company town, revealing a trend away from small independent farms.[75]

Orlando specifically felt the hardship of the Depression, in terms of the loss of tourists and a large number of its banks. By 1933, only two banks operated in the Orlando area. Like in many large cities during the 1930s, though, wealthy business owners continued to support the failing economy. [76] A group of Orlando businesses men including W. R. O'Neal, F. L. Morse, E. W. Yandre, E. C. Langston and T. K. Johnson applied to the state to reorganize a chapter of the First National Bank.[77] This bank continued to flourish even after the Depression and eventually became the company SunTrust.[78] By the end of the 1940s, Orlando based most of its economy off citrus crops, though tourism remained important to the economy. Yet, citrus remained dominant for years to come: in the 1950s Orlando exported 40 percent of all citrus crops in Florida.[79] This meant that despite a slight dip in Black women in agriculture in Florida, 16 percent to 14, some Black women continued to work in the agricultural sector in Florida and Orlando.

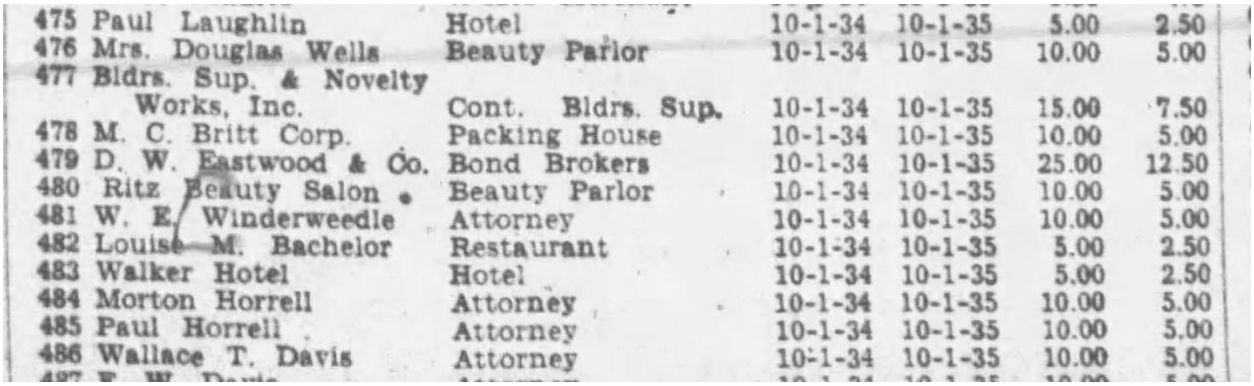
During the Depression, Black women faced increasing odds and obstacles to employment nationally and in Florida. Women in domestic work, though on the increase in the 1930s, encountered hardships and poverty from the Great Depression. New Deal legislature did little do dissuade the poverty and instability that personal and domestic workers faced. Black women in Eatonville and Winter Park had similar issues, Black women in Hannibal Square yet were able to weather the storm slightly better than their counterparts elsewhere due to the wealthy foundation

of the community. Eatonville women, not having the same luxury, still found ways to improve and grow within their communities.

While the number of women working in domestic work in Winter Park slightly decreased to 92 percent during the 1930s, the occupation remained predominant (see figure 5). The slight decrease was most likely due to the national decline in tourism. Jance L. Battle was one of the African American women for whom finding work was difficult during the Great Depression. In 1930, she was an employed servant, but throughout the decade, city directories reveal her struggle to retain work. Jumping from a servant to a cook, to a maid and then eventually listed as unemployed on the 1940 federal census, Battle's work history was reflective of many during the Great Depression.[80]

Despite the Depression, there was an increase of women working in professional work in Hannibal Square in the 1930s. Though it was slight, 2.1 percent to 3.7 percent, from seven to twelve women, it represents a growth in female business owners in Winter Park throughout the 1930s as the majority of these women were proprietors. A factor to the rise most likely came from the women inheriting or co-managing a business with a significant other. Women also faced increased abandoned or absent husbands, either from personal reasons or desire to look for employment. Some men were so sporadically employed that they left to go find work elsewhere.[81] Chanie Laughlin, for example, owned and managed the Paul and Chanie Laughlin Restaurant in 1924 with her husband. Paul worked as a butler for a wealthy White man in New York named Ralph Peter in 1920, and the couple moved to Hannibal Square in the early years of the decade. In the late 1920s, the two sold the restaurant and began to run the Laughlin Hotel. The pair owned the hotel at a value of $10000 at 444 New England Avenue and ran the hotel through the 1920s and 1930s. *The Orlando Evening Star* noted on November 25, 1935 that Paul

Laughlin renewed his license for a hotel in 1935 (see figure 3), despite the economic woes of the depression. The story of Chanie Laughlin is significant to the story of Hannibal Square as it highlights that some African American women still flourished in this community, despite the Great Depression.[82]



475 Paul Laughlin	Hotel	10-1-34	10-1-35	5.00	2.50
476 Mrs. Douglas Wells	Beauty Parlor	10-1-34	10-1-35	10.00	5.00
477 Bldrs. Sup. & Novelty Works, Inc.	Cont. Bldrs. Sup.	10-1-34	10-1-35	15.00	7.50
478 M. C. Britt Corp.	Packing House	10-1-34	10-1-35	10.00	5.00
479 D. W. Eastwood & Co.	Bond Brokers	10-1-34	10-1-35	25.00	12.50
480 Ritz Beauty Salon	Beauty Parlor	10-1-34	10-1-35	10.00	5.00
481 W. E. Winderweedle	Attorney	10-1-34	10-1-35	10.00	5.00
482 Louise M. Bachelor	Restaurant	10-1-34	10-1-35	5.00	2.50
483 Walker Hotel	Hotel	10-1-34	10-1-35	5.00	2.50
484 Morton Horrell	Attorney	10-1-34	10-1-35	10.00	5.00
485 Paul Horrell	Attorney	10-1-34	10-1-35	10.00	5.00
486 Wallace T. Davis	Attorney	10-1-34	10-1-35	10.00	5.00

Figure 6: Laughlin Renews His Occupational License. *Source: "State and County Occupational License Issued in Orange County", Orlando Evening Star, November 25, 1935*

Another example of a business boosted by philanthropic help was the Welbourne Avenue Day Nursery. In an article about Mrs. Henry Bonties, who was the leader of the Winter Park Woman's Club and the Winter Park Garden Club, she discussed the work of both clubs with the day nursery. Both institutions accepted charity from the White women of Winter Park. Bonties commented that "The Colored Day Nursery is unique in one respect at least…we have never held a benefit.' The nursery is supported entirely by donations, and that's a record for an organization of this kind!"[83] Rachel Lester continued to run the day nursery with help from the Women's Club of Winter Park. Other White institutions in the area supported the Welbourne Day Nursery.[84] The Rollins Inter-Racial Committee, which was formed in 1934, held an annual Christmas party for the children of the nursery, along with providing toys and clothes for them.[85] Through such partnerships, the Welbourne Day Nursery survived and thrived throughout the Great Depression and after, led by Lester until she stepped down in the 1940s. It is clear that White Winter Park helped to provide some financial stability for the Black community. White

philanthropists helped to support some Black-owned businesses, especially during the Great Depression. Through such financial support, the African Americans of Hannibal Square were able to weather some storms of the decade.

Eatonville women, however, did not have the same connection to a White neighborhood. Thus, their employment opportunities differed, despite that on paper the two communities have similar trends of employment. Eatonville women reflected similar trends of national and state trends of the 1930s. The number of women in domestic service rose from 74.2 percent to 82.4 percent (see figure 5). The majority of employed women in Eatonville worked as cooks, nannies, and maids for private families. Inez Henderson, who lived with her parents and siblings in Eatonville, worked as a nanny for a private family. The percentage of Black women in agriculture declined from 3.2 percent to nearly non-existent. Both numbers reflect the growing hardship for Eatonville women. Throughout the nation, and in Eatonville, many Black women preferred to not work in domestic service, as the long hours and low pay often inhibited them from spending time with their own families.[86] Yet, the increase of women in domestic service highlight the hardship as Black women worked any job that would get them pay.

The Hungerford School's decline led to a drop in professional service for the women of Eatonville. The number of women working in professional work fell from 22.6 percent in 1930 to 11.8 percent in 1940. In the early 1930s, Hungerford struggled to stay afloat. Many of the buildings fell into disrepair, and many projects that had been started for the school became stagnant. The efforts of Captain L. E. Hall did not begin to show until the 1930s.[87] During the school's struggles, many of the teachers who had migrated to teach at the school during the 1920s and early 1930s had left Eatonville by 1940.

Eatonville Black women still found ways to make a profit and provide for their communities during the 1930s. Many women that worked often ran businesses or community institutions with their spouses within or out of their homes to help provide for their families. Felix and Maisie Crosby moved to Eatonville in 1935. Together, they ran Eatonville's elementary school, which was open for all children up until sixth grade. They attracted many students from within Eatonville and outside and the population of the school grew.[88]

The stories of Eatonville women provide a glimpse behind the numbers of women in domestic and agricultural work in the 1930s. Women in Eatonville experienced the hardship of the depression, like most in the 1930s. They turned away from the dwindling agricultural work to find jobs within the domestic sphere. Yet, the women of Eatonville were significant because of their involvement and employment in community institutions. Women that started in domestic work, like Clark Alexander, who eventually became the town clerk, were never noted on the census records as such. The census for 1940, when she would have started as town clerk, marks her as unemployed. Yet, testaments from residents from the time contradict this. Frank Otey, a teacher in Eatonville who wrote a narrative of Eatonville in the 1980s, commented that:

> Catherine Clark Alexander was the youngest of the Clark girls. She was mother to four girls and four boys, three of whom still live in Eatonville. Although Mrs. Alexander was active in church and community, she is primarily remembered for her 22 years (1942-1964) as town clerk and her 30 years (1942-1972) as postmistress.[89]

Thus, the stories of Eatonville women are significant to the overall tapestry of the Great Migration as it changes how the perception of women in this period. The census takers might have deemed them as "unemployed' or "domestics" but there are more behind those classifications.

Overall, though Hannibal Square and Eatonville, by the numbers, appear to coincide with national and state trends of women's employment, another perspective reveals the nuances in

employment women found in these communities throughout the interwar years. In Hannibal Square, the tourist economy, paired with the foundation of the wealthy Winter Park opened avenues for more plentiful work in domestic service, and businesses ownership. Eatonville, as an independent and Black governed town crafted an environment where Black women held positions in the government and in community institutions that would typically be unavailable in a White governed town.

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Conclusion

Alferdteen Harrison defined, in the preface to his book *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South*, the Great Migration as:

> During the "Great Migration," 1915 to 1960, about five million rural southern African-Americans migrated to the northern industrialized cities of America. The immediate conditions for the Great Migration were created after the Civil War when African Americans were not given "forty acres and a mule," the means of economic survival at the time…[also]Segregation presented many contradictions to American democracy, particularly in the South where more than five million African American decided to leave in search of a better life.[1]

This is the established narrative of the Great Migration: one of northbound migration, of African Americans searching for a "promised land" from the restrictive and segregated South. While this narrative represents the reality for many African Americans, for others the story is much more nuanced. The Great Migration was a period of great change for African Americans in the United States. Many migrated northward to escape desperate poverty and racial violence. Yet, other African Americans decided to move to southern communities and cities, like Hannibal Square and Eatonville. Overall, the movement of African Americans in Hannibal Square and Eatonville throughout the interwar years complicates the historical understanding of the Great Migration, expanding from the traditional analysis of a purely northern migration. African Americans were not just moving north to escape the woes of the South, but also moved to places with social, cultural, and economic incentives, be it in the North or South. The Great Migration was not just the traditional narrative of South to North migration. The communities of Hannibal Square and Eatonville had such incentives and thus expanded during the 1920s and 1930s.

Eatonville and Hannibal Square experienced growth throughout the interwar years. Yet, both experienced it in different ways and attracted African Americans for different reasons. For example, in 1910, Julius Ellenwood lived with his parents Andrew and Irene in Monticello,

Florida, a small town in Jefferson County. Born on June 6, 1901, his father was a servant for a store owner in Monticello and owned their family home mortgage-free. His mother Irene worked as a laundress. The family lived together until Andrew passed away in the 1910s. After his father's death, Irene moved to Manatee County, Florida, and Julius moved to Winter Park in the 1920s. Taking after his father's example, Ellenwood worked as a chauffeur throughout the interwar years. He owned a home 405 Carolina Avenue valued at $3000 and started his own family. He married his wife Viola on May 28, 1921. Julius worked for a man named A. E. Dick, who owned a home at 389 Lyman Avenue. African Americans like Julius moved to Hannibal Square, pulled by work in the domestic field and moved for personal reasons.

Other African Americans moved to Hannibal Square for economic reasons. Samuel Reed lived elsewhere in Orange County in 1910. He worked as a laborer in the turpentine industry. By 1920, he had moved to Hannibal Square with his wife and children. He was employed as a gardener but owned his home mortgage-free. Reed continued to garner prosperity throughout the 1920s. By 1930, he had moved to a home on 425 New England Avenue and owned a home valued at $5000. In 1930, only 12.4 percent of African Americans in the nation owned homes at this value, and this percentage was even lower in Florida, at 6.5 percent.[2] Reed's prosperity shows the economic gains of life for African Americans in Hannibal Square.

Eatonville attracted residents because of its cheap land and employment opportunities. Lucious Marshall moved to Eatonville in the 1920s. In his early childhood, he moved from Gloversville County to Brooks County Georgia, and worked as a farmer. By 1918, he married his wife, Henrietta. Together, they had two daughters. By 1930, he and his family lived in Eatonville. There he worked as an orange grove worker and owned a home at $500. The family remained in Eatonville throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

Some African Americans moved to Eatonville for the availability of specialized work and the nature of the community. Thomas Johnson was a resident in Macon County, Kentucky. His father worked as a farmer and rented their home. Johnson lived with his family in Kentucky until the mid-1930s. In 1940, he lived in Eatonville and worked as a teacher. Most likely teaching at the Hungerford School, Johnson's move to Eatonville in the late 1930s reveals the possibilities for employment in the 1920s and 1930s.

The migration to Eatonville and Hannibal Square represented a more nuanced narrative of the Great Migration, one that is beginning to emerge in some history books. Thirty years after Harrison published *Black Exodus*, Blair Imani published her own book about the Great Migration. Imani's definition of the Great Migration, in her book *Making Our Way Home: The Great Migration and the Black American Dream*, revealed a shift in the narrative:

> Seeking a better future, millions of Black families uprooted themselves from the rich soil of the American South and relocated to the hardened asphalt and cobblestone streets of the North, Midwest and West. They did it as the racist specter of Jim Crow made it uncertain if they could even fuel their trucks with the much-needed gasoline and food to fuel their journeys. But not all of them moved away. Many families stayed in cities like Houston, New Orleans, Jacksonville, and Atlanta, deciding "Better the devil you know than the devil you don't,'…preferring to endure familiar racism and discrimination than find themselves uprooted and still at war with the devil of racism in another city.[3]

As Imani highlights, Hannibal Square and Eatonville are not the only exceptions to the traditional narratives. One way that this study might be expanded is by analyzing other exceptional towns. By expanding to other small, tourist-based towns in Florida or even Georgia to study the migration patterns within the census, it would be clearer to see what Hannibal Square and Eatonville might have been in a trend of small Southern town. To further this study, and its true examination of the Great Migration period, it would be best to examine to see if the similar trend of employment, Black business development, and overall growth are reflected in other areas of the country. These results would be notable for how historians conceive and teach

the Great Migration period. The conception of this time period is turned onto its head: no longer is the Great Migration merely a story of Southern to Northern migration, but one with much more nuanced and stronger implications for African Americans living in the United States during the interwar years.

In conclusion, at least in the case of the residents and stories of Hannibal Square, and Eatonville, the Great Migration was not merely a movement from South to North. The Great Migration became a movement for economic, social, and cultural incentives, ones that Eatonville and Hannibal Square offered in variety and abundance.

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