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Vaught-Hemingway Stadium at Hollingsworth Field and Ole Miss: 100 Years in the Making

*by Chad S. Seifried
and
Milorad M. Novicevic*

“Whenever there is mentioned ‘Hemingway Stadium’ at Oxford, there instantly flashes within the minds of thousands of Mississippians the Ole Miss Rebels, the voices of the excited spectators cheering, the sounds of the band playing, the waving of flags, a large enthusiastic, noisy crowd of spectators; they are watching their team on the field because no game or sport offers greater glory, or greater pain than football.” - W. Eugene Morse, 1974

In August of 2011, the University of Mississippi (Ole Miss) announced the creation of a new \$150 million capital campaign named “Forward Together.” Ole Miss created the campaign to help build a new basketball arena and to renovate Vaught-Hemingway Stadium at Hollingsworth Field, home to the Rebels football team since 1915. Organizers of the campaign promoted Phase 1 including the addition of thirty luxury suites and 770 club seats to the south end zone of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium. They further promised that new lighting, sound systems, and video boards would help enhance the facility for spectators while redesigned locker rooms would provide more room and safer access to the field for participants and event personnel. The completion of Phase 2 enclosed the north end zone and increased the capacity of Vaught-Hemingway to 64,038 in August 2016. The newly developed end zone plaza created “an impressive north entry point to

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Hollingsworth Field” and a “true connection to the historic Grove as part of our ‘front door’ vision.” Other projects associated with the new construction involved “improvements to the concourses, concession areas, and restrooms of the stadium ... to improve the aesthetics of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium and enhance the game-day experience for our [Ole Miss] fans.”¹

The initial promotion of the renovation was a huge success as Ole Miss sold all thirty luxury suites and over 60% of the available club level seats by December 2014. Enthusiasm for the project also increased the Forward Together campaign goal to \$222 million, shortly after a generous \$25 million donation from Dr. Gerald M. “Jerry” Hollingsworth.² New additions to the revised Forward Together project primarily involved improvements to the west side luxury suites. Estimated at \$3.9 million, the west side luxury spaces received their first updates since 1988. Specifically, the west side luxury suite renovations involved carpet replacement and new appliances for each room, new window installation, and the creation of new lounge space for catering and hospitality activities. With respect to the north end zone, the University altered its initial plans by increasing the size of the student section from 8,200 to 10,000 seats and adding a new 104’ x 49’ high definition video board. The aforementioned entry plaza received additional upgrading through the construction of the Jake Gibbs Varsity Letter Walk, which recognizes all past letter winners from all sports at Ole Miss.³

This effort to enhance the game-day experience, to connect with

¹ Ole Miss Athletics Foundation, “Forward Together Capital Campaign,” Oxford, MS, accessed August 3, 2016, <http://givetoothletics.com/forward-together/>. To accommodate for the expansion the main concourse in the south end zone was expanded by 2,500 square feet, as well as forty-three new restroom facilities and thirty-two more points of sale for concessions. The two corner south end zone video boards were 30’ by 50’. See also Austin Miller, “Upgrades Continue To Vaught-Hemingway, IPF,” *Ole Miss Sports*, July 16, 2013, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://www.olemisssports.com/sports/m-footbl/spec-rel/071613aad.html>.

² Lasherica Thornton, “Vaught Construction Nears Conclusion,” *The Daily Mississippian*, March 7, 2016, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://thedmonline.com/vaught-construction-nears-conclusion/>.

³ Cooke Douglass Farr Lemons. “The University of Mississippi Vaught-Hemingway West Sky Box Renovation,” 2013, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://www.cdf.com/what-we-do/the-university-of-mississippi-vaught-hemingway-west-sky-box-renovation/>. Jake Gibbs is a former quarterback, baseball player, and coach at Ole Miss. He led Ole Miss to the 1960 National Championship in football and 1959 SEC baseball title.

alumni, and to promote the school's athletic history is nothing new as the stadium experienced many renovations with similar goals since its erection as a small 600-seat facility.⁴ With the facility's 100th anniversary now passed, it appears fitting to investigate what specific individuals were responsible for the development of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium into the largest stadium in state of Mississippi. Moreover, a descriptive history of changes made to Vaught-Hemingway Stadium seems necessary to better understand how it evolved into an important social anchor for Ole Miss during Saturdays each fall.⁵ The physical structure of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium supports the cultural activity of football, which creates, promotes, and maintains group and individual identity for Ole Miss fans.⁶

Social historian Brian Ingrassia stated "well intentioned progressives ... made sport permanent by creating athletic departments, constructing concrete stadiums, and hiring a corps of professional experts."⁷ Sport historian Ronald A. Smith emphasized many colleges began to build their own large stadiums by 1905 to capitalize on the mass popularity/appeal of college football in particular.⁸ The popularity of college football was "consummated through commercial facilities (i.e., stadia) built on campus made mostly of concrete" to demonstrate

⁴ "Many Improvements on Campus Buildings," *The Mississippian*, September 30, 1914, p. 8, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS. See also: "Football Stadium," *The Mississippian*, March 24, 1915, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁵ William Foster and Craig Hyatt, "Inventing Team Tradition: A Conceptual Model for the Strategic Development of Fan Nations," *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 8 (2008): 266, 269. Foster and Hyatt defined fan nation as "comprised mostly of fans who are not [actual] citizens of cities" and who come together through utilizing "an imagined cohesiveness they share" with others through the use of myths, symbols, tangible objects, and rituals.

⁶ Chad Seifried and Aaron Clopton, "An Alternative View of Public Subsidy and Sport Facilities Through Social Anchor Theory," *City, Culture and Society*, 4 (2013): 50. "Social capital was described as the aggregate of the quality relationships and networks of individual members within a community and showed to be both an individual attribute and a community asset."

⁷ Brian M. Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence, KS, University Press of Kansas, 2012), 9. See also Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 98. "Condoning the commercial and business aspects of athletics, governing boards increasingly agreed to the hiring of professional coaches and the erection of large stadiums, which could seat far more than the number of students and staff."

⁸ Smith, *Sports and Freedom*, 82.

their grasp on modernity and imply supremacy of their environment to further bind their community.⁹ The emphasis on permanency through concrete is significant to acknowledge because wooden venues are temporary. They also cannot adequately accommodate the needs of the press, spectators, or participants; nor can they effectively adapt to meet evolving expectations, practices, and/or traditions.¹⁰ Ole Miss was an important participant in the development of football in the South, and Vaught-Hemingway Stadium is notable because it emerged and changed as a special investment opportunity similar to other institutions focused on expressing modernity and permanency.¹¹

Ole Miss Football Begins

In 1893, a movement to develop intercollegiate athletics started at Ole Miss to address not only the “love for healthful out-of-door sport” but with the specific purpose of developing relationships with current students (i.e., future alumni).¹² Dr. Alexander L. Bondurant of the Classics Department and later dean of the Graduate School introduced football to Ole Miss in 1893. Familiar with the game in his native Virginia, Bondurant coached Ole Miss to a 4-1 record and chose the colors of “Cardinal red of Harvard and the Navy blue of Yale ... to have the spirit of those two good colleges.”¹³ In support of athletics at Ole Miss, Dr. Bondurant stated:

No phase of college life has had a more rapid development in American institutions than athletics ... The college student of today has concluded that ‘All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy,’ and in all leading institutions athletics have attained a prominent place ... Objections may be urged with propriety against athletic sports when carried to excess, but when kept within proper limits it is clear that the result is

⁹ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 171; Smith, *Sports and Freedom*, ix.

¹⁰ Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919-1930* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 5, 151.

¹¹ Blake Gumprecht, “Stadium Culture: College Athletics and the Making of Place in the American College Town,” *Southeastern Geographer*, 43 (2003): 28.

¹² “Athletic Department: History of the Football Team,” *University of Mississippi Magazine* 26.6 (1903): 32, 39.

¹³ William G. Barner, *Mississippi Mayhem* (West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 1982), 4. See also William W. Sorrels and Charles Cavagnaro, *Ole Miss Rebels: Mississippi Football* (Huntsville, AL: Strode Publishers, Inc., 1976), 11-12, 16.

very beneficial.¹⁴

One student, James “Bobo” Champion concurred in 1893 by suggesting the “athletic fever has now taken full possession of the university ... and the time is already here when, in order to rank high in college or society, one must join the running crowd and play on the football team.”¹⁵

Despite early enthusiasm, football games were not very profitable for the tiny school (enrollment under 250) located in a small county (Lafayette County estimated population- 20,553). Ole Miss did not manage games very well, although it like most colleges and some spectators accepted admission charges by the 1890s.¹⁶ For instance, the October 27, 1894, game in Jackson against Mississippi A&M attracted a crowd of 1,000 but only generated gate receipts of \$180, suggesting many people snuck into the State Fairgrounds to see the game without paying.¹⁷ The University also did not provide any financial support to the early teams nor did they bestow any official university status to coaches. A coach’s pay often depended on the meager revenues generated by the Athletic Association, a body comprised mostly of students with some faculty advisors such as Bondurant, who managed the events.

The lack of University support also explains the poor condition of on-campus facilities over the first ten years of the program. The graduation of students leading the Athletic Association contributed to other difficulties associated with home scheduling, arranging a competitive travel schedule, and procuring adequate equipment.¹⁸ Such problems were typical of other southern institutions around this time. Lovick P. Miles reported in *Outing* that many Southern schools experienced poor financial standing, and he cited extensive travel for football teams as a necessity to make them self-sufficient. Miles also

¹⁴ “Football in Rebtown: Early-Day Struggles Behind the Scenes,” *Alumni Review*, 1948, p. 50, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

¹⁵ Christopher J. Walsh, *Where Football is King: A History of the SEC* (New York: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2006), 193.

¹⁶ David G. Sansing, *The University of Mississippi: A Sesquicentennial History* (Oxford, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 172-173. See also Smith, *Sports and Freedom*, 169.

¹⁷ Sorrels and Cavagnaro, *Ole Miss Rebels*, 27.

¹⁸ “Football in Rebtown,” 50.

suggested that inadequate alumni bases and the small size of towns associated with southern schools prevented them from paying coaches well or from developing suitable facilities, which would have advanced football in the South.¹⁹

To get alumni attention, students suggested the future success of football depended on getting more home games scheduled.²⁰ However, University Park, a baseball diamond and first on-campus home of Ole Miss football, was a small, simple, and dusty facility that used rope to separate the playing field from spectators. It was not a desirable location for football games nor did the seating conditions accommodate spectators well.²¹ As a result, the few games scheduled between 1893 and 1905 occurred primarily on the road and in larger towns such as Memphis, New Orleans, and Jackson.²²

In 1905, Ole Miss played against Mississippi A&M in Jackson making \$594.00, the largest gate ever for a single event.²³ The scheduling of the game in Jackson is notable as many other institutions in the South also sought large metropolitan locations because their on-campus facilities could not deliver sufficient gate returns.²⁴ The Board of Control for the Athletic Association at Ole Miss advised the Athletic Association during a December 5, 1905, meeting to place their earnings into a “savings bank in Mississippi where it will begin to draw interest.” With this action as a foundation, the board believed it could “make a concerted appeal to the alumni and all other friends of

¹⁹ Lovick P. Miles, “Football in the South,” *Outing*, 25, (January 1894), 258.

²⁰ Sorrels and Cavagnaro, *Ole Miss Rebels*, 38.

²¹ Barner, *Mississippi Mayhem*, 9, 19. A report from the *College Reflector* of Mississippi A&M shows in November of 1903 the match-up at University Park was dusty as “the boys were almost choking.” Referenced ropes used at previously A&M and Ole Miss on-campus facilities were not present at Jackson, which allowed spectators to freely move with the ball and get closer to the playing field, in some instances detrimental to the play on the field according to the *Daily Clarion-Ledger*.

²² Barner, *Mississippi Mayhem*, 4. See also Sorrels and Cavagnaro, *Ole Miss Rebels*, 36. Ole Miss only played one game a year at home from 1893 to 1898. Further, the 1897 season was cancelled because of a yellow fever epidemic that delayed the opening of school. The 1905 season was almost cancelled due to delay of start of classes from a scarlet fever outbreak.

²³ Sorrels and Cavagnaro, *Ole Miss Rebels*, 50. Final year balance of \$664.18 for the Athletic Association, their first profit.

²⁴ Grumprecht, “Stadium Culture,” 35, 39. As an example, the University of Florida scheduled neutral site games in Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa, while the University of Oklahoma played games in Oklahoma City and Dallas during this time. Gate receipts were the primary source of income for all college football teams of this era.

the institutions to assist us in putting up an athletic building on the campus.” The State Fairgrounds Field in Jackson supported more seats, but many, including alumni, criticized the grandstand as being too far away from the field of play and too small when 5,000 fans packed into the 1,000-seat facility.²⁵ In the end, the Athletic Association took the board’s advice and selected The Commercial Bank of Trust Company of Laurel as its bank and worked with Dr. P. H. Saunders, a former Ole Miss faculty member, employed at the bank. Yet despite their efforts, no immediate work surfaced on the construction of a new on-campus facility because student members of the Athletic Association were not available to help build a new facility.²⁶

An eligibility controversy in 1907 led to a brief discussion at the University on whether to abolish football or not. The charge that the Athletic Association helped violate an unofficial “Purity Code” by hiring ‘ringers’ without believing them to be members of the student body, delayed the construction process. *The Varsity Voice* reported on February 22, 1908, that hardly any southern school could claim innocence with respect to the hiring of ringers. Exchanges among Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association (SIAA) members did little to stop this behavior.²⁷ State Representative C.W. Doherty of Tunica County proposed legislation to help athletics at the University improve ‘actual’ student play in order to discourage the hiring of ringers. The proposal involved an annual state supplement for athletics of \$2,000 to each institution of higher education. Although voted down, the legislation demonstrated parties from outside the university community were beginning to take interest in athletics and football at Ole Miss.

In 1909, the university responded to appeals by athletic teams and their growing alumni base by establishing a Director of Athletics

²⁵ “Varsity Team Lost to A&M,” *The Commercial Appeal*, December 1, 1905, p. 1.

²⁶ “Football in Rebtown,” 61. See also Chad S. Seifried and Patrick Tutka, “Southern Methodist University Football and the Stadia: Moving toward Modernization,” *Sport History Review*, 47 (2016), 174. It was not unusual for students to help build sport facilities throughout the country.

²⁷ The SIAA was the first intercollegiate sport league in the South. It was formed to facilitate partnerships with peer institutions by establishing minimum stadium sizes, determining gate receipts shares, formalizing start times, and standardizing game schedules. An additional goal of member schools involved the desire to capitalize commercially on consumer interest in football.

faculty member.²⁸ The *Alumni Review* quoted the university as stating, "The arrangement is already in vogue at many institutions and seems to be a success." The University hired Dr. Nathan P. Stauffer through a combination of student fees and monetary support from the Athletic Association matching his salary as a medical doctor. Stauffer's three-year commitment from 1909-1911 was recognized as a major reason football contributed to high spirits across campus and among alumni. The team recorded a winning record of 17-7-2 versus the previous four-year period of 7-15.²⁹

In 1910, many were excited about the improvements made to the State Fairgrounds Field in Jackson prior to the annual Ole Miss and Mississippi A&M game. Specifically, Jackson constructed a bleacher addition to the east side of the facility doubling the grandstand capacity to nearly 3,500. With both teams enjoying 6-1 records, a large capacity crowd jammed the stands. Near the beginning of the game, the new east side addition collapsed creating a mass of broken timber and injured spectators. Detailing each injury, the *Jackson Daily News* reported that approximately sixty people were seriously hurt.³⁰ As a result, many called on Ole Miss to provide more on-campus home games and to do so in a more modern and safer facility, particularly since school officials wanted to grow the enrollment beyond the 480 students it had in 1911.³¹

The University made funds more readily available for the creation of a new on-campus football stadium shortly after the tragedy. For instance, although it was never publicly recognized, the University started charging students an "Association Fee" of \$10 beginning in 1911 to support this initiative.³² Promoted by *The Mississippian* as "one of the very best in the South, and one of which any institutions should be proud," a new Athletic Field was eventually built southeast of University Park. Costing \$1,500, the facility was completed in 1915 for exclusive use by football and track & field teams. The Ole Miss student body built the 600-seat wooden grandstand on the west side of the facility and received a full day off from school for their work.

²⁸ "Football in Rebtown," 63.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 64.

³⁰ "Many Hurt in Collapse of Stand," *Jackson Daily News*, December 2, 1911, p. 1.

³¹ Barner, *Mississippi Mayhem*, 49, 59.

³² "Athletic Department: History of the Football Team," 39.

The University Athletic Association recognized head coach Billy Driver as a major reason for construction of the facility claiming his good management of association finances improved confidence there would be a return on investment emanating from the new facility in the near future.³³

A New Athletic Field

Like other institutions throughout the eastern and midwestern regions of the United States that constructed permanent football stadiums during the early years of the twentieth century, Ole Miss desired to establish and improve relations with students and alumni, to improve donations, to create revenues (e.g., gate receipts), and to expand its institutional brand awareness, and to attract more students.³⁴ In the Northeast, both Harvard University (1903- Harvard Stadium) and Yale University (1914- Yale Bowl) developed steel and reinforced concrete football stadia that were aesthetically beautiful and technological wonders in order to demonstrate the modernity, permanence, and robustness of their schools.³⁵

According to sport historian Andrew Doyle, "Southern colleges and universities belatedly adopted football in the early 1890s, and this late start combined with endemic poverty and tiny enrollments ... to

³³ "Football Stadium," *The Mississippian*, March 24, 1915, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS, "Athletic Field is the Pride of University," *The Mississippian*, n.d., folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS. "Many Improvements on Campus Buildings," *The Mississippian*, September 30, 1914, p. 8, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS. See also "Back in University Park," *Alumni Review*, 1948: 66, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

³⁴ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 9. See also Arnaud C. Marts, "College Football and College Endowment," *School and Society*, 40 (1934): 14; Barner, *Mississippi Mayhem*, 100. The Ole Miss enrollment for 1917 was 573.

³⁵ Chad Seifried, "An Analysis of the American Outdoor Sport Facility: Developing an Ideal-type on the Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures," (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 2005), 16, 151. Ron Smith, "Far More than Commercialism: Stadium Building from Harvard's Innovation to Stanford's 'Dirt Bowl,'" *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25 (2008): 1457.

render southern football decidedly inferior to the rest of the nation.”³⁶ Predictably, eastern and midwestern teams rarely considered playing southern schools as serious competition and regularly positioned games against them around the turn of the century as practices in preparation for more established institutions. Initial travel difficulties made it costly for southern schools because payment depended on gate receipts emanating from both home and road team fans.³⁷ However, improving roads and rail lines linking southern schools and higher populated southern cities helped lower transportation costs and increase gate receipts; thus improving profits. Accessibility to other cities also prompted the formation of the Southern Conference in 1921, which further facilitated and improved play.³⁸

In the 1920s, Southerners utilized football to demonstrate their modernity but they were “embarrassed by the lack of stadiums to stage games.” Many southern institutions, like Ole Miss, did not play in modern steel and concrete stadiums but instead “played games in roped-off portions of college campuses and city parks” or in tiny wood facilities which prevented them from scheduling attractive opponents. To address this deficiency, civic leaders and university boosters across the South organized campaigns to finance the construction of new stadia that were frequently considered “gilt-edged business propositions.”³⁹ Doyle argued “staging mass market sporting events in modern stadiums was a highly visible way to showcase the progressive urban society of the 20th century South.”⁴⁰ Further, the recognition of football as a mass entertainment product enabled stadium supporters to position it as the “most visible icon of civic progress even at the apogee of the machine age.” The level of economic progress made from

³⁶ Andrew Doyle, “‘Causes won, not lost’: College Football and the Modernization of the American South,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1994): 231. See also Mike Butler, “Confederate Flags, Class Conflict, a Golden Egg, and Castrated Bulls: A Historical Examination of the Ole Miss-Mississippi State Football Rivalry,” *The Journal of Mississippi History* 59.2 (1997): 127.

³⁷ Fuzzy Woodruff, *A History of Southern Football* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing, 1928), 142.

³⁸ “Confederate Flags, Class Conflict, a Golden Egg, and Castrated Bulls,” 128. See also Walsh, *Where Football is King*, 11.

³⁹ Lawrence Perry, “The Stadium and College Athletics,” *Scribner’s Monthly*, 56 (November 1914): 573.

⁴⁰ Doyle, “‘Causes won, not lost,’” 243. See also Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 39.

the end of the nineteenth century to the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century corresponded with increases in technological improvement, building construction, and rationalization of space and business activities. Advertising and public relations became important tools to universities, communities, and businesses throughout the South as they realized the power symbols had in controlling image. Football stadia emerged as proof of the region's modernness and progressiveness.⁴¹

Despite initial praise, many regularly criticized the new Athletic Field at Ole Miss for its small capacity and poor quality based on standing water resulting from inadequate draining. Workers had to help "pipe up a creek and excavate into the west bank to make room for the field" during the initial construction of the facility in 1915.⁴² Because of the field's condition, the largest or most prestigious games continued at neutral site locations. Several Mississippi cities competed against one another for the rights to host the burgeoning rivalry between Ole Miss and Mississippi A&M.⁴³ Tupelo outbid Jackson, Greenville, and Clarksdale to host their games from 1915 through 1917 on the strength of its facility, which could seat 5,000 and supported parking for 200 cars. Sport historian Raymond Schmidt highlights the growing importance of cars during this time as he suggests improvements in roads and increased "automobile ownership" continued the "rise of the stadium."⁴⁴ In 1919, Clarksdale outbid Greenville and Tupelo for rights to the 1919 game. The primary reason for its victory was the new \$100,000 stadium built for Elizabeth Dorr High School described as having "velvety grass" and ample space for parking and spectating.⁴⁵ Greenwood won rights to the 1920 and 1921 contests primarily because of its willingness to share a large percentage of the gate receipts. Delighting many hotel owners and train operators, Jackson won back the rights to the contest in 1922 at the new City Ball Park on the Mississippi State Fair Grounds, which could seat 15,000.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Doyle, "Causes won, not lost," 244.

⁴² "Back in University Park," 66.

⁴³ William G. Barner and Danny McKenzie, *The Egg Bowl* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2007).

⁴⁴ Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 41. Registered cars in the United States increased from 2.5 million to roughly 20 million between 1915 and 1925.

⁴⁵ Barner, *Mississippi Mayhem*, 85.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 71, 85, 100.

Businesses near Oxford were not pleased and to some extent, the college also suffered financially from the lack of a quality on-campus facility. The Athletic Department was \$27,000 in the red at the start of 1927, even with financial benefits emanating from neutral site games.⁴⁷ Local businesses and the University wanted the prospective economic impact other cities and institutions enjoyed through the incredible interest college football produced. Schmidt identified confidence in college football as a revenue source that was strong during the 1920s because it “was believed to have an estimated drawing power of \$50 million a year with well over 50 percent of that representing profit.”⁴⁸

To capitalize on this interest, Ronald A. Smith suggests that the commercialization and professionalization of intercollegiate athletics produced stadiums as “the logical result of student, alumni, and general public interest in the phenomenon.”⁴⁹ New stadiums, in particular, were attractive because they “made it possible for new fans to feel as though they were part of an emerging tradition.”⁵⁰ Large on-campus stadia were further justified to the public and alumni through suggestions that large cities involved evil influences (e.g., gambling and drinking) not present on college campuses. Colleges and universities positioned stadiums to be the beacon of moral character building because institutions of higher education “were far more interested in imbuing moral values than in instilling intellectual depth.”⁵¹ In summation, stadiums were “icons representing what universities recognized were important to their image-building as institutions of higher learning; competing among themselves for honor and emulation.”⁵²

To better capitalize on the national and local interest in football, Ole Miss organized a campaign to generate financial and community support from students, alumni, and friends of the University. In a letter sent to all former students and friends of the University, Chancellor Albert Hume noted his “whole-hearted and enthusiastic

⁴⁷ Sorrels and Cavagnaro, *Ole Miss Rebels*, 98.

⁴⁸ Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 6. See also Smith, “Far More than Commercialism,” 1453.

⁴⁹ Smith, “Far More than Commercialism,” 1454. See also: Robert C. Trumbour, *The New Cathedrals: Politics and Media in the History of Stadium Construction* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 17.

⁵⁰ Walsh, *Where Football is King*, 207.

⁵¹ Smith, “Far More than Commercialism,” 1455.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1454.

support” for rebuilding the existing campus facility into a modern steel and concrete structure. In this letter, he also suggested it was time for the “sons and daughters of ‘Ole Miss’ to awaken” to their obligation that they should help the University fulfill its goals of producing intellectually, physically, and morally sound graduates for the good of the state. Hume also highlighted a potential gift to the University, which came with no conditions, from its partner, Lamar Life Insurance of Jackson.⁵³

C.W. Welty, vice president and general manager of the Lamar Life Insurance Company, offered to assist the university alumni society, chancellor, and faculty in their efforts to raise money for a stadium and gymnasium fund. Agreeing to waive any potential profit from the sale of insurance policies, Lamar Life Insurance created a special five-year endowment policy with the goal of providing \$200,000. Through policies ranging from \$100 to \$500, Welty suggested the company desired to help the University because a stadium renovation was needed and would be a “source of pride not only to all former students of the University but to all citizens of our State.” The advertisement for this campaign also argued that the Mississippi legislature was unlikely to appropriate funds for a building project such as a 14,000-seat, seven-acre football stadium. Thus, appeals were made to alumni, students, and friends of the university to help. Emphasizing that this appeal was the “first time in the history of the University” that these groups were asked to contribute monetarily to building improvements, advocates promoted the new stadium as helping to develop physical, intellectual, and spiritual health for generations and as a means of producing income for the school.⁵⁴

Another source of funding came from an indirect gift via the Field Co-operative Association, Inc., which allowed the shifting of some university money back to the stadium and its new stands. The Field Co-op remains a foundation organization created by bankers and oilmen Bernard B. and Montfort Jones to help fund charitable, educational, and scientific pursuits. In 1925, the Association developed a fund to

⁵³ Letter from Alfred Hume, Chancellor of the University of Mississippi, May 30, 1925 “To all Former Students and Friends of the University of Mississippi,” University of Mississippi Alumni Association, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁵⁴ Letter from C. W. Welty of Lamar Life Insurance in Jackson, Mississippi to L. A. Donaghey of the University of Mississippi Alumni Society, June 9, 1925, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

help colleges with building initiatives, libraries, and student loans.⁵⁵ Reflecting its \$100,000 price tag, the facility was simple. Although steel and concrete, only one scoreboard and press box were installed in the stadium, and little to no information exists on the quality or quantity of restrooms and concession stands.

The big game against Mississippi State moved to Oxford in 1927 because of the new construction. Judge William M. Hemingway was the most recognized individual involved in the project. Hemingway began work at Ole Miss in 1921 as a professor of law and shortly thereafter became the chairman of the University Committee on Athletics working closely with Judge L. A. Smith, president of the Alumni Association, and Jeff Hamm, secretary of the Athletic Department. A supporter of Ole Miss football for several years, Hemingway made individuals well aware of the physical need for a new facility to not only address image concerns but safety worries as well. Hemingway had been a spectator and one of the injured at the 1910 contest in Jackson when the “wooden” stands collapsed crushing his ankle.⁵⁶

1937: The Birth of William Hemingway Stadium

Heading into the 1930s, Ole Miss improved significantly in football under the tutelage of Homer Hazel (1925-1929) and Ed Walker (1930-1937), but two other factors greatly affected the program’s growth. First, Hemingway’s work with other southern schools facilitated Ole Miss’s invitation to join the Southeastern Conference (SEC), created in 1932. Hemingway helped keep the “plane of eligibility of athletics on a high level,” provided guidance on how to stabilize the athletics budget, and created the contracts that allowed thirteen schools to break away from the Southern Conference. His obituary in the *Commercial Appeal* also noted that he handled image and financial problems experienced by the SEC “regarding football and college athletics” during the early years of

⁵⁵ Ibid. See also: Dudley J. Hughes, *Oil in the Deep South: A History of the Oil Business in Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida 1859-1945* (Jackson, MS, University Press of Mississippi, 1993): 25.

⁵⁶ W. Eugene Morse, “Judge William Hemingway, 1869-1937,” *Journal of Mississippi History*, 36.4 (1974): 345.

the conference as its vice president.⁵⁷ The second event suggesting Ole Miss's improvement emerged during 1935 when the school secured an invitation to the Orange Bowl, the institution's first postseason game. Combined, the popularity of football and Ole Miss's strength as a SEC member sparked new interest in renovating the stadium.⁵⁸

Ole Miss began to pursue Works Progress Administration (WPA) money to help enlarge the stadium. In September of 1936, Ed Walker, as director of athletics, proposed a redevelopment of the stadium into a brand new facility. Walker suggested to Chancellor A. B. Butts that Ole Miss should have a new concrete and steel addition that followed the dorm-in-a-stadium model previously developed at Louisiana State University (LSU). Walker's plan was to place a sixty-room dorm that could house 180 students under the 10,000-seat west stands. Walker argued that by doing so the University could gain valuable revenue at \$5,400 per year to help liquidate any loans needed to complete the facility.⁵⁹

In August of 1937, work began on renovating the stadium following approval from the WPA Office in Jackson. Ole Miss estimated the cost of the renovation to be \$96,000 and positioned the work as a "joint effort between the WPA and the Athletic Department of Ole Miss." In this case, the WPA provided \$50,000 in funding, similar to the \$55,000 provided to Mississippi State the year before for the expansion of Scott Field to 26,000.⁶⁰ The WPA offered funding to public works projects based on a need-based prioritization system where it could help do the most good but only in those states "with sound administrative practices and minimal political corruption."⁶¹ Its goal was to avoid pork-barrel

⁵⁷ Morse, "Judge William Hemingway," 349. See also Walsh, *Where Football is King*, 12. "In a departure from the previous associations, the president of each school became the primary representative to the conference with the goal of having athletics to better serve the overall educational aims of the institution."

⁵⁸ Sansing, *The University of Mississippi*, 192.

⁵⁹ Letter from Ed Walker, Director of Athletics, to A. B. Butte, Chancellor of University of Mississippi, September 22, 1936, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS. Walker estimated the cost of the dorm-football stadium to be \$150,000.

⁶⁰ Adam Pflieger and Chad S. Seifried, "A Celebration 100 Years in the Making: The Modernization of Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field from 1914 to 2014," *Journal of Mississippi History*, Vol. 77, Nos. 3-4: 12. See also Sansing, *The University of Mississippi*, 254.

⁶¹ Edwin Amenta, Kathleen Dunleavy, and Mary Bernstein, "Stolen Thunder? Huey Long's" Share Our Wealth," Political Mediation, and the Second New Deal," *American Sociological Review*, 59 (1994): 692.

projects that cost taxpayers money.⁶² Harry Hopkins, national director of the WPA, suggested WPA work was critical because it reduced the amount of idleness and involved projects capable of being “an inspiration to every reasonable person.”⁶³ The work completed on Hemingway Stadium assisted out-of-work locals and addressed real needs of the University to be more self-sufficient and to retain home games.

The goal for the construction was to be complete by the annual Thanksgiving Day game against Mississippi State. Judge Hemingway passed away on November 5, 1937, from a heart attack prompting the Mississippi Alumni Association to pass a resolution, which asked the Board of Trustees to name the renovated stadium in his honor.⁶⁴ T. G. Gladney, WPA engineer from Jackson, and University Professor A. B. Hargis, supervising engineer, were in charge of the project emanating from the work of architectural firm Stevens & Johnson from Starkville.⁶⁵ The south stands for the soon-to-be Hemingway Stadium rose first followed by work on the west, adding about 10,000 seats to surviving parts of the venue. The ‘dorm in a stadium idea’ did not happen as it appeared to be too costly (i.e., \$150,000) and was not a priority over the school’s immediate needs to provide for a better “enlarged press box, radio broadcasting booths, telephone connections, and rest room facilities.”⁶⁶ Several other southern institutions were also using WPA money and investing heavily in not only expansions but upgrading of amenities and technology in their facilities. For example, Arkansas, LSU, and Mississippi State were all renovating their football stadia

⁶² Gavin Wright, “The Political Economy of New Deal Spending: An Econometric Analysis,” *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 56 (1974): 30-38.

⁶³ “Hopkins, Crutcher Featured Speakers at Dedication of L.S.U. Stadium Addition,” *Times-Picayune*, November 29, 1936, p. 18.

⁶⁴ The Board of Trustees approved the resolution and officially named the facility “William Hemingway Stadium” on October 21, 1939.

⁶⁵ “Build Stadium, Will Seat 10,000,” *The Mississippian*, July 30, 1937, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

“Work Progressing on Grid Stadium,” *The Mississippian*, October 30, 1937, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

during this time with identical objectives to better support the press.⁶⁷ Christopher Walsh's work in *Where Football is King: A History of the SEC* suggests such improvements were necessary because radio broadcasts emerged as an important source of income for those with the capability. Starting in 1934, the SEC negotiated for the A. J. Norris Hill Company (Retail Trade Extension of Hearst Magazine) to sponsor local broadcasts.⁶⁸ Ole Miss was unsuccessful in securing this money until successful renovations of its stadium were complete.

Although seating 24,000, follow-up reports on the progress of the stadium construction suggested more seats should be added to accommodate the growing crowds already exceeding the capacity of the facility while in-progress and to match that provided at Mississippi State. *The Mississippian* also reported some worries about where students would sit once the new facility was complete for the Mississippi State game.⁶⁹ These were not the only worries at Ole Miss. Sportswriter Harry Martinez pointed out "the system of arranging schedules by the Southeastern Conference is very unsatisfactory" because the conference did not create uniform schedules. Instead, the SEC allowed schools to negotiate their own schedules with conference opponents. Ole Miss petitioned the SEC for new rules, which required all SEC schools to play a balanced road and home schedule. Others also supported such an initiative and argued it would improve the caliber of the conference and possibly attract more prestigious football-playing schools from the Big Ten and Ivy League to travel south.⁷⁰ However, change was slow due to the subsequent outbreak of World War II, and needed expansions to facilities such as Hemingway Stadium remained minimal until a few years after the conclusion of the war in 1945.

⁶⁷ Chad S. Seifried, "The Development of 'Death Valley' in Louisiana: Modernization and Tiger Stadium, 1924-2013," *Louisiana History*, 57.2 (2016): 202-203; Chad S. Seifried, Carli Wheeler, Samantha Baker and James Piker, "The Development of Arkansas Football Stadia: A Comparison of Razorback and War Memorial Stadium," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 3: 11-12.

⁶⁸ Walsh, *Where Football is King*, 13.

⁶⁹ "Work Progressing on Grid Stadium," *The Mississippian*, October 30, 1937, folder 15, box 1, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁷⁰ Harry Martinez, "Gottlieb, Leveck for Better Schedules," *Times-Picayune*, November 24, 1940, S4 p. 6. See also John Leveck, "Leveck's Plan to Improve Conference," *Times-Picayune*, November 24, 1940, S4 p. 6.

Post-World War II Building

A building boom of sport construction at colleges and universities was foreseeable toward the end of the 1940s. First, the development of football as a tool to manage the mobilization, training, behavior, and morale of troops participating in the armed forces improved the quality of play and knowledge of the game.⁷¹ Second, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (i.e., G.I. Bill) affected the growth of Mississippi college enrollments as many returning troops took advantage of the government's assistance to attend college. In the case of Mississippi, one year after the conclusion of World War II, enrollment increased approximately 75% at Ole Miss.⁷²

In competition to boost enrollments, rival and SEC peer, Mississippi State, spent \$500,000 on improvements to the stadium at Scott Field in 1947. Tulane Stadium (New Orleans) also experienced a \$500,000 renovation, which expanded that stadium to 82,000 in 1947. The University of Tennessee spent \$1.5 million to upgrade and expand Shields-Watkins Stadium to 50,000 for 1948. Elsewhere, the University of Texas enlarged Memorial Stadium by 20,000 through a \$1.4 million addition, which brought the capacity to 66,000 in 1948.⁷³ Architect H. F. Brown argued in *The Architect's Journal* that renovations to existing football stadia emerged from the shared notion that all sport venues should support "good visibility from all parts of the facility," be "safe, flexible, and convenient for all users," and "accommodate the needs of sponsors."⁷⁴

⁷¹ Chad S. Seifried and Matthew Katz, "The Process and Determinants of Organizational Innovation: The Story of the United States Military Creation of 'Bowl' Games from 1942 to 1967," *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies* 22 (2015): 231-247.

⁷² David G. Sansing, *Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education in Mississippi* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1990), 126, 129. See also Chad S. Seifried, "The Huey P. Long Field House: Examining the Lifecycle of the Louisiana State University's Once Magnificent Daily Social Anchor and Future Prospects," *Louisiana History*, 55 (2012): 70.

⁷³ Frank Eck, "Nation's Colleges Busy Building New Athletic Plants: \$30,000,000 Ready for Construction Work Use," *Times Daily*, February 20, 1948, p. 9. Other schools mentioned: Wyoming, Maryland, New Mexico, Wisconsin, San Diego State, Arizona State, and Michigan State. See also Patrick Tutka, "An Ideal-type through Innovation Diffusion: Recording the Construction History of Football Stadiums in the National Collegiate Athletic Association Division I Football Bowl Subdivision" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 2016), 222-225. Approximately, forty-five schools either built a new facility or renovated their existing one from 1947 through 1949.

⁷⁴ H. F. Brown, "Stadia 1," *The Architect's Journal*, 169 (1979): 142.

Geographer John F. Rooney, Jr. added that the federal and state governments facilitated the growth of stadium capacities by providing better infrastructure in the form of paved roads and the development of parking areas to accommodate the car-loving American.⁷⁵ Martin Miller, president of Mississippi's State Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning expressed frustration to Chancellor John D. Williams with the lack of parking spaces and quality of roads connecting the highways and railroad with campus and the town of Oxford.⁷⁶ With such improvements occurring at other facilities in addition to the accommodation of advancement made with telephone and radio communication technology, Ole Miss traveled more than they played at home despite increasing enrollments. For instance, beginning in 1942, Ole Miss moved a majority of its prospective home games to Memphis's Crump Stadium when competing against the likes of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Vanderbilt through 1948. In both 1949 and 1950, Ole Miss played a majority of its conference games on the road prompting head coach Johnny Vaught to say, "We felt like a bunch of strangers when we returned to Hemingway Stadium."⁷⁷ Chancellor John D. Williams added that without a new stadium Ole Miss would be relegated to second-tier status and would continue to fail to get big name opponents like Tulane and Tennessee to visit. Williams also cited concerns about a potential decrease in enrollment to emphasize the need for a new venue.⁷⁸

Major planning to enhance the capacity and amenities for spectators and other participants (e.g., media) drove efforts to improve Hemingway Stadium. The Hemingway Stadium Renovation Committee (HSRC) led the effort following approval by the State Building Commission for a

⁷⁵ John F. Rooney, Jr., "Up from the Mines and Out from the Prairies: Some Geographical Implications of Football in the United States," *Geographical Review*, 59 (1969): 475.

⁷⁶ Letter from Martin V. B. Miller, President Board of Trustees State of Mississippi, to Chancellor John D. Williams, January 6, 1949, p. 1, folder 24, box 5, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁷⁷ Harry Martinez, "Rebels Play Five of Six Conference Games on Road," *Times-Picayune*, October 1, 1950, S6-3.

⁷⁸ Annual Report of the Chancellor of The University of Mississippi to the Board of Trustees for Institutions of Higher Learning: For the Period July 1-1951 to June 30, 1952, Board of Trustees Reports, p. 157, John D. Williams Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

\$300,000 renovation.⁷⁹ All material purchases to complete the stadium renovation required approval “in accordance with the instructions set forth by the Building Commission and the State purchasing laws.” This action compelled the University to send out a bid for price quotes from vendors.⁸⁰ As an example, in November 1948, the University advertised that Portland cement was needed for the stadium renovation. The Elliott Lumber Company of Oxford won the bid with a guarantee of \$3.69 per barrel for the soon-to-be 34,500-seat venue.⁸¹

The project architect’s Report of Expenditures showed total expenditures for the stadium additions and improvements to have been \$318,515 through March 1950. Architect fees for Benson and England of New Orleans, designers of the aforementioned Tulane Stadium addition, were approximately \$18,000.⁸² The various materials used to build the facility came from a variety of local and regional companies. For instance, sand and gravel came from Russell Fudge. The Moore Lumber Company and Fieishel Lumber Company supplied lumber while Kemp Electric Company provided labor and materials for electrical work. The Asbestos Corporation fitted asbestos, Reynolds P&H installed the plumbing, and Freeman Truck Lines transported many of the purchased materials.⁸³

The completed facility improved conditions for a variety of

⁷⁹ Letter from John D. Williams, chancellor of University of Mississippi, to H. W. Stevens, October 14, 1947, folder 24, box 5, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS. The HSRC included Carroll W. North, acting comptroller, C. M. Smith, director of athletics, J. K. Hamm, Business manager of Athletic Department, Harold Haney, superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, Dr. T. A. Bickerstaff, chairman of the Faculty Committee on Athletics, and Johnny Vaught, head football coach. See also Letter from H. E. Haney, acting comptroller, to Chancellor John D. Williams, November 26, 1948, p. 1, folder 24, box 5, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁸⁰ Letter from John D. Williams, Chancellor of University of Mississippi, to Houston L. Vaughn, Superintendent – Hemingway Stadium Project, June 26, 1950, folder 24, box 5, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁸¹ Letter from John D. Williams, Chancellor of University of Mississippi, to Houston L. Vaughn, Superintendent – Hemingway Stadium Project, June 13, 1950, folder 24, box 5, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁸² Letter from Herbert A. Benson, Architect, to Carroll W. North, Comptroller, March 10, 1950, p. 1, folder 24, box 5, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁸³ Interdepartmental communication from Carroll W. North, Comptroller, to Chancellor John D. Williams, April 5, 1950, p. 1, folder 24, box 5, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

stakeholders. For example, a 10,000-space parking lot was added to exceed the industry standard of one car per every four seats.⁸⁴ Next, new concession stands and ladies' and men's restrooms were added to meet additional industry standards.⁸⁵ The expansion also improved spectator safety because aisle space had previously been used for overflow seating.⁸⁶ The most significant change proved to be the new press box. Chancellor Williams argued that the new press box was the first real facility offered by Ole Miss for the press, telegraph (e.g., Western Union), and radio personnel because it had the capacity to support all their equipment. Overall, the press box could accommodate 150 members of the media in sixty-six newspaper-reserved seats, five radio booths, and one observation deck for photography and scouting purposes. The press box also supported special space for the participants' coaching staff and provided them with field-level telephone access.⁸⁷

The Impact of Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium: The 1960s and 1970s

The impact of these changes were positive because football was profitable, giving back at least \$72,000 since Johnny Vaught took over as head coach in 1947. Unfortunately, the lack of an airstrip kept big name opponents out of Oxford and forced the more prestigious contests to Memphis and Jackson in the 1950s. For example, through 1956, six of twelve SEC rivals had not visited Oxford in approximately twenty years.⁸⁸ Built in 1950, Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium in Jackson was expanded to seat 46,000 in 1961, which made it the third largest stadium in the SEC. The facility developed in a fashion

⁸⁴ Williams, "Annual Report of the Chancellor July 1-1951 to June 30, 1952," 159.

⁸⁵ Annual Report of the Chancellor of The University of Mississippi to the Board of Trustees for Institutions of Higher Learning: For the Period July 1-1952 to June 30, 1953, Board of Trustees Reports, p. 97, John D. Williams Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁸⁶ Annual Report of the Chancellor of The University of Mississippi to the Board of Trustees for Institutions of Higher Learning: For the Period July 1-1949 to June 30, 1950, Board of Trustees Reports, p. 133, John D. Williams Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁸⁷ Williams, "Annual Report of the Chancellor July 1-1952 to June 30, 1953," 130. See also letter from Herbert A. Benson, Architect, to Martin V. B. Miller, President Board of Trustees State of Mississippi, June 9, 1949, p. 1, folder 24, box 5, Dr. Gerald Walton Collection, University of Mississippi Archives, Oxford, MS.

⁸⁸ Tom Siler, "He Made Ole Miss a Menace," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 12, 1956, p. 130.

similar to other state or city government-funded stadiums in Little Rock, Birmingham, Shreveport, Memphis, Dallas, and New Orleans.⁸⁹ The state of Mississippi desired to bring events to Jackson, the state's largest population center. In 1960, the Mississippi legislature took over control of the stadium with the goal to create an entertainment complex including a 6,000-seat auditorium and a 10,000-seat coliseum capable of producing a positive economic impact for Jackson and television opportunities for the state's institutions of higher education (e.g., Ole Miss, Mississippi State, Southern Miss, and Jackson State).⁹⁰

James Saggus, writer for the *Associated Press*, suggested a weekend football contest could bring over 100,000 people to Jackson. The Jackson Chamber of Commerce added that just one game at full capacity could generate \$600,000 in income and produce \$100,000 in tax revenue. Further, hotels, gas stations, and restaurants within a fifty-mile radius would likely benefit. The incredible success and attention Ole Miss received from 1957 through 1960 where the Rebels finished the season ranked 7th, 11th, 2nd, and 1st (i.e., *Associated Press* National Champions) prompted the aggressive action to expand the facility. Subsequent success in 1961 (#5 ranking), 1962 (#3 ranking), and 1963 (#7 ranking) seemed to justify the decision.⁹¹

With the big games occurring in Jackson, Hemingway Stadium received little attention during the 1960s and 1970s. The only real changes that surfaced with Hemingway Stadium concerned a conversion of temporary bleachers to permanent bleachers in 1968, raising the capacity to 37,500, and the addition of AstroTurf for \$300,000 by the Monsanto Company of St. Louis in 1970. Ole Miss Athletic Director Tad Smith suggested there was not anything wrong with the grass at Hemingway Stadium. However, he believed change was necessary because "with more and more schools putting in synthetic stuff, a real-grass team will be at a disadvantage." He added, "In time, we'll be

⁸⁹ Rusty Hampton and Butch John, "Memorial: Mississippi State, Ole Miss Officials Concerned with Stadium Procedure," *The Clarion Ledger*, December 23, 1984, 1D, 3D.

⁹⁰ Mississippi Code Title 55 – *Parks and Recreation*, Chapter 23, Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium § 55-23-6 - Transfer of operational, administrative and managing powers and duties over Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium to Jackson State University (Miss. 2013).

⁹¹ Andy Ross, "A History of Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium," *Mississippi Sports Magazine*, 2.3 (2009): 23, 25. See also Hal Halbrooks, "Roden Pulls Switch," *Times Daily*, May 30, 1961, p. 10; James Saggus, "Jackson Braced, Waiting," *Tuscaloosa News*, October 28, 1965, p. 14.

playing on artificial turf everywhere we go.”⁹²

By 1970, artificial grass was widely popular in the South. For instance, only two schools in the Southwest Conference did not play on the surface. Moreover, many SEC opponents played home games (e.g., Alabama, Tennessee, and Vanderbilt) and/or practiced (e.g., LSU) on artificial turf. In the case of Ole Miss, Smith, Vaught, and the University Committee on Athletics, who approved the addition, suggested there was a consensus amongst football elites that adjusting from artificial grass to natural grass was easier than vice versa. Sports writer Bob Roesler also added the move was critical for Ole Miss because they played so many games on the road. Further, without ‘laying a rug’ on Hemingway Stadium, Ole Miss would be subject to maintenance expenses and scheduling delays many of their rivals or peers did not experience.⁹³

A survey of twenty-four athletic directors published by the *Journal of Health, Physical Education, & Recreation* supports these notions and others. For instance, 91.7% claimed benefit from artificial turf as a daily practice field because it was more weather resistant and 95% reported reduced maintenance costs ranging between 30-50%. A majority also believed artificial turf was able to decrease injury suggesting familiarity improves play and health. Finally, 75% agreed artificial turf was “instrumental in the recruitment of athletes.”⁹⁴

In 1979, Ole Miss lobbied hard along with Mississippi State and Southern Miss that the state legislature should approve a \$3 million state-backed bond issue to enclose Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium. They thought that by increasing the capacity to 62,529, the more prestigious opponents would generate added profits for them each to enjoy.⁹⁵ Television revenues were gaining a greater presence in the renovation of stadiums beyond gate receipts and sponsorships. American consumers increasingly expected the opportunity to watch games from their homes. “Major college conferences and the National

⁹² “Rebels to Add Artificial Turf,” *Times-Picayune*, June 9, 1970, S2, p. 5. “Ole Miss Getting the Turf,” *Times Daily*, June 4, 1970, p. 15.

⁹³ Bob Roesler, “Here to Stay,” *Times-Picayune*, May 28, 1970, S5, p. 1; Bob Roesler, “Rebels Roll Out Carpet,” *Times-Picayune*, June 9, 1970, S2 p. 2.

⁹⁴ Lynn Lashbrook, “The Facts about Fake Grass,” *Journal of Health, Physical Education, Recreation* 42.9 (1971): 28. Regional participants in the survey included Alabama, Ole Miss, Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas A&M, Texas Tech, Kansas, Kansas State.

⁹⁵ Ross, “A History of Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium,” 27.

Collegiate Athletic Association worked diligently to maximize television revenues in a manner that parallels professional sports.⁹⁶ However, television required space for various camera locations and auxiliary production space for broadcasting equipment and announcers that previous stadiums did not provide.⁹⁷ Hemingway Stadium was not constructed or renovated for television so all of Ole Miss's support went toward Jackson to help continue the existing television broadcasting capabilities there.

Shortly after gaining approval, the legislature "authorized the stadium commission to implement a new rental fee charging Mississippi State, Ole Miss, and Southern Miss, 10 percent of the pre-tax value of each ticket sold, plus 50 cents per ticket." This action took away a considerable amount of revenue from each school and prompted them to look back to their own campus for better paydays. By 1988, Southern Miss had left Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium for good. Mississippi State followed shortly thereafter in 1990, and Ole Miss stopped playing after the 1993 season. Ole Miss Athletic Director Warner Alford stated to the state's Stadium Committee, "We have a 42,000-seat stadium in Oxford. I have constituents to answer to. They don't understand why I play games in Jackson when we can draw the same crowd to Oxford."

Supporting these feelings was the perceived diminishing quality of the facility in Jackson over that improving in Oxford and elsewhere.⁹⁸ Ole Miss's constituents were worried about the image the decaying and partially full Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium provided with its lack of amenities (e.g., luxury suites, concessions, etc.), rusty façade, and inadequate press box capabilities.⁹⁹ The lack of a modern electronic scoreboard was also problematic. Large electronic scoreboards were typical in football stadiums and were used to supply spectators with game information, to stimulate crowd noise, desired by television broadcasters, and to convey safety information among other public address announcements. Advertisers also benefitted from the presence of large electronic scoreboards by using their messaging

⁹⁶ Trumbour, *The New Cathedrals*, 48.

⁹⁷ Seifried, "The Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures," 66.

⁹⁸ W. Cantrell, "Trying to Sell 2,000 Seats – 1st Expansion Since the '40's – Say Crowds to Benefit this City," *The Commercial Dispatch*, July 22, 1982, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Rusty Hampton and Butch John, "Memorial: Mississippi State, Ole Miss Officials Concerned with Stadium Procedure," *The Clarion Ledger*, December 23, 1984, 1D.

systems to promote their products and services. This practice, in turn, provided additional revenues to schools.¹⁰⁰

Improvements to Vaught-Hemingway Stadium: 1980s and 1990s

Citing a survey conducted by the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* in 1988, sportswriter Mike Butler said that “Nowhere is the game’s [i.e., football] supremacy so complete as in the Deep South.” Each year of the 1980s ended with the SEC having the greatest percentage of seats sold in relation to stadium capacity.¹⁰¹ Compared to other SEC peer on-campus facilities, Hemingway Stadium was lacking, but Ole Miss made some changes to the facility to boost its reputation. In 1980, the University installed permanent aluminum bleachers to both end zones to enclose the facility, bringing the capacity to 42,000. In 1982, shortly after the addition, Ole Miss enhanced the image of the facility by renaming it to honor Johnny Vaught. Vaught had served as the head coach for twenty-five seasons, taken Ole Miss to eighteen bowl games, won six SEC championships, and the school’s only national championships in 1959, 1960, and 1962. His total win-loss record at Ole Miss was 190-61-12.¹⁰²

In 1984, Ole Miss removed the stadium’s artificial turf and replaced the surface with natural grass. Alford argued the decision “goes down to preference ... We have a lot of games in September and October, and the artificial surface is extremely hot ... And when I talked to our trainer about going back to grass, he was very pro. We were looking at replacing our artificial surface at a pretty high cost. That’s one thing in this part of the country we can do -- grow grass.”¹⁰³

In 1988, former Ole Miss quarterback Archie Manning served as

¹⁰⁰ Seifried, “The Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures,” 66-67. See also Grumprecht, “Stadium Culture,” 44.

¹⁰¹ Mike Butler, “Confederate Flags, Class Conflict, a Golden Egg, and Castrated Bulls: A Historical Examination of the Ole Miss-Mississippi State Football Rivalry,” *The Journal of Mississippi History*, 59.2 (1997): 125.

¹⁰² Richard Goldstein, “John Vaught, 96, Longtime Mississippi Football Coach, Dies,” *The New York Times*, February 7, 2006, accessed August 5, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/07/sports/ncaafootball/07vaught.html?_r=1&_ Ole Miss received shares of the national championship from ratings services like Berryman, Billingsley, Dunkel, and Sagarin.

¹⁰³ Steve Richardson, “Grass vs. Turf,” *The Dallas Morning News*, October 27, 1988, p. 1b.

the national chairman for the two-year campaign called the “Drive for Athletics at Ole Miss.” In order to raise \$8 million for the athletic department, Manning asked fans to consider:

Everything ages, including athletic facilities at Ole Miss. That’s why I’ve accepted the National Chairmanship of the Drive for Athletics. It’s time to invest in the future of athletics, to do something about the needed facilities of our beloved alma mater.

The focal point of this campaign (i.e., \$5.1 million) centered on providing upgrades to Vaught-Hemingway Stadium to make it more comparable to the University’s SEC peers. The initial enhancements included structural repairs, the construction of a new press box with special amenities for television broadcasters, replacement of aluminum sideline seating, the addition of restrooms, and the development of a club level for 700 spectators on the west side of the stadium.¹⁰⁴

Luxury suites were also introduced to the facility for the first time and proved popular. Alford pointed out that twenty-three of twenty-nine boxes were quickly sold helping to inspire campaign organizers to increase their fundraising goal to \$10 million.¹⁰⁵ Lights added at this time addressed the goal of moving most of the prestigious games away from Jackson.¹⁰⁶ Night football games had been a regular part of the Mississippi football fan experience as part of SEC Doubleheader Saturdays in Jackson.¹⁰⁷ However, Vaught-Hemingway Stadium was the only on-campus facility in the SEC without lights. Ole Miss previously considered the addition of lights for Vaught-Hemingway Stadium in 1982 when TBS offered to broadcast the Ole Miss-Tulane game in Oxford. Considerably poorer at that time, Ole Miss decided to move the game to Jackson rather than invest any of the \$150,000 they

¹⁰⁴ David Davidson, “Inside Colleges: Dye Worried about His – Heart,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, January 3, 1988, D22; David Davidson, “Inside Colleges: Auburn become Gator Opponent for Homecoming,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, March 13, 1988, D22; David Davidson, “Inside Colleges: Olympics Used for Recruiting,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, October 11, 1987, C26.

¹⁰⁵ Davidson, “Inside Colleges: Dye Worried about His – Heart,” D22.

¹⁰⁶ Davidson, “Inside Colleges: Auburn become Gator Opponent for Homecoming,” D22.

¹⁰⁷ Ross, “A History of Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium,” 25.

were being paid by TBS.¹⁰⁸

The next advancements made on Vaught-Hemingway Stadium came in 1995 and continued to 1998, costing approximately \$13 million and increasing seating capacity to 50,000. Chancellor Robert C. Khayat's administration desired to improve existing buildings and to build new complexes in an effort to improve alumni relations and conditions for students. The renovation of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium facilitated this effort to improve the on-campus environment so that Ole Miss could be "perceived as a great public university" and "in the front ranks of American collegiate institutions."¹⁰⁹

To begin improving the game-day experience, Ole Miss added a new Sony JumboTron scoreboard to Vaught-Hemingway Stadium. Next, a 10,000-seat expansion effort involved the construction of the Guy C. Billups Rebel Club on the east side of the stadium. Adding luxury accommodations like this at stadiums became more common during this era because it was a "lucrative source of revenue, and more colleges are turning to them to help support the ever-rising cost of athletic programs."¹¹⁰ Named after local banker Guy C. Billups, who donated over \$1 million to Ole Miss Athletics, the Billups Rebel Club seated 1,000 and required a donation of \$1,000 per seat in a 5-year commitment to the Loyalty Foundation (i.e., UMAA Foundation). Within the club, climate controlled accommodations provided complimentary concessions and a lounge from which patrons could watch Ole Miss football games. The new club section sold out quickly, generated important revenues for Ole Miss, and enticed enough people to create a waiting list of people who were not previous donors to Ole Miss or athletics.¹¹¹

Another person deserving recognition for renovations at Vaught-Hemingway Stadium during the 1990s is Dr. Gerald M. "Jerry" Hollingsworth. On September 5, 1998, Ole Miss named the field at

¹⁰⁸ "Ole Miss May Put up Lights," *Gadsden Times*, May 13, 1982, p.15. See also Dave Moormann, "Ole Miss Appreciates Windfall," *The Advocate*, June 2, 1988, F1.

¹⁰⁹ Sansing, *The University of Mississippi*, 344.

¹¹⁰ Pete Coates, "College Stadiums are Adding Luxury Boxes to Help Revenue," *The Journal Record*, January 16, 1998, accessed August 5, 2016.

¹¹¹ "Rebel Club Seating Area to be Dedicated Saturday," *Olemisssports.com*. September 9, 1998, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://www.olemisssports.com/sports/m-footbl/spec-rel/091098aae.html>. See also "Ole Miss Makes Major Announcements," *Olemisssports.com*, August 31, 2015, accessed August 5, 2016.

Vaught-Hemingway Stadium after Dr. Hollingsworth following his \$5 million donation to Ole Miss Athletics, including \$3 million that went to the Vaught-Hemingway Stadium renovation. Commenting on Hollingsworth's contributions, Chancellor Khayat offered:

It's difficult to find words to express adequately our gratitude for the tremendous support Dr. Jerry Hollingsworth continues to give to academic and athletic programs of the University. We simply would not have the Vaught-Hemingway Stadium expansion and indoor sports facility without his help.¹¹²

Vaught-Hemingway Stadium and the 21st Century

In 2002, Vaught-Hemingway Stadium expanded again through a \$25 million seating addition primarily situated in the south end zone. In this renovation, new seats replaced old bleachers to complete a new student section. Luxury accommodations involving the construction of twenty-eight suites and 1,700 club seats also helped increase the capacity of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium to 60,580, the largest football facility in the state of Mississippi. Improvements to concession stands (i.e., quantity and quality), restrooms, and a concourse connecting to the east side along with a detention area for misbehaving fans also added to the cost and burgeoning notoriety of the facility.¹¹³

The recognition of luxury suites and club seats expanded in importance for Ole Miss as peer institutions in the SEC were continually improving their own luxury accommodations. As an example, at Mississippi State, fifty luxury suites and 2,000 club seats, along with a 17,000 square foot lounge area cost roughly \$18 million in 2000.¹¹⁴ In 2004, the University of Georgia expanded Sanford Stadium at a cost of \$71 million, adding 688 new seats to the luxury suites. In 2005, LSU spent \$60 million expanding Tiger Stadium, adding 3,255 club

¹¹² "Field Takes Hollingsworth Name Sept. 5," *Olemisssports.com*. September 1, 1998, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://www.olemisssports.com/sports/m-footbl/spec-rel/090198aab.html>.

¹¹³ "Ole Miss Excited about Expansion," *Gainesville Sun*, September 2, 2002, 2C. See also "Ole Miss Holds Ceremonial Groundbreaking For South End Zone Expansion Project," *Olemisssports.com*, November 8, 2000, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://www.olemisssports.com/sports/m-footbl/spec-rel/112800aaa.html>. Stone Architecture and Roy Anderson Corp. of Gulfport, MS were the contractors.

¹¹⁴ Smith, "A Building Project." See also Baswell, "MSU Announces Stadium Expansion."

seats to the stadium as a significant portion of this expense. The SEC, now considered the premier college football-playing conference, had member schools with facilities containing as many as 157 luxury suites in 2011.¹¹⁵ Interestingly, a beneficial tax code assisted the explosive growth of luxury suites in the SEC and elsewhere. For instance, prospective ticket and suite holders across the U.S. were encouraged to make large contributions to athletics because 80% of their contribution could be deducted on their tax returns. Combined with the intense, growing interest in college football, institutions of higher education could price these products high.¹¹⁶

Other changes, in 2003, concerned the playing surface again. Ole Miss replaced natural grass with a synthetic turf system called AstroPlay, a grass-like surface that allowed for quick drainage under all types of weather conditions.¹¹⁷ Although it promised a life of twenty years before replacement, Ole Miss installed FieldTurf in 2009. Following a generous gift from two anonymous donors, athletic director Pete Boone and head coach Houston Nutt justified the \$500,000 expense by suggesting FieldTurf not only looked and felt like grass but its revolutionary infill system provided important cushioning to absorb dangerous impacts; further, it allowed for better and safer traction by players when planting and cutting versus natural grass.¹¹⁸

The last major change to Vaught-Hemingway Stadium prior to those associated with the 2016 Forward Together campaign involved the replacement of the Sony JumboTron scoreboard with a new Daktronics High Definition Video Display. Occupying over 4,000 square feet in the north end zone, the \$6 million video board and sound system surfaced

¹¹⁵ Peter Titlebaum, Carries DeMange, and Robert Davis, "Professional vs. Collegiate Facilities: Perceived Motivations of Luxury Suite Ownership," *Journal of Venue and Event Management* 4.1 (2012): 3-4. The average SEC institution averaged sixty luxury suites.

¹¹⁶ E. J. Fagan, "Eliminate Luxury Suite Tax Deductions," *The New York Times*, April 5, 2010, accessed August 5, 2016 <http://www.theyankeeu.com/2010/04/new-york-times-op-ed-eliminate-luxury-suite-tax-deductions-16482>.

¹¹⁷ "AstroPlay? - The Revolutionary, State-Of-The-Art Synthetic Playing Surface Quick Facts," *Olemisssports.com*. April 15, 2003, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://www.olemisssports.com/genrel/041503aac.html>.

¹¹⁸ "FieldTurf Being Installed At Stadium," *Olemisssports.com*, 2009, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://www.olemisssports.com/sports/m-footbl/spec-rel/081309aaa.html>. Claims supporting the safety of FieldTurf can be found with Michael C. Meyers, "Incidence, mechanisms, and severity of game-related college football injuries on fieldturf versus natural grass a 3-year prospective study," *The American Journal of Sports Medicine*, 38.4 (2010): 687-697.

as the high definition screen in the SEC.¹¹⁹ TeleSouth Communications, Inc. provided the largest financial support for the construction of the communication structure. The enormity of the scoreboard is recognized because it required operation by a thirteen-person work crew.¹²⁰

Conclusion

This review demonstrated that pressures to capitalize on the growing interest in football required the improvement of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium at Hollingsworth Field across several stages. Vaught-Hemingway Stadium received a number of renovations during its lifetime suggesting that football is an important activity in Mississippi and in the history of Ole Miss. This work documents that the changes to the stadium depended on the perceived need to build or adapt space as technology and consumer preferences changed. The efforts of special individuals and groups in competition with peer institutions and cities, and the availability of resources influenced the development of the facility.¹²¹

Initially, Vaught-Hemingway Stadium began as a small wooden structure built to promote health through outdoor sports; however, business and university leaders foresaw football as a suitable activity representing southern progressivism. Business progressives frequently sought stadium improvements to represent modernization, which at each stage required certain era-specific comforts to demonstrate that their region was keeping pace with modernity and robust growth. The University made appeals to alumni, students, and friends to emphasize that a new football stadium would help develop physical, intellectual, and spiritual health for generations and would produce income for the school.

In the 1930s, Ole Miss made use of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to help enlarge the stadium, highlighting that the uni-

¹¹⁹ David Hopper, "Green Initiative tries to improve Jumbotron," *The Daily Mississippian*, October 24, 2008, accessed August 5, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090801022148/http://www.thedmonline.com/news/green-initiative-tries-to-improve-jumbotron-1.844493>.

¹²⁰ Harman International, JBL Professional. *Daktronics delivers great sound to the Ole Miss gridiron with JBL VLA line arrays* [Press release], November 26, 2008, accessed August 5, 2016, http://www.jblpro.com/press/dec08/JBL_OleMiss.PDF.

¹²¹ Sample list of individuals include: Alexander Bondurant, Albert Hume, C.W. Welty, William Hemingway, Ed Walker, John Williams, Johnny Vaught, Archie Manning, Robert Khayat, and Gerald Hollingsworth.

versity's administration of government funds was morally strong. The featured changes involved improving technology (e.g., creating radio broadcasting booths and establishing telephone connections) to make Vaught-Hemingway Stadium similar to its regional peers. Post-World War II, Ole Miss expanded its stadium in response to increasing interest in football and the explosive growth of student enrollment. Advancing technology in the press box remained a priority. Without such efforts, Ole Miss believed it would be relegated to second-tier status; thus, losing gate receipts, national media attention, and potential enrollees.

The emergence of Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium in Jackson during the 1960s delayed the development of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium, but a gradual deterioration of venue, and subsequent improvements to transportation options for Oxford, as well as the emergence of television and sponsors, prompted Ole Miss to reexamine its relationship with Jackson. During the 1990s and 2000s, Vaught-Hemingway Stadium evolved into the largest football stadium in Mississippi based on a variety of goals to better connect with students, alumni, and friends of the University. Specifically, the stadium adapted to embrace evolving consumer preferences by incorporating luxury accommodations, embracing telecommunication technology, and improving spectator amenities (e.g., restrooms and concessions). Further, Ole Miss made significant effort to establish a legacy connection with alumni through various nostalgia-related constructions. The recent strategy employed by administrators to recruit private donors secured the future of Vaught-Hemingway Stadium as an important social anchor for Ole Miss and the state.

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A Celebration 100 Years in the Making: The Modernization of Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field from 1914 to 2014

by Adam G. Pfleegor

and

Chad S. Seifried

“I don’t think you can appreciate [the modern Davis Wade Stadium] unless you’ve seen what it has been in the past”
– Bobby Tomlinson, Mississippi State University Associate Athletic Director of Facility Management and Construction¹

Football games at Mississippi State University’s (formerly Mississippi A&M) Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field have existed as a social anchor for Bulldog fans and northeast Mississippi for over one hundred years.² The ‘football’ activity evolved into a social anchor because it was the product of a special investment strategy aimed at promoting the institution and advancing alumni relationships in the early 1900s.³ Social anchors, described as involving cultural activities through the use of physical structures, support the creation, promotion,

¹ William Browning, “MSU’s Davis Wade Stadium Expansion on Schedule,” *The Starkville Dispatch*, August 10, 2013, p. 6A.

² William Foster and Craig Hyatt, “Inventing Team Tradition: A Conceptual Model for the Strategic Development of Fan Nations,” *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 8 (2008): 266, 269. The authors describe a “fan nation” as “comprised mostly of fans who are not [actual] citizens of cities” and who come together by utilizing “an imagined cohesiveness they share” with others through the use of myths, symbols, tangible objects, and rituals.

³ John Knox Bettersworth, *People’s University: The Centennial History of Mississippi State* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1980). See also “University History,” *Mississippi State University*, accessed September 2, 2014, from: <http://msstate.edu/web/about/history.php>. Now Mississippi State University, the institution was known as Mississippi A&M until 1932, and as Mississippi State College until 1958.

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and maintenance of a group or individual identity.⁴ Mississippi A&M was not alone in using football as a community binding mechanism through the creation of permanent structures.⁵ Such strategies had their long-established roots in Ivy League institutions, beginning with Harvard University's construction of Harvard Stadium in 1903.⁶ Local obsession with football at Mississippi A&M reflected this increased attraction to the game. Geographer Blake Gumprecht suggests football forged strong bonds in southern communities because it highlighted "rugged masculinity in an age when industrialization was forcing many people off the land."⁷ Further, football offered the chance to challenge the North, when southerners felt that the honor of the South needed a chance for redemption.⁸

The construction and renovation of sporting structures provided many communities with sites to accumulate heritage and showcase the

⁴ Chad Seifried and Aaron Clopton, "An Alternative View of Public Subsidy and Sport Facilities Through Social Anchor Theory," *City, Culture and Society*, 4 (2013): 50. "According to the authors, social capital is the aggregate of the quality relationships and networks of individual members within a community and showed to be both an individual attribute and a community asset."

⁵ Blake Gumprecht, "Stadium Culture: College Athletics and the Making of Place in the American College Town," *Southeastern Geographer*, 43 (2003): 28-53.

⁶ Ron A. Smith, "Far More than Commercialism: Stadium Building from Harvard's Innovation to Stanford's 'Dirt Bowl.'" *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25 (2008): 1453-1474. Smith noted Harvard was able to achieve the creation of Harvard Stadium in 1903 through a \$100,000 gift from the class of 1879 whose members wanted to see the football team play in a better facility than its predecessor Soldier Field. Gate receipts of \$33,000 from the previous season were also used to help fund the construction of revolutionary venue (p. 1456). See also Report of the President of Harvard College, 1900-1901, Harvard University Archives, 19. President of Harvard College, 1902-1903, Harvard University Archives, 41. See also, Brian M. Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012); Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919-1930* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007); John. S. Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Smith, "Far More than Commercialism," 1453-1474. Throughout the Northeast, other schools such as Syracuse University (Archbold Stadium in 1907), Princeton University (Palmer Stadium in 1914), and Yale University (Yale Bowl in 1914) followed the Harvard model.

⁷ Grumprecht, "Stadium Culture," 39.

⁸ J. Steven Picou, "Football," *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, eds. C. R. Wilson and W. Ferris (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1221-1224. Andrew Doyle, "Turning the Tide: College Football and Southern Progressivism," *Southern Cultures*, 3 (1997): 28-51.

history of their respective institutions.⁹ Sport historian Maureen Smith notes that construction of new sport facilities provide the opportunity to build, or invent, new traditions and history.¹⁰ Football stadia, in essence, became a synecdochical image of their home communities because of their immense physical size and cultural significance.¹¹ Grumprecht similarly emphasizes the importance of college stadia to communities by recognizing them as the largest and most complex buildings in an area, capable of seating thousands of fans willing to make a pilgrimage to the site. Important social and economic outcomes produced a “permanent imprint on the landscape and local way of life” with respect to transportation planning, governmental budgeting, and seasonal social events.¹²

The use of football stadia to enhance alumni giving, produce revenue, and improve ‘brand’ awareness of institutions increased throughout the 1920s.¹³ Social historian Brian Ingrassia argues, “consumerism” and “new communications technology turned football into a hugely popular cultural spectacle.”¹⁴ He also suggests that “well intentioned progressives had ... made sport permanent by creating athletic departments, constructing concrete stadiums, and

⁹ Adam G. Pflieger, Chad S. Seifried, and Brian P. Soebbing, “The Moral Obligation to Preserve Heritage through Sport and Recreation Facilities,” *Sport Management Review*, 16 (2013): 378-387. Pflieger, Seifried, and Soebbing argued that sport facilities are sites of significant heritage accumulation and value. See also Adam G. Pflieger and Chad S. Seifried, “Is Building New the Only Option? A Teaching Approach to Heritage Management,” *Sport Management Education Journal*, 6 (2012): 32-42.

¹⁰ Maureen M. Smith, “From ‘The Finest Ballpark in America’ to ‘The Jewel of the Waterfront’: The Construction of San Francisco’s Major League Baseball Stadiums,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25 (2008): 1529-1546.

¹¹ W. Maennig and S. du Plessis, “Sport Stadia, Sporting Events and Urban Development: International Experience and the Ambitions of Durban,” *Urban Forum*, 20 (2009): 67. Maennig and du Plessis defined synecdoche and synecdochical images as “cases where an element of a larger set (such as one building in a city) comes to represent the set.” See also Pflieger, Seifried, and Soebbing, “A Moral Obligation to Preserve Heritage Through Sport and Recreation Facilities,” 383. Pflieger, Seifried, and Soebbing expanded the concept of synecdoche to include physically and culturally dominating and significant sporting facilities.

¹² Grumprecht, “Stadium Culture,” 35.

¹³ Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 39; Grumprecht, “Stadium Culture,” 35; Smith, “Far more than commercialism,” 1453-1474. The University of California at Berkeley, Ohio State, Oklahoma, Stanford, Washington, Nebraska, Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota, among many other institutions, created permanent structures.

¹⁴ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 171. See also page 9 where Ingrassia suggested “commercial culture became manifested most concretely in campus stadiums.”

hiring a corps of professional experts.”¹⁵ Several scholars provide support for the popularity of football and the importance of permanent stadia. Raymond Schmidt argues that by 1929 “college football was believed to have an estimated drawing power of \$50 million a year with well over 50 percent of that representing profit” to the university beyond football expenses.¹⁶ According to William Freeman, the decade of the 1920s saw the increase of seating capacity for 135 football-playing colleges and universities go from 1 to 2.5 million, which helped increase profits and double attendance (i.e., to 29 million).¹⁷

With a recent \$75 million investment by the university, donors, and Mississippi State University fans, the 2013-2014 renovation and expansion brought the capacity of Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field to 61,337 and preserved a significant part of northeast Mississippi’s history and culture. A historic review of the stadium and its social implications appears fitting, as it celebrates its 100th year of service. Our review offers a descriptive history of Davis Wade Stadium from 1914 to 2014 and describes the prominent individuals involved with creating one of the most unique collegiate football experiences in the south. Social historian Colin Howell identifies sport as a viable place to understand modernization suggesting “despite the criticisms levelled against the model [i.e., modernization], it is a useful means to understand the changing character of sporting practice.” Howell emphasizes that modern sport “involves secularism, bureaucratization, quantification, specialization, formal organization, and record keeping.”¹⁸ He finds modernization as “quite benign and even useful in some respects.”¹⁹ Other writers present sport as a complex activity and stadia as the

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 6.

¹⁷ William H. Freeman, “College Athletics in the Twenties: The Golden Age or Fool’s Gold?” (paper presented at the Pre-Convention Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education at the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, Seattle, Washington, March, 1977), 9. For more period specific information see also: Jesse F. Steiner. *Americans at Play: Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time Activities* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933).

¹⁸ Colin D. Howell, “On Metcalfe, Marx, and materialism: Reflections on the writing of sport history in the postmodern age,” *Sport History Review*, 29 (1998): 100.

¹⁹ Ibid.

result of innovations prompted by consumerism.²⁰ Richard Gruneau, in *Modernization or Hegemony*, argues modern sport is “a reflection of capitalist social processes” and portrays modernization “as an expression of class power, social control, and the dominant ideology” producing goods and services for individual or shared consumption.²¹ Others, such as Barrie Houlihan and Mick Green, suggest modernization within sport regularly involves “continuous service improvement” and that sport is able to advance the discourse on modernization.²²

Sport stadia, such as Davis Wade Stadium, serving as concrete theatres “confirmed college sport’s place as a permanent university activity that exploited consumerist desires.”²³ The establishment and maintenance of stadia on university campuses also inferred “institutional supremacy” and the continued efforts of the university to modernize its institution in response to stakeholder preferences (e.g., alumni, students, local community) and/or consumer groups.²⁴ Stadia provide evidence of multiple innovations and technologies used to sustain and improve the economic desirability of football as a product and service for fans.²⁵

Modernization has previously been used to study the evolution of sport stadia.²⁶ Sport Management scholars Chad Seifried and Donna Pastore employed several perspectives on modernization provided by historians Melvin Adelman, Allen Guttman, and John Bale. They contend that the modernization of stadia emerged from advancements

²⁰ Barrie Houlihan and Mick Green. “Modernization and Sport: The Reform of Sport England and UK Sport,” *Public Administration*, 87 (2009): 688-690. See also Richard Gruneau, “Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development,” *Not just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology* (1988): 13; Vern Dickinson, “Modernization and Sport,” *Quest*, 24 (1975): 49.

²¹ Gruneau, “Modernization or Hegemony,” 9, 23-24.

²² Houlihan and Green, “Modernization and Sport,” 681.

²³ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 12.

²⁴ Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 151.

²⁵ Houlihan and Green, “Modernization and Sport,” 679. See also Gruneau, “Modernization or Hegemony,” 29.

²⁶ Chad Seifried and Donna Pastore, “Analyzing the First Permanent Professional Baseball and Football Structures in the United States: How Expansion and Renovation changed them into Jewel Boxes,” *Sport History Review*, 40 (2009): 168; Chad Seifried and Donna Pastore, “This Stadium Looks and Tastes just like the others: Cookie Cutter Era Facilities from 1953-1991,” *Sport History Review*, 40 (2009): 32; Chad Seifried and Donna Pastore, “Analyzing Baseball Facilities in the United States Pre-1903: The Temporary Homes,” *Journal of Sport History*, 37 (2010): 402-403.

in communication technology, construction materials (e.g., steel framing and concrete), and spectator services.²⁷ Moreover, Seifred and Pastore promote modernization as a useful organizational lens to view historical data on sport stadia because it showcases them as products representing evolving consumerism.²⁸ Our review will demonstrate that capitalist pressures to improve the football spectacle for a variety of customers and participants influenced the modernization of Davis Wade Stadium.²⁹ We shall illustrate that the planned rate of change resulted from the need to adapt the space to meet changing technologies and modern consumer preferences.³⁰ We further suggest that because activities in football stadia have to pay for the space they occupy, capitalism prompted the pursuit of innovations to showcase modernization.³¹

The Origins of Football at Mississippi A&M

The first football game on the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi's (i.e., Mississippi A&M) campus was played on Thanksgiving Day in 1892 when the faculty challenged the student body to a game. W. M. Matthews was selected to lead the student body team and was later responsible for forming the first formal team, which consisted of seventeen players from around the country.³² Under the direction of Matthews, the team's first sanctioned game against another institution took place on Saturday, November 16, 1895,

²⁷ Alan Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sport* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). See also Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-70* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 5-10; Dickinson, "Modernization and Sport," 50.

²⁸ John Bale, *Sport, Space, and the City* (Caldwell, NJ: Routledge, 2001), 47; John Bale, "The Changing Face of Football: Stadiums and Communities," *Soccer & Society*, 1 (2000): 91-101; John Bale, "International Sports History as Innovation Diffusion," *Sport History Review*, 15 (1984): 39; Robert Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 181.

²⁹ "International Sports," 41, 46-47; Seifried, "The Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures," 57, 64, 67.

³⁰ Dickinson, "Modernization and Sport," 55; Seifried, "The Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures," 57.

³¹ Sack, *Human Territoriality*, 163; Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, 7; Bale, "International Sports," 41; Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony," 27.

³² Bo Carter, "It All Started at Durant," *The Alumnus*, 53: 24-26. See Also "An Historical Synopsis of Mississippi State Athletics," Letter to Student Body, 1978, Vertical File: Athletic Dept., General, Cabinet 1, Drawer 2, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS).

against Southwestern Baptist University (SBU).³³ The contest, played on the parade grounds located between campus and the adjacent railroad tracks, ended with a 21 to 0 loss.³⁴ Following the defeat, the students rallied to raise \$300 in order to hire J. B. Hildebrand as Mississippi A&M's first football coach.³⁵ With Hildebrand at the helm in 1895, A&M joined the South's first collegiate conference, the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association (SIAA), and hosted SBU for a rematch that took place at the Starkville Fairgrounds.³⁶

Despite the growing fervor for football on the campus, a yellow fever scare and the Spanish-American War sidelined football for four years.³⁷ After the furlough, Irwin Dancy Sessums was appointed as the athletic department overseer and encouraged to awaken the dormant football program. Sessums wasted little time and recruited L. B. Harvey, a veteran and star player from Georgetown College in Kentucky, to serve Mississippi A&M as a player-coach. On October 28, 1901, Harvey and Mississippi A&M won the school's first football game, defeating the University of Mississippi by a score of 17 to 0 in a game played on the infield of the Starkville Racetrack.³⁸ With the victory, the long-standing rivalry between Mississippi A&M and the University of Mississippi was born. Such rivalries were established throughout the South during the turn of the century and are recognized as important to the growth of football and the selection of competition sites.³⁹ For Mississippi State and Ole Miss, the rivalry was established early when a coffin became the unofficial symbol of the contest after A&M students paraded around with a coffin that hypothetically carried the body of

³³ "About Union University," *Union University*, accessed September 4, 2014 from: <http://www.uu.edu/about/history.cfm>. Southwestern Baptist University, now known as Union University, is a small private Baptist university in Jackson, Tennessee.

³⁴ Michael Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs* (Atlanta, GA: Whitman Publishing, 2009).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.* The Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association (SIAA) was founded in 1894 by Dr. William Dudley as a seven-member association. The next year, in 1895, the association grew to nineteen members, including: Alabama, Auburn, Clemson, Cumberland, Georgia, Georgia Tech, Kentucky, Louisiana State, Mercer, Mississippi A&M (now Mississippi State), Nashville, North Carolina, Mississippi, Sewanee, Southwestern Presbyterian (now Rhodes), Tennessee, Texas, Tulane, and Vanderbilt.

³⁷ Tony Barnhart, *Southern Fried Football: The History, The Passion, and Glory of the Great Southern Game* (Chicago, IL: Triumph Books, 2000).

³⁸ Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*.

³⁹ Grumprecht, "Stadium Culture," 42-43.

Ole Miss after victories.⁴⁰

Prior to the 1903 season, Sessums continued to build the program by hiring Dan Martin as the next head coach. During Martin's time at Mississippi A&M, he contributed to the establishment of the Mississippi State-Ole Miss rivalry by initiating the tradition of playing an annual Thanksgiving Day game.⁴¹ The game, which also paid homage to the first ever football game at Mississippi A&M, has grown into the present day Egg Bowl rivalry game. Next, Martin's squad adopted the Bulldogs nickname and played their first game on the present day campus in Starkville, Mississippi, at Hardy Field.⁴² Hardy Field, constructed in March 1905 with the support of Mississippi A&M President Jack Hardy, was a livestock pasture just east of the Textile Building on campus.⁴³ In addition to on-campus games, the Bulldogs began to play important games in the state capital, Jackson. Scheduling games at larger metropolitan locations (i.e., neutral sites) was not uncommon, as football games on many campuses throughout the south could not produce sufficient gate receipts. For example, the University of Florida scheduled games in Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa, while Oklahoma played games in Oklahoma City and Dallas.⁴⁴

In 1909, William Dean Chadwick took over as athletic director and head football coach. At a meeting in February of 1910, Chadwick devised a strategy to raise the necessary funds for the construction of

⁴⁰ Michael B. Ballard, *Maroon and White: Mississippi State University, 1878-2003* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2008).

⁴¹ Ballard, *Maroon and White: Mississippi State University, 1878-2003, 2008*. Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*.

⁴² "An Historical Analysis of Mississippi State Athletics," University Communications, 1975, Vertical File: Athletic Dept., General: Cabinet 1, Drawer 2, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS). Despite the official nickname change to Bulldogs, the Mississippi A&M (Mississippi State University) football program continued to be known as the Maroons until the 1960s.

⁴³ "Keep the Bulldogs Home: The Seating Option Plan," Correspondence from the Office of the President, June 25, 1982, Vertical File: Athletic Dept., General: Cabinet 1, Drawer 2, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS). The Bulldog football program played their first contest at Hardy Field against Howard College (now Samford University) on November 11, 1905.

⁴⁴ Grumprecht, "Stadium Culture," 35, 39.

a semi-permanent wooden grandstand around Hardy Field.⁴⁵ Despite the grandstand addition, many Bulldog football games continued to take place in Jackson in order to better meet the demands of the program's growing number of fans. However, in 1911, tragedy struck the fairgrounds in Jackson when approximately 1,000 spectators attending a game between A&M and Ole Miss were injured from a collapse of the overfilled wooden grandstands.⁴⁶ With the collapse in mind, Chadwick desired to build a safer on-campus stadium.⁴⁷

1914: New Athletic Field to Scott Field

Just prior to the 1914 season, strategies were put into place to construct a new on-campus football stadium. Athletic Director William Dean Chadwick felt that Hardy Field had outlived its purpose and consumer usefulness.⁴⁸ After careful consideration of locations, "the field was placed in a vacant pasture just off the gravel road that led from campus to downtown Starkville."⁴⁹ Members of the Mississippi A&M student body deemed the new field, which provided a total capacity of 7,200, *New Athletic Field*. Construction of the modish facility was completed prior to the opening game of the 1914 season, which the Bulldogs won 54 to 0 over the Marion Military Institute.⁵⁰

As the rivalry between Mississippi A&M and Ole Miss intensified, cities from around the state began to bid on subsequent games as the demand still exceeded the capacity of New Athletic Field. By offering discounts to students, Tupelo won the 1915 bid and hosted the game at the Tupelo Fairgrounds. Some constituents of Starkville

⁴⁵ John W. Bailey, *The M Book of Athletics – Mississippi A&M College* (Richmond, VA: Curtis Printing Company, 1930). Head coach Dan Martin stepped down in 1907, and was replaced by Fred John Furman. Furman became the first full-time athletic director and football coach in Mississippi A&M history suggesting an increasing interest to address the commercialism of football on campus.

⁴⁶ William G. Barner and Danny McKenzie, *The Egg Bowl* (2nd ed.) (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2007). The grandstands were built less than a week prior to the contest.

⁴⁷ Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*. Chadwick served as athletic director from 1914 until 1930.

⁴⁸ Office of the President, "Keep the Bulldogs Home: The Seating Option Plan."

⁴⁹ Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*, 2009, 9.

⁵⁰ "An Historical Analysis of Mississippi State Athletics," University Communications, 1975. See also Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*.

and Oxford were unhappy because the potential economic impact produced by the game was taken away from their communities.⁵¹ For Mississippi A&M, the loss of revenue was prominent as the Bulldog athletic department faced a myriad of financial obstacles over the next few seasons, particularly in their attempts to pay off the debt for the construction of New Athletic Field. The student body helped by donating \$3 per student. However, another setback occurred in 1917 when the United States entered World War I, and the average game attendance decreased to around 1,000 fans. With limited resources and decreasing enrollment, future games against Ole Miss were put out for bid. Clarksdale, Mississippi, a small city in the Mississippi Delta, won the right to host the 1919 game that was played on the front lawn of Elizabeth Dorr High School.⁵²

As the 1920 football season ended, the study body voted to change the name of New Athletic Field to promote football and the institution, and the students selected the name, Scott Field.⁵³ Donald Magruder Scott was a football letterman in both the 1915 and 1916 seasons and became nationally known after representing the United States Olympic team as both a distance runner and an equestrian.⁵⁴ In the same offseason, Mississippi A&M left the SIAA and joined thirteen other institutions in 1921 to form the Southern Conference. For the inaugural year, the organization boasted a membership that consisted of Alabama, Auburn, Georgia, Georgia Tech, Kentucky, Mississippi A&M, Tennessee, Virginia, Clemson, North Carolina, North Carolina

⁵¹ Barner and McKenzie, *The Egg Bowl* (2nd ed.).

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ "Facilities: Memorial Stadium," *University of Illinois Athletics*, accessed October 1, 2014 from: <http://www.fightingillini.com/facilities/memorialstadium.html>. See also "Facilities: Bryant-Denny Stadium," *University of Alabama Athletics*, accessed October 1, 2014, from: <http://www.rolltide.com/facilities/bryant-denny.html>. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, intercollegiate football stadiums across the country began to adopt names in honor of prominent university figures or as memorials to the soldiers who served the United States in WWI. For example, Memorial Stadium in Champaign, IL opened in 1923 and was built and named to honor the veterans of the First World War including the names of fallen soldiers on its support columns. In Tuscaloosa, AL, Denny Stadium (now Bryant-Denny Stadium) was opened in 1929 and named for university president, Dr. George Denny.

⁵⁴ "Scott Field," *The Mississippi A&M Alumnus*, 1 (1921): 17. See also correspondence from the Sports Information Department to the Mississippi A&M Student Body, 1978, Vertical File: Athletic Dept., General: Cabinet 1, Drawer 2, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS).

State, Washington and Lee, Virginia Tech, and Maryland.⁵⁵ The following season, an additional six schools were added to bring the total to nineteen institutions.⁵⁶ The Southern Conference was an agent of modernization because it required compliance to standards to maintain and/or earn membership.⁵⁷ For example, minimum stadium size, shared gate receipts, start times, and regular schedules were standardized. The establishment of conferences, leagues, and associations helped to transform college football from a simple student-led activity into a complex commercial business capable of producing spectacles for consumption.⁵⁸

As Mississippi A&M began to host more prominent institutions, administrators recognized the need to expand Scott Field's seating capacity.⁵⁹ In 1928, the main grandstand was expanded by 3,000 seats "at a cost of \$15,000."⁶⁰ Portable stands, with a capacity of around 3,000, were added on the east side to further accommodate consumer demand. Similarly, Brian Ingrassia found other institutions completing changes or building new stadia because football was increasingly recognized as a viable business investment. He notes the "continuing evolution of national competitive parity and the rising popularity of intersectional play ... easily exceeded the capacity of most of the old style-stadia [i.e., wooden]" around this time.⁶¹ Additional improvements in road construction and increases in "automobile ownership" further supported the "rise of the stadium."⁶² Finally,

⁵⁵ Sid Noble, "A. and M. one of the First Southern Colleges," *The Commercial Appeal*, July 22, 1923, 1.

⁵⁶ Noble, "A. and M. one of the First Southern Colleges," July 22, 1923. In 1922, Florida, Louisiana State, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tulane, and Vanderbilt left the SIAA to join the Southern Conference. See also "Southern Conference: Constitution & By-laws 1926," Vertical File: Athletic Dept., General: Cabinet 1, Drawer 2, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS).

⁵⁷ Marvin Washington, "Field Approaches to Institutional Change: The Evolution of the National Collegiate Athletic Association 1906-1995," *Organizational Studies*, 25(2004): 393-414.

⁵⁸ Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony," 14, 24.

⁵⁹ Sid Noble, "Things Being Done at A. and M. College," *The Mississippi Builder*, April 19, 1924, 19. Noble noted that there was consent among college administrators, football personnel, and fans that the facilities were inadequate considering the increased and growing interest in Southern Conference football matchups.

⁶⁰ Bailey, *The M Book of Athletics - Mississippi A & M College*, 13.

⁶¹ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 39.

⁶² Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 41. Registered cars in the United States increased from 2.5 million to roughly 20 million between 1915 and 1925.

advances in construction techniques and the use of reinforced steel and concrete were sought because those materials were adaptable and able to respect the “growing preference for modern, utilitarian structures capable of maximizing the number of seats in preferred locations and controlling access to and from the building.”⁶³

1930-1970: Mississippi State College Transition to Mississippi State University

In 1932, President Hugh Critz of the newly renamed Mississippi State College created an athletic board of control to make personnel and facility construction decisions.⁶⁴ In the same year, Mississippi State College defected from the Southern Conference along with twelve other member institutions to form the Southeastern Conference.⁶⁵ Shortly after the turnover in 1934, Mississippi State College president, George Duke Humphrey, hired Major Ralph Irvin Sasse to serve as the next head football coach. With a new name for the institution and a new coach, the football program was poised to become nationally known. In 1935, Mississippi State College burst into the national spotlight by winning eight contests and defeating the United States Military Academy (i.e., Army) at West Point, New York, 13 to 7.⁶⁶

In the same year as Mississippi's impressive victory over Army, President Franklin D. Roosevelt discontinued the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) in favor of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to help fund and facilitate public works

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Minutes from “Meeting of Athletic Board of Control,” January 11, 1933. Hugh Critz (1930 – 1934) Presidential Papers: Drawer 5 (448) – Athletic Board of Control, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS).

⁶⁵ Richard Scott, *SEC Football: 75 Years of Pride and Passion* (Minneapolis, MN: MBI Publishing, 2008). Mississippi State College defected from the Southern Conference to form a more localized conference with the University of Alabama, Auburn University, University of Florida, University of Georgia, University of Kentucky, Louisiana State University, University of Mississippi, University of Tennessee, and Vanderbilt University. In addition to the former Southern institutions, Georgia Institute of Technology, Tulane University, and The University of the South also joined as founding members.

⁶⁶ Carter, “It All Started at Durant,” 26.

projects.⁶⁷ The momentum produced by winning teams and the newly available government funds (\$55,000 of Public Works Administration (PWA) Grants and \$15,000 of funding from an institutional loan) helped increase the capacity of Scott Field to 26,000.⁶⁸ Completed in 1936, the capacity increase emerged through the construction of an 8,000-seat reinforced steel and concrete grandstand on the west side of the stadium. In addition, the grandstand previously running the length of the west side was moved to the end zone and reinforced with brick to make the stands permanent.⁶⁹

In 1939, Allyn McKeen took over as head football coach, and during his tenure, he guided the Bulldogs to their only Southeastern Conference title in 1941 and had an overall record of 65-19-1.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Edwin Amenta, Kathleen Dunleavy, and Mary Bernstein. "Stolen Thunder? Huey Long's 'Share Our Wealth,' Political Mediation, and the Second New Deal," *American Sociological Review*, 59 (1994): 691; Gavin Wright, "The Political Economy of New Deal Spending: An Econometric Analysis," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 56 (1974): 30-38; Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes, the First Thousand Days, 1933-1936* (New York, De Capo Press, 1953), 375-376.

⁶⁸ Correspondence from P. B. Parker (Director of Athletics) to President G. D. Humphrey, November 9, 1936, George Duke Humphrey (1934-1935) Presidential Papers: Drawer 10 (875) – Physical Plant – Stadium West Side, Folder 2, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS). The college offered a loan to the Athletic Department at 6% interest. See also Correspondence from Pat Harrison to J. E. Adams, August 3, 1936, George Duke Humphrey (1934-1935) Presidential Papers: Drawer 10 (874) – Physical Plant – Stadium West Side, Folder 1, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS). Harrison indicated that the college planned to ask for WPA funding. See also Correspondence from President G. D. Humphrey to Senator Pat Harrison, September 9, 1936, George Duke Humphrey (1934-1935) Presidential Papers: Drawer 10 (874) – Physical Plant – Stadium West Side, Folder 1, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS). The correspondence indicated that the WPA funding request had been approved.

⁶⁹ Ballard, *Maroon and White: Mississippi State University, 1878-2003, 2008*. Office of the President, "Keep the Bulldogs Home: The Seating Option Plan."

⁷⁰ W. P. Dozier, Jr., "Sasse Confined to Home After Giving Up Post," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, November 11, 1937, 6. See also correspondence from anonymous athletic supporter to President G. D. Humphrey, January 26, 1938, George Duke Humphrey (1934-1945) Presidential Papers: Drawer 1 (46) – Athletic Dept., Folder 1, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University (Mississippi State, MS). "Colonel Parker Loses Position at Miss. State," *Herald Journal: Sunday Spartanburg*, January 23, 1938, 1. Shortly after being promoted to lieutenant-colonel, Sasse suffered a nervous breakdown and was advised by his physician that he should no longer coach the Bulldogs. His doctor's advice prompted his unexpected mid-season resignation. Athletic Director Paul Parker took over as head coach for one season, before being replaced by President G. D. Humphrey with Spike Nelson, who lasted only a single season. See also Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*.

Success during the McKeen era allowed Bulldog fans to support another stadium expansion planned in 1947. Although the expansion was questioned by the college's administration due to a slight decrease in demand during the prior season, the expansion went forward and Scott Field's seating capacity grew to 32,000 at a cost of approximately \$500,000.⁷¹ During the renovation, the west side concrete stands were expanded to hold 15,000 fans, 12,000 additional concrete seats were built on the east side, and 5,000 seats were added to the end zone.⁷² Jim Lacey, writer for *The Starkville Daily News*, described the new renovation; "Mississippi State's long dreamed-of, modern stadium is now a reality. With this magnificent mass of steel and concrete which seats 36,000 people completed, State now has the fifth largest stadium in the Southeastern Conference."⁷³

In the years following the expansion, additional facility and landscape improvements were made to improve the look and accessibility of the area surrounding the stadium. In 1949, two bordering roads were paved, Highway 12 and the Gillespie Street Extension, which allowed easier access to and from the stadium.⁷⁴ H. F. Brown suggests these renovations stemmed from the shared ideology of post-World War II America which required all sport stadia to support "good visibility from all parts of the facility," be "safe, flexible, and convenient for all users," and "accommodate the needs of sponsors."⁷⁵ Geographer John F. Rooney, Jr. suggests that stadium capacities increased during the 1950s and that traffic patterns required the paving of roads and the creation of parking to take care of massive crowds desiring to come to campus a handful of times each year.⁷⁶ Thus, sport entrepreneurs like those in Starkville, recognized the complaint about the lack of parking

⁷¹ Harry W. Stevens, "Specifications for Additions and Alterations to Football Stadium," April 1947, Fred Tom Mitchell (1945-1953) Presidential Papers, Drawer 8 (883), Physical Plant – Buildings, Folder 1, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, MS. See also Bob V. Moulder (ed.), *Mississippi State University: The First One Hundred Years*, Mississippi State University Centennial Committee, 1978.

⁷² Office of the President, "Keep the Bulldogs Home: The Seating Option Plan."

⁷³ Jim Lacey, *The Starkville Daily News*, March 25, 1949, 1.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ H. F. Brown, "Stadia 1," *The Architect's Journal*, 169 (1979): 142.

⁷⁶ John F. Rooney, Jr., "Up from the Mines and Out from the Prairies: Some Geographical Implications of Football in the United States," *Geographical Review*, 59 (1969): 475.

and other services within the stadium as legitimate.⁷⁷

Following McKeen's removal as head coach in 1949, five different head coaches in thirteen seasons were unable to reach McKeen's win total.⁷⁸ Despite failing to match the success of McKeen, teams of the 1950s continued to play in front of larger crowds. Even though local attendance grew, the Bulldogs continued to participate in neutral site games in Jackson. In 1945, the Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium in Jackson was named to honor the sacrifice and dedication of the state's World War II veterans. It was expected that the stadium would attract state institutions, specifically Mississippi State College and the University of Mississippi, to play marquee games in Jackson rather than in neighboring states such as Tennessee and Louisiana who also sought their games.⁷⁹ The Mississippi legislature passed a bill in 1946 donating twenty-nine acres of land to Hinds County to construct a new facility.⁸⁰ The facility, originally named War Veterans Memorial Stadium, consisted of eighty-two sections and 35,000 seats.⁸¹ After some controversy regarding the investment, Hinds County passed a \$700,000 bond issue in late 1947, and construction began in early 1948. As progress slowed and became more expensive, Hinds County requested an additional \$800,000 from taxpayers. Hinds County citizens voted no, and the stadium was left partially unfinished, but in a usable condition for the 1950 season.

Despite the War Memorial Stadium's limited seating capacity,

⁷⁷ Chad Seifried, "The Evolution of Professional Football Structures in the United States 1850 to present: Toward an Ideal-Type," *Sport History Review*, 41 (2010): 65.

⁷⁸ Correspondence from C. R. Noble to President F. T. Mitchell, January 18, 1949, Fred Tom Mitchell (1945-1953) Presidential Papers, Drawer 1 (52), Athletic Department, Folder 3, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, MS. In correspondence, Noble recommended Arthur W. "Slick" Morton as the next head coach. See also Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*, 2009. Morton served as head coach from 1949 to 1951, Murray Warmath from 1952 to 1953, Darrell Royal from 1954 to 1955, Wade Walker from 1956 to 1961, and Paul Davis from 1962 to 1966.

⁷⁹ Rusty Hampton and Butch John, "Memorial: Mississippi State, Ole Miss Officials Concerned with Stadium Procedure," *The Clarion Ledger*, December 23, 1984, 1D, 3D. Cities in neighboring states such as New Orleans and Memphis often attempted to host major Southeastern Conference matchups.

⁸⁰ Andy Ross, "A History of Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium," *Mississippi Sports Magazine*, April 26, 2012, accessed January 18, 2013 from <http://www.mssportsmagazine.com/msm-features/a-history-of-mississippi-veterans-memorial-stadium>.

⁸¹ The eighty-two sections of the Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium were purposefully chosen to represent the state's eighty-two counties.

the newly renamed Mississippi State University played a conference game against Louisiana State University in Jackson in 1958. The highly ballyhooed matchup was a quick sell-out, and convinced local legislators and constituents that an expansion to the capital city stadium was necessary. In 1960, the state of Mississippi obtained ownership of the War Memorial Stadium, which led to the enactment of legislation and a bond issue to expand the stadium to 46,021 and a name change to Mississippi Memorial Stadium.⁸² The construction was completed in 1961, and Mississippi Memorial Stadium became the third largest stadium to host games in the Southeastern Conference.⁸³ After the renovation, Mississippi State University split its home games between Starkville and Jackson to take advantage of the larger crowds.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, back in Starkville, first-year President D. W. Colvard approved a minor renovation on the stadium press box.⁸⁵ Press box renovation efforts were common during this era to assist the newly developed technology of television, its announcers, and camera operators. Other press accommodations also regularly featured new interview areas or press conference rooms to address increasing media requests.⁸⁶

1970-1985: The Technological Modernization of Scott Field

Throughout the 1970s, Memorial Stadium in Jackson, Mississippi, was surpassed in size, amenities, and prestige across the country. To accommodate the Bulldogs, the Mississippi legislature passed a bill approving a \$3 million bond issue to add 16,000 seats to modernize

⁸² James Saggus, "Overhaul of Stadium Commission Prompted by PEER Report," *The Starkville Daily News*, January 30, 1989.

⁸³ Ross, "A History of Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium."

⁸⁴ Memorandum to Members of the Administrative Council from President Colvard, July 15, 1963, D. W. Colvard (1960-1966) Presidential Papers, Box 2, Athletic Department 1962-1963, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, MS. The memorandum stipulated that half of the 1963 "home" contests were to be played in Jackson. Specifically, the Bulldogs would host games against Louisiana State University, Tulane University, and Auburn University in the state's capital.

⁸⁵ Correspondence from Thomas S. Jones to D. W. Colvard, July 31, 1962, D. W. Colvard (1960-1966) Presidential Papers, Box 15, Physical Plant – New Buildings – Press Box at Stadium, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, MS. The press box renovation was designed by architect Thomas S. Jones and completed by Ralph G. Hewlett Construction Company of Starkville, Mississippi.

⁸⁶ Seifried and Pastore, "This Stadium Looks and Tastes," 36.

the aging stadium.⁸⁷ When the stadium construction was finished in 1980, it boasted a capacity of 62,529 and excellent sight lines for fans.⁸⁸ With the newly renovated stadium, and with Scott Field routinely not meeting the athletic department's needs in terms of capacity and amenities, Bulldog fans were forced to drive to Jackson for six "home" games every season, which created financial hardship and discontent among students.⁸⁹ Associate Dean of Mississippi State University's College of Business and Industry, Dr. George Verrall stated in an interview, "It's embarrassing when CBS-TV comes to film Mississippi State and they show the City of Jackson".⁹⁰ Later in the interview, Dr. Verrall pointed out that Mississippi State had the smallest on-campus stadium in the SEC (i.e., 32,000) following the removal of the end zone seating structures in 1982-1983.

Despite the modernization of Memorial Stadium in Jackson, several limitations remained: inconvenient methods for distributing funds to institutions, inefficient ticketing strategies, poor press box conditions, insufficient number of restrooms, and a lack of decoration showcasing the institution's colors and logo.⁹¹ Responding to fan frustration, Athletic Director Carl Maddox and President James D. McComas announced plans to expand Scott Field in an attempt to host more games on campus and to reinvigorate the Bulldog football program by

⁸⁷ Hampton and John, "Memorial: Mississippi State, Ole Miss Officials Concerned with Stadium Procedure."

⁸⁸ "Football Stadium Feasibility Study," prepared for the *War Memorial Stadium Commission*, Table 3.8. See also Ross, "A History of Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium." The renovated Mississippi Memorial Stadium featured 42,000 parking spaces (including VIP and RV options), and was located in an easily accessible location for many Mississippi fans.

⁸⁹ Balch, Pratt, Priddy, & Co. CPAs, "Arkansas War Memorial Stadium Accountants Report," June 30, 1966, Little Rock, AR. Similar debates concerning where to play the majority of home football contests were taking place across the country. For example, the University of Arkansas, which played home games at War Memorial Stadium in Little Rock, Arkansas, was involved in a debate concerning how to best meet the needs of the fan nation across the state of Arkansas.

⁹⁰ W. Cantrell, "Trying to Sell 2,000 Seats – 1st Expansion Since the '40's – Say Crowds to Benefit this City," *The Commercial Dispatch*, July 22, 1982, p. 1.

⁹¹ Hampton and John, "Memorial: Mississippi State, Ole Miss Officials Concerned with Stadium Procedure." See also Eric Stringfellow, "Mayor to Seek More Football Games at Memorial Stadium," *The Clarion Ledger*, December 28, 1984. See also, Football Stadium Feasibility Study," prepared for the *War Memorial Stadium Commission*, Table 3.8.

providing a more convenient location for the school's students.⁹²

Scott Field had fallen decades behind the rest of the country in a variety of areas, including technological innovations and seating capacity. When television viewership increased during the 1950s, the American sport consumer began to expect to watch games in their home.⁹³ This compelled significant changes to be made in sport stadia because previous stadia were built with telegraph, radio, and print media interests in mind. Television camera locations and other auxiliary equipment needed to broadcast football were not provided. Due to technological demands from live attendees, large electronic scoreboards were developed to provide instant information that other patrons enjoyed in the comfort of their homes. Stadium managers also found that the use of electronic scoreboards prompted fan engagement (i.e., crowd noise), which television producers and host cities preferred to enhance the spectacle. Electronic messages regularly asked people to cheer, sing, or chant and conveyed important information to them about upcoming events as well as safety announcements. Understanding the potential impact of the electronic scoreboard, advertisers sought opportunities to promote their products and services, which provided additional revenue for institutions.⁹⁴

Seeing that Scott Field lacked technological amenities and a sufficient number of seats, an addition of 14,400 seats was planned for Scott Field, raising the capacity to 46,400. This was to be completed by adding seven rows to the west side, along with a "quarterdeck" around the press box and an upper deck. The seven rows were to consist of approximately 2,000 chair-back seats, while the quarterdeck and lower upper deck contained 1,500 chair-back seats each. Bleacher seats were to be placed in the upper deck to provide additional seating. Along with the capacity increase, a concourse containing additional restrooms and concession stands for the quarterdeck was planned, as well as "soft-slope" ramps at each end of the concourse to allow for

⁹² Barner and McKenzie, *The Egg Bowl* (2nd ed.). Mississippi State University continued to play games at Mississippi Memorial Stadium until 1990, when the Bulldogs were defeated by the Rebels in the annual Egg Bowl contest.

⁹³ Seifried, "The Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures," 66.

⁹⁴ Seifried, "The Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures," 66-67. See also Grumprecht, "Stadium Culture," 44.

easier access for fans and especially those with disabilities.⁹⁵ To better meet the technological needs of the 1980s, a computerized scoreboard was also installed.⁹⁶ The scoreboard measured 25 feet, 4 inches by 38 feet and included a graphics screen that could be utilized for rolling or marquee style messages or advertisements.⁹⁷ Finally, stadium lights were included as a planned addition, allowing for future scheduling of night games.⁹⁸

The construction effort originally designed by architect John Davis of Warren, Knight, and Davis Architecture was an estimated \$7 million project, which included over 7,000 cubic yards of reinforced concrete, steel, and brick façade.⁹⁹ The immense overhaul of Scott Field was scheduled for completion prior to the opening game of the 1985 season.¹⁰⁰ In order to fund the expansion, Mississippi State University charged its 11,000-student population a \$10 per student, per semester fee.¹⁰¹ Additional funds to modernize Scott Field came from the sale of bonds through the city of Starkville, as city aldermen voted to sell a total of \$3 million worth of general obligation bonds. The bonds issued by Morgan Keegan Company, an investment-banking firm in Memphis, Tennessee, were offered to the public at an interest rate of 8.65 percent.¹⁰² Lastly, the athletic department implemented a seating payment structure to secure the remaining necessary capital. The newly installed quarterdeck level seats were offered to Bulldog fans for \$500 per seat, per year for ten years, with optional payment plans to increase their affordability. The lower rows of the upper deck utilized

⁹⁵ Donald Dobb, "Waiting: MSU's Scott Field Project Now 190 Days Past Original Deadline," *The Commercial Dispatch*, February 5, 1985, 1B.

⁹⁶ Joseph Ammerman, "MSU Stadium Expansion Moving Along," *The Starkville Daily News*, February 23, 1985.

⁹⁷ Dennis Greenwood, "New Scoreboard at Scott Field," *The Starkville Daily News*, July 17, 1985.

⁹⁸ Dodd, "Waiting: MSU's Scott Field Project Now 190 Days Past Original Deadline."

⁹⁹ Tom Ball, "Scott Field Expansion, Lighting to be Ready for Sept. 7 Game," *The Starkville Daily News*, May 31, 1985.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Bill Ross, "Students Support Levy to Expand MSU's Stadium," *The Tupelo Daily Journal*, February 4, 1982. See also Leigh Hogan, "Bonds to Finance Stadium Expansion," *The Commercial Dispatch*, June 22, 1983.

¹⁰² Roland Wilkerson, "Costs Mount for Stadium," *The Commercial Appeal*, December 10, 1983.

similar financial terms, with a lower price of \$200 per seat, per year.¹⁰³

The modernization plan encountered several complications. The lowest construction bids came in at over \$1 million more than the architectural firm's estimated \$7.2 million budget. Of the five initial submissions, the low bid was \$9 million from Jameson and Gibson Construction Company of Memphis, Tennessee, which included a \$7.5 million base fee and \$1.5 million for overruns.¹⁰⁴ In an attempt to lower costs, university officials and the architects reviewed the original proposal and 4,000 seats were removed from the blueprints. In addition, a decision was reached to not renovate the west side restroom facilities and access ramps. With 4,000 seats and improvements eliminated, Jameson and Gibson Construction Company estimated that the project would now cost \$6,877,000.¹⁰⁵

After the cost-saving changes, the project was sent out for a second round of bids with hopes that it would come in under the originally proposed budget of 7.2 million.¹⁰⁶ After once again receiving multiple bids, the university accepted a bid of \$6,047,000 from Engineers Constructors, Inc., of Memphis, Tennessee, to complete the large-scale modernization. In addition to providing the university with the lowest bid, officials were assured a timely completion as the company was a division of Rentenbach, one of the fifty largest construction companies in the United States at the time.¹⁰⁷ Engineers Constructors, Inc. added an extra economic benefit to the community by pledging to hire local carpenters and laborers, as well as using local subcontractors for mechanical, plumbing, and HVAC work.¹⁰⁸ Along with the construction bids, the university and architects accepted bids for the installation of seating. Magnolia State School Products Company was the lowest

¹⁰³ Dodd, "Waiting: MSU's Scott Field Project Now 190 Days Past Original Deadline." See also Office of the President, "Keep the Bulldogs Home: The Seating Option Plan."

¹⁰⁴ Wilkerson, "Costs Mount for Stadium. Jameson and Gibson Construction Company specifically mentioned that the architectural firm failed to include the immense cost that would be required to update the outdated and insufficient wiring throughout Scott Field.

¹⁰⁵ "Stadium Expansion Shaved 4,000 Seats," *The Starkville Daily News*, January 10, 1984.

¹⁰⁶ Billy Watkins, "Second Round of Bids Being Accepted for Scott Field Expansion," *The Clarion Ledger*, March 31, 1984.

¹⁰⁷ Henry Matuszak, "Scott Field Expansion Notes," *The Starkville Daily News*, July 10, 1984. See also "Prospective Stadium Contractor will Hire Locally," *The Starkville Daily News*, May 10, 1984.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

bidder for the seating project, with bids of \$74,004 for plank seating, \$172,246 for stadium seating, and \$241,460 for the stadium seat and plank seating package.¹⁰⁹

As the cost of construction continued to increase, the university was forced to renegotiate the deal with the city of Starkville over bond issue and payments. The renegotiated settlement included permission for the city to use Mississippi State University facilities for the twenty-five year lifespan of the contract. The facility use agreement, which included Scott Field and other available facilities, allotted the city a minimum of six events each year on campus. From this agreement, the Starkville High School football program soon became one of the primary users of the campus stadium, with the stipulation that no games were played on Friday evenings prior to home Mississippi State Bulldog football games.¹¹⁰

As the reconstruction of Scott Field got underway, the project fell behind schedule due to a chain of severe weather events in Northeast Mississippi.¹¹¹ Taking these factors into consideration, the completion date was postponed to September 28, 1985. The construction firm expected the lighting and priority seating sections to be finished and usable by that date. While deemed functional by the project team, the concession stands, press box, and restroom renovations were not completed in time for the regular season football contests.¹¹² As a half-finished facility, Scott Field was ill prepared for the first game of the 1985 season. The construction clutter before the first home game was so immense that President Dr. Donald Zacharias instructed over one hundred university employees to clean the area up and prepare the stadium for the first game, a project that took the entire Friday evening prior to the event.¹¹³

After the completion of the 1985 football season, the seemingly endless project continued. According to *Starkville Dispatch* writer Donald Dobb, the construction company was “ridiculously incorrect in its assessment of the time frame in which the project could be

¹⁰⁹ Matuszak, “Scott Field Expansion Notes.”

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Donald Dobb, “Waiting: MSU’s Scott Field Project Now 190 Days Past Original Deadline.”

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

completed.”¹¹⁴ A twenty-day project extension had been granted, yet construction was 164 days behind schedule. The contract contained a late clause stating that the construction company would be charged \$850 per day. As a result, the university charged \$139,400 to the firm for their tardy efforts. Eventually, the construction was completed, and the Bulldogs had a newly modernized Scott Field to call home in 1986.

1986-2013

In an effort to improve the aesthetics of Scott Field and the surrounding area, a landscape and beautification project was carried out in five phases beginning in 1986. The phases included: 1) the installation of a berm in front of the north end with the MSU logo, 2) a line of Southern magnolias along the north side, extending from end-to-end of the east and west bleachers, 3) shrubbery along the east and west fences, 4) paved plaza areas at the entrances and ticket booths, and 5) the metal poles and fences surrounding and inside the stadium were painted brown to better match the foliage of the Southern fall.¹¹⁵ In addition to the visual changes, the recently constructed stadium ramps required minor repairs. Despite the fact that they were deemed structurally sound by the architectural firm, the ramps swayed as part of the design – a feature that alarmed fans. Fan reaction regarding the swaying ramps led to additional cross bracing beams to stabilize the ramps during mild or severe weather, or heavy foot traffic during mass entrances or exits.¹¹⁶ The cost for the bracing was minimal, but other misfortunes followed. Specifically, there were lengthy gate lines, public address system malfunctions, and a loss of electricity in concessions stands during several home contests.¹¹⁷ One by one the university addressed the issues, and eventually the expansion was deemed a successful milestone for Mississippi State University athletics.

The 1985/86 expansion of Scott Field met the needs of the university, football program, and fans throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s. Due to the progressive design, little work was required on the

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Deborah Roberts, “Stadium to be Setting for Landscaping Jewel,” *The Starkville Daily News*, September 27, 1986.

¹¹⁶ Floyd Ingram and Francis O. McDavid, “Experts Inspect Scott Field Stadium Ramp,” *The Starkville Daily News*, September 30, 1986, pp. 1, 5.

¹¹⁷ Rusty Hampton, “Cross Bracing to be Added at Mississippi State’s Scott Field,” *The Clarion Ledger*, October 2, 1986.

stadium until the late 1990s. In 1999, during Coach Jackie Sherrill's eighth season at the helm of the Bulldog football program, plans were announced that drastically changed the stadium from its older form into a modern, technologically state-of-the-art facility.¹¹⁸ The stadium was renamed Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field because of a sizable donation given by Floyd Davis Wade, Sr. of Meridian, whose donation was the kick start of the project that would bring the stadium's seating capacity to 52,000.¹¹⁹ Architectural firm Foil Wyatt Architects was hired to draw up the plans, which included two independent phases to the project. First, 50 skyboxes, 2,000 club-level seats, and a 17,000 square foot lounge area would be built atop the east side of the stadium at an estimated cost of between \$17 and \$18 million.¹²⁰ In order to accommodate increasing consumer demands, restroom and concession stand additions were also factored into the first phase.

As part of the second phase, an upper deck on the east side that would hold both chair back and 5,000 to 6,000 bleacher seats would be built.¹²¹ After the bid process, Roy Anderson Corporation from Gulfport was hired as the contractor, and the overall budget for both phases of the project was set at \$22,600,000. Construction crews broke ground on the multi-million dollar renovation and expansion on June 16, 2000, with an expected completion date of October 21, 2001.¹²² Following the construction, Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field boasted a capacity of 55,000 for the start of the 2002 football campaign.¹²³

According to Rhett Hobart, assistant coordinator of marketing for the Mississippi State University Athletic Department, the south end zone was enriched with the addition of a 48-foot tall, \$6.1 million high-definition video display board in 2008. The video display board included two vertical LED screens on either side for fan engagement

¹¹⁸ Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*. Coach Jackie Sherrill was the Bulldogs head football coach for 152 games between 1991 and 2003, making him the longest serving coach in Mississippi State University football history. During his thirteen years at the helm of the program, Sherril produced a .500 winning percentage with 75 wins, 75 loses, and two ties.

¹¹⁹ Danny P. Smith, "A Building Project," *The Commercial Dispatch*, August 12, 1999.

¹²⁰ Smith, "A Building Project." See also Baswell, "MSU Announces Stadium Expansion."

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Don M. Mott, "Mississippi State University Construction Progress Report: January 2000," *Mississippi State University Physical Plant*, 2000, C1.

¹²³ Nemeth, *Mississippi State University Football Vault: The History of the Bulldogs*.

and advertisements. In addition to the main screen and the vertical displays, the board contained a horizontal ribbon screen to provide additional video square footage. With the main display, vertical screens, and horizontal ribbon board, the monstrous video display boasted an impressive 6,896 sq. ft. of display space, and was the largest HD video screen of its kind in the United States.¹²⁴

2013-2014: A New Era for Davis Wade Stadium and Mississippi State University Football

Starting in 2012, a plan for Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field to undergo its most significant renovation since its inauguration as New Athletic Field in 1914 was set in motion. On March 16, 2012, the Mississippi Institutions of Higher Learning Board of Trustees accepted the request from the university to expand and renovate the stadium, and the official announcement was made on August 15, 2012.¹²⁵ From a combination of \$68 million in bonds and \$7 million in private donations, the \$75 million expansion and renovation, which included a \$2.5 million contingency fund, was designed by LPK Architecture from Meridian, Mississippi, with world-renowned 360 Architecture from Kansas City, Missouri, acting as a consultant.¹²⁶ After a sealed bidding process, Harrell Contracting Group of Jackson, Mississippi, was awarded the construction contract.¹²⁷ This project provided a variety of new amenities and seating options to the Bulldog fans while increasing the stadium capacity to 61,337.¹²⁸

The construction notably included the addition of twenty-two

¹²⁴ Personal communication, Rhett Hobart, December 4, 2013.

¹²⁵ "Mississippi State Set to Expand and Renovate Davis Wade Stadium," *Mississippi State University Athletics*, 2012, accessed October 16, 2013 from: <http://msubulldogclub.com/reseating/mississippi-state-set-to-expand-and-renovate-davis-wade-stadium/>.

¹²⁶ "Portfolio," 360 Architects, 2014, accessed April 10, 2014 from <http://www.360architects.com>. 360 Architects has designed a variety of contemporary structures including MetLife Field in East Rutherford, New Jersey, and the redevelopment of the Power and Light District in downtown Kansas City, Missouri.

¹²⁷ Browning, "MSU's Davis Wade Stadium Expansion on Schedule," August 11, 2013.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* The net increase of total seating capacity was 6,255, taking the capacity from 55,082 to 61,337. A new HD video board was placed atop the north end zone expansion. In addition, an entry plaza, new visiting team locker room facility, conference room, banquet catering kitchen, and additional restroom fixtures, concessions, and elevators were included as part of the construction effort. Specifically, the number of elevators was increased from five to twelve, the permanent concession areas increased from 110 to 156, and the number of restroom fixtures increased from 313 to 621.

traditional suites with a total of 288 luxury seats, bringing the total to seventy-two traditional style suites.¹²⁹ The north end of the stadium saw an addition of 236 loge seats, 1,155 Scoreboard Club seats, 7,076 grandstand seats, a dedicated standing room only area, new ADA seating areas, and the addition of a field level club-like facility known as the Gridiron.¹³⁰ In addition, two field level suites (i.e., bunker style) located on either side of the Gridiron Club accommodated thirty guests each, and were made available for single game-by-game rental. According to associate athletic director for facility management and construction at Mississippi State University, Bobby Tomlinson, in total the expansion and renovation used 8,500 cubic tons of poured concrete, 1,200 cubic yards of precast concrete, and 800 tons of steel.¹³¹

Throughout the construction effort, a goal of administrators was to create an environmentally friendly addition. According to Mississippi State University's digital media reporter Bob Carskadon, the expansion was one of the first in the country to use an environmentally friendly type of "green" concrete. Utilizing Portland-Limestone Cement (PLC), the concrete is both high performance and high efficiency by reducing the amount of carbon dioxide needed to produce the product, as well as reducing the total amount of concrete needed to complete a project.¹³² Further improving stadium efficiency, the heating and cooling system was fully integrated into the campus system, rather than remaining a stand-alone unit. According to Jeremiah Dumas, the associate director for the office of sustainability at Mississippi State University, the campus system utilizes heated and cooled piping beneath the ground throughout campus and is far more energy efficient than heating and cooling each individual structure.¹³³

Additional aesthetic and functional changes were made to both the

¹²⁹ Ibid. The twenty-two new traditional suites sold out quickly. Four suites were sold at a price of \$40,000, while the remaining eighteen were sold at \$30,000.

¹³⁰ "Mississippi State Set to Expand and Renovate Davis Wade Stadium," 2012.

¹³¹ Personal Communication, Bobby Tomlinson, September 14, 2013. All newly installed mechanical, lighting, and fixtures are high efficiency.

¹³² Bob Carskadon, "MSU Conceived Concrete Used on Davis Wade Stadium: An Innovation in Industry," *Hail State Beat*, September 6, 2013, accessed January 10, 2014 from: <http://www.hailstatebeat.wordpress.com>.

¹³³ Personal communication, Jeremiah Dumas, September 22, 2013. Dumas predicted that the amount of energy utilized for heating and cooling would significantly decrease by integrating the stadium into the campus system. The system, which uses ground energy and insulation, is controlled remotely.

interior and exterior of the facility. To maintain a consistent look, the façade of the new north end was designed with pre-cast panels inserted into McCool style bricks, which matched the previously finished portions of the facility, as well as many of the surrounding educational buildings. In addition, the center of the north exterior entrance features a large stone surface depicting the state of Mississippi surrounded by engraved stones featuring the name of all eighty-two counties.¹³⁴ On the interior, new poured sidewalks and painted fencing were added surrounding the playing fields. Lastly, the playing field itself, which was shifted in order to center the pitch between the sideline grandstands, was completely replaced with new surface and modern drainage.¹³⁵

Conclusion

The historical evolution of Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field shows that it has embraced several major expansion and renovation projects following its emergence in 1914 as New Athletic Field.¹³⁶ The combination of reinforced concrete and steel allowed the stadium to seat more spectators than its predecessor in an effort to produce better gate receipts and more effectively meet the demands of the growing popularity of football. The flexibility provided by reinforcing concrete with steel also allowed the facility to move consumer traffic more efficiently through stairs and ramps and helped to organize space between rows, under the bleachers, and throughout the concourses. This change was important because football was maturing at a prodigious rate not only as a competitive athletic activity, but also as a financial engine that helped to provide important revenue. In times of financial difficulties throughout the mid-20th century, institutions often looked to invest in self-supporting structures, and football stadia were often identified as financially sound investments.¹³⁷ Still, like

¹³⁴ Carskadon, "MSU Conceived Concrete Used on Davis Wade Stadium: An Innovation in Industry." The plaza located at the north entrance, also contains personalized bricks with names and messages from all the alumni and members of the fan nation who donated monetarily to the 2013-2014 construction project.

¹³⁵ Personal communication, Bobby Tomlinson, September 14, 2013.

¹³⁶ The 1928, 1935, 1947, 1985, 2000, and 2013 renovations were deemed major renovations/expansions.

¹³⁷ J. G. Taylor, "College Revenue Bonds to Finance Self-Supporting Projects," *Journal of Finance*, 4 (1949): 328-341. In addition to sport stadia, Taylor also identified dormitories, as important self-supporting physical structures.

all early permanent football facilities, Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field lacked the necessary spectator amenities (e.g., concession stands, sufficient number of restrooms, luxury seating) and technology to present a greater spectacle (e.g., scoreboards, lights, advertisements).

With flexibility and adaptability in mind, the leadership of Mississippi State University modernized Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field over the years to capitalize on spectator, alumni, and fan interests so that the university could produce one of the truly great spectacles in all of sport. This process was partially motivated by the loss of gate receipts and institutional publicity from the “home” contests that were played in Jackson rather than in Starkville. As the population of the university, as well as the city of Starkville grew, improvements in local infrastructure made hosting the majority of home contests on campus a reality, which was imperative as Mississippi State University attempted to capitalize financially on the popularity of Bulldog and SEC football. Further, gate receipts were the primary source of revenue for early football facilities throughout the United States, so Mississippi State University regularly promoted physical and aesthetic changes to Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field to expand seating capacity and spectator interest. The university innovatively sought to improve consumer amenities so that better service could be provided to attendees. In this instance, the institution added more concession stands and restrooms but also sought to accommodate fans at night games. The addition of lights in 1985 was recognized as the major innovation to help create this tradition and the spectacle of night football in Starkville. Combined with the highly anticipated match-ups through an association with the SEC, and the folklore of thousands of fans ringing maroon and white cowbells, Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field is regularly considered one of the most unique and intimidating environments in college athletics.

The multiplication of luxury amenities and communication structures also emerged as a viable source of entertainment for affluent guests and as a source of revenue to help finance construction efforts, which notably used Mississippi construction firms. Specifically, Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field embraced a variety of luxury boxes and club seating additions throughout the venue, which now serve as

some of the stadium's most noticeable features.¹³⁸ Other technological revolutions that improved the utility of the scoreboard (i.e., now HD video boards) also surfaced to help improve communication and crowd control concerns along with maximizing income opportunities through the interaction that is produced between attendees, event organizers, action on the field, and sponsors. Now, both HD video boards that are housed behind both the north and south end zones contain over 13,000 combined square feet of display space and are dominating physical features of the modern football facility.

This review on the modernization of Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field showcases how college football evolved into a business that is highly centralized, formalized, and organized in order to address changes in levels of consumerism. New responsibilities emerged in the early years of the stadium that grew into professional fields (e.g., event management, facility management, marketing). Coupled with advances in technology, this specialization of labor in sport management appeared as a result of growing interest to accommodate the preferences of various classes of spectator groups. Customer service options continued to improve for all stakeholder groups (e.g., fans, media, participants) so that space could be beneficial. In essence, space became restricted and increasingly managed so that it could pay for itself. Under the guise of modernization, intercollegiate sport stadiums are larger and cost more to build, renovate, and maintain than their predecessors.

The imposing physical size of the structure combined with its historical and contemporary significance has established Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field as an important social anchor for Starkville and surrounding northeast Mississippi communities. In addition to serving as a synecdochical image of Starkville and Mississippi State University, the facility has helped the campus community invent important traditions. When filled to capacity, the population ranks as one of the largest "cities" in the State of Mississippi, making it a gathering place for the Bulldog fans. The football contests, game day spectacle, tailgating in the Junction, the Dog Walk, the traditions,

¹³⁸ The addition of various luxury seating options and amenities is most prominent within the expansion and renovation efforts from 2013-2014. Specifically, the institution sought to accommodate a variety of highly identified fans across socio-economic demographics through the myriad seating options and pricing structures.

and being surrounded by friends, family, and fellow Mississippi State University supporters, entices generations of Bulldog supporters to make the pilgrimage to Starkville to absorb the atmosphere. The recent investment strategy of university administrators, athletic administrators, and private donors has secured the future of Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field as a symbol of modernization.

The Gulf South Tung Industry: A Commodity History

by Whitney Adrienne Snow

Between 1928 and 1969, domestic farmers attempted to forge a place for tung oil in popular culture by using trade journals, newspapers, festivals, fairs, beauty pageants, football bowls, parades, and postcards as well as promoting the product through music, radio, and television but achieved only moderate success. These sources of publicity managed to create a small niche for the tung tree as a coastal attraction for tourists, but because of its confinement to the Gulf Coast, the inability to sell the poisonous nuts as table fare, and the scientific complexities of many journal and newspaper articles, tung never became a national icon. Although tung oil may have only achieved nominal mass recognition, its story illustrates the challenges facing an inedible crop in advertising campaigns, the varying forms of and changes in southern tourism, and myriad ways memory preserves the last vestiges of a bygone industry.

Origins of the Tung Industry

During a 1902 trip to Canton, China, David G. Fairchild, plant explorer and head of the Section of Systemic Seed and Plant Introduction (SPI) of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), sparked a series of events that introduced tung to American soil. The son of an abolitionist minister and teacher, Fairchild had worked in the USDA Division of Vegetable Pathology, studied German fungi, and married Marian Bell, the daughter of Alexander Graham Bell. Seeking exotic plants, he then embarked on a journey to Java and the Pacific that

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resulted in his introducing a plethora of species to the U.S.¹ An avid ecological cosmopolitan, Fairchild said, "... the whole trend of the world is toward greater intercourse, most frequent exchange of commodities, less isolation, and a greater mixture of the plants and plant products over the face of the globe."² In the case of tung, Fairchild wrote of the tree in his records but later stated, "I was not able to see the trees from which this interesting oil was secured," so "the idea of its introduction dropped from my mind."³ Ironically, the key assist for tung came not from Fairchild, who nevertheless received primary credit in subsequent tung trade journals and newspaper articles, but from a diplomat.

In 1902, 1903, and 1904, L. S. Wilcox, U. S. Consul General to China, sent hundreds of nuts to a party in the San Joaquin Valley in California, but none of the resulting saplings survived due to inattention and drought. Determined, Wilcox sent 200 pounds of tung seeds during the spring of 1905, this time to the United States Department of State (USDS).⁴ When the nuts came into possession of the USDA's Bureau of Plant Introduction, Fairchild sent them to the Plant Introduction Gardens of the Division of Foreign Plant Introduction at Chico, California, and Miami, Florida.⁵ In 1906 and 1907, the stations sent 800 trees to interested parties, including individuals, state experiment stations, and gardeners in California, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and South Carolina in an attempt to

¹ Philip J. Pauly, *Biologists and The Promise of American Life: From Meriwether Lewis to Alfred Kinsey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 88.

² *Ibid.*

³ David G. Fairchild, "The Chinese Tung Oil Tree," 13, manuscripts (presumably unpublished), SB359.F3, David Fairchild Collection, Fairchild Tropical Botanic Garden Archive, Miami, FL.

⁴ "Seeds and Plants Imported During the Period from December, 1903 to December, 1905," no. 13104, *United States Bureau of Plant Industry Bulletin* 97 (December 1903-December 1905), 129; Florida Department of Agriculture, "Tung Oil: One of Florida's Greatest Potential Resources," *State of Florida Department of Agriculture Bulletin* 11 (May 1942): 12; Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Florida, "Tung Oil: An Essential Defense Industry," *State of Florida Department of Agriculture Bulletin* no. 11 (Jan. 1942): 5; and Albert E. Cowdrey, *This Land, This South: An Environmental History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 171.

⁵ C. C. Concannon, "Tung Oil: Economic and Commercial Factors in Development of a Domestic Tung Oil Industry," no. 133, *U.S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce Trade Promotion Series 132-133* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1932), 35, 62-64; and Tung Oil 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1930): 12.

discover locations and conditions in which tung could thrive.⁶

Farmers across the country embraced the exotic tree much as they did other diversification crops like soybeans, sweet potatoes, pecans, oranges, lemons, peaches, pomegranates, grapefruits, kumquats, bananas, figs, coconuts, guavas, grapes, strawberries, rice, sugarcane, pineapples, peanuts, tomatoes, and satsuma oranges. Unsurprisingly, farmers and lumbermen lacked knowledge on how to care for these new plants and lost entire crops to freezes. Despite obstacles, they persevered in the hopes of maximizing both land use and profits.⁷ In the case of tung, growers planted trees as far east as Florida, as far west as California, and as far north as New York. Although not all of these lands proved conducive, tung took root on an unlikely strip of land suited to little but pine.

After years of trial and error, USDA experts concluded that the tung tree could best grow along the Gulf Coast stretching from the Florida Panhandle to southeastern Texas. Because of droughts, they abandoned the idea of California as a tung haven. They had also realized that frosts impeded tung cultivation in the North. While tung trees were known to grow in gardens in northern states, any notion of commercial orchards was deemed too risky. As a matter of fact, few scientists believed tung could be successfully grown further than 100 miles from the Gulf.⁸ USDA officials had great hopes for their target strip—the Tung Belt. They saw tung not only as a way to fuel diversification efforts that would not only benefit the southern economy but also reduce erosion of cut-over pinelands. Not only would tung grow in the sub-par soils of the pine regions, but it would beautify

⁶ Fairchild, "The Chinese Tung Oil Tree," 3; Concannon, "Tung Oil," 35, 62-64; Tung Oil 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1930): 12; "New Varnish Oil," *Miami Herald Record*, August 21, 1913, 8; and John M. Scott, "Tung Oil: A New Industry in Florida," *State of Florida Department of Agriculture Bulletin* no. 11 (Jan. 1929): 4. See also, "Seeds and Plants Imported during the period from July 1906 to December 31, 1907," *Bureau of Plant Industry Bulletin* no. 132 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 132.

⁷ On diversification, see, Brian Rucker, "Satsumaland! A History of Citrus Culture in West Florida," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1996): 61-77; E. G. Nourse, "The Cheapest Source of Increased Food Supplies," *The Scientific Monthly* 6, no. 2 (Feb 1918): 122-123; and Louise K. Frisbie, *Yesterday's Polk County* (Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., 1976), 27. On crop intransigence in the south, see, for example, Arthur F. Raper and Ira De A. Reid, *Sharecroppers All* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 194.

⁸ Fairchild, "The Chinese Tung Oil Tree," 11.

the barren land one newspaper writer referred to as “stump country.”⁹

A veritable craze swept the South as farmers and would-be absentee farmers embraced tung. Classified ads praising tung as a hands-off money maker fueled imaginations and expectations. Many farmers imagined that all they had to do was plant a tung tree, wait three or four years, harvest the nuts, and reap the profits.¹⁰ Some of the earliest tung trees were planted in Florida and Georgia, and acreage spread as more and more Americans began to equate tung with dollar signs.¹¹ Proven businessmen like J. C. Penney and Thomas Morrison Carnegie, Jr., nephew of famed industrialist Andrew Carnegie, planted tung.¹² In 1925, Henry Ford purchased almost 70,000 acres in Georgia and Florida, most near Savannah, with the aim of testing plants like tung. Several years later in 1929, he formed a research lab at Ways Station in Georgia, where its scientists performed many studies on tung. The overarching goal remained consistent: escaping import dependence through self-sufficiency for his company and the nation. Fairchild believed Ford just the man to lead the country in scientific experimentation, mechanization, and proficiency.¹³ Ideally, if the U. S. could increase its tung acreage to a sustainable level, the country would no longer be as dependent on China. Southern growers had obstacles to overcome if they intended to reach this lofty goal because

⁹ “East Texas Farmer, 74, Rides The Range, Grows Tung Trees, Not Afraid to Try Experiments,” *Dallas Morning News*, Aug. 14, 1939, Sec I., 8.

¹⁰ See, “The Chinese Wood-Oil Tree,” *San Jose Mercury News*, July 19, 1914, p. 18; “Wood-Oil Tree in The United States,” *Drug & Chemical Markets* 3, no. 1 (Sept. 13, 1916): 9; and Earley Vernon Wilcox, *Tropical Agricultural: The Climate, Soils, Cultural Methods, Live Stock, Commercial Importance and Opportunities of the Tropics* (New York: D. Appleton, 1916), 264.

¹¹ “3 Georgia Farmers Given Recognition,” *Augusta Chronicle*, August 15, 1935, p. 2; and “University Honors Three Prominent Georgia Farmers,” *Marietta Journal*, August 22, 1935, p. 7.

¹² “The Penny Farms in Florida,” *Augusta Chronicle*, December 19, 1926, p. 6; and “Tests Out Trees as Oil Producer,” *Trenton Evening Times*, November 7, 1928, p. 19. The Penney-Gwin Corporation land holdings in Collier County, Florida, included sixty acres of tung. On J. C. Penney, see also, Maury Klein, *The Genesis of Industrial America, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 120. Carnegie grew tung on his Dungeness Plantation on Cumberland Island, Georgia, and leased a tung plantation in Monticello, Florida. On Carnegie, see, Charles Seabrook, *Cumberland Island: Strong Women, Wild Horses* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 2004), 160.

¹³ Reynold M. Wik, *Henry Ford and Grass-roots America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), 12, 147; Neil Baldwin, *Edison: Inventing the Century* (New York: Hyperion, 1995), 380; and “Ford Plants Tung Oil Trees in Georgia,” *Augusta Chronicle*, October 21, 1943, p. 3.

the U. S. did not even have a tung nut crushing mill until Benjamin Moore & Company, owner of 1,800 acres of tung trees in Alachua County, Florida, opened the Alachua Tung Oil Mill on December 14, 1928.¹⁴ More mills appeared in the following decades as tung acreage grew, and growers constantly recruited new tung farmers to increase their ranks.

Marketing the Tung Tree

The appealing qualities of the tung tree and tung oil aided growers in advertising campaigns.¹⁵ The bark on young trees shone bright lime green while that of older trees developed a gray bark that was almost smooth to the touch. The fruits or shells encasing the nuts had a gorgeous bright green hue which became bright, apple red when ripe. The brown, pear-shaped nuts grew large, almost as big as baseballs, and would easily fit into the palm of the hand. The multi-colored blossoms, while not particularly fragrant, seemed to play tricks on the eye, changing colors from pink to white and yellow.¹⁶ Since tung oil ranged in color from clear to rust, some admirers dubbed it liquid gold. All of these traits fueled marketing methods.

Promoting the country's little-known Tung Belt became the main priority of tung trade journals. *Tung Oil* (1930-1933), *American Tung Oil* (1935-1937), *American Tung Oil and the Southern Conservationist* (1938-1941), *American Tung Oil News* (1934-1935), *Tung World* (1946-1969), *American Tung News* (1953-1969), and *American Tung Oil Topics* (1954-1968) printed visual aids in the form of photographs of trees, blossoms, and nuts on almost every page. Alongside the images appeared detailed, informative articles on the cultivation and utilization of tung trees and tung oil in the hopes of fueling the domestic tung oil industry. These writings explored the planting and care of trees as well as the harvesting, milling, and marketing of oil. Convincing the masses of the tree's importance to everyday life remained of the utmost

¹⁴ "Alachua Tung Oil Mill Oldest in Country," *Tung World* 1, no. 2 (June 1946): 19.

¹⁵ A. L. Matthews, "Vegetable Drying Oils," *Tung Oil: A Magazine Devoted to the Development of the American Tung Oil Industry* 1, no. 2 (Nov. 1930), 6. See also, C. C. Concannon, "Tung Oil: Economic and Commercial Factors in the Development of a Domestic Tung Oil Industry," no. 133, U.S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce Trade Promotion Series 132-133 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1932), 41, 2-6, 20.

¹⁶ Lynn Crosby Gammill, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, interviewed by author, April 3, 2012, tape recording.

importance, and contributors never missed a chance to mention the plethora of its uses, including paint and varnish, ink, chemical, and insulation to name a few. Such advertisements on tung took many other forms.

Countless pamphlets, articles, newspapers, and books highlighted the contributions tung made to the country and its citizens. An American Tung Oil Institute (ATOI) pamphlet "Why Should You Use Tung Oil" proved immensely popular.¹⁷ In order to make tung nationally recognizable, growers sought an inclusion of tung in both *Webster's Dictionary and The World Almanac* and in magazines like *Harper's News Monthly and National Geographic*.¹⁸ Other accomplishments came in the form of tung items in *The New York Mirror*, *New York Post*, and *New York Times*.¹⁹ Works Progress Administration guides to the states mentioned the growing importance of tung trees.²⁰ During WWII, *The Billboard*, an entertainment magazine, *Boys' Life*, the official magazine of the Boy Scouts of America, and *The Kiplinger's Magazine* discussed the importance of tung oil to the war effort.²¹ In 1953, the Southern Regional Research Lab produced an 825-page, four-volume "Abstract Bibliography of the Chemistry and Technology of Tung Products, 1875-1950," which included 3,000 sources spanning three-quarters of a century.²² The American Tung Oil Association (ATOA) even published a cookbook called "Use Your

¹⁷ "Tung Oil Booklet Has Telling Story," *News for Farmer Cooperatives* 26, no. 4 (July 1959), 23.

¹⁸ "Dictionary, Almanac Omit Data on Industry," *Tung World* 2, no. 3 (July 1947), 5; Roger Burlingame, "Rainbow Over the Farm," *Harper's Magazine* (Dec. 1939), 50; and "National Geographic Notes Tung Industry," *Tung World* 2, no. 5 (Sept. 1947), 12.

¹⁹ See, for example, "N.Y. Mirror Buys Story on Tung Oil," *Tung World* 1, no. 11 (Mar. 1947), 15.

²⁰ Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Louisiana, *Louisiana: A Guide to the State* (NY: Hastings House, 1941), 458; Workers of the Writers' Program of The Work Projects Administration in the State of Georgia, *Georgia: A Guide to Its Towns and Countryside* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1940), 64; and Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, *Mississippi: The WPA Guide to the Magnolia State* (Jackson: The University Press of Mississippi, 1938, reprinted 1988), 111.

²¹ "Major Crops for the South," *The Billboard* 55, no. 13 (March 27, 1943), 75; "Food Will Win War; Peace" *The Billboard* 54, no. 1 (Jan. 3, 1942), 54; Eva Beard, "Your Farm Job," *Boys' Life* 33, no. 6 (June 1943), 18; and "Your Questions Answered," *The Kiplinger Magazine* 3, no. 12 (Dec 1949), 28.

²² "Mississippi Now Leading in the Tung Oil Industry," *Jackson Daily News*, June 8, 1954.

Tung,” which included numerous tasty dishes sans tung because of its toxicity.²³ Americans were exposed to tung in museums like the United States National Museum, and some saw tung in paintings like Xavier Gonzalez’s Works Progress Administration (WPA) Tung Oil Mural at the Covington, Louisiana, Post Office.²⁴ Radio stations cross country also covered the domestic tung oil industry.²⁵ Aside from these mediums, the masses also gained a connection to tung through government projects, charities, and education.

Tung presented a way to aid the needy and to beautify the landscape. Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) tung colonies benefitted many during the New Deal.²⁶ Also during the 1930s, growers L. O. Crosby and Lamont Rowlands donated 1,000 acres of tung, and the Rehabilitation Corporation of Mississippi provided another 8,000 acres of tung to Whitworth College in Brookhaven, Mississippi.²⁷ This move struck the Mississippi Board of Trustees of the Institutions of Higher Learning as a great idea for all its colleges’

²³ Mrs. David Goodyear, interviewed by author, September 9, 2011, tape recording.

²⁴ “Report on The Progress and Conditions of The United States National Museum for the Year Ending June 30, 1917 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 69; Richard Megraw, *Confronting Modernity: Art and Society in Louisiana* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), 77, 82-83; Erika Katayama, Xavier Gonzalez (M.A. thesis, University of California at Santa Cruz, 2009), 1-2, 8; John R. Kemp, “Survivor of the WPA Era,” *The States-Item*, May 27, 1988; and Lillian Galt, “Artist Couple Proves Life Not Stormy,” *Times-Picayune*, June 4, 1939, p. 30.

²⁵ See, for example, “The Tung Oil Industry in the South,” *Rockford Register-Republic* [Illinois], July 6, 1938; “Radio Address on Tung Oil,” *Dallas Morning News*, November 14, 1937, Section II, p. 7; and “Lamont Rowlands,” *Tung World* 7, no. 10 (March 1953), 7. See also, “N.Y. Housewives Learn About Tung,” *Tung World* 2, no. 10 (Feb. 1948), 15. Tung received some television coverage. See, for example, a WDSU-TV in New Orleans story that aired on August 20, 1959. See, “T.V. Covers Story on Tung Oil,” *American Tung News* 10, no. 9 (Sept. 1959), 17.

²⁶ H. W. Bennett, “Tung Oil Industry Expands,” *Manufacturers’ Record* 103, no. 11, Nov. 1934, 26. See also, “Expanding Tung Oil Tests,” February 24, 1935, Tung Oil, Vertical File, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscripts Library [hereafter VF, HRBML, UGA]; Emerson Ross, “Research and Statistical Program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration,” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 29, no. 187 (Sept. 1934): 228-294; “Tung Oil May Help Support Southerners,” *Augusta Chronicle*, October 24, 1934, 1; “American Invasion of Tung Oil Field Perils Chinese Monopoly,” *Trenton Evening Times*, February 10, 1935; and “Government Plans Tung Cultivation for Mississippi,” *Dallas Morning News*, December 20, 1936, Section V, 1.

²⁷ “Mississippians Told of Tung Oil Trees, Valuable New Crop; and Tung Tree Culture Spreads,” August 17, 1935, Tung Oil, VF, HRBML, UGA.

incomes and encouraged further donations.²⁸ Tung trees began to adorn the campuses of several southern universities like the University of Florida which prided itself on a diverse array of plants. In such instances, the colleges emphasized the foreign nature of the unique trees.²⁹ This exoticism played a significant role in tung advertising.

Numerous articles, such as “Tung Oil: Gift of the Orient” and “China’s Tung Trees Make Good in America,” mentioned tung’s Chinese origins.³⁰ Many articles insisted that the very name tung meant heart in Chinese, and while this claim was erroneous, the rumor persisted, perhaps as an advertising angle. The China connection perhaps added to the mystery, uniqueness, and appeal of tung trees. One article insisted that tung trees transplanted “a touch of the soft and gentle beauty of Old China” to the U. S.³¹ Another article called it “a gift from China.”³² At the same time people sought the different, the other, and the strange, they spurned all things foreign.³³ While growers milked the Chinese connection, they billed the tung tree as pure “American.” They preferred to think that the U.S. had taken rather than been given the tung tree. Evidently, they used the Chinese tie only when convenient and never failed to argue that through superior cultivation and utilization methods, the U.S. had made tung its own.

Tourism and Tung Blossoms

This desire to portray the tung tree as a foreign object conquered, remade, and improved by Americans prevailed in tung publications. Indeed, nationalism had deep connections to tourism, and historian Marguerite Shaffer equates tourism to the “search for national

²⁸ “Tung Tree Tract to be Presented as Endowment,” *Times-Picayune*, February 13, 1935, p. 9.

²⁹ C. E. Wright, “Florida’s Flora: Green Foliage and Flowering Shrubs Catch Winter Visitor by Surprise,” *The New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1963.

³⁰ Frank A. Montgomery, Jr., “Tung Oil: Gift of the Orient,” Box 10, Folder 10, Camille, American Tung Oil Institute, McCain Library and Archives, The University of Southern Mississippi [hereafter ATOI, MLA, USM]; and Frank Thone, “China’s Tung Trees Make Good in America,” *Springfield Republican* [MA], July 11, 1937, p. 38.

³¹ L. T. Pendarvis, “Tung Orchards of Florida, For Sale,” *Want and Exchange Bulletin* 9, no. 8 (March 15, 1960), M477, Box 5, Folder 16, Tung History, 1936-1966, ATOI, USM.

³² L. J. Davenport, “Tung Oil—The Crop That Was,” *Alabama Heritage* 53 (Summer 1999), 54.

³³ Marguerite Shaffer, *America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 280.

identity.”³⁴ Growers intended that declaring tung American and tracing the history of the development of the domestic tung oil industry would simultaneously draw tourists looking for the exotic and those seeking all things American.³⁵ All of this created special enthusiasm to the reputation of tung as many tourists were attracted to all things alien, atypical, and even more, natural.³⁶ Tung growers used this desire for new sights and experiences to beckon tourists to the Tung Belt.

Many cities across the Tung Belt sought to capitalize on tung groves through tourism. Visitors often saw the South as a throwback to the past and believed touring it afforded an epiphany about land, life, and simpler times. Most bought into various stereotypes and associated the South at worst with cotton and slavery and at best with belles and beaches. Aided by the lack of just one southern identity, these beliefs allowed tourists to seek whatever they wanted.³⁷ The semi-tropical climate of the coast afforded tourists the next best thing to traveling abroad, and they relished destinations ranging from historic sites to scenic vistas.³⁸ In addition, by the early 1920s, car ownership grew, and new roads multiplied across the South, displacing the domination of tourism by the wealthy and making automobile tourism a middle class icon and \$200 million a year industry.³⁹ Tourism suffered during the Great Depression, but gardens, parks, and arboretums multiplied during the New Deal as did farm tours.⁴⁰ After WWII, motor tourism increased significantly as car ownership skyrocketed.⁴¹ Tourists had many options to choose from given the plethora of roadside attractions

³⁴ Ibid., 5.

³⁵ On history as an attractant to tourists, see John A. Jackle, *The Tourist Travel in Twentieth Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 286.

³⁶ Harvey H. Jackson III, “Developing the Panhandle, Seagrove Beach, Seaside, Watercolor, and the Florida Tourist Tradition,” in *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History and Culture in the Modern South*, edited by Richard Starnes (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 66.

³⁷ Ted Ownby, “Nobody Knows the Troubles I’ve Seen, but Does Anybody Want to Hear About Them When They’re on Vacation?” in *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History and Culture in the Modern South*, edited by Richard Starnes (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 240, 248; and Jackle, 199.

³⁸ Jackle, 216.

³⁹ E. J. Williamson, “South Has Great Tourist Business,” *Manufacturers’ Record* 96, no. 3, July 18, 1929, p. 75; and Brian Black, *Nature and the Environment in Twentieth Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 7.

⁴⁰ Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscapes from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991), 41-43.

⁴¹ Ibid., 26.

such as stands, shops, and alligator wrestling to name a few. Even if tung did not appear on a tourist's agenda, growers hoped to gain his or her attention through roadside plantings. After all, citrus trees played a large role in Florida's tourism, and oranges had developed an enormous iconography; it stood to reason that tung could achieve the same recognition.⁴²

Just as oranges had ties to the Florida dream, tung growers wanted tourists to think of southern nirvana when they thought of tung. Tung growers deemed tung trees far more beautiful than orange, cherry, peach, and dogwood trees.⁴³ A Louisiana Forestry Commission Bulletin equated tung groves with "fields of snow."⁴⁴ An article in the *Jackson Daily News* dubbed tung groves a "Million Dollar Bouquet."⁴⁵ *Down South* magazine referred to tung trees as "pink clouds in Dixie."⁴⁶ Perhaps this description, more than any other, best fit tung groves for tourism; postcards of blooming tung trees could be purchased throughout the Gulf Coast.⁴⁷ Hoping to provide an extra incentive for tourists to visit cities along the coast, growers billed the tung tree as unique to the South.

⁴² Pierre Laszlo, *Citrus: A History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 79; Louis Ziegler and Herbert S. Wolfe, *Citrus Growing in Florida* (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 1975), ix; and Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 195.

⁴³ "The Tung Oil Tree," *Augusta Chronicle*, April 26, 1925, p. 4; Frank Thone, "China's Tung Trees Make Good in America," *Springfield Republican* [MA], July 11, 1937, p. 38; and "North Florida Tung Oil Orchards to Bring More Income to Their Owners," *St. Petersburg Times*, March 18, 1951.

⁴⁴ "Tung-oil Tree, China Woodoil Tree," *Louisiana Trees and Shrubs*, p. 155, Louisiana Forestry Commission Bulletin no. 1, Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, Tung Oil, Vertical File, Livingston Parish Library [hereafter VF, LPL].

⁴⁵ "Tung Orchard—Five Million Dollar Bouquet," *Jackson Daily News*, July 5, 1953.

⁴⁶ Evelyn Reid Griffith, "Pink Clouds in Dixie," *Down South* (March-April 1957), 7.

⁴⁷ On postcards, see, for example, "A Tung Tree in Full Bloom, Pearl River County, Miss.," and "A Country Road in Tung Blossom Time—Pearl River County, Miss." published in Gulfport, Mississippi, by the Gulfport Printers Company, n.d. These two examples are in the author's possession.



Figure 1. Postcard. Gulfport Printing Company.
Courtesy of John Corley.



Figure 2. Denise Daughtry. Courtesy of Denise Chenel Daughtry.

Many southern cities and regions identified themselves with the tung industry. Poplarville, Mississippi, was “Tung Center of the World.” Picayune claimed “tung-oil center of America.” St. Tammany Parish was known as “The Pink Parish.” Tallahassee, Florida, boasted

as “Tung Headquarters.” Fairhope, Alabama, had the Baldwin Plantation, which proclaimed itself to be the “Center of the Tung Belt.”⁴⁸ In the spring, coastal cities flaunted the pretty, often extensive groves of pink blossoms which flowered from about March 21 to April 11.⁴⁹ In April 1941, the first guided tung tours took place in St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana. It was during this tour that the first ever Louisiana Tung Queen, Beatrice “Sally” Core, a future Olympics participant, was crowned.⁵⁰ After 1944, Picayune, Mississippi, began holding yearly tours of a seventy-mile path of acreage.⁵¹ Poplarville, too, offered an extensive tung tour, and out-of-town visitors could stay at the local Tung Tree Hotel. Tung plantation tours gained so much attention that the *New York Times* listed them under “A Tourist’s Calendar of Sun-Belt Events.”⁵² In this and other advertisements, tung tours appeared alongside rose and azalea festivals and attracted thousands of sight-seers during “blossomtime down South.”⁵³

Tung-themed parades and festivals took place throughout the Tung Belt. In the 1930s, Gainesville, Florida, held its first tung oil parade, partly across the campus of the University of Florida, to honor the first railroad shipment of tung from the city.⁵⁴ Tung queens in fairs like the Louisiana Tung Blossom Festival in Covington, Louisiana, or in the case of Floral, Alabama, Blossom Queens appeared at festivals and parades each spring and high school football games each fall thereafter

⁴⁸ Anthony J. Stanonis, *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1918-1945* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2006), 54, 60; Ann Gilbert, “Covington: Living History & Covington’s Founding Families,” *Inside Northside Magazine* (Feb/Mar 2002) http://www.insidenorthside.com/feb_mar/art6.htm; Mormino, 188; and “Highlights and Highways of Baldwin: The 1939 Guide to Baldwin County Alabama: America’s Newest Playground on Mobile Bay and the Gulf of Mexico,” 24, Vertical File, Foley Public Library [hereafter VF, FPL].

⁴⁹ “Picayune Plans Tung Area Tour to Open Sunday,” *Times Picayune*, March 23, 1940, p. 5.

⁵⁰ “First Tung Orchard Tour Attracts Many Visitors Here,” *St. Tammany Farmer*, April 18, 1941; and David A. Bice, the Village of Folsom, Louisiana, Tung Oil, VF, LPL.

⁵¹ “Tung Trail is Open for Autoists Today,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, April 13, 1947.

⁵² “A Tourist’s Calendar of Sun-Belt Events,” *New York Times*, December 10, 1950.

⁵³ Robert Meyer, Jr., “Dixie Hospitality: Tours of Old Homes and Floral Festivals Await Spring Visitors in the South,” *New York Times*, March 8, 1953.

⁵⁴ “Tung Oil Parade,” Alachua County Library District Heritage Collection,” <http://heritage.acld.lib.fl.us/1101-1150/1134.html>.

across the coast.⁵⁵ These events often advertised nationally and received coverage by newspaper and later television reporters.⁵⁶ In the words of one journalist on the Picayune Tung Oil Festival, “Nothing like it have I ever seen except in the stage musical “Blossom Time” or the Jeanette MacDonald-Nelson Eddy movie, “Maytime.”⁵⁷

Tung blossom events even resulted in a 1943 piano tune titled “Tung Oil Time” by Mrs. James B. Davis of Poplarville and the 1947 song “Tung Oil Time in Mississippi” by Sidney Orr and David Hall.⁵⁸ Tung also played an important role at a Mississippi high school.⁵⁹



Figure 3. Tung blossoms. Courtesy of John Corley.

⁵⁵ “Ex-Toledoan devoting Florida acres to Growing of Chinese Tung Trees for the Oil of Which Nations are Scrambling,” *Plain Dealer*, May 2, 1937, p. 89; and “Floral Beauty Queen of Tung,” *Tung World* 1, no. 2 (June 1946), 7.

⁵⁶ See, for example mention of the Covington Tung Blossom Festival in *The Billboard*, February 29, 1960, p. 77.

⁵⁷ “Dogwood Festival in Bogalusa,” *Times-Picayune*, March 17, 1974.

⁵⁸ Catalog of Copyright Entries, part 3 Musical Compositions, New Series, Volume 38, Part 1, First Half of 1943, nos. 1-6 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1943); and Sidney Orr and David Hall, “Tung Blossom Time in Mississippi” (Hollywood: Nordyke Music Publications, 1947).

⁵⁹ Charles Newman, *I Had it All with Pride: A History of Picayune Memorial High School “Pride of the Tung Belt” Band, 1954-1971* (Clinton, MS: One House Publishing Company, 1992), 6, 8.

In 1954, new band director Charles S. Newman named the Picayune Memorial High School band the “Pride of the Tung Belt” in an attempt to trigger enthusiasm from students and the community at large.⁶⁰ The uniforms, consisting of maroon coats and maroon striped white pants, had a logo consisting of a tung blossom encircled with the words “Pride of the Tung Belt” on the left arm.⁶¹ According to Newman’s son, this association with the tung industry worked magic, and the band became a pseudo ambassador for the Tung South. The band won second place in a national championship at the Jaycee Parade of States in 1955. While performing at the Rex Mardi Gras Parade in New Orleans that same year, it was filmed by a Hollywood camera crew, and the resultant stock footage found its way into several movies, including one starring Elvis Presley. Thanks to the financial support of L. O. Crosby, Jr., the band participated in the 1956 Rose Parade where Newman had the pleasure of meeting Hopalong Cassidy and explaining the Tung Belt to his childhood hero.⁶² While in California, Walt Disney invited the band to give the first concert at newly opened Disneyland. The band attracted so much attention that thanks to solicited auditions by NBC, CBS, and ABC, the Pride of the Tung Belt appeared not once, but seven times on nationwide television. In quick succession the band performed at the Orange Bowl, Cotton Bowl, Gator Bowl, Sugar Bowl, and in 1959, gave a concert in the newly created U.S. Senate Office Building and later marched in the Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade.⁶³ Although a band with tung blossoms on its uniforms appeared strange to onlookers, many coastal residents looked on with delight. With this in mind, they tried to make tung trees so accessible that people not attending marches or festivals could enjoy the sight of the blooms from the comfort of their vehicles.

⁶⁰ Charles Nutter, “Tung Nut Industry Fading from State,” *Clarion-Ledger*, December 10, 1972. See also, Noel Polk, *Outside the Southern Myth* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997), 111.

⁶¹ Newman, 6, 8.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 37, 58. See also, Charles Newman, interviewed by author, August 8, 2012, tape recording.

⁶³ *And the Band Played On: The Life and Imprint of Charlie Newman*, produced and directed by William Newman, 31:21 min., documentary, <http://www.prideofthetungbelt.com/videos/> (accessed August 8, 2012).



Figure 4. Tung nut still encased in a rind. Author's collection.

The State Highway Department, according to the *Jackson Daily News*, described the tung tree as “an ornamental because of its scenic beauty.”⁶⁴ *The Clarion Ledger* said tung orchards provided a “roadside panorama of beauty that fascinates Northern visitors.”⁶⁵ Tourists driving along Louisiana Highway 21 as well as U.S. 19 and U.S. 27 near Tallahassee, Florida, and Capps, Florida, gazed at a “veritable blanket of salmon pink petals.”⁶⁶ The Tung Trail, miles of trees along the road, stretched from Picayune to McNeill, Mississippi, along Highway 11, and another stretched from Picayune to Bogalusa, Louisiana.⁶⁷ Travelers to the coast multiplied in the post WWII years as middle class tourism expanded, but the Federal Highway Act of 1956 damaged roadside tourism.⁶⁸ After interstate highways developed,

⁶⁴ Phil Stroupe, “Tung Oil Production Brings Five Million Dollar Income to Farmers,” *Jackson Daily News*, July 5, 1953.

⁶⁵ Mississippi Has 60% of Nation’s Tung Oil Business, *Clarion Ledger*, March 26, 1961.

⁶⁶ Bob Landry, “Once Great Tung Industry No More,” *Clarion Ledger*, August 23, 1974, 2B.

⁶⁷ “Picayune Plans Tung Area Tour to Open Sunday,” *Times-Picayune*, March 23, 1940, p. 5.

⁶⁸ Dr. Larry Burnette, *Historic Baldwin County: A Bicentennial History* (San Antonio, TX: Historical Publishing Network, 2007), 34-36; Stanonis, 22; and Jackle, 304.

drivers needed sufficient incentive to leave the thoroughfare to see an attraction, and in most cases, small ones like tung orchards suffered.⁶⁹ Given that little could be seen on the expressways, the Tung Belt had to depend even more on word of mouth and print to fuel its tourism.⁷⁰ Tung-related businesses also helped to bolster the tree's reputation.

Tung Attracts Businesses

Given the growth of tung acreage and tung industries, some growers saw tung as a match to cotton in the South. The Dixie Tung Oil Development company in Forrest County, Mississippi, predicted the usurpation of King Cotton by King Tung.⁷¹ Polk City, Florida, founder Isaac van Horn "thought he'd found Polk City's economic salvation" in tung.⁷² While the seat of tung cultivation moved from Florida to Mississippi and Louisiana in the 1940s, faith in tung was bolstered by Capps, Florida. Capps had suffered economically, even with its turpentine production, until the St. Joe Paper Company began tung operations. By 1950, Florida had six tung oil mills, Louisiana had five, Mississippi and Alabama had four each, and Georgia had one. These mills employed hundreds and greatly aided county economies.⁷³ In fact, Pearl River County credited tung for its move from the bottom to one of the top ten counties in the state of Mississippi.⁷⁴ The bulk of the credit for the county's economic growth lay with cattle, but tung production certainly helped.⁷⁵ Its most successful company was the Crosby Tung Oil Processing Plant and Paint Factory in Picayune, which produced "World Famous" tung paints.⁷⁶ Northern and western companies dealing with tung were motivated to relocate to the South or form southern branches.

Tung-related industries like nurseries and companies dealing

⁶⁹ Tim Hollis, *Before Disney: 100 Years of Roadside Fun* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 15.

⁷⁰ Mormino, 244.

⁷¹ "Way Down South at Dixie," *The Southern Conservationist and American Tung Oil* 6, no. 1 (Apr. 1939), 17.

⁷² Cinnamon Blair, "Tung Oil's Fortunes Failed in Florida," *Lakeland Ledger*, February 26, 2006.

⁷³ Mormino, 188.

⁷⁴ "Advertised Building Character IN much-Troubled Mississippi," *Augusta Chronicle*, October 23, 1955, Section C, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Livestock Ideal Tung Auxiliary," *Tung World* 6, no. 1 (May 1961), 10.

⁷⁶ Newman, 58.

with bags, fertilizer, harvesting, milling, investment, oil inspection, insurance, marketing, paints, and varnishes flocked to the South not only to be closer to tung acreage but because the region afforded less union activity, provided cheap labor, and offered generous tax incentives. After WWII, many plants moved south to capitalize on perks, but over time, their very presence helped narrow the gap between regions when it came to management, wages, and work conditions.⁷⁷ By the mid-1960s, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana tantalized manufacturers with the promise of no state or local taxes for an entire decade.⁷⁸ Tung businesses offering land purchase guidance, cultivation instruction, storage, refining, and marketing dotted the South and the country at large. A few of the non-coastal tung companies included Mississippi Tung Groves, Inc., in Wilmington, Delaware; The National Tung Grove Corporation in Rock Island, Illinois; Southern Tung Oil Company in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and U.S. Tung Oil Company, Inc., in New York City, New York.⁷⁹ While tung manufacturers, tourism, festivals, and publications fanned the reputation of tung, the tree continued to suffer from a lack of mass recognition for one reason—poison.

Tung and the Poison Problem

Tung trees presented a lovely image to the eye, but the toxicity of their nuts barred a significant market sector. In the words of *Down South* magazine, “About the only thing the tung isn’t good for is eating.”⁸⁰ *The Tallahassee Democrat* later commented, “Many a

⁷⁷ Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 108; and James C. Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1982), 47, 50, 64.

⁷⁸ Cobb, *The Selling of the South*, 5, 25-27, 36, 48, 157.

⁷⁹ See “Dixie Tung Empire Corp.,” <https://business.sos.state.ms.us/corp/soskb/Filings.asp?106648>; “Mississippi Tung Groves, Inc.,” <https://business.sos.state.ms.us/corp/soskb/Corp.asp?112420>; “National Tung Grove Corp.,” <https://business.sos.state.ms.us/corp/soskb/Corp.asp?104338>; “Southern Tung Oil Co.,” <https://business.sos.state.ms.us/corp/soskb/Corp.asp?78329>; and “U.S. Tung Oil Co., Inc.,” http://appext9.dos.state.ny.us/corp_public/CORPSEARCH.ENTITY_INFORMATION?p_nameid=38756&p_corpid=32007&p_entity_name=%74%75%6E%67%20%6F%69%6C&p_name_type=%41&p_search_type=%43%4F%4E%54%41%49%4E%53&p_srch_results_page=0.

⁸⁰ Bobby Smith, “Tung Oil: The South Makes Oil from the Trees of China,” *Down South* (Feb.-March 1951), 24.

Northern visitor has learned this the hard way.”⁸¹ Consuming tung nuts caused illness and swelling of the mouth and lips and possibly hypertension, delirium, convulsions, anaphylactic shock, and death.⁸² Despite this, many individuals either disbelieved or dismissed the risk given the visual appeal of the large nut which strongly resembled a Brazil nut or a walnut. While the nut smelled strongly of kerosene or as one source claimed, ham fat, its appearance won out.⁸³ In one *Louisiana Forestry Bulletin*, an author noted that the very name “tung nut” beckoned onlookers to eat and that “there are still skeptical individuals who believe the warning not to consume is a trick to deprive them of something edible.”⁸⁴



Figure 5. Tung nut pickers, February 28, 1940. Dixie Press Collection, Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College Archives. Courtesy of Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College Archives.

⁸¹ Sam Miller, “Bulldozers End the Tung Dynasty at Capps,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, September 6, 1976, p. 17.

⁸² Edward Balthrop, “Tung Nut Poisoning,” *Southern Medical Journal* 45, no. 9 (Sept. 1952); Edward Balthrop, William B. Gallagher, Thomas F. McDonald, and Sam Camariotes, “Tung Nut Poisoning,” *The Journal of Florida Medical Association* 40 (May 1954): 813-820; and K. R. Langdon, “Tung oil Tree, *aleurites fordii*,” *Nematology (botany) Circular* no. 45 (Nov. 1978).

⁸³ *One Thousand More Paint Questions Answered* (New York: The Painters Magazine, 1908), 170.

⁸⁴ Clair A. Brown, *Louisiana Trees and Shrubs*, p. 155, Louisiana Forestry Commission Bulletin, No. 1 Baton Rouge: Claitor’s Publishing Division, Tung Oil, VF, LCP.

Along the Tung Belt, many knew the poisonous truth behind the beautiful tung tree. Locals deemed it common knowledge and joked about the nuts. According to Roy M. Moffitt of Roy M. Moffitt & Company, "Don't feed tung nuts to your visitors unless, of course, . . ." ⁸⁵ Most victims either mistook tung for walnuts or simply thought the pear-shaped nut looked tasty. Countless cases of tung poisoning occurred from the early days of plantings onward, but several examples highlight the inherent dangers. In one case, a college student consumed five nuts, began to feel sick, wobbly, and incredibly thirsty but drinking only increased the pain. Consistent with food poisoning, his vomit appeared white and his stool yellow and runny. The following morning, the young man felt no stomach discomfort but had a headache similar to that of a hangover. ⁸⁶ Another case took place when five small children in Mobile, Alabama, mistook tung nuts for Brazil nuts and became nauseated, vomited, and developed diarrhea, severe headaches, dilated pupils, high blood pressure, and risky levels of dehydration. Low oxygen levels resulted in cyanosis that caused their skin to turn blue around the lips and ears. At the Emergency Room at the Mobile City Hospital, they received enemas and saturated sodium chloride to incite vomiting and fortunately recovered. ⁸⁷ Other victims recovered with the help of magnesium sulfate and "fluid and electrolyte replacement therapy," but the negative reputation of tung nuts persisted, further fueling the quest to detoxify tung in the hopes of making tung more marketable. ⁸⁸

Placing the tung nut on every kitchen table in the country, and consequently, raising its value, remained high on the list on the goals of growers and scientists over the decades. Rich in protein, tung, if ridden of toxins, stood to make a good source of nourishment for livestock and people. After all, tung oil and tung meal consisted of twenty-two

⁸⁵ Roy M. Moffitt & Company to Dear Association, July 16, 1945, Box 1, American Tung Oil Association 1945 [2/4], Dantzler Company, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University [hereafter SC, MML, MSU].

⁸⁶ J. Edward Balthrop, "Tung Nut Poisoning: A Report of Ten Cases," *City Hospital Bulletin* 21, no. 2 (Oct. 1952), 4, Box 10, Folder 10, Camille, ATOI, MLA, USM.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸⁸ Edward Balthrop, "Tung Nut Poisoning," Box 11, Folder 1, Tung Nut Poisoning (1952-1962), ATOI, MLA, USM. See also, Edward Balthrop, "Tung Nut Poisoning," *Southern Medical Journal* 45, no. 9 (Sept. 1952).

percent and twenty-seven percent protein, respectively.⁸⁹ In the 1940s, USDA scientists found that tung nuts had at least two unknown, unstable toxic components. They called the poisons, containing varying amounts of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, Toxin I and Toxin II. The first toxin was extracted from the nuts with solvents—ether or ethanol and benzene. When thus exposed, the toxin, soon to be identified as sapolin, separated and could be easily divided from tung meal. The second toxin, later found to be the alcohol soluble toxalbumin, they either detoxified with ethyl acetate or by warming tung to 230 degrees Celsius for two hours and then adding petroleum naphtha.⁹⁰ Having identified the toxins, scientists tested them on live subjects.

Scientists studied various hypotheses by feeding the tung meal to rats, rabbits, chicks, dogs, and pigs. Hoping to find what percentages of mixtures lessened the toxins in both the oil and kernels, they recorded the reactions. Rats tested tended to weaken and die when fed tung meal while rabbits only developed diarrhea. Dogs experienced diarrhea and vomiting while pigs refused to eat tung meal. A small catastrophe took place in initial tests on chicks because forty milligrams of tung meal led to death. Not until the dosage was lowered to ten milligrams did tung meal become less dangerous to consume. Experimenting on larger animals like cattle revealed not simply diarrhea but damage to the liver, kidneys, stomach, and intestines. In 1946, scientists finally succeeded in separating sapolin, making tung meal less dangerous to eat. They continued their quest knowing victory could alter the status of tung oil in consumer markets. After all, non-edible tung meal sold for \$7-10 a ton in 1954 but if made edible, stood to sell for \$35 a ton. Unfortunately, results remained unpredictable and deaths continued, but scientists kept trying to detoxify tung with phosphoric acid, sodium

⁸⁹ R. L. Holmes and E. T. Rayner, "Isolation of Two Nitrogen-Free Toxins from Tung Kernels," *The Journal of The American Tung Oil Chemists' Society* 35, no. 11 (Nov. 1958): 586. On detoxification, see, for example, G. E. Mann, W. H. Hoffman, Jr., and A. M. Ambrose, "Oilseed Processing: Detoxification and Toxicological Studies of Tung Meal," *Journal of Agricultural Food Chemistry* 2 (1953): 258-263; and E. Balthrop, W. B. Gallagher, T. F. McDonald, and S. Camariotes, "Two Outbreaks of Acute Tung Nut (*Aleurites fordii*) Poisoning," *Journal of Florida Medical Association* 40 (1954): 813-820.

⁹⁰ G. E. Mann, W. H. Hoffman, Jr., and A. M. Ambrose, "Oilseed Processing: Detoxification and Toxicological Studies of Tung Meal," *Journal of Agricultural Food Chemistry* 2 (1953): 258-263; Holmes and E. T. Rayner, "Isolation of Two Nitrogen-Free Toxins from Tung Kernels," 587; and Reavis C. Sproull, "Chemurgic Research in S.R.I. Laboratories," *Chemurgic Digest* 8, no. 6 (June 1949), 16.

carbonate, urea, and benzene extraction. Detoxification efforts by scientists at The University of Mississippi even attracted mention in *The U.S. News and World Report* years later in 1966.⁹¹ Despite some progress using heat to lower the toxicity, tung meal never did become consistently safe enough for animals, let alone people, to eat. Studies to make tung nuts edible may never have borne fruit, but scientists took solace in pharmaceutical advances with tung oil.

Tung Ties to Medicine

The connections between tung oil and medicines dated back millennia given that the Chinese used it as a salve and ointment and even believed small doses had the power to cure metallic poisoning and even insanity. In the U.S., the first medicinal tie may have been tung-based catheters during WWII. By 1951, tung oil had become a key ingredient in a handful of medicines.⁹² Tests in Germany in 1903 had only created skin dermatitis when applied as a salve. In the U.S. tung, while hardly a household name, had a negative reputation. Even *Webster's Dictionary* defined tung as a "poisonous pungent substance."⁹³ Eager to overcome such notorious labeling, scientists sought to make tung a trusted and desired medical necessity. The faith some had in

⁹¹ "Combinations of detoxified tung nut meal and soybean oilmeal as sources of supplementary protein for swine," <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00072846/00001>; G. K. David, N.R. Mehrhof, and R. S. McKinney, "Tung Meal in Rations for Growing Chicks," *Poultry Science* 25 (1945), 74-9; "De-Poisoning Tung," *Tung World* 1, no. 2 (June 1946); "Begin Project to Detoxify Tung Meal," *American Tung News* 17, no. 1 (Jan 1966), 6; "Tung Oil Studies at The University of Mississippi," *American Tung News* 18, no. 4 (April 1967), 8; "Methods Found to Detoxify Tung Meal," *American Tung News* 18, no. 6 (June 1967), 4; "Ad on Tung Meal Study Placed in U.S. News by Utilities System," *American Tung News* 17, no. 5 (May 1966), 11; "Tung Research Committee Hears Reports by Scientists," August 28, 1962, Agricultural Research Service, Southern Utilization Research and Development Division," Box 20, Folder 3, Tung Oil, Farm Chemurgic Council, University Archives and Historic Collections, Michigan State University [hereafter FCC, UAHC, MSU]; "Problem: Upgrade Oilseed Meals," *Chemurgic Digest* 15, no. 8 (Sept. 1956), 6; and B. M. Kopacz, "Tung Oil Research and Development at the Southern Regional Laboratory," *The Journal of American Oil Chemists' Society* 45, no. 4 (April 1968), 288.

⁹² "Investigations of the Tung Oil Industry," *Congressional Record-Senate*, 1949, p. 8333, Tung Oil, Subject File, Mississippi Department of Archives and History [hereafter SF, MDAH]; and Holmes, 587; L. A. Goldblatt, "The Tung Industry. II. Processing and Utilization," *Economic Botany* 13, no. 4 (1959): 348; and M. Murph Snelling, "The Multiple Uses of Processed Tung Oil in Industrial Surgery," *The Mississippi Doctor* (May 1953): 397-402.

⁹³ "TGCA Sponsors Research Work; Renames Entire Slate of Officers," *Tung World* 6, no. 9 (Feb. 1952), 4.

the medicinal potential of tung may have stemmed from its being a relative to castor, a bitter tasting medicine known primarily as a cure for constipation. Some supposed tung oil to have had a nice flavor. For example, during the Taiping Rebellion, some soldiers mistook a vat of tung oil for pork fat, but others imagined that it tasted much the same as castor.⁹⁴ One source insisted that heated oil tasted bad but cold oil did not.⁹⁵ Whatever the case, unfortunate tourists who had innocently nibbled on attractive red colored, apple-sized tung nuts did indeed find themselves purged. They often became hospitalized because of extreme vomiting and defecation to the point of dangerous dehydration, delirium, and even convulsions.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, advocates of pharmaceutical tung emphasized that the poison lay in the kernel of the nut, not the oil, and billed their products as painless solutions for any number of ailments.

Tung World editors and former journalists John and Edith Watts perceived the toxicity of tung as a challenge, not a barrier. They found that the toxins were in the nuts, not the oil. Experimenting on pets and themselves, they soon claimed that tung oil could help body odor and ward off mosquitoes while curing ailments ranging from acne and rashes to skin cancer. Amazed by the results, the two wondered why tung had never been used in medicines. In reality, the Chinese and Hawaiians had used tung oil for acne, eczema, psoriasis, and sunburns, and even as baby oil for centuries, but the Watts wanted to establish such usage domestically.⁹⁷ They imagined that the reason tung oil medicine had been absent on the mainland lay in its poisonous reputation. The only problem they encountered seemed to be that tung hardened when exposed to light and when heated by sunlight. John found a way to stabilize or at least create predictable behavior of his tung oil ointment but would not reveal the secret. In 1951, the Watts began selling stock in their company, incorporated as Tungolin Company, Inc., located in Gulfport, Mississippi, with branch offices in Mobile, Alabama, and DeFuniak Springs, Florida. They soon sold

⁹⁴ Samuel Pollard, *In Unknown China: A Record of Observations, Adventures . . .* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1921), 235.

⁹⁵ Edward Richard Bolton and Cecil Revis, *Fatty Foods, Their Practical Examination* (Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co., 1913), 250.

⁹⁶ Balthrop, "Tung Nut Poisoning: A Report of Ten Cases," 4.

⁹⁷ On Hawaiian usage, see, for example, Anthony Dweck, *Formulating Natural Cosmetics* (Allured Pub. Corp., 2010), 2.

almost 30,000 bottles of Tungolin from Florida to Arkansas.⁹⁸ Sales proved so successful that in 1953, they gave up editing *Tung World* so they could focus completely on Tungolin.⁹⁹ The Watts also claimed that tung oil proved a faster and more effective solution for constipation than castor oil if taken orally. While not advertised as cure-alls, the descriptions of Tungolin came close.

The Watts heralded Tungolin Doctor Oil and Tungolex First Aid Oil as a solution to constipation if taken orally but primarily as a healing salve for blisters, scalds, rashes, chapped hands, cold sores, cuts, insect bites, hemorrhoids, athlete's foot, mouth sores, and bleeding gums. They also sold Tungolin Topicream to diminish acne and blackheads. While it might be tempting to dismiss these as "snake oil" efforts, medicinal tung oil was no joke. Patents for these products had been filed and granted. Even physicians like Dr. M. M. Snelling of Gulfport, Mississippi, used tung to treat cuts, contusions, ulcers, and burns on 682 patients while the Tulane School of Medicine, Emory University, University of Tennessee, University of Mississippi, and University of Texas had scientists seeking ways in which to apply tung oil in medicines. According to a study in 1945 by Dr. Arthur Grollman of the University of Texas, tung oil had the ability to lessen hypertension. Further credibility came when the National Heart Institute gave a \$3,910 grant to the University of Mississippi to study tung oil as a combatant for heart disease. Later studies centered on tung oil as a cancer preventative due to its eleostearic acid related anti-tumor

⁹⁸ Elliot Hebert, "Is Tung Oil A Healer, Too?" *Times Picayune*, October 11, 1953; "Tung Oil Medicant?" *Times Picayune*, October 16, 1953; John Watts to Louis Chenel, December 20, 1951, Folder: Tung Oil Production: Louis Chenel, 1944-1967, Louie E. Chenel Family Papers, Special Collections, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University [hereafter LECFP, SC, HML, LSU]; and "Tung Oil Industry Has Own Magazine," *Jackson Daily News*, April 24, 1946.

⁹⁹ See, "40 New Uses for Tung Oil? It's Possible. And Soon!" *Tung World* 7, no. 4 (Sept. 1952), 8; and "Congratulations Are in Order," *Tung World* 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1953), 4.

qualities.¹⁰⁰ Dr. M. M. Snelling, a fellow of the American College of Surgeons, experimented with tung oil as a cure for skin cancer and eventually came to argue, "Healthy tissues grow 50 percent faster than with any other treatment."¹⁰¹ Evidently, the poisonous tung nut held a benign pharmaceutical wonder in the form of oil, but distribution of these medicines remained in the South and did not spread nationwide.

Decline of the Tung Industry

By the late 1960s, tung oil had yet to achieve mass recognition. According to *The Bogalusa Sunday News*, mention of tung evoked "blank stares or sniggers from the average citizen who has never lived in the Gulf Coast area."¹⁰² Even many coastal residents knew little enough about the tree to frequently misspell it as "tongue."¹⁰³ While tours of the country had grown in popularity in the early 1960s, the role of tung in tourism had also declined due to the construction of interstate highways and roadside beautification movements that decreased the

¹⁰⁰ Preston W. Darling, "Tung Enters Medical Field," *Tung World* 7, no. 4 (Sept. 1952), 4; "National Heart Institute Grant Made for Research Using Tung Oil for Heart Ailments," *Tung World* 12, no. 10 (Oct. 1955), 7; "Medicinal Tung Oil," *Tung World* 13, no. 8 (Aug. 1956), 7; Walter Goodstein, "Tung Oil as Heart Disease Treatment to be Studied," *Times-Picayune* October 30, 1955, 2; Richard P. Creagan to James H. Anderson, January 17, 1975, James H. Anderson, Box 1, Folder 1 (25), 1975, Acc. No. A81-8, South Miss. Branch Experiment Station, Congressional and Political Research Center, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University [hereafter SMBES, CPRC, MML, MSU]; Snelling, 397-402; Phil Stroupe, "Tung Oil Production Brings Five Million Dollar Income to Farmers," *Jackson Daily News*, July 5, 1953; Elliott Hebert, "Is Tung Oil A Healer, Too?" *The Times Picayune*, October 11, 1953; and "Lamont Rowlands," *Tung World* 7, no. 10 (March 1953), 8. Of interest, folk remedies included tung as a cure for masturbation. See, James A. Duke, *Handbook of Nuts* (Baton Rouge: CRC Press LLC, 1989), 8.

¹⁰¹ "Mississippi Now Leading in The Tung Oil Industry," *Jackson Daily News*, June 8, 1954. It should be noted that later research combated many of these claims. Many scientists came to claim that tung could actually cause rather than cure cancer. For example, it has been argued that breathing remnants of dried leaves causes Epstein-Barr Virus (EBV) which can lead to lymphoma and nasopharyngeal carcinoma. See, for example, Hirota Fujiki, Erich Hecker, Richard E. Moore, Takashi Sugimura, and I. Bernard Weinstein, ed., *Cellular Interactions by Environmental Tumor Promoters, Proceedings of the 14th International Symposium of The Princess Takamatsu Cancer Research Fund, Tokyo, 1983* (Tokyo: Japan Scientific Societies Press, 1984), 131; and A. W. Norhanom and M. Yadav, "Tumour Promoter Activity in Malaysian Euphorbiaceae," *British Journal of Cancer* 71 (1995): 776-779.

¹⁰² "Bogalusa Center of Tung Orchard Research Work," *Bogalusa Sunday News*, March 20, 1966.

¹⁰³ "Tung Trees are Not 'Tongue' Trees," *Times-Picayune*, March 22, 1971.

number of billboard advertisements.¹⁰⁴ Roadside attractions had long since been replaced with hotels, casinos, and gardens (e.g., Busch Gardens, Cypress Gardens, and Bok Sanctuary).¹⁰⁵ Theme parks such as Six Flags (1961) had become all the rage.¹⁰⁶ Ironically, tourists traveled hundreds if not thousands of miles to see man-made creations rather than nature's wonders.¹⁰⁷ With fewer motorists seeking to glimpse tung orchards, tung no longer played a significant role in coastal tourism. The industry's death knell, however, derived not from this obsolescence, but from a hurricane.

Hurricane Camille, a Category 5 Storm with its 190 miles per hour wind, seven to ten inches of rain, and twenty-foot high waves, wrought havoc on the Tung Belt on August 17-18, 1969. Approximately a month before harvest, the winds impacted 35,000-40,000 acres of orchards in coastal Louisiana and Mississippi, as well as 10,000 acres in Mobile and Baldwin County, Alabama. Orchards lay in ruins with trees uprooted or split; \$1.42 billion in damages created devastation to personal and business properties, and 258 coastal residents lost their lives.¹⁰⁸ According to a September edition of the *New York Times*, "The entire waterfront from Biloxi west to the outskirts of New Orleans, a distance of 70 miles, still looks as if it had been bombed."¹⁰⁹ Pearl River County, the seat of the tung industry, lost 100% of its acreage and other areas fared little better. Growers could have replanted but given foreign competition, cheaper synthetics, and decades of frustration,

¹⁰⁴ Hollis, 15.

¹⁰⁵ *Polk County: The Heart of Florida* (Fort Lauderdale: Copperfield Publications, Inc., 2004), 45, 92; and Louise K. Frisbie, *Yesterday's Polk County* (Miami: E. A. Seeman Publishing, Inc., 1976), 105, 108; Wilson, 45; and Mormino, 110, 249.

¹⁰⁶ Mormino, 112, 119; and Wilson, 22-24.

¹⁰⁷ Mormino, 119, 95.

¹⁰⁸ Roy Reed, "On Gulf Coast, Storm's Scars are Still Vivid," *New York Times*, September 12, 1969. See also, "General Information Pertaining to The Agricultural Economy of Pearl River County," Box 10, Folder 10, Camille; and "ATOA and Mississippi Pecan Growers Association to Richard Sullivan, Box 10, Folder 10, Camille, ATOI, MLA, USM; Dan Ellis, *All About Camille* (Pass Christian: Dan Ellis, 2000), 3; "Hurricane Camille, 1969," *TIME Magazine*, May 11, 2011, 202; "Tides Begin to Rise," Aug. 17, 1969, *The Daily Herald, The Story of Hurricane Camille* (Gulfport: Gulf Publishing, 1969); Stefan Bechtel, *Roar of the Heavens* (New York: Citadel Press, 2006), 250; and Ernest Zebrowski and Judith A. Howard, *Category 5: The Story of Camille: Lessons Unlearned from America's Most Violent Hurricane* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

¹⁰⁹ Roy Reed, "On Gulf Coast, Storm's Scars are Still Vivid," *New York Times*, September 12, 1969.

many had become disgusted with the tung industry and deemed the hurricane the last straw. Others believed Camille had done them a favor by finally forcing them to choose a more profitable, dependable agricultural venture. When the USDA ceased price supports, the handful of remaining tung growers turned their attentions elsewhere.¹¹⁰

By the late 1970s, the days of tung queens had long since ended. Tung tours had ceased, and the Picayune Memorial High School Band had replaced their tung blossom logo with Saturn Rockets.¹¹¹ Newspaper coverage, what little took place, no longer spoke of tung in glorifying terms. Instead, the tone frequently proved either detached or nostalgic. In 1977, an article in the *Times-Picayune* simply described tung as “over.”¹¹² The following year, the *Times-Picayune* ran an article commenting that Picayune had finally taken down its sign “Tung Oil Capital of the World.” One of its journalists said somewhat regretfully that the tung industry had “simply faded away” and been replaced by other, more productive Sunbelt industries like chemicals, steel, paints, forest products, fertilizers, farm machinery, tourism, and space and military defense facilities across the Gulf Coast.¹¹³ Agribusiness had dominated agriculture with the number and size of farms in the country changing from 5.7 million farms of about 178 acres each in 1900 to 2.5 million farms of 415 acres each in 1978.¹¹⁴ The domestic tung oil industry, due to a combination of freezes, hurricanes, parity payments, foreign competition, acrylic paints, and cheaper oilseeds, had ended, but tung oil and tung trees remained a part of life.

Reminders of the tung oil industry continued in the minds of former growers and their children. Many like Louis Chenel had nothing but

¹¹⁰ County Supervisor, FHA, Poplarville, Mississippi, to State Director, FHA, Jackson, Mississippi, August 27, 1969, Box 10, Folder 10, Camille, ATOI, MLA, USM; *Mississippi Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Newsletter* no. 73 (Aug. 27, 1969); Pierre Livaudais, interviewed by author, July 10, 2012, tape recording; Denise Chenel Daughtry, interviewed by author, October 11, 2012, tape recording; and L.O. Crosby, Jr., interviewed by Dr. Orley B. Caudill, November 5, 1974, transcript, the Mississippi Oral History Program of The University of Southern Mississippi, vol. 155 (1980), The Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage, McCain Library and Archives, The University of Southern Mississippi.

¹¹¹ Newman, 211.

¹¹² “Something Old and Something New in Covington,” *Times-Picayune*, July 24, 1977.

¹¹³ Stella Pitts, Picayune, Miss., Once Capital of Thriving Tung Oil Industry,” *Times Picayune*, February 26, 1978.

¹¹⁴ Donald Worster, *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 89-90.

poor opinions of tung trees after the industry ceased. According to his daughter Denise Daughtry, “So the end of the story is my father whining and complaining about how the tung industry was horrible and terrible” and that “he wasted twenty years of his life on this.”¹¹⁵ For her part, Daughtry said, “I planted one in New Orleans and I thought it was a beautiful tree . . . because it reminded me of the good old days even though my father . . . went, ‘Aghh, be gone Satan’” every time he saw it.¹¹⁶ Money Hill owners David and Sally Goodyear mulled over making a comeback but decided otherwise. According to Mrs. Goodyear, “We had a consultant come down and we asked what should we grow and he said houses.”¹¹⁷ They took his advice and turned their focus to housing development but never forgot the “happy memories” of their tung past.¹¹⁸ Similarly, the L. O. Crosby, Jr., family maintained good memories of tung trees or as a son-in-law called them, ‘pink centered dogwoods.’¹¹⁹ Mementos of the industry could also be seen in newspapers, magazines, and manufacturing.

As early as 1974, the *Mobile Register* answered a reader’s request to identify a leaf from a tree he did not recognize, and the newspaper columnist identified it as tung.¹²⁰ In 1980, the same paper published a poem called “Tremendous Gifts of God” that mentioned tung.¹²¹ In 1985, a *Kiplinger’s Magazine* article mentioned tung trees.¹²² Paint and varnish, linoleum, and ink manufacturers among others kept purchasing tung oil, albeit to a lesser extent, from China, Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, Africa, and India.¹²³ Many coastal companies like Var Tung Coatings, Inc., in Picayune, and Tung Oil, LLC in Ocala, Florida, and Hammond Tung Oil Partnership, in Hammond, Louisiana,

¹¹⁵ Daughtry interview.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Goodyear interview. See also, “Goodyear Clan Has High Hopes for Money Hill,” *Times-Picayune*, Aug. 13, 1988, p. 82.

¹¹⁸ Goodyear interview.

¹¹⁹ Gammill interview.

¹²⁰ “Grow A Bloomin’ Thing by Bob Green,” *Mobile Register*, September 26, 1974, p. 56.

¹²¹ Bettye H. Brown, “Tremendous Gifts of God!” *Mobile Register*, June 8, 1980, p. 118.

¹²² “At Home: The Natural Beauty of Tung Oil,” *The Kiplinger Magazine: Changing Times* 39, no. 1 (Jan. 1985), 12.

¹²³ On India, see, Rashtra Vardhana, *Floristic Plants of the World* vol. 1 (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2006), 46. On Brazil, see, for example, Ellen Bromfield Geld, *View from Fazenda: Tale of Brazilian Heartlands* (Ohio University Press, 2003), 8.

however, depended heavily on tung oil.¹²⁴ Even non-southern businesses like Formby's Company in Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, maintained significant interest but due to high costs, often mixed tung oil with alkyds, phenolic resins, or other oilseeds.¹²⁵ The ink industry had become an even more important consumer market for tung.¹²⁶ Since the banning of DDT (dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane) in 1972, U.S. pesticide companies continued to seek effective replacements less harmful to the environment, and tung oil incited some interests.¹²⁷ While many such businesses deemed the eleostearic acid in tung oil too unpredictable and inflammable to be the base of a pesticide, Bio-System Research, Inc., in Colorado wanted to market tung oil as a boll weevil deterrent because one spray could keep bugs away for several weeks to a month.¹²⁸ Even though competition from alkyds, cellulose, phenol-formaldehyde resins, and other oilseeds abounded, tung uses multiplied, and revival efforts ensued.

Attempts to Revive the Tung Industry

In the early 1990s two men tried to reestablish the domestic tung oil industry. New York tung importer Blake Hanson, owner of Industrial Oil Products in Woodbury, New York, and John Corley, saw several reasons for bringing back tung cultivation. Chinese and Argentine import levels had dropped because the price, while still twice as much or more above that of other oilseeds, had dropped to

¹²⁴ On Var Tung Coatings, Inc., see, <https://business.sos.state.ms.us/corp/soskb/Corp.asp?127686>; and (<https://business.sos.state.ms.us/corp/soskb/Corp.asp?20682>). On Tung Oil, LLC, see (http://www.sunbiz.org/scripts/cordet.exe?action=DETFIL&inq_doc_number=L05000117989&inq_came_from=NAMFWD&cor_web_names_seq_number=0000&names_name_ind=N&names_cor_number=&names_name_seq=&names_name_ind=&names_comp_name=TUNGOIL&names_filing_type=). On Hammond Tung Oil Partnership, LTD, see http://www.secstates.com/LA_Louisiana_Secretary_of_State_Corporation_Search/.

¹²⁵ A. J. Hand, "An Expert's Guide," *Popular Science* 227, no. 2 (Aug. 1985), 94.

¹²⁶ James A. Duke and Judith L. duCellier, *CRC Handbook of Alternative Cash Crops* (CRC Press, 1993), 264.

¹²⁷ On DDT, see, for example, Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002), 20-30.

¹²⁸ Earl Aronson, "The Weeders Guide," *Mobile Register*, April 10, 1983, 30; and M. Jacobson and M. M. Crystal, "Effectiveness of Several Polyunsaturated Seed Oils as Boll Weevil Feeding Deterrents," *The Journal of American Oil Chemists' Society* 58, no. 11 (Nov 1981), 982. Tung oil was also seen as a potential pesticide for termites. See, <http://www.msacad.org/journal/julyjournal/rachel.html>.

sixty cents a pound. They hoped that U.S. production could help to stabilize the fluctuating price of tung. Chinese and Latin American tung production was hampered by farm labor issues and fertilizer costs. Most South American trees had aged to almost forty, the end of a lifespan for a tung tree, and only one of Argentina's eight tung mills still extracted oil.¹²⁹ Corley and Hanson predicted earning anywhere from sixty to seventy cents a pound and making \$200 an acre per year.¹³⁰ In addition, they thought that improved cultivation practices and better farm machinery would modernize the tung oil industry and cement its role as a domestic crop.¹³¹ The Clean Air Act Amendment of 1990 prohibited Volatile Organic Compounds (VOC), an action which made tung, an oil that dried chemically rather than releasing anything negative into the environment, an appealing alternative to oils that did emit VOCs.¹³² Corley believed a ready market existed, and tung oil remained "the Cadillac of vegetable oils."¹³³ Hanson envisioned tung oil as "an agricultural industry for the 21st century."¹³⁴ With all this in mind, on November 18, 1992, Hanson formed the American Tung Oil Corporation in Lumberton, Mississippi.¹³⁵

On November 3, 1993, Hanson went to Pearl River Community College in Poplarville to discuss his plan for roughly 5,000-10,000 acres in southern Mississippi, enough to support a tung oil mill, with potential growers.¹³⁶ Industries continued to seek tung oil, and in 1994, of the 9.3 million pounds of imported tung oil consumed, the bulk went to resins, inks, and plastics, while only 13% went to paint and varnish. Hanson and Corley understood that the consumer markets of

¹²⁹ Courtney Carter, Lisa House, and Randy Little, "Tung Oil: A Revival," *Review of Agricultural Economics* 20, no. 2 (Autumn-Winter 1998): 669-670.

¹³⁰ Patrick Peterson, "Company in Market for New Tung Oil Orchards in Mississippi," *The Sun Herald* (Biloxi), November 3, 1998.

¹³¹ <https://business.sos.state.ms.us/corp/soskb/Corp.asp?194774>.

¹³² Carter, 670; and "Crambe, Industrial Rapeseed, and Tung Provide Valuable Oils," <http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/ius6/ius6c.pdf>, p. 20.

¹³³ Patrick Peterson, "Company in the Market for New Tung Oil Orchards in Mississippi," *The Sun Herald* (Biloxi), November 3, 1998.

¹³⁴ "Stage Set for Revival of Mississippi Industry," *MAFES Research Highlights* 59, no. 5 (Fall 1996), 13.

¹³⁵ "Crambe, Industrial Rapeseed, and Tung Provide Valuable Oils," <http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/ius6/ius6c.pdf>, p. 20.

¹³⁶ "Tung Oil Potential Returns to Mississippi," *Waycross Journal-Herald*, December 20, 1993; and Patrick Peterson, "Company in market for New Tung Oil Orchards in Mississippi," *The Sun Herald* (Biloxi), November 3, 1998.

tung had shifted dramatically but knew demand persisted.¹³⁷ In just a few years, the American Tung Oil Corporation advised and planned orchards and milled for roughly fifteen growers in Lumberton.

Combined, these men had only 1,000 acres of tung and had formed the American Tung Growers Association (ATGA) but had problems attracting participants. Tung appealed as a niche market and helped maximize land utilization in fields and pastures through intercropping.¹³⁸ The ATGA president, Bernard DeSantis, a retired FBI agent who had twenty-five acres of tung near Poplarville, perceived it as a way to express conservationism.¹³⁹ This sentiment, along with heightened environmentalism, added yet another incentive. Hanson knew that environmental concerns had many manufacturers replacing petrochemicals and other various ingredients in varnishes and inks which they deemed hazardous to the ozone layer.¹⁴⁰ Because tung did not dry through evaporation, it did not release pollutants into the environment.¹⁴¹ The push for biodegradables also provided a potential avenue for tung in plastics.¹⁴² Tung growers also had the blessing of some former tung industry figureheads like W. W. Kilby, former superintendent of the Mississippi Branch Experiment Station in Poplarville, who said, "The tung industry may never be as important

¹³⁷ "Crambe, Industrial Rapeseed, and Tung Provide Valuable Oils," <http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/ius6/ius6c.pdf>, p. 20.

¹³⁸ On niche farming, see, for example, Ronald Jager, *The Fate of Family Farming: Variations of an American Idea* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2004), 231. On planting trees in pastures and fields, see, for example, Richard J. Hobbs and Viki A. Cramer, "Why Old Fields? Socioeconomics and Ecological Causes and Consequences of Land Abandonment," in *Old Fields: Dynamic and Restoration of Abandoned Farmland*, ed. Viki A. Cramer and Richard J. Hobbs (Washington: Island Press, 2007), 1. On diversification, see, for example, Helena Norbert-Hodge, Peter Goering, and John Page, *From the Ground Up: Rethinking Industrial Agriculture* (New York: Zed Books, 1993, revised 2001), 55; and Paul A. Wojtkowski, *Agroecological Economies: Sustainability and Biodiversity* (New York: Elsevier, Inc., 2008), 18.

¹³⁹ Patrick Peterson, "Company in Market for New Tung Oil Orchards in Mississippi," *The Sun Herald* (Biloxi), November 3, 1998.

¹⁴⁰ "Tung Oil Demand May Restore State Industry," *Clarion Ledger*, December 1, 1996.

¹⁴¹ Alec J. Jarvis, "Paraguayan Tung (*Aleurites fordii* Hemsl.): An Important Small Farmer Crop Diversification Strategy" (M.A., Michigan Technological University, 2002), 35.

¹⁴² E. S. Stevens, *Green Plastics: An Introduction to the New Science of Biodegradable Plastics* (Princeton University Press, 2001), 97.

economically as it was in its heyday, but it sure could be a boost.”¹⁴³ Despite the enthusiasm, reestablishing the industry proved fraught with problems.

Hanson and Corley had difficulties getting sufficient support for their new tung enterprise. Labor shortages, USDA indifference, and less expensive oilseeds hampered progress. Tung trees remained confined to the Gulf Coast where land prices had skyrocketed due to tourism. Many consumers scoffed at the supposed superiority of tung oil because tung varnishes required up to six layers to acquire smoothness and peeled more often than other oilseed varnishes.¹⁴⁴ The refusal of local farmers to adopt tung as a crop proved especially crippling. The majority of former growers had negative memories, and most of the members of the younger generations did not recognize the tree and thought “tung oil is mutilating animals’ tongues.”¹⁴⁵ Those who did know of tung equated it with poison or with the pains of harvesting.¹⁴⁶ Most of the individuals who did embrace the new infant industry knew little about farming and even less about tung. Worse, the mill at the old Tung Ridge Ranch near Poplarville, Mississippi, needed 5,000-8,000 acres to function and the sum total of acreage by tung growers amounted to a mere 1,000 acres. Finding pickers to gather the tung nuts presented a challenge while mechanical harvesters borrowed from the walnut and pistachio industries frequently picked up rocks. Obstacles aside, the first crushing took place in 1998. What little oil the mill processed that year and in the years that followed went mainly to resin companies along the Gulf and to large manufacturers in Chicago and Japan.¹⁴⁷

Hanson and Corley continued operating their American Tung Oil Corporation until August 29, 2005, when Hurricane Katrina, the worst hurricane since Camille, reached the Mississippi coast. Orchard

¹⁴³ “Tung Oil Demand May Restore State Industry,” *Clarion Ledger*, December 1, 1996.

¹⁴⁴ Bob Flexner, “Oil Finishes: Four Different Types with Different Characteristics,” *American Woodworker*, no. 28 (Oct. 1992), 48; and “Oil Finishes: Myths and Misunderstandings,” *American Woodworker*, no. 28 (Oct. 1992), 51.

¹⁴⁵ John Corley, interviewed by author, April 3, 2012, tape recording.

¹⁴⁶ On poison fears, see, for example, W. R. Horne, “Tung Nuts are Toxic,” *American Woodworker*, no. 39 (Aug. 1994), 4.

¹⁴⁷ Corley interview; and “Crambe, Industrial Rapeseed, and Tung Provide Valuable Oils,” <http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/ius6/ius6c.pdf>, p. 20.

damages warranted replanting, but Hanson and Corley did not want to expend funds on a new nursery and then to wait three years for a harvest when more profitable crop avenues existed. To this day, the company has 3,000 tung trees, but no longer harvests the nuts. Corley, for one, thinks tung trees would make great shade trees for cattle but does not foresee the creation of a new domestic tung oil industry. In his words, "Any time an industry completely leaves a country, it is extremely difficult to bring that industry back."¹⁴⁸ This attempt may have failed, but yet another endeavor to restart the tung industry is underway but this time in Florida.

In 2010, Gregory A. Frost, executive services director of the Tallahassee, Florida, Police Department, and his wife Maureen decided to grow tung. After years of watching their children play ball with the nuts of a tung tree in their yard, they sought ways to produce their own tung oil for furniture varnishes. The two did some investigating and quickly discovered the rich history of domestic tung tree production, wondered about modern feasibility, and outlined four reasons for initiating plantings. First, the original domestic tung oil industry began in Tallahassee so the tree had local roots. Second, they saw tung oil as a green product that would mesh nicely with the environmental movement. Third, they believed consumption of domestic tung oil fit nicely with the "Made in America" movement. Fourth, countless companies applied tung oil in an array of products while other uses remained undiscovered.¹⁴⁹ After forming Gulf Coast Tung Oil, LLC in 2011, the couple began planting. They currently have some fifty acres of tung trees in Jefferson and Leon Counties.¹⁵⁰ Domestic companies like Sutherland Welles have agreed to buy any tung oil the Frosts produce.¹⁵¹

Tung as Crop or Invasive Plant

Aside from visionaries like Hanson, Corley, and Frost, most coastal residents considered the tung tree a pest. In the words of Corley, the

¹⁴⁸ Corley interview.

¹⁴⁹ Greg Frost, interviewed by author, July 18, 2012, tape recording.

¹⁵⁰ Lazaro Aleman, "Why the Tung Oil Industry Might be Making a Comeback," *850 Magazine* (Oct-Nov 2014), <http://www.850businessmagazine.com/October-November-2014/Why-The-Tung-Oil-Industry-Might-Be-Making-a-Comeback/>.

¹⁵¹ Frost interview.

tung tree, commonly growing in ditches and along fences and roads, was seen as a “plant out of place.”¹⁵² The 1974 Noxious Weed Act let the USDA control exotic plants and allowed the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Center (APHIS) to monitor forbidden or unwanted plants. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter passed Executive Order 11987 for the purposes of supervising foreign plants, but funding problems prevented it from becoming particularly efficient.¹⁵³ In 1999, tung came under the scrutiny of President Bill Clinton’s National Invasive Species Council (NISIC).¹⁵⁴ By the mid-2000s, for example, tung had become a Florida Exotic Pest Plant Council (FLEPPC) Category II invasive species meaning it had increased in number but had not yet caused any ecological damage.¹⁵⁵ Unlike kudzu, a plant introduced in 1876 to address erosion concerns and soon referred to as the ‘vine that ate the South,’ tung trees did not do that much damage and helped prevent erosion.¹⁵⁶ While some saw the tung tree as a “novelty,” others saw no redeeming value.¹⁵⁷

The bulk of negativity directed toward tung trees dealt mainly with their tendency to multiply wildly, compete with native plants, and produce poisonous nuts. Some landscapers recommended tung for their beauty.¹⁵⁸ Others saw them as blights.¹⁵⁹ The aesthetic value of tung plants did little to dissuade landowners in northern Florida from removing wild trees, which were common. As a matter of fact, between 1993 and 1995, about 900 tung trees were eradicated from

¹⁵² John Corley, interviewed by author, April 26, 2011, tape recording. On tung still seen in ditches and along roadsides, see, for example, Latimore Smith, “The Legendary Longleaf Pine Forests of the Florida Parishes: Historic Character and Change at the Hand of Man,” in *Fierce and Factious Frontier: The Curious Development of Louisiana’s Florida Parishes, 1699-2000*, edited by Sam C. Hyde (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2004), 151.

¹⁵³ Philip J. Pauly, *Fruits and Plains: The Horticultural Transformation of America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 240.

¹⁵⁴ Pauly, 243, 246.

¹⁵⁵ Karen Brown and William Keeler, “The History of Tung Oil,” *Wildland Weeds* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2005), 6.

¹⁵⁶ Megan Friedman, “Kudzu,” *TIME*, February 2, 2010.

¹⁵⁷ George H. Dukes, Jr., *Trees of Mississippi and Other Woody Plants* (Brandon, MS: Poplar Petal Publishing Company, 1997), 184.

¹⁵⁸ *Trees for Louisiana Landscapes: A Handbook*, LSU Agricultural Center, 1996, 58.

¹⁵⁹ Neil Odenwald and James Turner, *Identification Selection and Use of Southern Plants for Landscape Design* (Baton Rouge: Claitor’s Publishing Division, 1987), 22.

the Lake Jackson Mounds State Archeological Site near Tallahassee.¹⁶⁰ A book titled *Edible and Useful Plants of Texas and the Southwest* claimed that every single part of a tung tree contained poison.¹⁶¹ An issue of *Louisiana Wildlife News* reported that because of its toxic nature, “tung-oil has no wildlife value and should even be eradicated where cattle and other livestock are grazed . . .” and “the ingestion of a single seed by humans can be fatal.”¹⁶² Quite the contrary, it proved common for tung growers to have livestock in their orchards to better utilize land and provide shade and tung ingestion research revealed no fatalities, just illnesses so this argument lacked foundation. Nevertheless, gardener Harriet Daggett wrote upon discovering this potentially dangerous side to tung, “I am not as enamored with this tree as I once was and may condemn it to the trash heap . . . better to be safe than sorry.”¹⁶³ Given that poisonous plants like oleander, angel trumpets, mountain laurels, and azaleas abounded, this aversion seems unfounded. In addition, the occasional sterile tung tree grew large and lush and did not produce nuts so it posed less of a concern.¹⁶⁴ For the most part, however, tung remained something of a pariah while receiving its share of positive advertising.

Remnants of Tung Culture

Tung trees sometimes received mention in many types of books. Gaye Gompers mentioned the former profitability of domestic tung in her biography *The Laughing Grandmother!: (Princess Moonfeather—Cherokee Indian)* and Jeanette Dyess Ryan talked of tung nut gathering

¹⁶⁰ K. A. Langeland, H. M. Cherry, C. M. McCormick, and K. A. Craddock Burks, *Identification and Biology of Nonnative Plants in Florida's Natural Areas—Second Edition* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2008), 69.

¹⁶¹ Delena Tull, *Edible and Useful Plants of Texas and the Southwest* (University of Texas, 2003, 2nd edition, 1st 1987), 285.

¹⁶² “Plant Species Profile: Tung-oil Tree (*Aleurites fordii*),” *Louisiana Wildlife News* 5, no. 3 (May 2010), 4.

¹⁶³ Harriet Daggett, “Tung Tree—beautiful but dangerous,” *The Seedling: Newsletter of the Northwest Louisiana Master Gardeners Association* 13, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2010), 4.

¹⁶⁴ T. A. Rinehart, N. C. Edwards, Jr., A. L. Witcher, “Lack of Tung Nut Production in a Potentially Sterile, Late-Flowering Ornamental Tung Oil Tree (*Aleurites fordii*),” *Southern Region American Society for Horticultural Science*, Feb. 6-8, 2010, Orlando, Florida.

in *Dreams of a Farmer's Wife*.¹⁶⁵ The uses of tung oil, the beauty of tung blossoms, and the decline of the domestic industry are mentioned in novels like *The Old Man Down the Road* by Ken Hall, Jr., and *A Tinker's Damn: A Novel* by Darryl Wimberley.¹⁶⁶ Others, like Julie Hecht's *Do The Windows Open*, talk vividly of modern tung oil usage in houses.¹⁶⁷ Tung in other countries is mentioned in John Saintsbury's biography *A Man in Many Streets*, Herbert L. Way's *Round the World for Gold: A Search for Minerals from Kansas to Cathay*, Norman Kerr's novel *The Gunsmith: A Novel*, and the historical fiction work *Vestal Virgin: Suspense in Ancient Rome* by Suzanne Tyrpak.¹⁶⁸ Literature is only one of many ways in which tung continues to touch the lives of Americans.

Residents of the Gulf Coast do not have to look far to see reminders of tung. Street and road names with the word tung are plentiful.¹⁶⁹ Picayune, Mississippi, now embraces its connection to tung by holding a yearly Tung Blossom Festival and 5-K Blossom Run.¹⁷⁰ Former tung plantations now provide the grounds for the Money Hill Golf and Country Club (Covington, Louisiana), the Merrywood Estates housing development, and Normandy House Bed & Breakfast (both part of the Normandy Plantation in Folsom, Louisiana). The WPA Tung Oil mural is still on display in the old Covington Post Office which is now the St. Tammany Parish School Board District Annex, and a copy hangs in the

¹⁶⁵ Gaye Gompers, *The Laughing Grandmother!: (Princess Moonfeather—Cherokee Indian)* (Author House, 2006), 433; and Jeanette Dyess Ryan, *Dreams of a Farmer's Wife* (iUniverse, 2011), 101, 112.

¹⁶⁶ Ken Hall, Jr., *The Old Man Down the Road* (Author House, 2011), 39; and Darryl Wimberley, *A Tinker's Damn* (Toby Press, 2007), 54.

¹⁶⁷ Julie Hecht, *Do The Windows Open?* (Penguin, 1998), 202-211.

¹⁶⁸ John Saintsbury, *A Man in Many Streets* (Author House, 2007), 58-63; Herbert L. Way, *Round the World for Gold: A Search for Minerals from Kansas to Cathay* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, LTD, 1912), 282; Norman Kerr, *The Gunsmith: A Novel* (Trafford, 2009), 52, 53, 108, 110; and Suzanne Tyrpak, *Vestal Virgin: Suspense in Ancient Rome* (Create Space, 2011), 190-191, 299.

¹⁶⁹ Tung Oil Road, Leakesville, Mississippi; Tung Tree Drive, Picayune, Mississippi; Tung Tree Drive, Lumberton, Mississippi; Tung Street, Richton, Mississippi; Tung Oil Grove Road, Bogalusa, Louisiana; Tung Road, Bogalusa, Louisiana; Tung Oil Road, Florala, Alabama; Tung Avenue North, Theodore, Alabama; Tung Avenue West, Theodore, Alabama; Tung Grove Road, Tallahassee, Florida; and Tung Hill Drive, Tallahassee, Florida. Based on Google Maps.

¹⁷⁰ "Street Festivals," Picayune Main Street, accessed 2015, <https://picayunemain-street.com/festivals/>.

Money Hill Golf and Country Club. Tung is used as a yard decoration and can be purchased online or from private vendors specializing in exotic plants. Since 2008, some tung trees can be seen in the Smoky Mountain National Park in Tennessee.¹⁷¹ While it might be said that tung is largely forgotten, evidence of its contributions to the past and present are there for those who look, and its cultural relevance is unquestionable.

Today tung oil continues to hold a place in American life. Tung oil is still used to line tin cans, as glue in marine plywood, in magazine gloss, paints and varnishes used on furniture, houses, seagoing vessels, and caskets. Synthetic lacquers have come to dominate the paint and varnish industry, but tung oil maintains a role.¹⁷² Tung oil like Formby's Tung Oil and Waterlox Original Tung Oil can be found anywhere from Lowe's and Home Depot to Amazon and Ebay. Some varnish companies stress tung in advertisements when their products are primarily composed of less expensive linseed oil.¹⁷³ More importantly, the federal government uses tung oil in inks on paper currency.¹⁷⁴ In this way, perhaps more than any other, every single American is connected to tung oil. Given the growth of the environmental movement in recent years, many producers of tung varnishes have started to promote their organic product as an environmentally safe choice.¹⁷⁵ Pharmaceutical advances included discoveries that the conjugated fatty acids in tung oil aided the immune system and might even be used as a cancer preventative.¹⁷⁶ Louisiana State University and Mississippi State

¹⁷¹ Langeland, 69.

¹⁷² Fred Cottrell, *Energy and Society: The Relation Between Energy, Social Change, and Economic Development* (Author House, 2009), 405.

¹⁷³ Corley interview, April 26, 2011; and Ching T. Hou and Jei-Fu Shaw, ed., *Biocatalysis and Agricultural Biotechnology* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2009), 21.

¹⁷⁴ "History of Tung Oil: The Key to the Waterlox Products of Today" <http://www.waterlox.com/uploads/docs/Tung-oil-hotlink-story-REVISED-2.pdf>; and "Tung Oil as Hardwood Floor Finish: Introduction," <http://lesstoxicstuff.com/2011/07/hardwood-floor-finish-tung-oil-and-my-personal-experience-with-it/>.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, "How Sustainable are Reclaimed Building Materials?" www.greenBuilder360.com.

¹⁷⁶ Fuquiang Tang, John M. Dyer, Alan R. Lax, Ding S. Shih, Dorselyn C. Chapital, and Armand B. Pepperman, "Nucleotide Sequence of a cDNA Clone for Omega-3 Fatty Acid Desaturase (Accession no. A061027) from "Aleurites Fordii Seeds," *Plant Physiology* 119, p.364. People allergic to nuts might be affected by tung oil varnishes "Frequently Asked Questions," <http://www.waterlox.com/project-help/faqshow.aspx?faqid=20>.

University began experimenting with tung oil as a biodiesel/biofuel.¹⁷⁷ Due to its acidity and tendency to ignite, it does not fare well alone but performs satisfactorily in biodiesel mixtures.¹⁷⁸ Some scientists are even attempting to duplicate tung oil qualities in non-toxic, cheaper, and more productive crops like soybeans through biogenetics.¹⁷⁹ With all of these avenues, tung oil will continue to attract experimentation and as such, may play a greater role in years to come.

“The crop that was” description of tung in *Alabama Heritage* encapsulated the rise and fall of the former industry in four words, but recent events beg the question “or was it?”¹⁸⁰ Facing foreign competition, alternative oilseeds, and synthetic oilseeds, tung oil struggles in a competitive market. Tung may be grown as a niche crop, but large-scale production is unlikely. Even so, as long as there are men like Hanson and Frost, the notion of a new and improved domestic tung oil industry will persist.¹⁸¹ Tung trees can still be found throughout the Gulf Coast and have even spread to northern counties of gulf states and as far north as Tennessee.¹⁸² Many might condemn tung trees as an invasive species but in a globalized world, the very notion of ‘nativeness,’ according to *TIME*, might be “becoming

¹⁷⁷ On Louisiana, see <http://www.lsuagcenter.com/NR/rdonlyres/78689161-0E15-406F-B605-B827B7D06ABE/62115/BioenergyResearchin20092.pdf>. On tung oil as a biodiesel, see also, Ahindra Nag, *Biofuels Refining and Performance* (McGraw-Hill Professional, 2007), 137-140.

¹⁷⁸ On tung as a biofuel, see, for example, Sylvain-Didier Kouame, *Biodiesel* (CreateSpace, 2010), 11-12. See also, Ji-Yeon Park, Deog-Keun Kim, Zhong-Ming Wang, Pengmei Lu, Soon Chul Park, and Jin-Suk Lee, “Production and Characterization of Biodiesel from Tung Oil,” *Applied Biochemistry and Biotechnology* 148, no. 1-3 (2008): 110, 117.

¹⁷⁹ “Tung Twister: Powerful Enzymes from Tung Trees Could Turn Plants into Oil-Producing Marvels,” <http://www.ars.usda.gov/is/AR/archive/aug07/tung0807.htm?pf=1>; and John M. Dyer and Robert T. Mullen, “Engineering Plant Oils as High-Value Industrial Feedstock for Biorefining: The Need for Underpinning Cell Biology Research,” *Physiologia Plantarum* 132 (2008), 14.

¹⁸⁰ Davenport, 53.

¹⁸¹ “Startups Making the Most of Training Series,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, August 21, 2011.

¹⁸² For other recent scholarship on the tung industry, see, Jeffrey B. Robb and Paul D. Travis, “The Rise and Fall of the Texas Tung Oil Industry,” *East Texas Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2013), 86-96; and Jeffrey B. Robb and Paul D. Travis, “The Rise and Fall of the Tung Oil Industry,” *Forest History Today* 19, nos. 1 & 2 (Spring/Fall 2013), 14-22. For counties in which tung trees are still found, see, <http://www.invasiveplantatlas.org/subject.html?sub=6592#maps>.

an oxymoron.”¹⁸³ Others might agree with *Down South* writer Evelyn Reid Griffith who once wrote, “So in the Deep South, looking through the clouds of blossoms in the spring, we like to think that oil is flowing from the trees.”¹⁸⁴ Whether or not the domestic tung oil industry makes a vibrant comeback, the tung tree has become an inherent part of the environment and is here to stay.

¹⁸³ Bryan Walsh, “In a Globalized World, Are Invasive Species a Thing of the Past?” *TIME*, June 14, 2011.

¹⁸⁴ Evelyn Reid Griffith, “Pink Clouds in Dixie,” *Down South* (Mar.-Apr. 1957), 25.

Awards Presented at the 2015 Mississippi Historical Society Annual Meeting



Aram Goudsouzian, left, from the University of Memphis, receives the 2015 McLemore Prize from committee member Robert Flegler, a historian and faculty member at the University of Mississippi-DeSoto in Southaven.

The Mississippi Historical Society honored groups and individuals for achievements in the field of Mississippi history at its annual meeting March 5-7, 2015, in Corinth.

Rosemary Taylor Williams of Corinth received the Dunbar Rowland Award for her lifelong contributions to the preservation, study, and interpretation of Mississippi history. Williams served on the board of directors of the Civil War Trust, a national organization that has led the way in protecting and preserving Civil War battlefields. As chair of the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission since 1993, Williams led the way in establishing and funding the Corinth Civil

War Interpretive Center, a unit of the Shiloh National Military Park. She played a key role in the preservation of historic sites in the area, including the Civil War contraband camp, Oak Home, the Coliseum Civic Center, and many others. Williams served on the MDAH board of trustees for twenty years.

The McLemore Prize, the society's award for the best Mississippi history book of 2014, went to Aram Goudsouzian, University of Memphis, for his work *Down to the Crossroads Civil Rights, Black Power, and the Meredith March Against Fear* published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux. "In graphic and masterful prose, Aram Goudsouzian depicts the watershed moments of the Meredith March Against Fear from Memphis to Jackson in pursuit of black voters' rights," said Joyce L. Broussard, McLemore Prize committee chair. "He shines a new light on the heretofore little-told tale of the fitful transition in the Civil Rights Movement's leadership and politics from an era of relatively peaceful, non-resistant methods (as personified by the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr.) to a more militant stance and posture within the crusade as epitomized by Stokely Carmichael and the emerging Black Power movement. In essence, *Down to the Crossroads* is the genesis of that unfolding and fateful story."

Michael Vinson Williams, dean of social sciences, Tougaloo College, received the Willie D. Halsell Prize for the best article in the *Journal of Mississippi History* for his submission "With Determination and Fortitude We Come to Vote: Black Organization and Resistance to Voter Suppression in Mississippi."

The Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award was presented to the Veterans of the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement, Inc., for the organization's exemplary oral history program involving individuals who were active in the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi.

Jane Sullivan, Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College at Perkinston, received the inaugural William Edward "Bill" Atkinson Mississippi Civil War History Award for her research on the former residents of the Jefferson Davis Confederate Veterans Home who are buried in the Beauvoir Cemetery in Biloxi.

Awards of merit were presented to Thomas E. Parson of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center and Steven H. Stubbs of Philadelphia. Organizations receiving Awards of Merit included the

Alcorn County Genealogical Society, Brice's Crossroads National Battlefield Commission, the Natchez Trace Parkway, Oktibbeha County Board of Supervisors, City of Starkville, Unity Park Committee of Oktibbeha County, Preserve Marshall County & Holly Springs, Inc., Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, Tishomingo County Historical & Genealogical Society, Tippah County Historical & Genealogical Society, Tippah County Development Foundation, and the Tippah County Board of Supervisors.

<http://www.mdah.ms.gov/new/news/mhs-award-annual-history-prizes/>

Program of the 2015 Mississippi Historical Society Annual Meeting

*by Timothy B. Smith,
2015 MHS Program Committee Chair*

The Mississippi Historical Society held its annual meeting March 5-7, 2015, in Corinth, Mississippi. In observance of the sesquicentennial of the Civil War, the program had as its theme “North Mississippi in the Civil War.” Unfortunately, for the first time in modern memory, bad weather affected the annual meeting, delaying members arriving and necessitating some speakers to cancel their travel plans altogether. Still, the meeting provided a thorough investigation of north Mississippi in the tumultuous war years between 1861 and 1865.

Registration began at the Hampton Inn in Corinth on Thursday afternoon, March 5, along with a meeting of the Federation of Mississippi Historical Societies. A welcome reception, sponsored by the Corinth Area Convention and Visitor’s Bureau, was held at the Coliseum Civic Center, followed by the Society’s board of directors dinner meeting at Vicari restaurant in downtown Corinth.

The actual program began on the morning of March 6. Following a meeting of *The Journal of Mississippi History* staff and Board of Publications, members gathered at the Weaver Center, where President Ann Atkinson Simmons opened the annual meeting. Newly arrived Shiloh National Military Park superintendent Dale Wilkerson joined Mrs. Simmons in welcoming the Society.

The first session focusing on Corinth in the Civil War was to be chaired by Aubrey K. Lucas, president emeritus, the University of Southern Mississippi, but he was unable to attend, as was one of the first session speakers, Todd Sanders of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Program chairman Tim Smith introduced Tom Parson of the Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center, a unit of the National Park Service’s Shiloh National Military Park, who presented “Corinth Civilians in the Civil War.” After a short break, more adaptation was in hand as second session chair Terry Winschel was also unable to attend due to the weather. Mike Ballard, recently retired from Mississippi State University, was likewise unable to

attend, but program chair Smith presided over the session focusing on the military operations in north Mississippi. Jim Woodrick of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History presented "Perfectly Satisfied to Die': Capt. Absalom Dantzler and the Battle of Corinth." Afterward, Tom Cockrell of Northeast Mississippi Community College presented "Unionism in Civil War North Mississippi."

The annual meeting luncheon was held at the Weaver Center. Brother Rogers, associate director, John C. Stennis Center for Public Service, delivered the invocation. Chester "Bo" Morgan of the University of Southern Mississippi introduced Susannah J. Ural, who presented "The Beauvoir Veteran Project." Following the luncheon, the Society's annual business meeting was called to order by president Ann Simmons. The actions taken at the business meeting are recorded in the minutes of the meeting that are published in this edition of *The Journal of Mississippi History*. Following the annual business meeting, Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center park ranger Jim Minor led an afternoon tour of Corinth Civil War sites.

The evening festivities began with the President's Reception, sponsored by Ann and Bill Simmons, at the historic home of Rosemary and Sandy Williams. Musicians Darrell McDonald, Sandy Williams, Kenneth Williams, and Anne and Hoot Wilder entertained the attendees. The members then adjourned to the annual banquet held at the Chop House, where President Ann Simmons presided. After an invocation from Corinth First Presbyterian Church pastor Dr. Don Elliott, Robert Fleegler of the University of Mississippi presented the McLemore Prize to Aram Goudsouzian for his book, *Down to the Crossroads: Civil Rights, Black Power, and the Meredith March Against Fear*. Program chair Tim Smith then introduced the evening speaker, Dr. John F. Marszalek, executive director, Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library, Mississippi State University, who presented an address entitled "Ulysses S. Grant and His Place in Mississippi - Then and Now."

The annual meeting continued the next morning at the Weaver Center, with Elizabeth Payne of the University of Mississippi presiding over a session that featured graduate student work. Justin Rogers of the University of Mississippi presented "Behind the Big House: Coming to Terms with Slavery in North Mississippi," and Eve Wade of the University of Southern Mississippi presented "Beyond the Civil War:

Buffalo Soldiers and the Rise of Mobile Street.” After a short break, the last session chaired by Corinth Civil War Interpretive Center park ranger Ashley Berry focused on local historical work, with Rosemary Taylor Williams describing the work of the Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, Freida Miller reporting on the work of the Corinth Black History Museum, and Edwina Carpenter describing the work of the Brice’s Crossroads Battlefield Visitor and Interpretive Center. The awards luncheon took place thereafter, with President Simmons presiding. Following the meal, various Society awards were presented. At the conclusion of the meeting, Mrs. Simmons announced that the Society’s new president would be Dr. Dennis Mitchell, Mississippi State University/Meridian, who was unable to attend due to the weather.

The program chair would like to thank the speakers for their fine contributions and the program committee members for their hard work: Michael B. Ballard, Brandon Beck, Dean Burchfield, Thomas D. Cockrell, Elizabeth Ann Payne, Jason Shows, Susannah J. Ural, and Terrence J. Winschel. He also wishes to thank President Ann Atkinson Simmons, the Local Arrangements committee chair, Rosemary Williams, with whom he closely worked, as well as Elbert R. Hilliard for his truly passionate dedication and long-time service as the secretary-treasurer of the Mississippi Historical Society.

**MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL
BUSINESS MEETING
MARCH 6, 2015**

The annual business meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held at 1:30 p.m. on Friday, March 6, 2015, at the Weaver Center, Corinth, Mississippi. Ann Atkinson Simmons, president, Mississippi Historical Society, called the meeting to order and presided.

Elbert R. Hilliard, secretary-treasurer, acted as secretary for the meeting. Sherry Norwood, accountant specialist senior, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH), recorded the minutes.

The following business was transacted:

I. The secretary-treasurer moved that the minutes of the March 7, 2014, annual business meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society be approved as distributed. The motion was seconded by Tom Cockrell and unanimously approved.

II. The secretary-treasurer presented for the information of the members the following financial report for the year ending December 31, 2014:

BANK BALANCES

As of December 31, 2014

Regions Bank

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>Heritage of Mississippi Series</i> | 45,334.78 |
| Daily Interest Operating Account | |

Trustmark National Bank

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Halsell Prize Endowment Certificate of Deposit Due February 29, 2016(.450%) | 8,249.73 |
| Certificate of Deposit Due September 2, 2016(.450%) | 11,794.67 |
| Certificate of Deposit Due October 10, 2016(.499%) | 5,250.00 |
| Certificate of Deposit Life Membership Account Due March 16, 2015(.450%) | 42,770.77 |
| Glover Moore Prize Fund Certificate of Deposit Due April 30, 2015(.450%) | 10,826.44 |
| John K. Bettersworth Award Fund Certificate of Deposit Due April 24, 2016(.450%) | 4,135.25 |
| Mississippi Historical Society Daily Interest Operating Account | 34,696.06 |
| <i>Mississippi History NOW</i> Adine Lampton Wallace Endowment Certificate of Deposit Due February 14, 2016(.450%) | 14,951.48 |
| Frank E. Everett, Jr., Award Certificate of Deposit Due March 16, 2015 (.450%) | 2,288.84 |

BanCorpSouth Bank

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Mississippi History NOW</i> | 7,186.30 |
| Money Market Account | |

Community Trust Bank

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award | 4,167.34 |
| Certificate of Deposit | |
| Due March 4, 2015(.400%) | |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>Heritage of Mississippi Series</i> | 20,059.61 |
| Money Market Account | |

| | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| TOTAL | \$211,711.27 |
|--------------|---------------------|

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| Restricted | \$117,199.77 |
| Unrestricted | \$ 94,511.50 |

Operating Account

Summary Report

1/1/2014 through 12/31/2014

INCOME

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Annual Meeting | 13,533.00 |
| Bettsworth Award Contributions | 571.97 |
| Donations | |
| Atkinson MS Civil War History Award | 3,600.00 |
| Bettsworth Award CD | 50.00 |
| General Fund CD | 50.00 |
| Halsell Prize Endowment CD | 450.00 |
| Hilliard Oral History Award Endowment | 102.40 |
| Wallace Endowment CD | 10.00 |
| Interest Earned | 284.26 |

Membership Dues:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| College | 60.00 |
| Contributing | 800.00 |
| Corporate | 710.00 |
| Federation | 375.00 |
| Joint | 490.00 |
| Lifetime Memberships | 2,000.00 |
| Patron | 400.00 |
| Single | 8,480.00 |
| Student | 110.00 |
| Supporting | 325.00 |
| Total Membership | 13,750.00 |

TOTAL INCOME **32,401.63**

EXPENSES

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Accounting Fees | 2,000.00 |
| Adine Lampton Wallace CD Transfer | 10.00 |
| Annual Meeting Expenses | 23,953.87 |
| Bank Box Rent | 45.00 |
| Bank Service Charge | 8.00 |
| Bettsworth Award | 651.30 |
| Contributions – | |
| Foundation for Mississippi History | 500.00 |
| Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award – | |
| Transfer to CD | 4,167.34 |
| Everett Award | 300.00 |
| General Fund Contributions – | |
| Transfer to CD | 50.00 |
| Glover Moore Prize | 300.00 |
| Grant Awards – | |
| Junior Historical Society | 2,000.00 |
| Mississippi Heritage Trust | 1,000.00 |
| Halsell Prize Endowment – | |
| Transfer to CD | 650.00 |
| Hardin Foundation Grant – | |
| Video Producer Services | 1,000.00 |

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Transfer Balance to <i>Heritage of MS Series</i> | 4,273.04 |
| Hilliard Oral History Award | 300.00 |
| McLemore Prize | 700.00 |
| Miscellaneous Expense | 11.76 |
| Postage Expenses | 720.00 |
| Printing Expense | 795.99 |
| Riley Prize | <u>500.00</u> |
| TOTAL EXPENSES | 43,936.30 |
| TRANSFERS | |
| From 2013 Operating Account | <u>46,230.73</u> |
| OVERALL TOTAL | 34,696.06 |

MISSISSIPPI HISTORY NOW

Summary Report

1/1/2014 through 12/31/2014

| | |
|--|------------------|
| INCOME | |
| Donations | 1,000.00 |
| Wallace Endowment CD | 50.00 |
| Interest Earned | <u>1.17</u> |
| TOTAL INCOME | 1,051.17 |
| EXPENSES | |
| Adine Lampton Wallace – | |
| Transfer to CD | 50.00 |
| Printing Expenses | 23.72 |
| Professional Fees | <u>6,250.00</u> |
| TOTAL EXPENSES | 6,323.72 |
| TRANSFERS | |
| From 2013 <i>Mississippi History NOW</i> Account | <u>12,458.85</u> |
| OVERALL TOTAL | 7,186.30 |

The secretary-treasurer thanked Sherry Norwood for her assistance in preparing the financial statements and in maintaining the Society's membership and financial records. He also reported that the Society's board of directors had authorized the establishment of an ad hoc committee to review the Society's various accounts and to make recommendations for the development of an investment plan to generate increased earnings on the Society's assets.

III. The president expressed her appreciation to the members of the Local Arrangements Committee: Rosemary Williams, chair; Ashley Berry, Mark Boehler, Christy Burns, Dr. and Mrs. James C. Gilmore, Elbert Hilliard, Mary Dee Kemp, Larry Mangus, William McMullin, Stephenie Morrisey, Sherry Norwood, Trey Porter, Claire Stanley, Brandy Steen, Debbie Tallent, and "Sandy" Williams for their outstanding work in planning and organizing the annual meeting.

Mrs. Simmons also expressed appreciation to the members of the Program Committee: Dr. Tim Smith, chair; Dr. Mike Ballard, Dr. Brandon Beck, Dean Burchfield, Dr. Tom Cockrell, Dr. Elizabeth Payne, Dr. Jason Shows, Dr. Susannah Ural, and Terry Winschel; and to the staff members of the Department of Archives and History who assist the Society: Sherry Norwood, Chris Goodwin, and Stephenie Morrisey.

IV. The president expressed thanks to the following individuals for their generous financial support in helping fund the 2015 annual meeting: the Corinth Area Convention and Visitors Bureau, Rosemary and Sandy Williams, the National Park Service, Soco Bake Shop, Jim Miller of Gulfport, and Ann and Bill Simmons of Columbia.

V. Mrs. Simmons recognized and expressed appreciation to the following individuals who were completing terms of service on the board of directors of the society: Denoral Davis, Jackson State University; Martha Hutson, Clinton; Dr. Elizabeth Payne, University of Mississippi; Dr. Stuart Rockoff, Mississippi Humanities Council; and Brother Rogers of the John C. Stennis Center for Public Service in Starkville.

VI. On behalf of Dennis Mitchell, editor, *Journal of Mississippi*

History, the secretary-treasurer reported that the Department of Archives and History had hired a private contractor to assist the *Journal's* managing editor, Chris Goodwin, with the design and layout of the *Journal* in an effort to catch up on the backlog in the *Journal's* publication and that as a result, three issues of the *Journal* had been published this year. He thanked Katie Blount, director, MDAH, for securing this professional assistance and reminded the membership that the MDAH Public Information office is short one staff position. Mrs. Blount expressed thanks to Chris Goodwin for his efforts in establishing an aggressive schedule to address the backlog in the publication of the *Journal*.

In response to questions from the floor, Mr. Goodwin stated that he is working with the three major state universities on the publication of special issues. He noted that the issue that is currently being published had been guest-edited by Dr. Alan Marcus, chair, Department of History, Mississippi State University, and that the following issue has been assembled by the University of Southern Mississippi Department of History. He also reported that an issue devoted to the Civil War will be edited by Dr. Mike Ballard.

VII. Dr. John Marszalek, chair, Publications Committee, presented the following report:

The Publications Committee for the *Heritage of Mississippi Series* consists of Governor William F. Winter, Dr. John F. Marszalek, Dr. Dernoral Davis, Elbert Hilliard, Hank Holmes, Peggy Jeanes, Dr. William Scarborough, Dr. Charles Reagan Wilson, and Chrissy Wilson.

As of this time, through the cooperation of the Mississippi Historical Society and the University Press of Mississippi, the following volumes have been published: Patti Carr Black's volume on art; Dr. Randy Sparks's volume on religion; Dr. Stephen Cresswell's volume on 1877-1917; Dr. Michael Ballard's volume on the military history of the Civil War; Dr. Timothy Smith's volume on the Civil War home front; and James Barnett's book on Native Americans.

There are seven other authors under contract who are working on their manuscripts:

Dr. Connie Lester of the University of Central Florida

indicates that she has done some rethinking of her manuscript on the economic history of Mississippi and is making good progress. She is unable to give an exact date for completion.

Dr. Chester "Bo" Morgan of the University of Southern Mississippi has completed a Prologue and chapters 1 to 9 of his 1917-1954 volume. Chapter 10 remains to be written, and Dr. Morgan has determined that he will end the volume at the beginning rather than the end of World War II. This war period is too complicated to include as part of this volume. He recommends a separate volume on the period between Pearl Harbor and the beginning of the Civil Rights era. He hopes to have this book completed by the end of 2015.

Jere Nash, freelance writer, has completed his research on the Reconstruction volume and has an outline and chapter summary of the entire volume. He says he just needs to get over his "logjam" and complete the book which he hopes to do by Christmas 2015.

Dr. Max Grivno of the University of Southern Mississippi is working on the volume concerning slavery. He has received grants to do research at several repositories and has made important progress. Because of faculty commitments, he is unable to meet a deadline of 2015, but he hopes that he will have a manuscript completed by March of 2016.

Mike Bunn now of Historic Blakeley State Park in Alabama and Clay Williams of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History indicate that, despite their "day jobs," they have made real progress on their manuscript dealing with frontier Mississippi, 1800-1840. They are determined to have their manuscript completed by 2017 and believe they are on track to do that.

Lori Watkins of William Carey College has completed the editorship of the multi-author history of Mississippi literature. This volume is now in the hands of the University Press of Mississippi which is taking it through the editorial process prior to publication in late 2015 or early 2016.

Charles Weeks, retired, and Christian Pinnen of Mississippi College have submitted a proposal which has been accepted to write a volume on the Colonial era of Mississippi history. They

hope to complete the volume within the next several years.

Volumes yet to be assigned an author are three: the pre-Civil War years (1840-1860), the Jim Crow era, and the Civil Rights era. We have received interest in all three volumes, but we have, as yet, not chosen an author for any one of them.

I am convinced that we will have a majority of the volumes in the *Heritage of Mississippi Series* completed by the time of the Mississippi bicentennial. I wish we could say that all will be completed before this celebration, but this will simply not happen.

VIII. Melissa Janczewski Jones, editor, *Mississippi History Now*, presented the following report:

Mississippi History Now (MHN) re-launched new publications on December 22, 2014, beginning with Dick Molpus's article, "Philadelphia, Mississippi: a Story of Racial Reconciliation." I am happy to report that our second article was published this week on Tuesday, March 3. "The Truth About the Boll Weevil" was authored by Dr. James Giesen of Mississippi State University. I have also received a draft of our third article, "Free People of Color in Colonial Natchez," by Dr. Christian Pinnen of Mississippi College. Other forthcoming articles are "Christian Mission among the Choctaw and Chickasaw, 1817-1832: Multiethnic Worship Spaces on the Southern Frontier" by Dr. Otis W. Pickett of Mississippi College; "Newspapers of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools" by Dr. William Sturkey, a postdoctoral fellow at the University of North Carolina; and a topic on antebellum Mississippi selected by Dr. Max Grivno of the University of Southern Mississippi.

Karla Smith has agreed to prepare all of our lesson plans, and Dr. Deanne Nuwer has agreed to continue to serve as *MHN's* historical consultant. Chris Goodwin, director, Public Information, MDAH, submits a press release to all media outlets as each article is published. Finally, Jason Bronson, MDAH webmaster, serves as the site's webmaster and is an invaluable and professional resource for us.

As many of you may know, *MHN* now has a Facebook page. It was launched on December 22, 2014, and we currently

have 293 followers. The Facebook page has allowed us to communicate with our readership much more quickly about new articles and other matters of interest. It has also enabled our readers to share our publications with their friends and colleagues. For instance, Dick Molpus's article generated 880 readers through Facebook, and since Tuesday, James Giesen's article has already reached 353 readers. In addition to posting new articles on Facebook, I am able to garner new attention for previously published articles. Some of these articles (i.e. James Kelly's article on Newt Knight and Charles Bolton's article regarding segregation in the 1970s) are receiving in excess of 500 views. The Facebook page has also allowed us to connect with other groups with similar missions. Groups such as Teaching for Change, Mississippi History for Teachers, the Zinn Education Project, the Andrew Goodman Foundation, Mission Mississippi, the William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation, and the Mississippi Museum of Art have not only become followers of our Facebook page, but they have also shared some of our posts to their own followers.

Teaching for Change has recently highlighted the work of *MHN* in its newsletter. Additionally, I have been able to make two new contacts within the Mississippi Department of Education (MDE) who have agreed to provide information about each of our new publications in MDE's weekly *EdUpdate* newsletter and on a listserv that is sent to all secondary educators within the state.

Finally, our website developer, Addison Hall, was recently able to provide me with access to our website through Good Analytics, which allows me to monitor site activity. I have been watching the traffic to our site in order to determine how we have been affected by the two-year publication hiatus and the subsequent re-launch. In the month prior to our December 2014 re-launch, the number of total site visits was 1,800, while traffic for the month following the re-launch was 2,700. I also wanted to compare this new traffic reference to an active month prior to the site's publication hiatus. During the month January of 2012, total visits to the website numbered 2,300. While these numbers initially appear very exciting, I would

like to challenge us all that there is still much work to be done. Work in the form of making sure that current and potential Mississippi history teachers know that our site exists and is currently adding new publications. I encourage all of you to invite your friends on Facebook to “like” the *MHN* Facebook page. If you do not have a Facebook page, I will provide you with a link to the Facebook page that you can email to your friends who may have Facebook accounts.

Again, thank you for allowing me to serve as your editor. I eagerly welcome all of your comments and suggestions.

The secretary-treasurer stated that he would like to express his deep appreciation to the Mississippi Humanities Council and the MDAH board of trustees for these entities’ continued financial support of *MHN*.

IX. The president thanked Stuart Rockoff for volunteering his time and expertise in establishing a website for the society and asked him to give a brief report on the status of this project. Mr. Rockoff stated that the address for the new website is mississippihistory.org. He mentioned that the information that can be found on the website includes a brief history of the Society, a list and description of the Society’s awards, and various photographs. He concluded his report by stating that the website is a work in progress and that plans call for it to enable individuals to click on a link to join the Society once the Society has established a Paypal account to enable electronic payments for dues and annual meeting registration.

X. Ann Simmons, chair, Federation of Mississippi Historical Societies, reported that she has been encouraged by the interest shown in the re-activation of the Federation and that Jill Smith of New Albany will be in charge of organizing the local historical societies in the northern part of the state and Betty Shaw will be working with the societies in the southern part of the state. She stated that meetings will be held annually in the north and south, in addition to a Federation meeting during the Society’s annual meeting. She concluded by stating that she is very excited about working with the local societies and helping them in any manner she can.

XI. On behalf of Tom Watts, chair, History in Mississippi Schools committee, the secretary-treasurer presented the committee's report. He commended Colonel Watts for his diligence in monitoring the Department of Education's decision to grant school districts throughout the state the option to not offer the eighth grade United States History from Exploration through Reconstruction course. He continued by stating that a meeting had been held in November 2014 with the assistant Superintendent of Education and several other staff members of the Mississippi Department of Education(MDE) and that during this meeting, the MDE representatives had acknowledged their error in sending the memorandum concerning the United States history curriculum option to all of the school districts. Mr. Hilliard further reported that a commitment had been secured during the November meeting that no changes pertaining to the teaching of history in Mississippi schools would be made by MDE without including Mississippi Historical Society representatives in discussions of the proposed changes.

Mr. Hilliard concluded his report by stating that the Hardin Foundation had granted permission to the Mississippi Historical Society to transfer the remaining balance of \$4,273.04 of the Hardin Foundation grant for the United States new curriculum training project to the *Heritage of Mississippi Series*, which is being published by the University Press of Mississippi.

XII. Avery Rollins, chair, Membership Committee, presented the following membership report as of December 31, 2014:

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Contributing | 78 |
| Corporate | 28 |
| Exchange | 28 |
| Gift | 72 |
| Honorary | 6 |
| Joint | 110 |
| Life | 170 |
| Single | 705 |
| Student | 7 |
| Supporting | 21 |
| College | 34 |

| | |
|------------|----|
| Federation | 46 |
| Patron | 8 |

TOTAL CURRENT MEMBERSHIP 1,313

Mr. Rollins stated that while the membership totals have remained fairly consistent, the Society could enhance membership growth by recruiting young people and African-American citizens. He concluded his report by suggesting that each current member of the Society provide a gift membership to at least one African-American friend and one young person in an effort to expand the Society's membership on a broader spectrum.

XIII. Ken Shearer, chair, Meeting Sites Committee, reported that the Society's 2016 annual meeting will be held in Jackson and that the 2017 meeting would be held in Gulfport. He further reported that the Society's board of directors had voted at its meeting on Thursday evening, March 5 to accept the Meeting Sites Committee's recommendation that the 2018 meeting be held in Jackson.

XIV. The secretary-treasurer commended Tom Watts for his exemplary work in the field of living history, his involvement in the Natchez Trace Parkway Association, and now his passionate efforts to restore the Hinds Family Cemetery in Jefferson County. He stated that Colonel Watts had requested that the society serve as a financial conduit for the cemetery restoration project. He stated that after visiting the cemetery and gaining a better understanding of exactly what Colonel Watts is trying to do, he felt that the Society has a responsibility to undertake projects of this nature, particularly when the Society is not being asked to provide any funding. Mr. Hilliard reported that the Society board had voted to let the society serve as the financial conduit and that he had been authorized to execute a contract with the conservator who will undertake the restoration of the gravestones once adequate funding has been secured and the property owner's written permission has been obtained.

XV. Dr. William Parrish, chair, of the Resolutions Committee, presented the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION OF COMMENDATION

WHEREAS, H. T. Holmes has retired after more than forty-one years of outstanding service to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) and the state of Mississippi; and

WHEREAS, Holmes began his association with MDAH in 1969 as a college intern; and

WHEREAS, in 1973, Holmes was employed as an oral historian in the MDAH Division of Information and Education under the direction of Charlotte Capers; and

WHEREAS, Holmes, in traversing the state, conducted or supervised more than 120 interviews and consulted on numerous projects, including the exemplary Washington County Oral History Project; and

WHEREAS, Holmes spearheaded the establishment of the Mississippi Historical Society's Oral History Committee; and

WHEREAS, beginning in 1978, Holmes served in the MDAH Archives and Library Division, as archivist, records analyst, manuscript curator, and head of special collections; and

WHEREAS, Holmes played a leading role in the survey of records of executive state agencies (1979-1980), which led to the Mississippi legislature's enactment of the Mississippi Archives and Records Management Law in 1981; and

WHEREAS, Holmes researched and wrote the 1982 Historical Records Needs Assessment report for the state of Mississippi and led the implementation of many of the report's recommendations; and

WHEREAS, in 1988, Holmes was named director of the MDAH Archives and Library Division; and

WHEREAS, on January 1, 2005, Holmes became the sixth director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and served in that capacity until his retirement on January 31, 2015; and

WHEREAS, Holmes as MDAH director chaired the State Records Committee, Local Government Records Committee, and Mississippi Bicentennial Celebration Commission and served on the Foundation for Mississippi History, Foundation for the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum, Mississippi Heritage Trust, and Mississippi Main Street Association boards; and

WHEREAS, Holmes has been a longtime active member and

supporter of the Mississippi Historical Society;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 6, 2015, in Corinth, Mississippi, commends and thanks H. T. Holmes for his outstanding service to the Department of Archives and History and the state of Mississippi.

RESOLUTION OF COMMENDATION

WHEREAS, the Mississippi Historical Society is aware that the Local Arrangements Committee, chaired by Rosemary Taylor Williams, and the Program Committee, chaired by Timothy B. Smith, invested a considerable amount of time, thought, and effort in planning the 2015 meeting of the Society in Corinth; and

WHEREAS, the Local Arrangements Committee succeeded in hosting an enlightening, entertaining, and memorable annual meeting; and

WHEREAS, the Program Committee succeeded in planning informative and scholarly meeting sessions;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 6, 2015, in Corinth, Mississippi, that the Local Arrangements Committee and Program Committee be officially recognized and commended for their splendid efforts.

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

WHEREAS, former First Lady Ava Carroll Overton Waller departed this life on October 28, 2014; and

WHEREAS, a native of McComb, Mississippi, Mrs. Waller graduated from Central High School in Jackson and from Mississippi College; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Waller was First Lady of Mississippi from 1972-1976, during her husband's tenure as governor; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Waller spearheaded efforts to restore the Mississippi Governor's Mansion, leading efforts for the architecturally correct restoration and the development of the neoclassical gardens that surround the Mansion; and

WHEREAS, she championed efforts to have the Governor's Mansion designated a National Historic Landmark; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Waller provided leadership to encourage the state of Mississippi's purchase and restoration of the historic Manship House in Jackson by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Waller received an Award of Merit from the Mississippi Historical Society in 1980 for her actions related to the aforementioned projects; and

WHEREAS, in 1974, she received the Centennial Award of Excellence from Blue Mountain College, and Mississippi College awarded her the Service to Humanity Award in 1976, an honorary doctorate degree in 1978, and the Order of the Golden Arrow in 1980; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Waller served as National Library Week chairperson and sponsored the Mississippi Library Commission's bicentennial project, and served on the Mississippi Arts Commission, as regent of the Rebecca Cravat Chapter, Mississippi State Society Daughters of the American Revolution, and on the boards of the Mississippi Baptist Historical Commission and Mississippi Historical Society;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 6, 2015, in Corinth, Mississippi, mourns the death of Ava Carroll Overton Waller and expresses its sympathy to his family.

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

WHEREAS, Stephanie Lynne Dawes Sandy departed this life on June 10, 2014; and

WHEREAS, having grown up in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., Sandy first came to Mississippi in the fall of 1964 to enroll at Blue Mountain College, where she subsequently earned a B.A. degree in history; and

WHEREAS, she moved with her husband, Milton Larrimore Sandy, Jr. to Corinth in 1970; and

WHEREAS, in 1973, Sandy became the youngest Certified

Genealogical Record Searcher in the United States and the first in Mississippi; and

WHEREAS, Sandy worked as a freelance genealogical researcher traveling to the National Archives, Mormon Genealogical Library, five Southern state archives, city libraries, cemeteries, and numerous county courthouses; and

WHEREAS, in her research, Sandy specialized in subjects pertaining to Northeast Mississippi with particular emphasis on the early history of Corinth and old Tishomingo County; and

WHEREAS, Sandy meticulously researched the history of her husband's family home at 1106 Cruise Street in Corinth, thereby documenting its construction in 1857; and

WHEREAS, Sandy conducted extensive research in the Alcorn County courthouse's holding of old newspapers and subsequently published local abstracts in the *Northeast Mississippi Genealogical Quarterly* and in a *Daily Corinthian* column, "Corinth Clippings"; and

WHEREAS, Sandy played a significant role in the reorganization of the Corinth Historical Commission, which became the Corinth Preservation Commission, for which she served as the first chairperson from 1990 to 1994; and

WHEREAS, under Sandy's direction and guidance Corinth's first two historic districts were established and the original Corinth preservation ordinance was enacted; and

WHEREAS, Sandy became the Certified Local Government coordinator for the City of Corinth in 1990, holding that position for twenty-four years; and

WHEREAS, Sandy was a dedicated member of the Mississippi Historical Society, serving as a member of the Society's board of directors from 1992-1995;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 6, 2015, in Corinth, Mississippi, mourns the death of Stephanie Lynne Dawes Sandy and expresses its sympathy to her family.

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

WHEREAS, Dorothy Sample Shawhan departed this life on

December 21, 2014; and

WHEREAS, a native of Tupelo, Mississippi, Shawhan graduated from the Mississippi State College for Women with a degree in English, received a Master of Art degree in English from Louisiana State University and a Master of Fine Arts degree in Creative Writing from George Mason University; and

WHEREAS, in 1981 Shawhan moved to Cleveland and joined the faculty of Delta State University, later serving as chair of the Department of Languages and Literature for fourteen years; and

WHEREAS, Shawhan published her acclaimed novel *Lizzie* in 1994, followed by a biography of Lucy Somerville Howorth, which she co-authored with her dear friend Dr. Martha Swain; and

WHEREAS, Shawhan was a founding member of the Cleveland Habitat for Humanity, serving on the board for ten years, and also served on the boards of the Mississippi Institute of Arts and Letters and the University Press of Mississippi; and

WHEREAS, Shawhan was a member of the American Association of University Women (AAUW) and served as president of the local chapter for many years; and

WHEREAS, Shawhan was editor of the Journal of Mississippi Council of Teachers of English from 1984 to 1990; and

WHEREAS, Shawhan received many awards, including the Mississippi Library Association Fiction Writer of the Year in 1996, the AAUW Woman of Achievement Award (Mississippi Division) in 1997, the Mississippi University for Women Alumni Achievement Award in 1998, the Mississippi Humanities Council Teacher Award for Delta State University in 2004, and the Kossman Teaching Award at Delta State University in 2006; and

WHEREAS, Shawhan was a longtime, faithful member of the Mississippi Historical Society;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 6, 2015, in Corinth, Mississippi, mourns the death of Dorothy Sample Shawhan and expresses its sympathy to her family.

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

WHEREAS, Madel Jacobs Morgan Stringer departed this life on November 12, 2014; and

WHEREAS, a native of Rosedale, Mississippi, and a great-granddaughter of Charles Clark, governor of Mississippi (1863-1865), Stringer graduated from Mississippi State College for Women in 1939; and

WHEREAS, in 1945 Stringer was employed to serve as secretary to Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) director William D. McCain; and

WHEREAS, Stringer, in this position, worked closely with Charlotte Capers, who succeeded Dr. McCain as MDAH director; and

WHEREAS, Stringer accepted the position of librarian at St. Andrew's Episcopal School in Jackson in 1953; and

WHEREAS, in 1968 she joined the Mississippi Library Commission, and in 1979 returned to MDAH as director of the Archives and Library Division, and in that capacity oversaw the department's participation in the United States Newspaper Project, a cooperative national effort between the states and the federal government to locate, catalog, and preserve on microfilm newspapers published in the United States from the eighteenth century to the present; and

WHEREAS, Stringer, who was beloved by all who knew her, retired from MDAH in 1988; and

WHEREAS, Stringer was president of the Mississippi Historical Society from 1994 to 1995 and a member of Daughters of the King at St. Columb's Episcopal Church, the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Mississippi, the Order of the First Families of Mississippi, and the Mississippi Library Association; and

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 6, 2015, in Corinth, Mississippi, mourns the death of Madel Jacobs Morgan Stringer and expresses its sympathy to her family.

The president asked if there were any other resolutions. There being no resolutions from the floor, Mrs. Simmons's motion to adopt the aforementioned resolutions was seconded by Anne Webster and unanimously approved.

XVI. On behalf of Donna Dye, chair, Nominations Committee, the secretary-treasurer thanked Gail Albert, Katie Blount, David Bowen, and Brian Pugh for serving with Mrs. Dye on the committee and reported that the committee recommended the following slate of officers and board members:

Officers for the term 2015-2016

President – Dr. Dennis J. Mitchell, Mississippi State
University, Meridian

Vice President – William “Brother” Rogers, John C. Stennis
Center for Public Service, Starkville

Secretary-Treasurer – Elbert R. Hilliard, director
emeritus, Department of Archives and History

Board of Directors for the term 2015-2018

Max Grivno, University of Southern Mississippi

Andy Harper, University of Mississippi

Peggy Jeanes, Jackson

Fred Miller, Anguilla

K. C. Morrison, Mississippi State University

Michael Williams, Tougaloo College

Board of Publications for the term 2015-2018

Jim Barnett, Natchez

John Langston, Jackson

The president asked if there were any other nominations. There being no nominations from the floor, Anne Webster moved that the aforementioned slate of nominees be accepted by acclamation. The motion was seconded by Stuart Rockoff and unanimously approved.

XVII. Katie Blount, director, Department of Archives and History, distributed and commented briefly on the following written report highlighting some of MDAH’s accomplishments during the past year:

I am always pleased to be here with my dear friends in the Mississippi Historical Society. I have worked with the Society now for twenty years, under Mr. Hilliard’s steady guidance. I look forward to continuing the strong partnership between the Society and the Department of Archives and History.

Two Mississippi Museums

I am pleased to report that the Two Mississippi Museums construction project is on track. The building shell is scheduled for completion in summer 2015. Then exhibits will be installed, and plans call for the museums to be dedicated and opened in December 2017 for the bicentennial of Mississippi's statehood.

We are also on track with the Two Mississippi Museums fundraising. The Mississippi Legislature has required that MDAH raise a dollar-for-dollar match for the cost of the museum exhibits. The Foundation for Mississippi History set a fundraising goal of \$12 million for the exhibits and \$4 million for endowments for the two museums. As of today, the foundation has raised \$11.6 million for the exhibits.

Last October, we made a great start on the endowment fundraising, when the Kellogg Foundation announced a grant of \$2.3 million, with \$1.7 directed toward the endowment for the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum.

We are working with the Mississippi Legislature now to secure the rest of the public funds--\$33 million to complete the exhibits and phase 2 of the construction. We have had dozens of conversations with legislators about the project and have been very encouraged by the response. We welcome help in conveying to our public officials the importance of the project.

Legislative Agenda

We have also requested funding for some initial staff positions for the Two Mississippi Museums. It is now time to bring on staff to prepare the artifacts, plan programming for the museums, and take on the many other challenges of opening the museums.

We are in the early stages of a restoration of Historic Jefferson College. MDAH has committed funds for urgent needs—roof and foundation repair—and we have a request before the Legislature for \$750,000 to complete the initial phase of the restoration. We will do some more in-depth planning over the next year and come back to the legislature with a request for the funds needed to complete the restoration and interpretation of the site.

We are optimistic that we will have another Community Heritage Preservation Grant round in 2015. A bill has been introduced providing funds for the program. This program has provided millions of dollars

for the restoration of historic courthouses and historic schools and, in Certified Local Government communities, other historic structures. This grant program is very popular across the state and stands a good chance of being funded.

Other News

The Archives and Records Services Division is working hard every day to digitize resources in the MDAH archival collection so they can be available online. With the opening of the Two Mississippi Museums, we expect a significant increase in media attention, visitation, and focus on the Department's work, which will trigger a welcome increase in demand for MDAH resources. We want to be ready to accommodate our many new patrons around the state and the world. Digitization is an expensive and time consuming process, but the more resources we can make available on line, the better we will serve the public, so digitization is a very high priority for us.

Mound Trail

Later this year, we will announce the grand opening of the Mississippi Mound Trail. The trail will stretch from Wilkinson County in southeast Mississippi to Tunica County in the north. The Grand Village of the Natchez Indians in Natchez and the Winterville Mounds north of Greenville will serve as trail anchors. There will be printed and electronic trail guides available. Funding for this project is provided by the Mississippi Department of Transportation and the Federal Highway Administration. Once the project is completed, additional trails will be planned for other areas of the state.

I know you all keep up with us through the *Mississippi History Newsletter* and our website. Please feel free to call me anytime for an update. We are grateful to all of you for your interest in Mississippi history and your leadership in the Mississippi Historical Society.

XVIII. In the matter of other business, the secretary-treasurer invited members to volunteer to serve on the various society committees.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned by the president.

Ann Atkinson Simmons, President
Elbert R. Hilliard, Secretary-Treasurer

Recent Manuscript Accessions at Mississippi Colleges and University Libraries, 2012-2013

Compiled by Jennifer Ford

This is the thirty-seventh annual compilation citing manuscript acquisitions to appear in the *Journal of Mississippi History*. The collections listed below were acquired by libraries between November 2012 and October 2013. Unless otherwise noted, all collections are open to researchers.

Philene Allen Collection. Undated. Contains a Delta Tour Guide book. (Delta State University).

Ms. Berry Allison Collection. 1951-52, 1983-84, 1987. Contains material related to the life and career of Mose Allison. (Delta State University).

Patsey Embry Bowers Collection. 1963. From his late wife's papers, Cecil Bowers of Oxford donated a 1963 UPI teletype release received by WNLA radio station in Indianola regarding President John F. Kennedy's assassination. (University of Mississippi).

Camp Shelby History Collection. Accretion. Panoramic photograph of soldiers labeled "Cannon Co. 26th Infantry – Camp Shelby, Miss. – June 1944." (University of Southern Mississippi).

Bob and Beverly Ray Card Collection. Undated. Contains memorabilia related to Delta Cream Donuts and Cake Shop. (Delta State University).

Civil Rights in the South Collection. Accretion. Reformatted DVD of the Civil Rights Conference held on the University of Southern Mississippi campus in October 2010. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Peggy Jean Connor Papers. Accretion. Materials concerning the renaming of the Committee on Services and Resources for Women's (CSRW) research grant for Peggy Jean Connor because of her legacy of activism. The materials include the proclamation by the CSRW, a copy of the plaque given to Peggy Jean Connor, and the media coverage of the celebration events. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Gary Crews Collection. Accretion. 1986-1987. Contains Statesmen and Lady Statesmen programs. (Delta State University).

P. D. East Collection. Accretion. Two letters of correspondence from the early 1960s between Eugene DiMattina and P. D. East. (University of Southern Mississippi).

W. Ralph Eubanks Collection. Unprocessed. A collection containing notes, correspondence, and manuscripts related to the author of such works as *Ever Is a Long Time* and *The House at the End of the Road*. Gift of W. Ralph Eubanks. (University of Mississippi).

Tom Franklin and Beth Ann Fennelly Collection. Unprocessed. A collection of manuscripts of Tom Franklin, the author of such works as *Crooked Letter, Crooked Letter*, and the papers of acclaimed poet Beth Ann Fennelly. Franklin and Fennelly recently collaborated on *The Tilted World*, a novel about the 1927 Mississippi River flood. This collection contains annotated manuscripts, notes, and galleys of their works. Gift of Tom Franklin and Beth Ann Fennelly. (University of Mississippi).

Noel Funchess Collection. Accretion. 1944. Contains a World War II ration book and the Vmail of Corporal Roger L. Whitmer. (Delta State University).

Edythe Evelyn Gandy Collection. Accretion. Materials concerning Evelyn Gandy's life and career including photographs, newspaper clippings, programs, scrapbooks, VHS tapes, oral history interviews, mini DVDs, and a pair of white dress pumps. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Nancy Gerard Collection. 1927, 1932, 1948-49. Contains Green Book, 1948-49; a 1932 Henry Wenz bookmark, and "The Thirst Message" flier from the Bank of Eupora, July 1927. (Delta State University).

Candy Brown Gonzalez Freedom Summer Photographs. A collection of forty-five black and white photographs and eight digital images taken during the summer of 1964 in the South Mississippi and Hattiesburg area. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Mary Mann Hamilton LLC Collection. Undated. Contains papers and materials related to the life and work of Mary Hamilton. (Delta State University).

Raymond L. Harshman Collection. Raymond L. Harshman of Edmond, Oklahoma, presented the archives with two letters he received from President John F. Kennedy and U. S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy regarding injuries received during his service as a deputy U. S. marshal in the 1962 integration riot at the University of Mississippi. Harshman is a 1958 alumnus of the University of Mississippi. (University of Mississippi).

Hattiesburg Historical Collection. Accretion. Miscellaneous memorabilia and advertisements for Hattiesburg, various dates. A reproduced photograph taken in 1924 in the office of the New Orleans and Northeastern Railroad in Hattiesburg. Also includes a program from the Hattiesburg High Pre-Christmas Basketball Tournament held in December 1961. (University of Southern Mississippi).

A. V. Henry Collection. 2013. Contains an oral history with A. V. Henry. (Delta State University).

Tara Herrin Collection. Accretion. 2006-2009. Contains several Lady Statesmen Media Guides. (Delta State University).

Mrs. Macklyn Hubble Collection. 1947. Contains three photographs of the First Girls' Nation and First Magnolia State, and two Iverness Rotary Club newsletters. (Delta State University).

James Thomas Hughes II Collection. A collection containing the portraits of John Alexander Klein, George Marion Klein, Dr. William T. Balfour and Thomas Harrison of Vicksburg. It also includes the antique color portrait of the Klein family home, Cedar Grove. Gift of James Thomas Hughes II. (University of Mississippi).

Arnold Joe Collection. Undated. Contains memorabilia related to the Chinese- American community in Mississippi. (Delta State University).

Peter Joe Collection. 1988-2013. Contains the TIFF files of the Cleveland Chinese Church. (Delta State University).

Joyce Kennedy Collection. 1940s-1960s. Contains fifteen black and white photographs of Kennedy Motor Company. (Delta State University).

Jane Robbins Kerr Collection. Undated. Contains three framed prints of Po Monkey, L.V. Hull, and W. Anderson. (Delta State University).

Steve LaVere Collection. Contains several 78 RPM records and books related to sound recordings. (Delta State University).

Dr. William D. McCain Travel Journals. Consists of a collection of twenty-three travel journals written by Dr. William D. McCain and given to a fellow traveler, Dr. Raymond Mannoni. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Donna McLellan McCaleb Collection. Accretion. Undated. Contains the McLellan family Bible. (Delta State University).

McCleskey Architectural Drawings. Accretion. Consists of a CD containing copies of blueprints of Main Street Baptist Church, now Mt. Carmel Baptist Church in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Phillip McGregor Collection. Accretion. 1965-1966. Contains twenty-two copies of *Miss Delta*. (Delta State University).

Sallie Meek Collection. 1935, 1941-42, 1963-64, 1969-70, 1974. Contains scrapbooks, portraits and photographs, manuscript materials, awards, and certificates related to Greek P. Rice. (Delta State University).

Louella Gill Milner Collection. Accretion. Contains materials that document Milner's years as a student at Malta-McConnelville Schools, c. 1920s. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Mississippi Menu Collection. Accretion. Consists of a menu from Petra Café & Hookah in Hattiesburg, 2013. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Mystic Krewe of Zeus of Hattiesburg Records. Accretion. Contains memorabilia pertaining to the Mystic Krewe of Zeus of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 2012-2013 coronation festivities. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Newspaper Collection. Accretion. Consists of eleven editions of various newspapers added concerning the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963, the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon in 1974, the inauguration of President Barack H. Obama in 2009, and the liftoff from the moon in 1969. (University of Southern Mississippi).

John Pendergrass Collection. Accretion. 1962-1964. Contains materials related to the Zeta Beta Chapter of Pi Kappa Alpha. (Delta State University).

Powell G. Ogletree Papers. Accretion. Consists of materials from the Ogletree estate, including VHS tapes of the University of Southern Mississippi's seventy-fifth anniversary and the Independence Bowl, Mississippi Southern College memorabilia, USM 1979 commencement program and two Talons. There is also a photograph of an unidentified military police unit, c. 1940. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Postcard Collection. Accretion. Consists of two postcards added of the Maid of the Mist at Niagara Falls and Coral Castle at Homestead, Florida. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Ella Fountain Keesler Pratt Collection. Accretion. Consists of historical materials concerning the Keesler family of Greenwood, Mississippi. Some topics include World War I, MSCW/MUW, and Keesler Air Force Base. (University of Southern Mississippi).

David Price Gulf, Mobile & Northern Railroad News Periodical Collection. Consists of digital version of news periodicals from the Gulf, Mobile & Northern Railroad c. 1920s. The collection contains one DVD with 1.57 GB of stored materials. (University of Southern Mississippi).

"Reflections of Mississippi Freedom Summer." Accretion. Consists of a reformatted version of the VHS tape titled, "Reflections of Mississippi Freedom Summer." (University of Southern Mississippi).

Ephus Ruth Collection. Undated. Contains several posters from various blues festivals. (Delta State University).

Raymond Shonholtz Freedom Summer Collection. Accretion. Contains a framed license plate purchased by Raymond Shonholtz in Coahoma County, Mississippi in 1964 as a condition of his being released from jail. He handwrote a description of how he acquired the license plate and his trip with Dr. Aaron Henry. The other items are obituaries and articles concerning his life. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Southern Tourism Collection. Accretion. Contains various brochures, booklets, and maps pertaining to tourism in Mississippi and/or the greater southeastern region of the United States. Includes an advertisement for the Great Southern Hotel in Gulfport, Mississippi. Statement included indicates that the hotel was purchased and razed in 1951. (University of Southern Mississippi).

Thomas Spight Collection. Unprocessed. A collection consisting of the papers of Thomas Spight, Mississippi legislator and later U. S. congressman from North Mississippi. Spight also served as district attorney for the Northern District during the infamous trial of the murder of William Clark Falkner, great-grandfather of Nobel Prize-winning author William Faulkner. Gift of Thomas Spight Hines, Jr. and Mattie Spight McDowell. (University of Mississippi).

Robert Stevens Collection. 1928. Materials relating to the first graduation class of Delta State Teachers College. (Delta State University).

William Clyde Stewart Collection. William C. (Bill) Stewart of Okolona donated his father's collection of Mississippi gubernatorial political memorabilia. Among the contents are campaign sheet music, posters and decals, as well as certificates and medals associated with William Clyde Stewart's honorary appointments as "Colonel and Aide-de-Camp" to the staff of governors Ross Barnett, Paul B. Johnson, Jr., John Bell Williams, Bill Waller, and Cliff Finch. (University of Mississippi).

Linda Strong Collection. 1924, 1952. Contains three sepia prints of "The Red Store" and "One Stop" in Merigold, Mississippi. Gift of Linda Strong. (Delta State University).

Brenda Tidwell Collection. Accretion. Undated. Contains manuscript materials relating to the genealogy of the Tidwell, Fox, Reed, and Kamien families. (Delta State University).

Dwight Van de Vate, Jr. Collection. Unprocessed. A collection of newspaper clippings, correspondence, and magazines covering the 1962 integration of the University of Mississippi. Gift of the family of Dwight Van de Vate, Jr. (University of Mississippi).

Frances Williams Collection. 1961-1962. Contains "Freshmen Orientation of Delta State College" by Miss Nell Lawler and several issues of the Sigma Alpha Epsilon Record. (Delta State University).

BOOK REVIEWS

Telling Our Stories: Museum of Mississippi History and Mississippi Civil Rights Museum

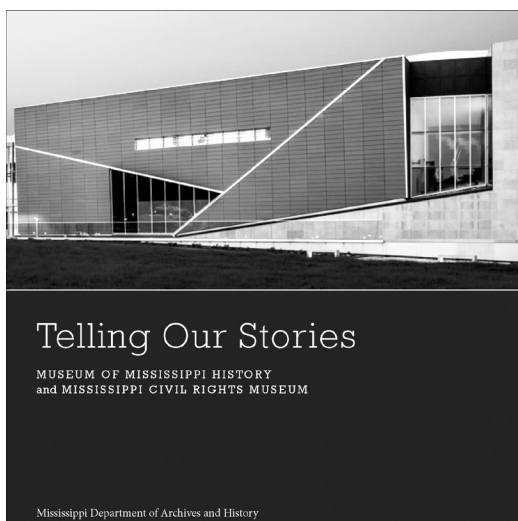
By Mississippi Department of Archives and History

Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, illustrations, index. 200 pages (approx.), \$25.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781496813480.

Telling Our Stories is the companion volume to the Museum of Mississippi History and the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum, which opened in December of 2017 as to culminate the state's bicentennial celebration. Overall, the book is a perfect example of an effective interpretive companion to a museum, or in this case, two museums. The book outlines the history of the state of Mississippi, supported by images of items on display in those museums. Reflecting the different but related foci of the two museums, the book is divided into two major sections, one a general history of the state, from prehistoric times to the present, and the second addressing the history of

slavery, the civil rights movement, and continuing race relations. Throughout the book, but especially in the second half, the authors do not attempt to gloss over or excuse the state's sad history of race relations. Instead, they strive to give the state and its residents an opportunity to reconsider its collective memory that is marred by racism, bigotry, and white supremacy. Unpleasant stories are told unflinchingly, but with the aim of telling the truth instead of assigning blame.

Anyone reading the volume should keep in mind that the book is intended to accompany a visit to the museums. As a history of the state, it is woefully inadequate. As



a rough outline to allow visitors to contextualize the artifacts that they are seeing, it is much better. The fact that it can present as much information as it does in a way that the general public will appreciate, in as few pages as it does, is impressive.

As befitting a book with a large corporate sponsor, the book has great production value. It has heavy duty binding and is printed on heavy paper. It is replete with high-quality color images that have been thoughtfully selected to illustrate the narrative. Though somewhat small for the purpose, the book is a thoroughly satisfying coffee table book, drawing in the casual reader with its graphics.

Unfortunately, poor editing and unabashed boosterism at the very beginning of the book almost put this reader off for the entire book. The introduction by two former governors asserts that “no state has more stories to tell than we do” (xi). Assertions of exceptionalism crop up in other places as well. The first chapter is particularly egregious. It claims that the Jaketown site was the center of Poverty Point culture despite its being less than half the size of the Poverty Point site in Louisiana. Ancient Mississippians are also credited with the development of bows, arrows, and the atlatl as well as the methods used to create ceremonial mounds. The chapter also presents modern suppositions about historical mound usage as fact. The first chapter stands out so glaringly because the rest of the book, other than a few minor issues, is so much better.

The state of Mississippi is rightly proud of its efforts to both confront and present its history with its two

new museums. The book did its job, as it made this reader want to visit those museums and learn more.

Aaron McArthur
Arkansas Tech University

A Chance for Change: Head Start and Mississippi's Black Freedom Struggle. By Crystal R. Sanders. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Acknowledgements, illustrations, map, notes, bibl., index. Pp. xi, 266. \$27.95 paper. ISBN: 978-1-4696-2780-9.)

Scholars of the Mississippi civil rights movement have been prolific in recent years, generating a number of worthy studies of the movement's peak in the 1960s and the years following. Crystal Sanders adds to this growing body of literature in her study of the Magnolia state's first Head Start program, the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM). The story of the CDGM is nothing new, as John Dittmer already covered the political narrative in his landmark book *Local People*. What Sanders provides is a bottom-up study of how the program was conceived and operated in the state focusing on the women who served as its teachers. She shows how CDGM teaching was just as much activism for poor black Mississippians as voter registration and other forms of political participation were to movement organizers. In fact, all of these forms of activism overlapped, as women who took part in the CDGM often then registered to vote and/or

tried to enroll their children in all-white schools.

The main focus of Sanders's study is the participatory democracy that black women created for black children through the CDGM. Because the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEOE) had been mandated to include "maximum feasible participation" by the poor, CDGM used women who lacked proper credentials to teach in the public school system. Ignoring teachers' lack of education standards opened CDGM to criticism from white supremacists and even middle-class black Mississippians, but Sanders argues that the program fostered positive self-esteem and racial pride in black children, which was at least as important to them as proper grammar and reading skills. In a state school system that promoted memorization and conformity at the expense of critical thinking and nontraditional learning, CDGM teachers promoted democratic participation at a very early age and challenged both racism and class prejudice.

Sanders also recounts the more familiar story of the CDGM's demise, in which white supremacist politicians like Senator John Stennis charged that the program, which empowered black Mississippians by bypassing the white power structure, was mismanaged. This became part of the racially motivated discourse that emerged in the late 1960s – the charge that black-run programs were incompetent and corrupt. This development foreshadowed the similar charges made against black elected officials in later years, as this rhetoric became a powerful way to discredit black accomplishments

without using overtly racist language.

It would be easy to romanticize the CDGM and the women who worked in it, as celebratory studies of the civil rights movement have not completely disappeared. While clearly sympathetic to the women who labored in the CDGM, Sanders does not hesitate to point out legitimate administrative and managerial problems in the program, while pointing out that Stennis greatly exaggerated them for political benefit. She also mentions the tensions between white activists in leadership positions, who chafed under federal directives, and black Mississippians who wanted the CDGM to operate, even if meant stricter OEO oversight.

The author's chronicling of these differences highlights one of the strengths of her study. All too often, federal programs have been portrayed as co-opting civil rights activism and essentially buying off the grassroots activists to bring in middle-class black people with more conservative attitudes. Although that did happen with Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), the Head Start agency that received support from white supremacists as a counter to the CDGM, the original CDGM was enthusiastically supported by poor black Mississippians. This was despite Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organizers viewing any federal action with deep suspicion after the bitter events of the 1964 Atlantic City Democratic Convention and that year's Freedom Summer. As Sanders deftly shows, for Mississippi's black and mostly female teachers, who taught in the CDGM, educating

their children was just as much an act of political activism as voter registration. Her book will likely be the landmark study of the Head Start movement and its role in the Mississippi freedom struggle for years to come.

Chris Danielson
Montana Tech University

Brown v. Board and the Transformation of American Culture: Education and the South in the Age of Desegregation. By Ben Keppel. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016. Acknowledgements, notes, index. Pp. vii, 215. \$45.00 cloth. ISBN: 978-0-8071-6132-6.)

University of Oklahoma historian Ben Keppel's *Brown v. Board and the Transformation of American Culture* scans the cultural legacy of what he terms "the Age of *Brown*" following the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision (4-5). To tell his story, Keppel focuses on three racial reformers—Harvard psychiatrist Robert Coles, comedian Bill Cosby, and television producer Joan Ganz Cooney—the respective creators of the *Children of Crisis* series, *Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids* (and later *The Cosby Show*), and *Sesame Street*. Coles, Cosby, and Cooney acted as cultural "first responders," or mediators, who facilitated the American polity's acceptance of the *Brown* ruling (2). Each individual sought "to bring new tools, ideas, and technologies to bear in an effort to close a racial divide between Americans . . .

." (26). In the wake of *Brown v. Board of Education*, reimagined standards about race relations, public education, and national identity represented "a mood, a temperament, and a frame surrounding a people's historical experiences" (24). Keppel interprets the era after *Brown* as a watershed. The long-term impact of *Brown v. Board* not only specifically invalidated state-sanctioned school segregation but also broadly instilled a societal obligation to educate all students, white and black, equally and equitably.

Coles, Cosby, and Cooney, through separate projects, utilized popular culture to promulgate *Brown* and racial equality among ordinary citizens. In his four decades researching the effects of school integration on children, Robert Coles's Pulitzer Prize-winning fieldwork taught the public about the challenges and benefits of the desegregation experiment. Keppel refers to Coles as a "goodwill diplomat" in the epoch of school desegregation (88). The now-disgraced Bill Cosby, whose sexual misconduct is referenced by Keppel, is presented with a sad touch of irony as a "Victorian reformer" (93). Serving as a "cultural politician," Cosby's fatherly demeanor and good humor broke down racial barriers and invited white television viewers into the inner world of black family life through educational programming and a sitcom (94). Keppel notes Cosby's ability to wield the "integrative power of laughter" to "facilitate debate and dissent" and upend the racial hierarchy of white over black (96). Cosby's greatest hit, *The Cosby Show*, portrayed a stable, upwardly

mobile, African-American family and celebrated the success of integration. Joan Ganz Cooney was another media innovator. Her production of *Sesame Street*, like Cosby's *Fat Albert*, provided a safe and democratic urban setting where people of all races and classes and "from different nations and cultures might be able to live as neighbors" (141). Cooney's vision of "social reconstruction through television" aimed to rebuild American social relations after the divisive 1960s and bring people together (144). *Sesame Street* served "as an effective middle ground" for children to gather virtually (147-48). Throughout the trim book, Keppel argues that Cooney, Cosby, and Coles worked as "participant symbols" who influenced the American public to embrace racial change and inclusivity (169).

Precisely how the public absorbed the new values and notions of citizenship is explained less clearly. Keppel never insists that all Americans responded favorably to the "age of desegregation," but he does not explore viewer reactions, of either race, or any social and political opposition. Another problem with the book is that Keppel's examination of his subjects occasionally succumbs to vague or overwrought characterizations of "participant symbols," "cultural politicians," and "first responders." Keppel, in fact, does not fully begin the first biography, his exploration of Robert Coles, until page 64 after a lengthy discussion on Detroit's school tax system, Freedom Summer in 1964, Septima Clark's voting rights boot camp in the South Carolina Sea Islands, and Marcus Foster's controversial and tragic

tenure as Oakland's superintendent of schools. *Brown v. Board and the Transformation of American Culture*, nevertheless, is a well-written and fitting sequel to Keppel's 1995 study, *The Work of Democracy*. He provides intriguing portraits of three important figures who furthered the goals of the civil rights movement and advanced ideas about justice and citizenship in creative ways.

William P. Hustwit
Birmingham-Southern College

Joe T. Patterson and the White South's Dilemma: Evolving Resistance to Black Advancement.

By Robert E. Luckett, Jr. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2015. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 274. \$65 hardback. ISBN: 9781496802699.)

Historian Robert E. Luckett's first monograph, built from extensive government records, interviews, and the author-collected papers of former Mississippi attorney general Joe T. Patterson, explores the ideological evolution of a segregationist who advocated that some black advancement was acceptable as long as it preserved white hegemony. This was the segregationists' and the white South's dilemma: how should former Confederate states abide by the Constitution's supremacy clause and continue disfranchisement and discrimination without resorting to nullification, secession, and violence? Patterson, we learn, battled hardline segregationists, civil rights proponents, and the federal

government during his multiple terms in office that coincided with the most famous challenges to Mississippi's white supremacy. Patterson's segregation was designed "to bend but not break," applying "practical segregation" ideology to many events he encountered, such as an integrated Veterans Affairs hospital, the *Brown* decision, university-level desegregation attempts, private schools for blacks, the Freedom Rides, the Citizens' Councils of America, Ross Barnett, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), and the federal government (216).

Luckett's chronology of Patterson's life begins in the 1930s when the mentor-protégé relationship developed with Senator Pat Harrison, the U. S. senator from Mississippi who endured a rocky relationship with the other Mississippi senator of that era, Theodore Bilbo. From the inception of Patterson's political career we learn about his keen acumen in remaining above the fray when politics became nasty as segregationists tried to one-up each other through racist rhetoric and appeals. Like J. P. Coleman, Patterson had learned that "hard-line resistance" was a failed strategy and sought to keep "white power long after the angry voices of diehard racists had faded away" (26).

Luckett's book closes with analysis of the activism that challenged Patterson's evolving segregationist ideology. The attorney general, for example, turned his back on the hardliners and Governor Ross Barnett's theatrics, allowing James Meredith's enrollment at the University of Mississippi.

Patterson secretly informed the Kennedy administration that Barnett and his inner circle, including Citizens' Councils president William J. Simmons, planned to renege on agreements made with U. S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Afterwards, Patterson worked to revoke state subsidies to the Citizens' Council, a private organization. In contrast, Patterson battled the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenges to the Regular Democratic Party delegates at the 1964 Democratic National Convention.

Luckett shines in the final two chapters as he shows Patterson's full evolution from a hardliner member of the reactionary Citizens' Councils to a savvy segregationist, concocting coded language crafted to avoid explicit defenses of racial discrimination. Covering the implementation of the Voting Rights Act as well as the Housing, Education, and Welfare (HEW) agency's refusal to accept Mississippi's Freedom of Choice and tuition voucher programs as legitimate school desegregation, Luckett uncovers topics vitally important for readers seeking a better understanding of segregationist politics and its relationship with New Right ascendancy. As the federal government considered withholding federal assistance to recalcitrant states, a new political ethos emerged in Mississippi, and here Luckett hammers home his thesis. Patterson acted on a more malleable form of segregation, allowing some black advancement, thereby retaining a more respectable white hegemony

without violence and explicit racist language. Lockett therefore joins a chorus of scholars, Joseph Crespino, Matthew Lassiter, and Kevin Kruse, just to name a few, who have explored the white South's cunning as voters realigned from solidly Democrat to staunchly Republican.

Future researchers might want to explore a few questions remaining unanswered in this well-researched study. Throughout the book, Lockett shows that Patterson and the hardliners insisted that the civil rights movement was part of some fifth-column, communistic plan. For Lockett, he characterizes segregationists' anticommunism as part and parcel of the Cold War era. Historians of southern anticommunism might wish for a more hearty analysis, and Lockett had the opportunity to develop one as his narrative includes Patterson's return to Mississippi as the Cold War developed. Yet this section of the book is far too sparse on information that might have explained Patterson's thinking about civil rights organizations and its relationship with communist subversives. Perhaps the documentation does not exist or fails to address the ideological development of Patterson who used anticommunism as just another tool to sully the reputations of civil rights proponents (to paraphrase historian George Lewis). Regardless, Lockett's work demonstrates that the South, and Mississippi especially, was not quite so solid when it came to preserving segregation and for that reason this book adds a significant contribution to a growing literature

on segregationists.

Kevin Boland Johnson
Grambling State University

Southern Water, Southern Power: How the Politics of Cheap Energy and Water Scarcity Shaped a Region. By Christopher J. Manganiello. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Acknowledgements, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Pp ix, 306. \$39.95 cloth, \$27.95 paper. ISBN: 9781469620053.)

In tracing the history of our country's water, much attention has been paid to the American West where drought, scarcity, and competition for resources has been central to that region's identity and development. But this is also the complex story of southern states, argues Christopher Manganiello in his well-researched and very readable *Southern Water, Southern Power: How the Politics of Cheap Energy and Water Scarcity Shaped a Region*.

Focusing on the Piedmont region of Georgia and South Carolina – particularly the watershed of the Savannah River – Manganiello, and environmental historian and water policy director for the Chattahoochee Riverkeeper, traces efforts to manipulate the water and energy resources of the area, beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing today. Despite the construction of dams, levees, canals, and reservoirs, that struggle for control continues

today, igniting multi-state water wars that have yet to be resolved. In many ways this is a humid version of the western water saga.

The book is divided into three main sections, following a chronological order with some overlap. The first part highlights projects during the rise of the New South (up to 1930) and notes that, long before the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) existed, boosters and businessmen in this coal-poor area had been damming rivers for transportation and to power textile mills. Augusta, Georgia, was dubbed the “Lowell of the South” – an optimistic reference to the booming textile area of Massachusetts, and the Augusta Canal diversion dam on the Savannah River “signaled the beginning of a new relationship between water and power—and a new organic energy regime—in the Piedmont” (29). In this period “corporate executives and engineers consciously replaced free-flowing rivers with artificial reservoirs,” which “consolidated economic power” and created “a modern hydraulic waterscape as their counterparts did in locales across the globe (44).”

This “white coal” of energy, however, had its problems. The vagaries of weather—long drought periods followed by abundant rainfall—did not make for steady water supplies that could evenly sustain mills’ energy needs, companies and, eventually, urban residential customers. Rivers could not be counted on to stay within their banks, which led to more and more control structures that provided mostly short-term solutions. Manganiello labels this “water insecurity” and

notes how it influenced decisions up to the present day. “Twin risks—flooding and drought—have been present and persistent across the region for some time” and “generated economic uncertainty and social conflict” along the way (7). The second section examines the “big dam consensus” period from 1930 to 1944 in which New Deal liberalism shaped waterways across the U. S., including the launch of the TVA to “limit monopoly power in the energy sector and to improve southern social and environmental conditions” (14). The Army Corps of Engineers (Corps) emerged as the main water agency in the country, and the third section of the book (post-1945) notes the post-World War II leadership of the Corps as the “Sun Belt’s primary water and power broker” and the modernization of the region. (14). At the same time, local and state boosters, politicians, and energy companies were often at odds with the Corps, as was a rising grassroots environmental movement. Changing ideas about rivers were evidenced in the 1974 decision to designate the Chattooga River as a federal wild and scenic river, which brought special protections and kept it mostly free-flowing, unlike the rest of the area’s rivers that had long since been dammed and controlled.

Manganiello keeps his subject lively through compelling anecdotes and tales of personalities who shaped the water systems. He explores how politics intersected with issues of segregation, public access to water, and states’ rights, all concerns that arose inevitably as a result of local and then federal manipulation of water and energy.

Although Manganiello repeatedly states that this book is about southern waters in the Southeast, it largely ignores the experiences of any states but Georgia and South Carolina. He makes mention of the devastating Great Mississippi Flood of 1927, but defers to others for that story. There is no mention of Florida's experiences with the ill-fated Cross Florida Barge Canal or the unwise manipulations of the Everglades that were equally immense but vastly different. Also missing is another important aspect—the environmental degradation and loss of vast riverine habitat and dependent species caused by these human controls.

That aside, *Southern Water, Southern Power* offers excellent insight into how water manipulation, infrastructure, and policy in the Piedmont region shaped its landscape, development, and politics.

Leslie K. Poole
Rollins College

The Limits of Loyalty: Ordinary People in Civil War Mississippi. By Jarret Ruminski. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017. ISBN: 9781496813961.)

Interpretations of the Civil War defy simple explanations. Sweeping analyses that once filled the pages of scholarly works have been replaced by an ever increasingly complicated assessment that provides a better accounting of humanity's complexities. *The Limits of Loyalty* successfully explores human nature's collective impact on the population

during a period of enormous external and internal pressure. According to Jarret Ruminski, Civil War historians have created a false dichotomy when examining Confederate nationalism. Most scholars have divided ordinary Confederates into loyal and disloyal camps. Ruminski, however, argues "that loyalty during the Civil War can seldom be understood in absolute terms" (4). *The Limits of Loyalty* argues that Confederate nationalism failed to unify Civil War-era Mississippians because the demands of the state conflicted with Mississippians' complex "micro loyalties."

The Limits of Loyalty begins with an in-depth exploration of what Ruminski and others have termed "protective nationalism." Protective nationalism was an extreme concept adopted by Confederate partisans to inspire Mississippians to endure enormous sacrifices in pursuit of national independence and to protect the newly formed government from a wide range of internal and external enemies. Protective nationalists tried to mold the Confederate state into a proactive tool capable of carrying out a zealous nationalism. However, as Ruminski points out, the Confederate state had limited powers to force Mississippians to abandon their micro loyalties in favor of sacrificing all for independence. Micro loyalties included connections to kin, ethnicity, community, religion, and other concerns that Mississippians at times pledged a higher allegiance to than the state. A disconnect evolved as Mississippians acted in ways that they believed served both their interests and the needs of the

state while protective nationalists increasingly defined micro loyalties as a direct threat to Confederate independence.

The arrival of Union military forces heightened tensions between ordinary Mississippians and the Confederate state. Zealous nationalists urged Mississippians to resist their Union occupiers despite the enormous risks associated with such actions. Much to the government's chagrin, Mississippians developed a complicated relationship with the enemy. Sometimes Mississippians signed Union loyalty oaths to access trade networks. Others swore allegiance to the Union to protect their family and property. Some used the oath to conceal their continued support for the Confederate government passing along news items and trade goods to the rebel state. Protective nationalists interpreted this behavior as disloyal and devised schemes to punish those who collaborated with the enemy. Meanwhile, tensions heated between protective nationalists and planters who denied that the state had the power to reallocate the latter's property, primarily slaves, for the good of the nation. The growing power of the central state alienated many planters who saw impressment, confiscation, and taxation as an enigma in the secession revolution. According to Ruminski, a broad range of Mississippians, rich and poor, black and white, male and female, proved unwilling to make the kinds of sacrifices that protective nationalists, and by extension the Confederate state, demanded. Yet ordinary Mississippians, by and

large did not see their adherence to their own micro loyalties as a direct rejection of the Confederate state. Most people failed to see their world in such binary terms.

The actions of the Union government further complicated local loyalties. Like its Confederate counterparts, the Union government demanded loyalty in absolute terms and interpreted a broad range of actions as treasonous. Mississippians thus found themselves trapped between two sides in a conflict with both demanding that individuals make enormous personal sacrifices as a symbol of their partisan zeal. In such an environment, Mississippians used claims of loyalty and disloyalty as weapons that could be wielded, with great effect, against personal enemies to resolve conflicts often having little to do with the war. Claims of loyalty and accusations of disloyalty were used to settle personal scores or to curry favor with one side or the other according to Ruminski.

The actions of slaves further complicated Mississippi's wartime loyalties. Slaves struggled to divorce themselves from white dominance. Masters interpreted slave resistance in familial terms that failed to connect the institution's demise to the failures of Confederate nationalism. The end of slavery and "the collapse of the Confederate government did not signal an end to the racial hierarchy that was its cornerstone" (177). Ultimately, while both slavery and the Confederacy failed to survive the war, white Mississippians' loyalties to race and to white supremacy helped tie together antebellum, wartime, and postbellum life.

The Limits of Loyalty provides an excellent look into the complexities found on the Confederate home front. While the study focuses on Mississippi, Ruminski's conclusions will be of interest to scholars of Confederate nationalism. This book would be a welcome addition to any Civil War scholar's library.

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The Chicago Manual of Style (latest edition) should be followed, with some exceptions (primarily dates: the *Journal* prefers “December 1, 1866,” to Chicago’s “1 December 1866”).

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