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**TRACTORS AND GENRES: KNOWLEDGE-MAKING AND
IDENTITY FORMATION IN AN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY**

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

This research examines the history of a small Florida agricultural community over the course of the twentieth century from a rhetorical perspective in order to understand the technological and communicative transitions that governed the development of American agricultural production. By examining archival and oral histories, this research will add to our understandings of how written and oral communications temper the relationships and social situations of an agricultural community, including the knowledge-making and technological adaptation resulting from communications within the community and with outside institutions and entities. Agricultural villages are not isolated entities, but rather sites of multiple rhetorical situations, and farmers do not farm alone, but inside an ecosystem of networked knowledges, practices, and traditions.

Thus, the history of a singular farming community may serve as a rhetorical microcosm of modern American agriculture's evolution over the course of the twentieth century, and provide some mindfulness concerning the social, technological, and natural ecologies that act and interact within modern farming communities. This dissertation will use rhetorical genre theory and ideas of local literacies to examine the written and oral discourses that run through these ecologies for the purpose of tracing the relationships between the sponsors of agricultural ideas and technologies and the local farmers who interpreted, employed, and modified them.

In addition, this project purports to add to digital history-making research through the construction of an historical archival website to which community members can add their voices. The *Samsula Historical Archive* creates an online nexus where community members can document, organize, and preserve the history of the community, offering a portal supporting multiple narratives and perspectives. Each family has its own stories and perspectives on historical happenings; by

bringing these together in one databased location, the layers and interconnections will become clearer and perhaps stimulate further memories and insights. A discussion of the rhetorical choices faced in constructing such an artifact may also help future researchers embarking on such a project.

This dissertation is dedicated to the Samsula farmers,
past and present, who have given me a new understanding
of this place I call home;
And to my uncle and aunt,
Bob and Pauline Jontes,
for sharing a lifetime of memories
of their lives in Samsula.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Contextualizing Genres in Communal Ecologies	1
<i>Communal Ecologies</i>	4
Rhetorical Genre Theory	7
Contextualizing Ecologies.....	9
Vernacular Literacies, Power, and Sponsors in an Agricultural Community	13
Agriculture: A Synthesis of Technologies.....	18
<i>Tools-in-Use and Hyper-Genres</i>	21
<i>Digitally Archiving the Farm</i>	24
CHAPTER TWO: THE SAMSULA STORY	27
Historicizing Communal Ecologies.....	27
Crops and Cash: The Business of Farming.....	30
<i>Formalizing Farming</i>	31
<i>Rail-maps to Progress</i>	37
Rails and Roads: Transporting Development	41
<i>Changing Economies</i>	51

Swamps and Soils: The Geology of Farming.....	52
Wells and Water: Terraforming Florida Land.....	54
People and Places.....	62
<i>The Arrival of the Slovenians</i>	66
Tractors and Tillers: Communicating Farming Technologies.....	70
CHAPTER THREE: SPONSORS OF AGRICULTURAL LITERACY.....	79
Identity, Literacy, and Know-How in an Agricultural Village.....	79
<i>Agricultural Literacies and Their Sponsors</i>	83
A Community of Agricultural Practice.....	85
<i>Samsula Narratives</i>	88
<i>The Extension Service Perspective</i>	95
<i>Home-Grown Ecotones</i>	98
<i>The Business of Farming: The Farm Record Book</i>	104
<i>Beyond Truck Farms</i>	110
CHAPTER FOUR: INTERNET GENRES AND MEANING-MAKING IN AN ONLINE COMMUNITY ARCHIVE.....	123
The Samsula Historical Archive: Databased Memories.....	123
<i>Building Community in an Internet Archive</i>	125
Composing for a Website: Community Intertexts.....	127

<i>Rhetorical Ecosystems and Website Genres</i>	129
Constructing Digital Ecologies	138
<i>Visualizing Oral Genres</i>	142
POSTSCRIPT	146
APPENDIX A: DETAIL, 1920 NEW SECTIONAL MAP OF FLORIDA.....	157
APPENDIX B: DETAIL, 1883 D. D. ROGERS MAP OF VOLUSIA COUNTY	159
APPENDIX C: DETAIL, 1888 A NEW SECTIONAL MAP OF FLORIDA	161
APPENDIX D: 1915 PETITION FOR LAKE ASHBY DRAINAGE DISTRICT.....	163
APPENDIX E: EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH.....	165
APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT	170
APPENDIX G: RICHES ORAL HISTORY RELEASE.....	177
APPENDIX H: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	187
APPENDIX I: IRB APPROVAL.....	190
APPENDIX J: FARMER INTERVIEWS.....	193
APPENDIX K: EXTENSION SERVICE ANALYSIS	217
APPENDIX L: CODING AND ANALYSIS INCLUDING DATA CHARTS	233
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	238

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. Communal Ecologies	5
Fig. 2. <i>A New Sectional Map</i> , 1920.....	39
Fig. 3. Detail, D. D. Rogers <i>Map of Volusia County</i>	46
Fig. 4. Detail, <i>A New Sectional Map of Florida</i>	47
Fig. 5. Detail, <i>The Rand-McNally Indexed County and Township Pocket Map</i>	48
Fig. 6. Detail, Howe and Currier advertisement.....	56
Fig. 7. Samsula Rhetorical Ecotones I	82
Fig. 8. Comparison of Seed Drills on Tomazin Farm.....	101
Fig. 9. Tomazin Farms Booth.....	112
Fig. 10. Samsula Rhetorical Ecotones II	118
Fig. 11. Sample ledger from a 4-H Project Record Book	119
Fig. 12. 1956 Officers of the State Council of boys' 4-H Club Work.....	120
Fig. 13. <i>Samsula Historical Archive</i> Home page	132
Fig. 14. Omeka user interface	133
Fig. 15. puTTY interface.....	134
Fig. 16. Samsula Stories.....	144
Fig. 17. Community and Digital Ecotones.....	150
Fig. 18. Detail, 1920 <i>New Sectional Map of Florida</i> . University of Florida Library.	158
Fig. 19. Detail, D. D. Rogers <i>Map of Volusia County</i> . 1883.	160

Fig. 20. Detail, <i>A New Sectional Map of Florida</i>	162
Fig. 21. Farmer Interview Data.....	236
Fig. 22. Reports Data.....	236
Fig. 23. Data Comparison.....	237

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Population Figures from <i>Florida, an Advancing State</i>	64
Table 2 USDA Agricultural Census Data 1920 - 1950.....	74
Table 3 Farm Record Books: Data Assembled from Extension Service Annual Reports	105

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

A human community, too, must collect leaves and stories, and turn them to account. It must build soil, and build that memory of itself--in lore and story and song--that will be its culture. These two kinds of accumulation, of local soil and local culture, are intimately related.

--Wendell Berry, *What Are People For?*

Contextualizing Genres in Communal Ecologies

In early 2003, many residents of the sleepy farming community of Samsula, Florida were shocked to learn of a planned unit development (PUD) set to break ground to their immediate east. The PUD, Venetian Bay, was slated to have 1600 homes on 1250 acres, and was described as “an upscale mini-city” (Pedicini). Unincorporated Samsula was, and still is, zoned for agricultural use, with ten acre parcels the norm. Thus, the urban encroachment raised many fears: Would farmers still be able to spray their crops? Would tractors still be allowed on the local two-lane hardtop? Would livestock ownership be challenged by gentrified neighbors who objected to the sounds and smells of life on the farm? Some Samsulans sold their land and moved to places like rural Alabama; others supported the development as inevitable; and still others fought back, organizing a grassroots movement to resist what they perceived as ill-conceived “progress.” The resistance failed, the development went in, more developments followed, and the community rests today in an uneasy balance with suburbs to the east, south, and north in an all-too-typical Florida story.

This research is stirred in part by this event, which brings to light the fragility of rural situations and identities, and thus the need to document an historical record of the community, and also by the recognition that what happened in Samsula is a scenario constantly repeated all across the globe as urbanization and industrialization change the face of farming and swallow rural lifestyles. The immediacy of this situation offers a local, researchable opportunity that can be studied

through a rhetorical lens. What can we learn from examining the technological and communicative transitions that governed the shape of agricultural production over the twentieth century in Samsula? And, why should rhetoricians care about the happenings and history of a small rural farming community? Scholars of rhetoric look to the local as a way of understanding how communications temper our relationships and social situations, and to the zones of contact, those intersections where diverse communities (perhaps with very different exigencies) meet and interact.¹ Agricultural villages are not isolated entities, but rather sites of multiple rhetorical situations enacted both within and outside the community. Farmers do not farm alone, but inside an ecosystem of networked knowledges, practices, and traditions.

Thus, the story of this singular farming community may serve as a rhetorical microcosm of modern American agriculture's evolution over the course of the twentieth century, and provide some mindfulness concerning the social, technological, and natural ecologies that act and interact within modern farming communities. This dissertation will use rhetorical genre theory and ideas of local literacies to examine the written and oral discourses that run through these ecologies for the purpose of tracing the relationships between the sponsors of agricultural ideas and technologies and the local farmers who interpreted, employed, and modified them.

Samsula, which has a rich agricultural history, was settled in the early twentieth century by immigrants who specifically moved there to farm. Many of the current residents are descendants of these original farmers, and either grew up on a farm or practiced agriculture as their own livelihood.

¹ See Brewster (2012); Butler and Edmondson (2012); Donehower, Hogg, and Schell (2012); and Herndl, et al. (2011) for examples of current explorations of rural and local rhetorics. In *Reclaiming the Rural*, Kim Donehower, Charlotte Hogg, and Eileen E. Schell argue that "the topic of rural literacies, rhetorics, and pedagogies" are "of vital concern to all" (9). Mary Louise Pratt describes "Autoethnography, transculturation, critique, collaboration, bilingualism, mediation, parody, denunciation, imaginary dialogue," and "vernacular expression" as "some of the literate arts of the contact zone" (37). While the divide between rural and urban may not be as well-defined or demarcated as other cultural rifts, I still find this a useful idea in terms of my research into Samsula history.

This is also a community of which I am a part; my history is entangled with the experiences that constitute the Samsula agricultural story. My relatives participated in twentieth-century farming in Samsula, and I have witnessed first-hand some of the changes over time affecting this community. As more and more of the “old-timers” slip away, I feel the press of time and a loss of our heritage; I hope to bring together the stories and vernacular histories of the community before more are lost. Through interviews with members of this population and examinations of the discourses surrounding and shaping agricultural relationships, I also hope to offer additional insight into the recursive effects of material and written technologies on these discourses. Through ethnographic examination of these interviews as well as analysis of historical genres involved in agricultural production, perhaps we can gain a better understanding of how working with and in the nature/culture synthesis of agriculture shapes perceptions of the environment.

In addition, this project purports to add to digital history-making research through the construction of an historical archival website to which community members can add their voices. The growing accessibility of online databases and navigation software opens the possibility of initiating an online nexus where community members can document, organize, and preserve the history of Samsula; this could serve as a portal supporting multiple narratives and perspectives. From a rhetorical standpoint, a singular voice may add to our understandings of a situation, but multiple lenses can challenge and expand our vantage points. Each family has its own stories and perspectives on historical happenings; by bringing these together in one databased location, the layers and interconnections will become clearer to community members and researchers, and perhaps stimulate further memories and insights.

Communal Ecologies

In order to situate this venture, I first wish to diagram some of the journey I have made thus far, the connections I have found, and the theories undergirding this research. I find the history of the Samsula agricultural community to have many interconnected, interactive, and interdependent elements that reflect a heterarchical rather than hierarchical narrative; this rhizomatic organization brings to mind an ecological analogy. Agriculture is a human enterprise inextricably entwined with non-human systems, and ecologies provide a language for understanding the multiple elements involved in sustainable farm production and land management.² Samsula agriculture can be seen as a system of production that is fundamentally responsive to and evolving alongside other social, economic, political, educational, biotic, and technological systems.

As a framing device, “ecologies” links the non-human environment with the human-constructed world, one of the goals of this research.³ Thinking of this research in terms of communal ecologies provides a standpoint with which to pull together the rhetorical genre theory, agricultural literacies, and literacy sponsorship that help explain how agriculture-specific ideas and technologies circulate textually between the local community and external institutions. These observations, in turn, can lead to a discussion of how knowledge ecologies in these contexts shape identity, policy, and ideology. This perspective follows a trend in recent critical literature; rhetoricians and literacy researchers have seized upon ecologies as useful ways of talking about

² See Gunderson, Holling, and Light, 1995; Berry, 1996; Ingram, 2007; Davison, 2008.

³ By “human-constructed,” I include philosophical as well as material understandings. For example, the concept of Nature (as something apart from humans) can be seen as a construct strengthened in western thought during the Enlightenment (see Carolyn Merchant, 1982). By showing the interrelated and interdependent status of coexistent systems, whether human or non-human, this research seeks to illuminate the complexities of non-dualistic situations.

interconnected writing, reading, and teaching systems, and data theorists have similarly connected the idea of complex information systems' design, application, and usability to a model based on organic, mutable principles.⁴ Originally a concept applied primarily to co-relational life-systems, ecologies are now comfortably paired with the idea of data systems (Por); information systems (Nardi and O'Day); activity systems (Prior); social networks (Buchanan) and rhetorical situations (Edbauer).

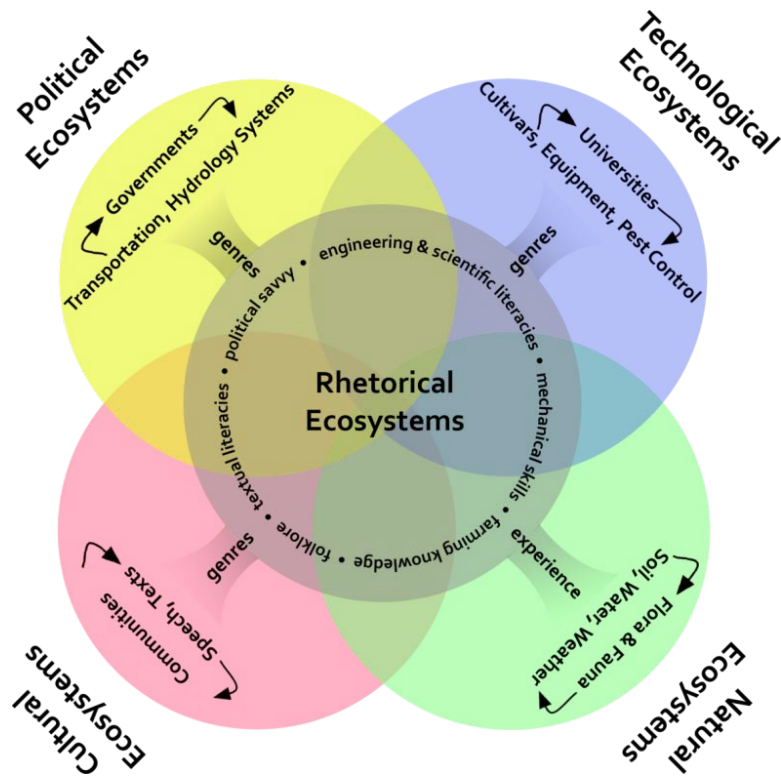


Fig. 1. Communal Ecologies

Figure 1 illustrates how these ecosystems might be visualized in the context of my research into the Samsula agricultural community: as intersecting systems, each carrying specific types of

⁴ See M. Cooper, 1986; Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Syverson, 1999, 2008; Barton, 2002; Edbauer, 2005; Prior, et al., 2007; Brooke, 2009, and Nardi and O'Day, 1999; Por, 2000; Buchanan, 2002; Hayles, 2012.

knowledge and understanding, each effecting and being affected by the others. The situation is too complex to be easily represented by a simple diagram, but the intent here is to clarify the ecological model for this research. In this representation, rhetorical ecosystems are situated as a convergent zone, circulating and distributing knowledge and adapting to recursive feedback.

For his definition of “rhetorical ecosystems,” Anis Bawarshi focuses on genre as the element which “help[s] communicants recognize, act within, and reproduce recurring environments” (“The Ecology” 70). I am broadening this understanding to include the local literacies that facilitate or impede the distribution, adoption, and adaptation of genres. Different literacies codify, interpret, promote, and modify the varying forms of knowledge and information transitioning among the various ecosystems, and the literate activity can be traced through the genres which help actualize the ideas and routines participating in the activities of agriculture.⁵ For example, the literacies with which knowledge is distributed out of technological ecosystems are often specialized and aimed at particular audiences, such as the scientific research reports that chart the development of a new method of insect control; this knowledge must be accommodated before it can be effective for local farmers.⁶ Thus, the genres in the interconnected exchange, research reports and agriculture bulletins, are each conveyed to their respective audience through appropriate language, form, and content. How the farmer chooses to adopt or adapt this knowledge depends on his or her practical experience as well as the capacity to interpret the genre.

⁵ Bawarshi connects genres to “actualized activity,” arguing that “Genre is central to [the] ecological process” of recursive patterns between motive, socio-rhetorical action, and ideology. He asserts that the “enactment of motive as intentional action” through genre “reproduces the very motive that made it possible” (*Genre and the Invention* 91).

⁶ For an early exploration of accommodation of scientific research, see Jeanne Fahnestock, 1998.

Rhetorical Genre Theory

Since the mid-1980s, genres have been increasingly seen by rhetorical scholars as doorways into understanding human communicative activities. Carolyn Miller argues that the notion of genre as “typified” rhetorical responses to recurring situations can be interpreted through a lens of social interactions by recognizing that the form of the communication, the content or substance of the message, and the context within which the rhetorical instance occurs are all “fused” into a “complex hierarchy” (“Genre” 159-160). Typified or situated responses indicate relationships and contingencies; actors in an ecosystem, whether texts, other technologies, humans, or natural agents, do not act alone, but in complex relationships with the other elements of the environment. Social recognition is necessary for the initial formation of genre, and social recognition translates genred communication into action (Devitt, “Generalizing” 576).

Miller’s contextualization of genre as a social interaction establishes writing as more than a simple communicative feature; respondent to situations and engendering action, genres are sites of activity, and locations where ideas and worldviews take shape.⁷ As she argues,

Genre we can understand specifically as that aspect of situated communication that is capable of reproduction, that can be manifested in more than one situation, more than one concrete space-time. The rules and resources of a genre provide reproducible speaker and addressee roles, social typifications of recurrent social needs or exigences, topical structures (or ‘moves’ and ‘steps’), and ways of indexing an event to material conditions, turning them into constraints or resources. (“Rhetorical Community” 71)

⁷ This approach to genre studies, influenced by Carolyn Miller’s 1984 article “Genre as Social Action,” and expanded by Charles Bazerman, Amy J. Devitt, and others, has been variously describes as the New Rhetoric school (Hyon 696; Hyland 114), North American genre theory (Russell; Freedman and Medway), and Rhetorical Genre Studies, or RGS (Miller; Freedman and Artemeva; Bawarshi and Reiff).

A social view of genres contextualizes them as the textual intermediaries that humans use to shape and construct activities; they can act as bridges between rhetorical situations, or as boundary objects that help define rhetorical parameters. According to Miller, typification and recurrence establish genres as “discourses that are complete, in the sense that they are circumscribed by a relatively complete shift in rhetorical situation” (“Genre” 159). This concept of a bounded rhetorical action is what allows us to think in terms of genre sets or genre ecologies: boundaries can work as connecting points, establishing relationships as well as defining edges. By looking at the bounds, we can see where genres overlap to create interdependencies, the reflexive and recursive spaces of interactivity.

In a genre set, genres can work alongside other, associative genres in sets or systems, such as the set of texts that initiate a typical retail sales transaction: sales order, production order, fulfillment form, bill of lading, invoice, and receipt. Where one set ends, another set might take up related work that continues the action set in motion by the first. Amy J. Devitt utilizes the idea of “a set of genres interacting to accomplish the work of” a specific discursive community in her 1991 research on tax accountants (“Intertextuality” 340), and, describing a genre set as a “collection of types of texts someone in a particular role is likely to produce,” Charles Bazerman adds the notion of the “genre system” made up “of the several genre sets of people working together in an organized way, plus the patterned relations in the production, flow, and use of these documents” (318). In Bazerman’s example, a teacher’s genre set is compared to the student’s genre set; they are not identical, but they are intertwined in meaning and purpose, and share patterns and features. Genres and genre sets not only serve the functions of these groups, but also help establish community identity; the genres employed by Bazerman’s instructor shape her role and actions just as the genres used by the students define their roles and activities. For Miller, genre sets reaffirm the socio-rhetorical nature of genre, “adumbrat[ing] a relationship between material particulars, instantiations of a genre in

individual acts, and systems of value and signification” (“Rhetorical Community” 70). Conceived as rhetorical ecologies, genre sets and systems are an integral element in the communal ecologies of the Samsula agricultural community.

Contextualizing Ecologies

Thinking in terms of ecosystems helps situate technologies, including writing, as adaptive responses to systemic interactions. Marilyn M. Cooper notes that an “ecological model postulates dynamic interlocking systems which structure the social activity of writing” (368). This “inherently dynamic” quality of texts positions writing as an adaptive response to situational variables; in the context of an agricultural community, writing becomes a technological response to the agricultural environment akin to the responsive mechanical technologies of farming. Writing responds to and shapes the people and land indirectly, through laws, petitions, and other genres, and it transmits ideas and belief systems, including changing perceptions of agricultural progress, through these texts.

Much as living organisms adapt to survive, genres evolve and change in response to the constraints of a situation. And, as in natural systems, the environment (situation) associated with specific genres often responds to adaptation by reciprocally changing. Miller points to the reproductive quality of genre, and its capacity, through reproduction by users, to “*create recurrence*” (“Rhetorical Community” 71), and Bawarshi asserts that “genres help reproduce sociorhetorical environments by providing communicants with the rhetorical conventions for enacting them” (“The Ecology” 73). Through this lens, we can see context or situation as an active, not fixed, element in the rhetorical ecology. In his “ecology of ideas” (xv), Gregory Bateson identifies “context” (another way of looking at situation) as “*part of the ecological subsystem*” rather than an external backdrop; it is not the individual organism (or genre, in this discussion) that mutates to survive, but rather the

system itself that changes to survive (338). While genres reflect our attempts to stabilize responsive rhetorical actions to recurring historical activities by creating repetitive forms, they survive and persist by allowing us to adapt to changing social and technological environments; in this process, genres often facilitate recursive change to those environments through the effects they produce.

Thus, the metaphorical appeal of the ecological concept lies not only in the interwoven relationships, but also in the active features we observe in a natural ecosystem: adaptation, flux, evolution (and co-evolution), breakdown, and resilience. Biotic ecosystems (whether cultivated or wild) are both subject and exigence for activity, comprising the raw materials and environmental challenges with which the agricultural communities, local and institutional, are engaged. These ecologies teach through experience and adaptation, which are decoded by humans as understandings ranging from folk to scientific knowledge. Reading nature through this lens reflects the multiple, differing ways of conceiving of and interacting with the non-human environment. Biotic ecosystems rely on evolutionary principles for survival: the systems are not static, but must constantly adapt to situational variables. Weather patterns shift; soils become depleted of essential minerals; air or water quality changes, and so forth. Variability, either through genetic mutation or epigenetic changes, allows ecosystems to remain resilient.⁸

Describing the movement and change in ecosystems, C. S. Holling points to “four primary stages in an ecosystem cycle”—“*exploitation*,” “*conservation*,” “*release or creative destruction*,” and “*reorganization*” (21). These phases alternate periods of stability with intervals of instability and movement in discontinuous processes, and contain other cycles nested within each other (22-23).

⁸ See N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Think*, for an extended discussion on epigenetics.

Lance H. Gunderson, Holling, and Stephen S. Light observe that “interactions” in evolving ecosystems are often “unpredictable” (490). Comparing both biotic ecological and social ecological systems as “adaptive complex systems,” they suggest that models applicable to biotic systems may also engender understanding for social systems (509-510). A key notion here is the concept of release or creative destruction, which sets in motion change or adaptation. System “equilibrium,” as Bateson notes, depends on the “interactive balances and dependencies” among the multiple actors in an ecosystem; he argues that “all important physiological or social change is in some degree a slipping of the system” brought about by imbalance (430-31).

Holling suggests that instability in ecosystems provokes change and adaptation. As much as genres represent relative stability (Spinuzzi, “Modeling”), they, like organic entities, also respond to systemic instability. Carol Berkenkotter and Thomas N. Huckin argue that genres

must do more than encapsulate intersubjective perceptions of recurring situations. They must also try to deal with the fact that recurring situations resemble each other only in certain ways and only to a certain degree. As the world changes, both in materials conditions and in collective and individual perceptions of it, the types produced by typification must themselves undergo constant incremental change. (481)

In other words, genres are adaptive--they respond to the situational factors in social/technological/communicative ecologies. Richard Coe points out that genres “evolve[e] rhetorically in contexts of situation. To persevere, they must somehow ‘work’, must serve rhetorical purposes, achieve desired effects, be ‘ecologically’ functional.” (157). In these rhetorical ecosystems, as Bawarshi contends, genres emerge from adaptation to rhetorical situations, allowing them to persist and reproduce through change, and enabling “communicants to enact and reproduce various environments, social practices, relations, and identities” (“The Ecology” 71).

Ecological evolution is a system-wide process of intertwining and interpenetrating multiple correspondences rather than a linear one-to-one relationship, and, from a social standpoint, learning and adapting within and from such a system requires flexibility equal to those situations that emerge from this process. Gunderson, Holling, and Light offer the idea of “*panarchies*” to describe the interactive relationships they identify in and between non-human and human systems, based on the periodic renewal and regeneration cycles(change) that ecosystems experience (519). As they explain,

That cycle is the engine that periodically generates the variability and novelty upon which experimentation depends. As a consequence of the periodic but transient phase of destruction and reorganization . . . the variables can become reshuffled, perhaps to establish different relationships, perhaps to be open to foreign and entirely novel entrants. (519)

Change comes about through failure or friction; when processes and forms no longer function productively, new forms and processes arise. The relationships in ecosystems are messy—heterarchical but not symmetrical—and include situations within situations where effects from evolutionary changes may impinge in areas isolated from the adapted “relata” (Bateson 338-39).⁹ Brian Walker, C. S. Holling, Stephen R. Carpenter, and Ann Kinzig describe this heterarchy as “‘systems’ consist[ing] of nested dynamics operating at particular organizational scales—‘sub-systems,’” as it were, of households to villages to nations, trees to patches to landscapes” (n. pag.), reinforcing the idea of ecological niches touching on and within other niches. An adaptation in one niche—one part of an ecosystem, whether natural, social, technological, or rhetorical—might have barely traceable repercussions that resonate far from the initial site of change.

⁹ Bateson uses “relata” to describe groups of related things such as the “animals and the grass” co-evolving in a prairie ecosystem (338).

Gunderson, Holling, and Light argue that the panarchic description can also be applied to institutions, which can be seen as “emergent sets of loosely connected and nested decision assemblages” (522-23). Institutions merit consideration within this discussion, especially from the vantage point of ecosystems, since multiple institutions influenced the development of agriculture in Samsula. Entities such as the land-grant college, experiment station system, and the extension service all exemplify the panarchic concept, and will be discussed in depth in the next chapter. These institutions played a direct role in sponsoring the literacies and their associated genres for twentieth-century agriculture in the Samsula community.

Vernacular Literacies, Power, and Sponsors in an Agricultural Community

From an ethnographic and historical perspective, this genred activity can be read as traces of past events; if we understand the context and exigence embedded in the form, content, and connections between related texts, we can develop a picture of the participants, their actions, and their communities. Looking at genres as “abstract, socially recognized ways of using language,” as Ken Hyland points out, supports an exploration of the “attitudes, values, and beliefs of the communities of text users that genres imply and construct” (114), or the kinds of text-as-artifact analysis derived from ethnographic research.¹⁰ Miller argues for this perspective as a way “to explicate the knowledge that practice creates, proposing that the ‘de facto’ genres, the types we have names for in everyday language, tell us something theoretically important about discourse” (155). Looking at genre as the ordinary, day-to-day communications that respond to and shape situations

¹⁰ Miller argues that “cultural artefact” is an apt analogy for a genre if we see it “as a product that has particular functions, that fits into a system of functions and other artefacts” (“The Cultural” 69).

may offer some insight into worldviews in the language through which they are expressed.

Researchers have explored this aspect of genre theory through various everyday genres, building on Miller's ideas in order to explain activities and relationships in legal, medical, corporate, information technology, and educational situations. It has been applied to blue collar as well as disciplinary professions, providing, as Miller suggested, an "ethnomethodological" framework for research ("Genre" 155).

An ethnomethodological exploration of an agricultural community's genres, past and present, can help illuminate the multiple ecosystems involved in truck farm food production; it can also help us understand the kinds of literacies the community valued in the course of its production processes, and how these literacies interacted with literacies from other communities. Genres, by their situational nature, intersect with understandings of the specific literacies that arise in discourse communities. Or, to put it another way, the notion of situated literacies aligns with the ideological aspect of genre in that literacy is "a relative term, representing a wide variety of practices appropriate for particular times, places, participants, and purposes" (Hyland 125). Local or situated literacies, as David Barton and Mary Hamilton argue, are historically grounded and respond to changes over time through "informal learning and sense making" ("Literacy Practices" 8). This reciprocal process ties together "the activities of reading and writing and the social structures in which they are embedded and which they help shape" (7). In the agricultural context, these situated literacies reveal that reading involves more than appropriating textual understandings; reading also extends to the knowledge necessary for negotiating the social, mechanical, scientific, and natural aspects of farm production. Literacies become the venue by which genres are distributed and appropriated by institutional and local agents.

What kind of literacies enabled the early immigrant farmers to form a farming community in the uncultivated Florida environment? How were literacies transferred from institutions interested in spreading twentieth-century agricultural technologies? Literate ecologies, Barton points out, describe “the interrelationship of an area of human activity and its environment. An ecological approach is concerned with how the activity—literacy in this case—is part of the environment and at the same time influences and is influenced by the environment” (“Literacy Practices in Local” 138). In an agricultural community, though, the genres and their associated literacies may not be as apparent as the other tools a farmer uses. A tractor in the field, or even a hoe, is a highly visible farming implement, while the fertilizer invoice remains a rather mute, but equally essential, participant in crop production. Bazerman asserts that “spoken and written genres are peripheral or supportive rather than central” in some situations where physical or manual aspects take precedence (319). This aligns with observations of the Samsula agricultural rhetorical situation, which relies heavily on oral and practical traditions of teaching and learning. Nevertheless, the genres and other texts peripherally supporting and generating action around the central activity of farming can still help us understand how local communities interact with external communities and institutions through situated literacies.¹¹

In a preface to *Genre and the New Rhetoric*, Allan Luke describes the connection he sees, as a literacy scholar, between genres and literacy studies, arguing that both areas of scholarship need to delve deeper into the socio-political aspects such theory-making opens. Luke calls for

¹¹ Barton, who along with Hamilton studied literacy in the context of “communal gardens,” noted that, while “it might be thought that there is very little reading and writing associated with growing vegetables for one’s family,” there is actually “a broad web of literacy practices” to be found in such activities (Barton 141).

a new rhetoric tied to an analysis of power, or, to extend Miller's model of pragmatics, a communicative ethics that provides some means for classifying types of knowledge, action and their political consequences. Such a rhetoric also would need to take up the connections between writing practice and face-to-face talk around texts, between text, talk and other forms of semioses in everyday literacy events. (viii)

In farming, "everyday literacy events" might include understanding when, exactly, to water a crop, or how to engage or disengage a tractor hitch; some of this learning may come from genred communications, and some may come from observation, oral tradition, or trial and experience. An ecological approach allows us to see the literacies needed to negotiate genres in the Samsula agricultural community as necessarily involving technical, political, observational, and scientific know-how developing as situations evolve.

A genre that enters into the literacies of a farming community takes part in the construction of agricultural knowledge, contributing and responding to particular situations; in doing so, it is "one of the structures of power that institutions wield" (Miller, "Rhetorical Community" 71). The reproductive, recurrent features of genre, Miller asserts, help convey institutional ideologies beyond the bounds of singular situations. Deborah Brandt argues a related idea: that literacy distribution extends beyond simple ideas of reading and writing, and operates within both individuals and aggregates as an extension of power. Brandt's "sponsors" of literacy represent "any agents, local or distant, concrete or abstract, who enable, support, teach, model, as well as recruit, regulate, suppress, or withhold literacy—and gain advantage by it in some way" (334). Within the agricultural system, local communities may sometimes rely on and profit from research in the land grant universities, distilled and distributed through extension services; these entities, then, can be seen as sponsors of

specific ways of thinking about and participating in modern technological and science-based agriculture.¹²

Conversations with Samsula farmers reveal that, in these interactions with the extension service, knowledge takes the form of an interchange of information. Farmers contribute as well as receiving knowledge, showing that sponsorship can operate reciprocally as ideas move dialogically from person to person. Local communities provide feedback, questions, and suggestions to these external sponsors, creating a feedback loop of agricultural know-how. Genres provided by sponsors, along with the other material technologies involved in knowledge transfer, become embedded in a farming community's actions. From within the communal ecosystem, genres assimilate and adjust to local ways of knowing and doing, sometimes returning to the original sponsors adapted and reshaped to fit the new vernacular knowledges to which they have been exposed.

These knowledge-production ecosystems are illustrative of responsive, situated learning.¹³ At the local level, the practices and processes involve learning in mostly non-formal situations, or what Etienne Wenger refers to as “communities of practice.” The “communal memory” that emerges from these learning situations is a response to “recurring sets of problems” (3). Just as genres replicate successful textual responses to recurrent situations, communal memory saves and transfers useful practices and processes for performing agriculture. A contrast can be drawn between formalized teaching protocols and these co-constitutive guidance events in an agricultural community—the organic types of adaptation that shape situated knowledge. The literacies and

¹² As Donald J. Puchala and Raymond F. Hopkins observe, the U.S. “government has been instrumental in fusing science and technology with agriculture” through institutions such as the land grant colleges (13).

¹³ See Lave, 1991; Killingsworth, 1992; Russell, 1997; Brandt, 1998; Wenger, 1998; Barton and Hamilton, 1998, 2000, 2005; Jones, 2000; Law and Singleton, 2000; Pandora, 2001; Barton, 2002; Edbauer, 2005; Tusting, 2005; Grabill, 2007; Engstrom, 2009; Herndl, et al., 2011; Brewster 2012; Butler and Edmondson, 2012; Donehower, Hogg, and Schell, 2012; Ryan, 2012; and Schell, 2012.

genres that arise out of these situations are particular and adapted to the community within which they emerge. Communities of practice reveal rhetorical ecologies as intensely social, as they help construct and reconstruct communicative actions within specific contexts.

Exploring the history of a specific community over the course of a century through its literate practices and textual artifacts can help us understand how genres facilitate meaning-making in historical rhetorical situations. Genres emerge out of and move within channels of literate activity; at times affirming bounds and at other times utilizing and adapting to new literate situations. To fully understand the functions of specific genres, they must be seen in the social, cultural, and literate context in which they are embedded; viewing these genres as part of the history of an area can open new understandings of the activities that community members pursued in the past. The genres involved in the history, both in their original, past context and in their current analytical framing, can help us piece together the changes that happened over time and perhaps help us understand why these changes are meaningful to current situations.

Agriculture: A Synthesis of Technologies

In this research, I am making connections between the multiple ecologies, including the technological and rhetorical ecologies, which constitute the Samsula agricultural community. To make clear the connections between the hoe and the pen, a very brief background on the history of agriculture is in order. Agriculture rests in that uneasy perceived divide between human and nature, between the false dichotomy of “us” and “Other.”¹⁴ What could be more fundamental than the

¹⁴ Environmental historians point out the term “nature” is “freighted and now thoroughly problematized” since very few places on the planet are unaffected by human activities, and that a recognition of the hybridity of situations like agriculture provides a less naïve worldview for analysis (Sutter 96).

perceived barrier between human and non-human? Surely, nowhere else does the breadth of human machination and management of natural phenomena take on quite as much suasive power as in farming. Agriculture has, after all, been a significant factor in human existence for at least 10,000 years, fading far enough into prehistory to gain the aura of natural behavior. Farming and the ability to control food supplies enabled the population-dense, elaborately technological cultures we now inhabit to come into being. Some scholars argue that technology is what makes us human, but it was agriculture, not the bow and arrow, that underwrote the development of urban civilizations. The technologies that emerged out of and contributed to the human enterprise of agriculture are numerous, and involve elements as diverse as mechanical field implements and the evolution of literacy.

The archaeological record helps us see the connection between early agriculture and writing: around the same time that agriculture first blossomed in Mesopotamia, the first scripts appeared. As Jack Goody observes, textual communication as a material technology arose as a corresponding development with agriculture, and some of our earliest examples of Western texts consist of cuneiform records of agricultural surpluses (*The Domestication* 82). A literate capacity enabled calculated inventorying and distribution of food production, and in doing so increased the inevitable divide between human and non-human Other. Food--natural in origin, human-influenced in the cultivation process—became, through the lists inscribed onto clay tablets, recorded commodity. Plants and animals, shaped over eons by natural forces, were more rapidly re-formed into quantified goods to suit human needs. In one of the first agricultural civilizations, Sumeria, lists of stock inventories managed by scribes indicate not only the presence of organized agricultural production, but also the economic, social, and political roles of that production process within early societies. The inventory tablets of these early scribes, in managing the output of this production, perhaps

represent the first genres as recognizable textual responses to the recurring situation of harvest and surplus, and in the process helped shape and define our concept of agriculture.¹⁵

While we can recognize similar situations of record-keeping in modern agriculture, many transformations have taken place in agriculture's material production practices since the days of the Sumerians. In the twentieth-century, as numerous researchers have argued, transitions in agricultural technologies and processes have had profound effects on both human communities and the environments in which they live and work.¹⁶ Deborah Fitzgerald defines "agricultural technology" as "the process of systematically cultivating plants and animals, including the economic, mechanical, human, scientific, and institutional forces that support such activity" ("Beyond Tractors" 115), and in the Western world these processes reflect the industrial revolution's impact on manufacturing, transportation, and other facets of modernity. Changes in agricultural technology encompass a range of historical developments, and include mechanical adaptations as well as biological and chemical innovations. In addition to the observable tractors and tillers, Samsula farmers also engaged and interacted with projects such as the drainage district and changing transportation systems. Rhetorical ecologies within Samsula's history can help illuminate how these technologies interrelate with the literate technologies operating in the community. In tandem with their associated genres (such as maps, government Acts, petitions, and educational brochures), these technologies conveyed ideas of process and product, and can be seen as also serving institutional and commercial sponsors of a particular kind of twentieth-century teleological agricultural literacy.

¹⁵ While I originally made this connection from Goody's examples, it was reinforced by David R. Russell's explanation of how the reciprocal activities within and surrounding agricultural systems over time were "mediated by a vast range of tools often including inscriptions as discursive tools" (509).

¹⁶ Berry, 1977; Fitzgerald, 1991, 1993, 2003; Lyson, 2004; Ingram, 2007; Lavin, 2009; Lang, 2012.

Tools-in-Use and Hyper-Genres

Much has been written about the role of mechanical, chemical, and biological technological innovation in twentieth-century U.S. agricultural history in terms of economic valuation and social impacts. Economists such as Bruce L. Gardner and Giovanni Federico cite the economic effects of the increased output brought about by industrial technologies and methods in the twentieth century, while rhetors such as Fitzgerald, Wendell Berry, and Thomas Lyson examine the social and environmental effects of this agri-industrial trend on communities and families. My research will look at a less-discussed area: the communicative technology of writing in agricultural transitions. By taking a genre perspective, in which texts invoke and participate in actions, I will show that the dispersal of agricultural technologies, whether mechanical, chemical, or biological, can be approached through a biologic metaphor of ecologies. By studying one community's exposure to and use of the genres of agricultural momentum, my research may give us a better understanding of the paradigms of agricultural progress (and their relative influence on our perceptions of and relationship to non-human biotic systems). If memes are the genetic material of knowledge-sharing and continuance (as Richard Dawkins argues), then genres are the DNA: adaptive, recognizable, textual responses to environmental/rhetorical stimuli that give shape and purpose to textual or oral communications. Genres shape species of communicative acts, semi-stabilizing social communicative expectations by responding to environmental shifts and changing needs over time. This adaptive capacity can be seen in an everyday genre such as a farm equipment catalog. In the early twentieth century, print catalogs enabled isolated rural communities to participate in advances in farming technologies by bringing the retail opportunity to their mailbox through print brochures. In the digital era, once again material goods are made readily available for purchase at a local level,

only now the text and images come through the Internet. We can still recognize the genre through the situation to which it responds and the action it produces, though the form and delivery may be very different.

In a plurality of interacting ecosystems such as those visible in Samsula, the interfaces they share constitute the nodes, as Clay Spinuzzi asserts, where change takes place (*Network* 17). Miller, in describing her concept of rhetorical community, expresses this intersection and the activity of genre as an “operational site of joint, reproducible social action, the nexus between private and public, singular and recurrent, micro and macro” action (“Rhetorical Community” 62). Spinuzzi argues that knowledge must be interpreted and acted upon at these nodes through genres and other “tools-in-use” (*Network* 20), a term David R. Russell defines as any “new tool (whether a clutch or a semicolon)” that may become “unconscious” with recurrent use (511).¹⁷ Russell argues that the idea of genre represents a routinized action, and suggests that genres and other tools-in-use are not just autonomous objects, but active participants in social systems (506).¹⁸ Genres, which act to stabilize relationships and discourses, also display an active adaptability that poses opportunities for change (Spinuzzi, *Network* 17). Thus, a tool-in-use (whether a mechanical technology, such as an improved disc attachment for a tractor, or a genre, such as a legislative act that permits wetlands destruction)

¹⁷ Amy Devitt challenges Russell’s concept of genre as “tool-in-use” because of static implications (“An Analysis” 47-48). While I concur that in some instances this might be the case, I would offer that static behavior might also be a matter of perspective. A tool can be readapted and adjusted to new needs through invention. A screwdriver is exquisitely designed to propel a screw through a substrate, but it can be repurposed to punch a hole through drywall in order to sink a molly bolt, or used as a lever to pry off a paint can lid—objectives for which it was not intended. Similarly, a genre can be repurposed by someone who has a different need or use for it. As Anna-Malin Karlsson describes in her 2009 study of Swedish workers, while the institutional prerogative of a genre may be a static objective, the audience of the genre may interpret it differently and apply or use it much differently than the original intention. I suggest that the actionability and functionality of a genre are intimately tied to authorial and audience needs and perceptions, and that one party may view the same genre as a tool while another party to the same genre may envision it as a mutable opportunity for change: a site of negotiation.

¹⁸ Law (1992) indicates a similar situation with “punctualized resources” (p. 384), where routinized interactions enable activities to operate functionally within complex systems.

can serve as a mediating object that embodies, translates, and sponsors institutional ideas of progress and their associated practices for local agricultural communities, and communal experiences with and reactions to such tools-in-use can reciprocally shape the invention, production, and distribution of new tools-in-use. Genres, as tools-in-use alongside other technologies in an agricultural community, come into focus as distinct threads shaping the multiple culture/nature/technology associations. The relationships of identity, purpose, and tools-in-use—including genres—become the weft and warp of the whole cloth.

The genres that work back and forth in this socio-rhetoric weaving, such as agricultural brochures, offer a script through which to uncover some of the relationships that shape an agricultural community, a script that can be extended to social responses and material practices as well. Other ethnomethodologies will also be employed to study these connections: oral histories will trace the vernacular perspective of the community's past, and the physical history will be explored through observations of the significant places, tools, and technologies (including literate) expressed in the community's history. Exploring the discursive history of a specific community such as Samsula—situated within a specific geographic area and historical era, and availed of the technologies and ways-of-knowing associated with those factors—can help reveal the connections and intersections between the local and extra-local elements, and bring into focus any patterns veiled in the rhizomatic messiness of lived activities.

As intimated before, the genres and technologies embedded in the histories and discourses of the small agricultural community of Samsula might also provide clues to how farmers come to understand human relationships to the natural world. Agricultural communities such as Samsula, as loci of direct and sustained human workings with the environment, offer an opportune site to study the language of human-nature-technology interactions. The working farmer has an intimate

knowledge of the place he or she tends, an awareness of the connections with weather, water, and soil made acute by the dependent nature of the relationship, and experience from learning, using, and adapting agricultural technologies, however rudimentary or advanced. The forces of modernity have brought pressures to bear upon these interconnections, effecting change in ways often mutually detrimental to both farm communities and the natural environments surrounding them. These changes over time can be interpreted in terms of the intersecting systems of natural, cultural, technological, and rhetorical ecologies, and while the scope of such an overarching history is beyond the purview of this current research, some understandings may be gleaned from an examination of how genres transcribe these overlapping systems. Individual genres in case studies may provide snapshots in time—researchable loci for unpacking discrete layers of activity.

Digitally Archiving the Farm

The tools-in-use of Samsula's communal ecosystems will provide a framework for discussing human-nature-technology interactions, and, just as significantly, they will open a discussion of the online interactive historical archive proposed as an adjunct to this research. Digital scholars discuss online interactivity in terms of socially connected networks, and these networks align conceptually with the fluid, unpredictable, generative potential of natural ecologies.¹⁹ As an extension of the historical and rhetorical research into the physical community, the *Samsula Historical Archive* website will offer a way to record and construct history by including the non-specialist as participant. Site users will contribute individual stories to the database that connect to other dialogues, adding an

¹⁹ Star and Ruhdeler, 1996; Landow, 1997; Bowker and Star, 2000; Brown and Duguid, 2000; Johnson-Eilola, 2005; Spinuzzi, 2008 all discuss the connectivity of networks as the driving force behind a new form of communication and interactivity.

emerging complexity to an ongoing narrative. As Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig observe, such interactivity might actually change how history is practiced, due to the interactivity afforded by the Internet (7). The potential of the Internet is in intertextuality and the realization of layered multivocality; now authors of vernacular histories can add to this web of knowledge as they participate in history-making.

Databases enact genre systems in a relational, contextual armature, and they present a new technology of writing narrative.²⁰ They, too, are adaptive (maybe even more so) than traditional manifestations of genre, and so extend notions of rhetorical ecologies into the digital realm. In this way, the website can add to our understandings of genre theory. By storing narratives and representations of historical genres, archival databases can be seen as another tool-in-use: digital hyper-genres, or genres and genre sets nested within a networked ecology.²¹ As interactive portals for user participation, database hyper-genres may bring together the notions of genre as social action, genre ecologies, and vernacular literacies.

In Chapter Two, the *Samsula Historical Archive* will inform the historical perspective presented in this research. The ecologies of intersecting elements are categorized through the naming conventions adopted in the website; as will be seen, these delineations are porously bounded, and help demonstrate the interactions, adaptations, and recurrent influences among the historical

²⁰ Manovich describes database and narrative as “natural enemies” because digital constructions allow the interruption of the narrative “cause-and-effect” flow of events (225). Hayles counters this perspective by asserting that database “needs narrative to make its results meaningful” (*How We* 176). The relational database behind *The Samsula Historical Archive* is structured to encourage the narrative of which Hayles speaks.

²¹ Janet Giltrow and Dieter Stein mention “hyper-genre” as a potential “superordinate category” description for Internet discourses such as email which “enables several genres” (9-10). They are addressing the problematic fluidity of Internet discourse as a complicating factor in identifying genre in this context, but they do not mention database or the structural components of coded language—the backbone of interactive websites. I suggest here, and will expand on in Chapter Four, that hyper-genre is an appropriate terminology for associative database-supported web archives.

elements. Recognition of these intersections was greatly enabled by the process of designing the website, a discussion that will be taken up in Chapter Four. Chapter Three, meanwhile, will delve into the relationships between farmers, sponsors, and genres in Samsula agricultural history, as revealed in the ethnographic research carried out for this project.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SAMSULA STORY

All farmers worry about the weather, if there will be too much or too little rain, excessive wind and cold, or badly timed aberrations; they all worry about money, and whether there will be enough to buy seed, livestock, and equipment, to hire farm laborers, to make necessary repairs to barns, houses, and machines, and to pay taxes; and they all worry about regional and international markets as well as the political maneuverings that might open or close crucial markets, or inhibit farmers' access to these markets.

--Deborah Fitzgerald, *Every Farm a Factory*

Historicizing Communal Ecologies

In the introduction I suggested the idea of ecologies as a useful metaphor to explain the multiple connections and interactions taking place over time in the agricultural community of Samsula, Florida. In this chapter, I will expand on that concept through a survey of the historical antecedents of today's community. Ecologies, as I argued, can help us understand not just the activities happening within the parameters of a singular system, but also the intersecting areas where ecologies meet or overlap. These contact zones signal transitional spaces, or places where disequilibrium creates flux, setting the stage for change and adaptation.²² Contact zones also illuminate the hybridity inherent in culture/nature/technology interactions, exposing an "increasingly expansive borderland" (Sutter 96).²³ The overlaps between communal ecosystems may be seen as locations for innovation, change, or knowledge transmission—prime areas for genres to have an effect—but to find these intersections, we must first look at the various systems at work in Samsula's history.

²² See Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone."

²³ Paul S. Sutter argues that "hybridity . . . implies that human history and culture cannot be easily isolated from environmental forces and circumstances" (96).

Like the interdependencies in a biological ecosystem, the ecosystems intersecting, overlapping, and interacting through an agricultural community will change and adapt depending on the time period, geographical location, specific actants involved (technological as well as biological), and multiple other situational variables.²⁴ In the case of the Samsula community, agriculture became established because certain other factors fell into place; warm weather and a talent for growing things were not sufficient in and of themselves to produce an economically viable farming situation. A successful agricultural community needs people to participate both as producers and consumers, markets and a way to get products to those markets, technologies to work the land, water and nutritional sources to sustain the crops and livestock, and solutions when crops or livestock are threatened by disease or weather. Framing these actants and their interrelationships as ecologies helps us to understand how a community's history can be viewed as an ongoing interactive exchange of information, materials, actions, and practices.

In this chapter, I will introduce what I perceive as the major ecosystems at work in the historical narrative, recognizing that this will not be an exhaustive record of Samsula's twentieth-century history. In keeping with the heterarchical nature of ecologies, this narrative will be neither linear nor chronological; rather, it will follow the historical features in such a way to reveal their layered intersections and connections over time. The architecture of this narrative will further be influenced by the website design, in that the segments and icons will use the same nomenclature and images established in the *Samsula Historical Archive* navigation. While useful for following the Samsula story, these divisions only help establish the general ecologies of Crops & Cash (institutions and

²⁴ Bruno Latour states that an "actant can be literally anything provided it is granted to be the source of an action" (53); in this paper, it is used to indicate both biological as well as non-biotic active elements in a situation.

economic systems), Roads & Rails (transportation systems), Swamps & Soils (native systems), Wells & Water (natural and man-made hydrologic systems), Tractors & Tillers (agricultural technologies), and People & Places (issues of migration and immigration, settlement, and adaptation); they do not form hard and fast boundaries, and actants may cross into or impact multiple spheres over time.

The overlapping elements all influence (and are influenced by) the Samsula rhetorical ecosystem and its connected genres, external as well as internal, and an understanding of these relationships will help contextualize the research studies that follow. Genres used as political instruments to help realize policy goals can be approached as examples of David R. Russell's tools-in-use (511). These genres affect change by overt persuasion, either as legal acts from an elected body, or sometimes, as in the case of the Briggsville (as Samsula was first known) petition drive, from a motivated citizenry. Technological change, on the other hand, often occurs through more covert persuasion in the form of demonstration, education, and advertising. The technologies at work in the Samsula ecosystem can also be considered rhetorical artifacts, as material technologies shape the situations within which they are used; like a written genre, an individual tractor instructs the user (reader), and constructs perceptions of utility as well as expectations of potential.²⁵ Both vectors—genres and technologies—were working in tandem in the early twentieth century in Briggsville, as political tools-in-use and the latest technologies, such as steam or petroleum-fueled dredges, were employed to address the needs of land developers and farmers. Political tools-in-use often first emerge from institutions, and the next section will explore how agriculture became an institutional objective.

²⁵ Law and Singleton, 770-72.



Crops and Cash: The Business of Farming

To enter this study, I will first examine some of the institutions—the state and federal governments, educational institutions, and state agencies—that impacted (and continue to impact) agriculture in Samsula, Florida. These institutions enacted and implemented laws and programs by means of a rhetorical infrastructure that included various genres, such as legal acts, administrative forms, and educational materials. This section will take a closer look at the rhetorical ecology at work, and describe how it affected change by conducting ideas through laws and acts from the political ecosystem, and bridging ideas reciprocally between the technological ecosystem and the cultural ecosystem through educational bulletins.

The section will also consider what expectations of literacy mean in this situation, and how agricultural literacy is necessary for the other parts of the rhetorical ecosystem to function. Deborah Brandt points to the economic function of literacy, arguing that “like land, [literacy] is a valued commodity in this economy, a key resource in gaining profit and edge” (169). Literacy enabled the farming communities to receive and respond to the construction of agricultural knowledge instantiated by legal, educational, and commercial institutions. The expansion of science-based agriculture and its related industrialized technologies in America—the foundations for modern American farming and the ensuing green revolution—were shaped and constructed at least in part with the genres that—along with the relationships with the institutions and face-to-face meetings with the institutions’ agents—carried this vision of modern progress.

Formalizing Farming

To get a full idea of the scope of institutional influence, this exploration must begin long before Samsula even existed as a place on the map. In 1862, the same year the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and the Homestead Act were established, the First Morrill (or Land Grant) Act was signed into law by President Lincoln.²⁶ As many historians recognize, the First Morrill Act, by establishing federal support for state land-grant universities purposed toward “Agriculture and Mechanic Arts” (First Morrill Act), set the stage for agricultural knowledge to become a formalized sphere for technical and scientific inquiry in the United States.²⁷ This legislation was intended to provide agriculturalists with specialized education and standardized farming practices, with the idea that this dissemination of agricultural science and methods would improve the economy.²⁸ Agriculture as it had been practiced for most of human history was an area, at least to the economists, open to change through reorganization, systemization, and science-based principles of production. It was hoped that, just as these ideas had transformed the U.S. manufacturing economy, they would similarly reshape agricultural practices.

The legislative acts that encapsulated and conveyed these ideas of progress were genres—documents encoding and enacting the legislative process. Genres, as Amy J. Devitt argues, “reflect[] especially and commonly a group’s values, epistemology, and power relationships—its ideology”

²⁶ The initial Homestead Act enacted in 1862 was signed into law by President Lincoln and offered settlers the opportunity of land ownership—“160 acres of public land”—if they fulfilled the requirement of living on the land for five continuous years (Homestead).

²⁷ See Wendell Berry, *The Unsettling* 149, J. Cooper, 1, Ida Keeling Cresap, 220, and Louis Ferleger, 213. Cresap, who served as the librarian at the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station’s Hume Library from 1923 to 1963, wrote a history of Florida agriculture that was edited and published after her death. She devotes a whole chapter to the laws that “advanced Florida agriculture” (220). Berry troubles the effects of modernization through the land-grant college system as privileging industry over the farmer, arguing that “the interests of industry have subjugated those of agriculture” in the land-grant system (149).

²⁸ See Thomas A. Lyson, 15, and Deborah Fitzgerald, “Beyond” 116.

(“An Analysis” 59-60). The genre of the legislative act is a product of a specific community—lawmakers—but the effects of these genres extend far into other communities that may have little contact with or relation to the legislative body itself. Acts pass across communal boundaries, borders that “are not rigid or static,” but rather “permeable” to external ideas and ideologies (Devitt, “An Analysis” 43). As Kim Donehower, Charlotte Hogg, and Eileen E. Schell note, some of these legislative rhetorical actions, such as the Homestead Act, had problematic repercussions that displaced indigenous Americans and set in motion eventual environmental damages (4). Corollary damages from the process of modernizing American agriculture would, in some cases, not become visible for years. Rhetorical actions in Washington, D.C., or Tallahassee, Florida, thus had a significant, if sometimes circuitous, impact on local communities in Volusia County (where Samsula is located).

In Florida, the First Morrill Act “made possible the establishment of the Florida College of Agriculture,” later known as the University of Florida, and the college acted as the overarching institution for formalized agricultural knowledge-making in the state (Cresap 220). In effect, the First Morrill Act carried the seeds of progressive agriculture, setting in motion the modern farm system as it developed in the twentieth century. It was followed in 1887 by the Hatch Act, which provided funding for experiment stations to conduct research on agricultural subjects including plant and animal biology, diseases, fertilizers, and soil and water chemistry, and in 1888, the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station was created to work in conjunction with the college (Cresap 220-221). Lyson points out that the experiment stations were intended “to support basic and applied research in the agricultural sciences” (15), research that could be applied to working farms to increase productivity. These institutions set up trial farms to test the ideas emerging from university research before disseminating these methods to the local farmers.

In 1914, a third piece of legislation important to Florida farmers was introduced in the Smith-Lever Extension Act, which established the creation of extension services in each state; these bodies acted to distribute the knowledge originating from the land grant universities and experiment stations into the rural parts of the country (Cresap 224). Though the extension services had been presaged by Farmers' Institutes and other organized ag-related demonstrations beginning in the mid-1800s, the Smith-Lever Act provided funding to expand and formalize the programs (J. Cooper 6). The initial goal of the Florida Extension Service was "to improve rural living standards, through larger and more dependable farm incomes" (*Silver Anniversary* 7). To achieve this objective, the extension services were aimed at the farmer and homemaker at the local level. By 1915 (the year states had to match federal funds), Florida had "cooperative demonstration agents . . . in 31 counties" (not including Volusia), and "24 county home demonstration agents," including Miss Eloise McGriff in Volusia (J. Cooper 4-5). The male county demonstration agents and the female home demonstration agents worked with local communities, putting on demonstrations (as their titles imply) of the methods and new findings coming out of the experiment stations. Youth outreach was achieved through the formation of 4-H clubs, which engaged boys and girls in projects to prepare them for adult farm and homemaker crafts. In addition to presentations to groups, county agents also worked individually with farmers, assisting with livestock and crop issues.

Extension agents acted as literacy sponsors, carrying information and new ideas between the institution-based research on crops and growing methods and the place-based experience of the individuals who put these ideas into practice. At the same time the agents were distributing the ideas generated in the land-grant universities and experiment stations, they were also availing these same institutions to the vast open-air laboratories of the working farms, and returning with information on how these ideas worked in implementation. Louis Ferleger describes how

Knowledge also flowed from the farmers back to the government agencies. Improvements in seeds, fertilizers, and disease control as well as development of new agricultural products required that the scientific community . . . receive information back from farmers concerning their experiences under widely varying climatic and geological conditions. (213)

Unimplemented, the scientific findings from the experiment stations meant little; transformed into action, translated into discourses accessible to local farmers, these practices helped make agriculture a viable enterprise.

The 1914 Smith-Lever Act formalized national extension services, but J. Francis Cooper cites the earlier efforts of the Farmers' Institutes as performing similar outreach functions in conjunction with the "Experimental Station and College staff," and aided by "Agricultural committees, crop improvement associations, state horticultural societies, branch offices of the State Commissioner of Agriculture, state and county school officers, women's clubs and similar groups" (6). By the time county extension agents moved into these roles, a support system of print literature—genres in the form of agriculture bulletins—was already available for their use. W. L. Watson, extension agent for Duval County, reported that in 1914 he provided "2000 of these bulletins to interested parties," showing the value of this portable, extendable knowledge base (J. Cooper 17). Seen through a lens of active genres, the agriculture bulletins may have been more than just precursor materials; for the newly established extension service, these texts helped shape the identity of the organization and its agents. By serving as the conduit for established institutional knowledge, the bulletins helped the new agents understand the form and substance of the kinds of ideas and practices the farmers found useful. For the farmers, the continuity of the bulletins may have imbued the new agents with a sense of familiarity that assisted in the transition to the new service.

In the early, formative days of the extension service, county agents dealt with barriers such as bad roads and a lack of specific directives, as well as “a degree of suspicion” from farmers (J. Cooper 11). As J. Cooper observes, some farmers worried that these government representatives “might try to interfere with their old, time-proven methods and practices” (11). But over time agents gained farmers’ trust by advising and assisting on issues from livestock health, to soil improvement, to co-op formation (10-14). The preexisting bulletins may have been a part in gaining that trust. These bulletins, in turn, generated action at the local level and returned practical experience back to the field agents.

The availability and distribution of the educational materials belies an assumption that local farmers had the literate capacity to understand and employ the ideas the bulletins contained. A farm population that could take in and process the information the agents distributed helped the extension service meet their stated goal to improve living standards and farm income; at the same time, the extension service also gained from this exchange as the rationale for its very existence. Brandt asserts that this kind of “reciprocal relationship” is usually slanted to benefit the sponsor, as “they lend their resources or credibility to the sponsored but also stand to gain benefits from their success, whether by direct repayment or, indirectly, by credit of association” (167). Some evidence of this associative credit can be deduced from the careful record-keeping by the extension service, in which county agents filed field reports which were then synthesized and turned in as annual reports to the university president. For example, the 1939 annual report lists “50,836 . . . Farm or home visits made,” and “124,560 . . . Bulletins distributed” (*Silver Anniversary* 12). This type of material evidence supported the contention that the extension service was accomplishing its mandate, and thus deserved continued funding through state and federal sources.

The county agents producing the field reports were the frontline personnel in distributing and explaining science-based agriculture to the populace, serving as “the channel through which contacts were made with the rural population” (*Silver Anniversary* 8). Assisting these representatives were the mass communication tools of the trade, efforts that began with print media but eventually included radio, television, and websites. J. Cooper links these communicative efforts to the extension service’s “objectives of disseminating pertinent, up-to-date information to the people in Florida,” noting that “All available media and methods have been used for this purpose since extension work began. In the early days publications and weekly and daily newspapers were the principal outlets supplementing word of mouth” (87).

The importance of these efforts is revealed in a 1907 article for *The Independent* by E. P. Powell, who frames his discussion of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations through the lens of the different states’ Experiment Station Bulletins. Even at this early date, the “bulletins reach[ed] almost one million homes” and touched on such diverse subjects as “. . . meats, farm drainage, irrigation, apple growing, peach growing, grape diseases, orange culture, sugar beets, forestry, poisonous plants, insecticides, country homes,” and “marketing” (Powell 253). Making an argument for the educational value of the agricultural colleges and their outreach services, Powell lauds the science-based curriculum and its results as an engine of change:

Agricultural education reaching out by its bulletins, lectures and orchard talks, not seldom adding reading courses for farmers’ wives and farmers’ children, is doing a great deal to break up the dead level of farm life, the insipidity of an industry from which the factory had taken the brightest and pleasantest occupations. . . But this new sort of schools has touched every farm home to quicken it; has turned all the sciences loose in our orchards and gardens. (255)

Powell points to the literacy sponsorship of the agricultural colleges as the dawn of a new age where the educational model “bases itself strictly on industrialism” (254). From Powell’s rhetoric, it is clear

that the agricultural colleges, experiment stations, and related extension services resonated with the fervor for modernity that was alive in the early twentieth century, and that the agents and texts carrying these messages were viewed by some as only positive harbingers of the future.

Powell's article predates by just two years President Theodore Roosevelt's *Report of the Country Life Commission*, which was sent to congress in 1909. The report reveals shifting perceptions on the role of farmers in a rapidly changing environment that prized efficiency and speed, comparing agriculture's still primitive methods of production to other, modernized sectors. If the farmers were indeed the "very foundation of our national efficiency" as claimed in the report, then the lack of modernization in methods and education in that sector posed a problem for the economy in general (*Report of the Country* 14). Farmers thus bore a responsibility to organize, to mechanize, and to adopt new practices in order to catch up to other industries. In the preface to the report, Roosevelt lauds the agricultural colleges, extension services, and experiment stations along with the formal unions and organizations supporting farmers, and he identifies the need for "better business and better living on the farm" (*Report of the Country* 4). He suggests a goal of improved "organization, education, and communication" accomplished through "the collection and spread of information" (7), a task for which the extension service is already prepared.

Rail-maps to Progress

Between the agricultural colleges, experiment stations, extension services, and state and federal bureaus of Agriculture, a variety of marketing materials (genres including the aforementioned bulletins as well as maps) and research reports were printed by government entities and distributed

to Florida growers to help with selling agricultural products.²⁹ The maps included in these genres are also of interest to this research, as they touch the multiple ecosystems in this research. An example is the 1920 *A New Sectional Map of Florida* (fig. 2), produced under the direction of then Agriculture Commissioner W.A. McRae, that provides not just the usual information expected of the map genre, such as longitude and latitude, but also serves to inform its readers about the state of the state through statistical data (Appendix A). The map includes the following tables of figures to illustrate the growing economy: agricultural statistics, including acreage cultivation, value of products, and number of livestock; farm land areas in Florida by counties; manufactures (industries), including “Crate and Basket Factories, 9”; “Naval Stores, 307”; and “Packing Houses (Fruit), 80”; population of Florida by counties; population of cities and towns, broken into ranges of population; rural and urban population for the state; and an index of “Cities, Post Offices, Villages and Railroad Stations” by location on the map. In linking together place and purpose, the map carries the message of Florida agriculture’s value to potential investors large and small.

²⁹ The federal Department of Agriculture “office of markets” was established in 1913, and Florida’s state agricultural marketing bureau was created in 1917; the primary responsibility of the marketing services “was to promote cooperative marketing” (LaGodna, “Greens” 147).

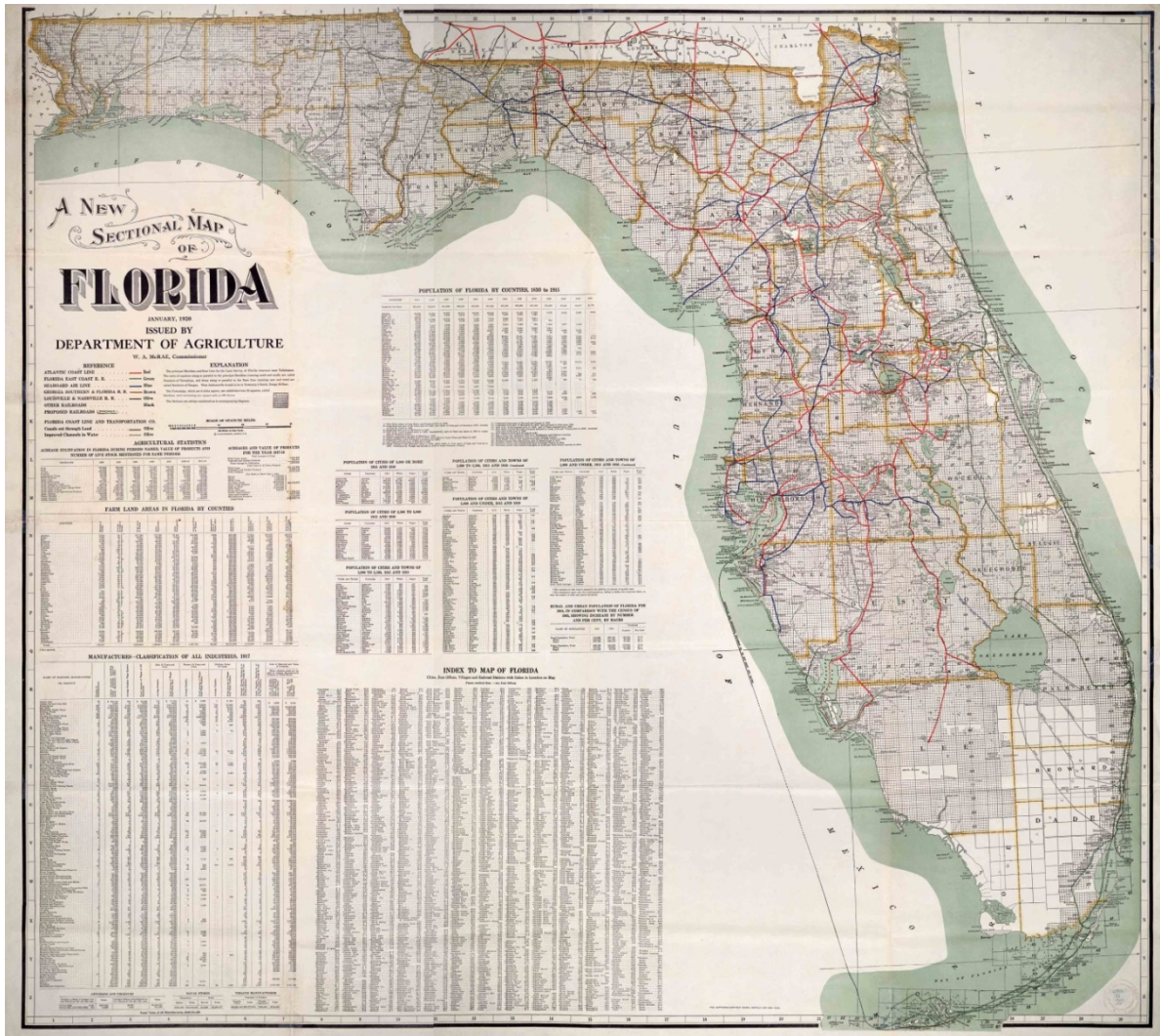


Fig. 2. *A New Sectional Map, 1920.*
University of Florida Library.

The *New Sectional Map* offers color-coded legends for the rail lines and canals, vital transportation arteries in an era before the existence of many improved roads. Those who were thinking of moving to Florida to farm would be very interested in the availability of transport systems, and the *New Sectional Map* clearly identifies the areas supported by rail or canal. This genre helps investors see which industries are thriving in specific areas of the state, and the kinds of infrastructure support upon which they can depend. While the overt purpose of a map is to help

readers find their way around, this additional data reveals a deeper purpose of conveying a certain ideology concerning the economic conditions and importance of agriculture in the state. The map's creators—the State Department of Agriculture—offer a specific kind of market-driven literacy to shape readers' perceptions of Florida as an agricultural state.

To the left of the visual representation of the state (in the Gulf of Mexico), under a beautifully calligraphed title, the authors have included a legend to explain the divisions of the map, which provide the locational tool:

The principal Meridian and Base Line for the Land Survey of Florida intersect near Tallahassee. The rows of numbers along or parallel to the principal Meridian (running north and south) are called Numbers of Townships, and those along or parallel to the Base Line (running east and west) are called Numbers of Ranges. . . The Townships, which are six miles square, are subdivided into 36 sections, each containing one square mile or 640 acres. (*New Sectional*)

By following the divisions, represented through a fine grid on the map, we can pinpoint Briggsville (later to be renamed Samsula) to Township 17 South, Range 33 East. This information will help situate the site on earlier maps, such as the 1883 *D. D. Rogers Map of Volusia County*, where no named locations yet existed in this part of the state.

The *New Sectional Map*, by presenting the additional data, serves as a condensed atlas of sorts (what we might consider an infographic), and with biennial production it charts the trends in agricultural development over time. If we use the map to trace economic and transportation ecosystems, we can see a cartographic representation of the interconnected systems at work in the Florida of 1920; this specific map—a representative genre from the era's rhetorical ecology—provides clues to the geographic, economic, demographic, and political situations of the time.

The visual impact of these artifacts makes them an appropriate addition to the *Samsula Historical Archive* website, where maps constructed at different times for different purposes can be

displayed in chronological order to help visitors understand the multi-faceted changes over time the area has experienced, while other digitized maps allow closer exploration of transportation and land-use changes. The construction and presentation of these web features will be described in more detail in Chapter Four. For now, I will move to another aspect of the Samsula ecology: the transportation systems that, in many cases, provided the exigence for map creation.



Rails and Roads: Transporting Development

The *New Sectional Map* of 1920 describes a network of colored lines crisscrossing the state; a quick look at the map legend explains these as the railroad lines, and in some cases, “improved” canals that provided basic transportation avenues. In Volusia County, the western portions are linked by the Atlantic Coast Line (red), and in the central and eastern parts, the Florida East Coast R. R. (green) holds sway. A dotted olive line running up the coast represents an improved canal, the Intercoastal Waterway. By this point in time, much consolidation in the railroads had taken place, but the story of Volusia’s (and Samsula’s) railroad history began much earlier and had involved some of the same legislative activity as seen in the agriculture initiatives. In fact, the histories are intimately—and ecologically—related. State officials recognized the integral connection between transportation and commerce, as evidenced in the Department of Agriculture’s maps, and utilized state agencies and programs to facilitate the expansion of the railways. Here once again we see the legislative act as the node of activity: the intersection of political and technological ecosystems, tracing the arc of institutional intent to material, commercial manifestation. In this section, I will

show how legislative genres impacted the transportation ecosystem, and how cartographical representations accompanying the spread of the railways shaped perceptions of place.

While the Morrill, Hatch, and Smith-Lever acts changed the way Americans learned about and thus conceived of agriculture, the late nineteenth-century expansion of railway lines provided the infrastructure to move agricultural products beyond local markets. Markets consequently became less anchored in place, and successful agricultural enterprises that grew from the input of science-based practices accordingly had access to the most up-to-date transportation technologies to fulfill the promise of economic prosperity. State lawmakers in Florida had long foreseen the benefits of an expanded railway system, creating an Internal Improvement Fund (IIF) with a governing board in 1855 to manage distribution of state properties to railroads, in addition to other functions (*Minutes Vol. 1 xv*). The genres that preserve the actions of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Trust Fund are recorded minutes that begin with the group's formation in 1855.³⁰ These minutes reiterate the federal acts with which they are associated, detail state legislative actions which impact program implementation, and record the individual projects taking place in the state. The language of the IIF, evident in the minutes, allowed the political body to retain some control after ceding bonded state-owned lands to the railroads. The Trustees managed the sale of state-owned lands to railroad investors through a bond program, and set standards and constraints which railroads must accommodate, from the size, breadth, and clearance of the beds, to the kinds of woods appropriate for timbers and the gauge of iron rail. Investors who defaulted on their bonds, which the state considered a "first lien or mortgage on the road-bed, iron, equipment, work-shops, depots and

³⁰ A selection of these minutes spanning from 1855 through 1974 is available from Florida International University's digital collections at <http://digitalcollections.fiu.edu/iif>.

franchise,” soon saw their lines auctioned to the highest bidder (*Minutes Vol. 1 xviii*). Despite these constraints, the incentives were sufficient to see many lines developed and running in the post-Civil War period.

By the early twentieth century, multiple minor railroads had sprung up between established cities in Florida, and soon small communities appeared along these lines. The rails and communities shared a symbiotic relationship, as rail stops often signified the emergence of communities, and the emergence of communities could determine the rail stops. This co-evolutionary phenomenon also shows how local industries, including farming, depended on the railroads to distribute their products, and how rails relied on profits from these local industries to supplement passenger fares. One of the small communities that arose on a rail line was Briggsville.

The interior of Volusia where the Samsula community is located today was sparsely settled and still mostly undeveloped at the turn of the century.³¹ Pleasant Daniel Gold’s 1927 *History of Volusia County Florida* suggests that in 1881 a two-mile stretch from Orange City to Blue Springs Landing was the first railroad track laid in Volusia (129). The first two owners, W. W. West and Mr. Twing, failed financially, and it fell to the third owner, E. R. Chapmen, to complete the line to New Smyrna in 1886 (Gold 129), a distance of about 27 miles.³² W.H Newell, the first conductor on the Orange City to New Smyrna line, recalled in a 1930 interview that “Freight, mail, and passengers

³¹ The earliest human settlements in Volusia County date to approximately 4000 years ago. These Archaic populations lived along the rivers, lakes, and ocean, subsisting on shellfish and other food sources they could hunt and gather. By the time Europeans first arrived in Florida in the fifteenth century, the Timucuan culture was well established on the east coast of Florida, and it is believed that some of these peoples practiced agriculture. “Some native groups,” as Dana Ste. Claire notes, “grew corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and other domesticated plants” in the inland parts of Volusia County (23). While no direct archaeological evidence to date supports the claim that Native Americans farmed in the Lake Ashby area, the evidence from other lake and river areas suggests that this was at least possible. The Timucua, victims of the Old World diseases introduced by Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century, were long extinct by the arrival of the truck farmers in Briggsville.

³² According to a 1908 FEC passenger schedule, the distance between New Smyrna to the Orange City Junction was 27.4 miles (*The Official Guide* 1083).

were all hauled by the one train” (“Hardships” 2). Describing the stops along the way, the article provides a glimpse of the area’s history:

Stations on the line were New Smyrna, Glencoe, Indian Springs, Lake Helen, Blue Springs. There was also one by the name of Spartan. It was a small place and Myron Briggs often boarded the train or got off there. In appreciation of Brigg’s patronage, Conductor Newell changed the name of the station from Spartan to Briggsville. (“Hardships” 2)³³

Neither Spartan nor Briggsville are mentioned on the 1883 D. D. Rogers *Map of Volusia County*, though the nearby community of Indian Springs shows up on an unnamed road close to the Orange Ridge, DeLand, and Atlantic Railroad.³⁴

Early maps reflect the changing nomenclature and perhaps ownership of the rails: an 1888 *New Sectional Map of Florida* from the South Florida R. R. Company and the Plant Investment Company shows the Atlantic & Western Railroad coming out of the Orange City Junction. Again, as in the earlier map, there is no sign of Briggsville.³⁵ In 1891, the Florida Legislature “authorized, approved, ratified, and confirmed” the Blue Spring, Orange City and Atlantic Railroad Company stretch of rail connecting Orange City and New Smyrna Beach (Chap. 4114 211). This railroad, as the Atlantic & Western, was incorporated by Henry Flagler into the Florida East Coast Railroad (FEC) in 1896, and the 1898 FEC schedule of freight tariffs lists Briggsville as a stop between Indian Springs

³³ Ianthe Bond Hebel argues that a “Captain Briggs who shipped oranges from this point to New Smyrna” was the origin of the Briggsville name (35).

³⁴ The original rail line running between Orange City and New Smyrna Beach was the Blue Spring, Orange City, and Atlantic Railroad, which opened in 1881 (Item 9). The D. D. Rogers *Map of Volusia County* does not show this line, but another railway from a more northerly path, and can be viewed at the Library of Congress digital collections: www.loc.gov/item/2006626021.

³⁵ *A New Sectional Map of Florida* Issued by the Land Department of the South Florida R. R. Co. and the Plant Investment Co. is visible at <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3930.rr001960>

and Glencoe (*First Annual* 240).³⁶ On the 1900 *Rand- McNally Indexed County and Township Pocket Map and Shippers Guide of Florida*, Briggsville is clearly marked as a direct stop on the FEC rail line.³⁷

We can find clues to the development of the area from these genres: a closer look at the maps from 1883, 1888, and 1900 provides access to the economic and political meaning of these artifacts, as each map reveals a slightly different exigency. The maps contain two main elements: textual sidebars, and graphical descriptions, and each of these portions provides information for analysis. The earliest map, D. D. Rogers' 1883 portrayal of Volusia County (fig. 3), is introduced with an ornate engraved title complemented by engravings of a hotel in Orange City, Rogers' own residence in Daytona, and a view of the Atlantic from Daytona (Appendix B). Accompanying these pictorial elements is a statement crediting the other parties that contributed to the making of the map, and establishing Rogers' authority by way of experience and association: "Note—This map was compiled from the U.S. Land Maps, From the Coast Survey Charts, and from Private and Public Surveys made by D. D. Rogers, U.S. Deputy Surveyor in the past 8 years." Rogers' connection to the railroads is only noted in small script under the bottom engraving, where he is cited as a "civil and railroad engineer."

The Rogers' depiction of the area is markedly different from subsequent maps in texture and scale; his survey, detailed at the county level, depicts existing roads (un-named, unpaved dirt roads) and the railroad, but more emphasis is placed on the landscape. Lake Ashby Swamp (to the southwest of Indian Springs) and Cypress Swamp (to the southeast) are boldly lettered, and set off

³⁶ Gregg M. Turner notes the FEC acquisition of "the Atlantic & Western, which departed New Smyrna for the picturesque inland settings of Lake Helen, Orange City, and Blue Springs" (136). From the 1898 FEC Annual Report. Briggsville remains as a stop until 1932, when Samsula, as a name, replaces it in the FEC annual report.

³⁷ The 1900 *Rand-McNally* map of Florida can be viewed at the Library of Congress: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3931p.rr001970>.

by graphics—outlined areas with diagonal lines and marks indicating vegetation. “Prairie” is also indicated (as open space, no graphics), and waterways and lakes are named. A grid of surveyor’s marks defines the land as quantifiable property ready for development.

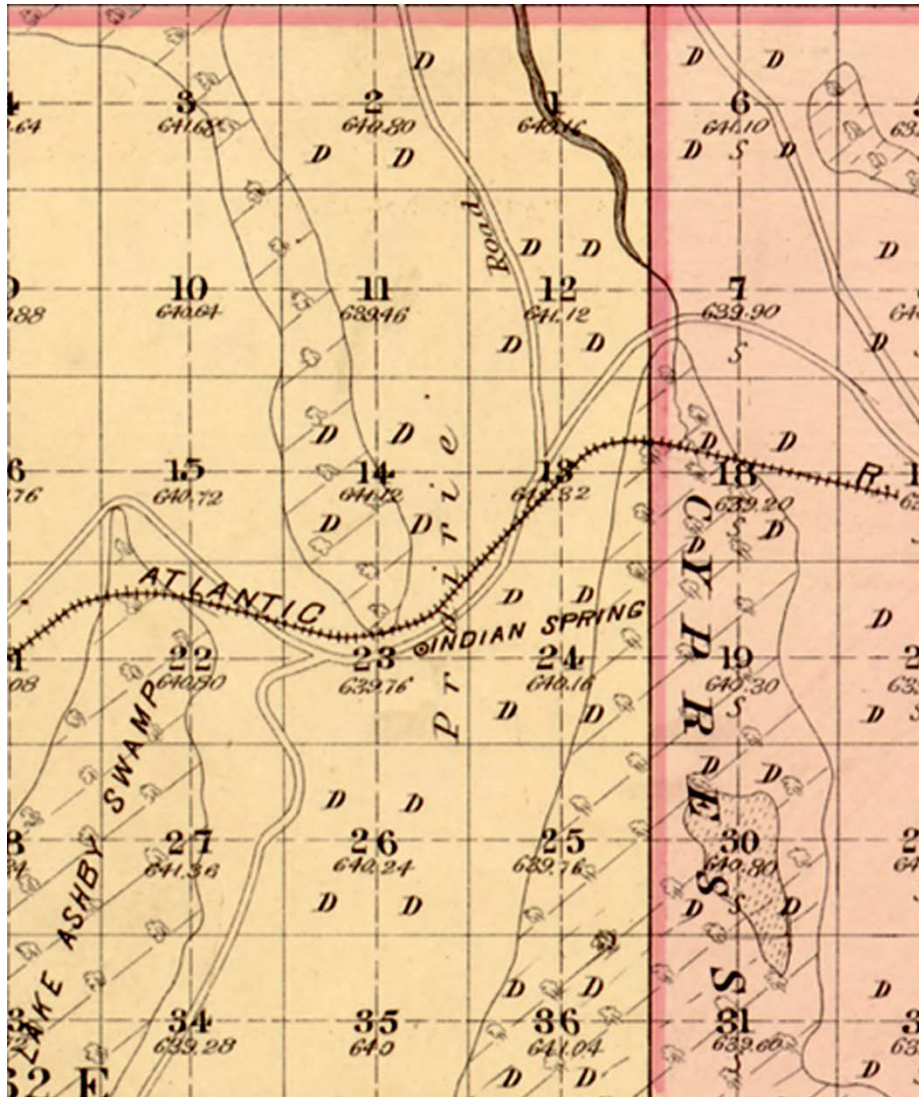


Fig. 3. Detail, D. D. Rogers *Map of Volusia County*. 1883. Library of Congress American Memory.

The 1888 *New Sectional* map (fig. 4), in contrast, reduces the natural landscape to lakes and major waterways—there are no signs of the swamps or prairies. The roads are also missing, and the

railroad is the dominant feature. The title area helps explain the focus, since the South Florida Railroad Company and Plant Investment Company are clearly identified as the rhetors, and the purpose—promoting land for sale—is explained in the legend (Appendix C). The Townships, divided into thirty-six squares, show the intent of the map as the available plats for sale are distinguished by their orange color.

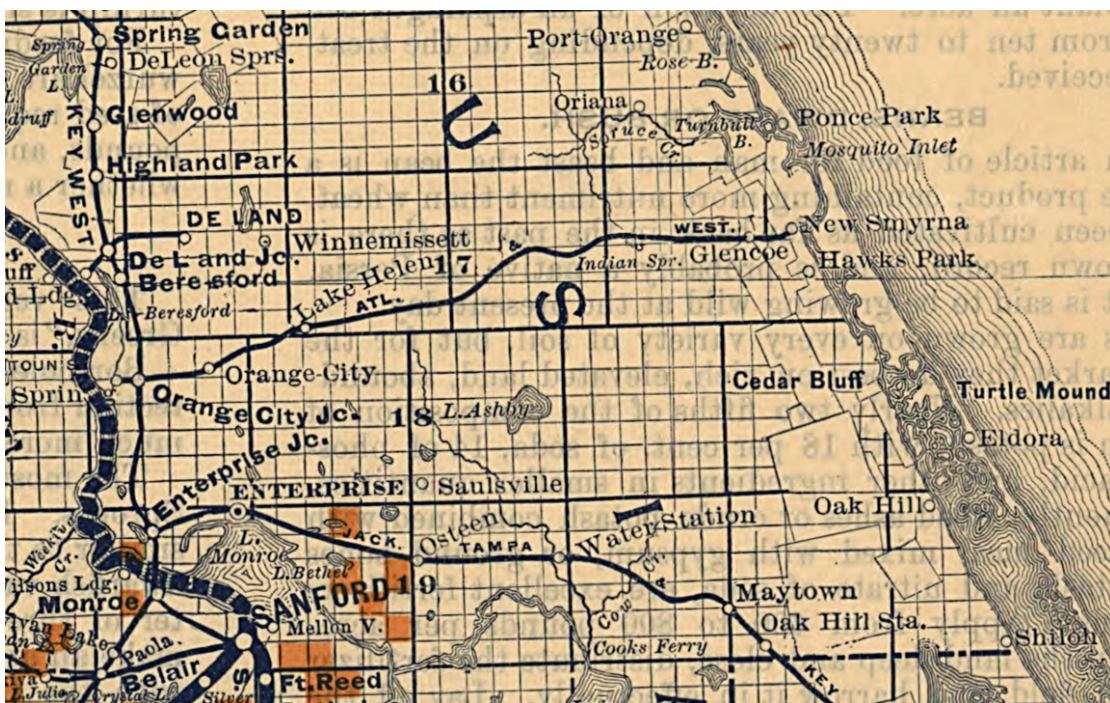


Fig. 4. Detail, *A New Sectional Map of Florida*
 Issued by the Land Department of the South Florida
 R. R. Co. and the Plant Investment Co. 1888. *Library of Congress American Memory*.

The 1900 *Rand-McNally* map (fig. 5), like the 1888 *A New Sectional*, shows little local detail as far as natural features and roads. More rail stops have been added, and the railroad is now identified as the FEC. An area of Central Florida is inset into the map, showing the confluence of major railway arteries between Lake, Orange, and Volusia counties. The main text, aside from the scaling instrument, is a list of the active Florida railroads—thirty-two in all. The map’s title, *Rand-*

McNally & Co.'s Florida, is at the very top, outside the map border, and the credit to “Rand-McNally & Co., Map Publishers and Engravers, Chicago, 1900” is almost hidden at the bottom of the map. While this map still shows some broad boundary lines, land and authorship are not the main focus. The significance of the railroads as major transportation arteries is the important idea conveyed in the cartography.

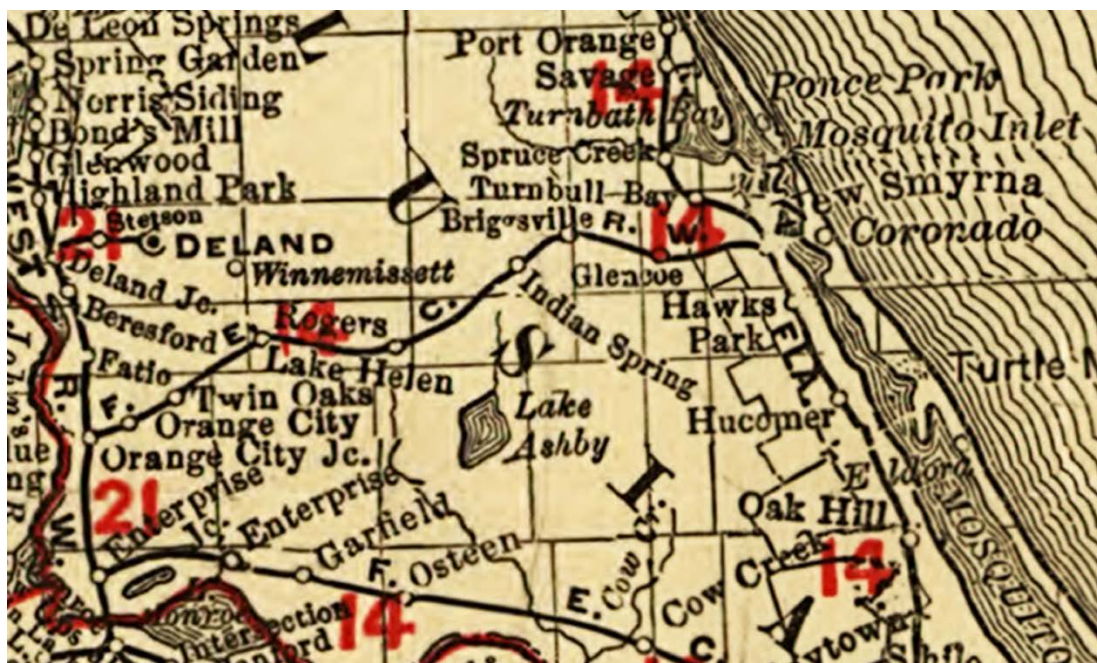


Fig. 5. Detail, *The Rand-McNally Indexed County and Township Pocket Map and Shippers Guide of Florida*. 1900. Library of Congress American Memory.

The shift from including the natural in the 1883 map to focusing on land as commodity and railway ascendance in the later maps may just be a feature of the changing scale of the map, from a local perspective to a more global, statewide outlook. But, it can also speak to the modernizing trend of development, and the tendency, which has marked this country's expansion, to view undeveloped land as a blank slate upon which to draw human settlement and commerce. In either case,

progress—the commodification of landscape into property, and property into communities and farms—is an ideological strand of thought tightly woven into the expansion of the rails.

Railway extensions provided the transportation infrastructure for economic growth for farmers in the early twentieth century, giving access to distant markets as well as delivering input materials manufactured off the farm. In addition to bringing northern tourists to Florida, the railways established a mechanism for small communities to get their goods to market. A 1928 industrial survey cites Florida’s rail system as “far in excess of present demands” and ready to support new industry; it further asserts that “With a network of rails in Florida in practically every county, Florida’s rail facilities—already adequate, and capable of further expansion as needed—are superb” (*Florida: An Advancing* 21).³⁸ Grosenvor Dawe, compiler of the volume, was a pro-business author and editor who had a long history with the United States Chamber of Commerce, serving as the first editor of *Nation’s Business*, the Chamber of Commerce publication (Himmelberg 63). Given Dawe’s background one can intimate that *Florida: An Advancing State* was as much advertisement as report, intended to bolster the idea of business in Florida by “reach[ing] the whole Florida mind with a sense of the true conditions and outlook of the state” (4), which were, in Dawe’s descriptions, very promising. The 1928 report’s assertion of comparable “hard-surfaced highways” in Florida (21) is belied by reality: a general absence of reliable roadways in Florida’s interior assured railroad transportation dominance in early agricultural history.

³⁸ The 1927 industrial survey, *Florida, an Advancing State 1907 – 1917 – 1927*, was ordered by the state legislature and authorized by Agriculture Commissioner Nathan Mayo. In his introductory statement to Mr. Mayo, Dawe states the intended purpose of the report as “aimed at correcting the condition of the Florida mind as affected by the unfortunate depression following the excitement which ran through most of 1925 and a considerable portion of 1926,” and as representative of agriculture as well as more traditional ideas of industry, “thus interpreting ‘industrial’ beyond the meaning of ‘manufacturing’” (4).

The early presence of a railroad stop meant that Briggsville had access to some transportation at a time of limited options, as the sparse roads connecting Briggsville to the nearest settled towns—DeLand to the west, and New Smyrna to the east—were unpaved.³⁹ In Samsula’s history, the Orange City to New Smyrna spur connected Briggsville to neighboring cities and their markets in a time before widespread automobile ownership and good highways. The rail line through the re-named community of Samsula would remain as a transportation artery until at least 1932, when it shows as a stop on the FEC schedule (*Thirty-Sixth* 244). In 1931, the FEC “slipped into receivership,” responding to the Great Depression and changing transportation models (Turner 5). Gregg M. Turner notes that the FEC began cutting smaller and less profitable lines to deal with its financial problems. Due to receivership, “the quest for cutting costs intensified,” according to Turner, and “trains on the Orange City Branch were replaced with buses and trucks; two years later, the branch was completely taken up” (211). By 1940, the line is gone from the railroad maps. When it disappeared, it left behind the community’s packing house, a cooperative site of community agricultural production which accordingly adjusted shipping methods to refrigerated trucks—further adaptation to shifting ecosystems. The transportation ecosystem in Volusia County, shaped by the available technologies, responded to the generative powers of legislative action and economic imperatives.

³⁹ Gold mentions a county road that had been constructed between DeLand and New Smyrna by the time of his 1927 history, “built by local taxation” (153).

Changing Economies

Prior to the arrival of the truck farmers, existing enterprises in the mostly unsettled Volusia interior were extractive, drawing from the natural pine forests. The trees provided turpentine for the naval stores industry and cross-ties for the burgeoning railroad industry, and these products were most likely the reason for the original rail stops at Indian Springs and Briggsville. The 1920 *New Sectional Map* lists the naval stores industry in the state of Florida valued at over 16 million dollars for combined production of turpentine and resin, a significant source of revenue at the time. Vegetable farms, as Ianthe Bond Hebel notes in her *Centennial History of Volusia County*, were not a prominent feature of the county's economy before the turn of the century, though "a few barrels of cabbage were shipped from Volusia Landing in the early 1870's" (34). Most of the agricultural product was subsistence farming and remained within local communities; any surpluses were traded for other necessities when possible. Vernacular histories suggest that vegetable farmers in Briggsville were selling produce to neighboring cities sometime soon after settling the area in 1913 (Gerjanc), and newspaper accounts also point to truck farm activities in the Lake Ashby area (directly to the south of Samsula) in that same time frame ("Heavy Rains"), though the lack of roads and the constraints of soil and climate, as shall be discussed in the next section, made commercial farming a challenge.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The type of commercial agriculture Samsula farmers historically engaged in is known as "truck farming"; this describes moderate-sized operations that might grow a variety of crops (unlike the large monoculture enterprises in the Midwest).



Swamps and Soils: The Geology of Farming

The isolation of Briggsville was only one factor in the slow development of agriculture. The area was, and still is, pockmarked with small cypress stands, indicating the presence of marshy areas or ponds, and oak hammocks. Water levels, drainage, and a variety of soil types all presented challenges to commercial farming. The natural environment is also a part of the communal ecosystem of an agricultural settlement, and arguably the most important component historically.⁴¹ In this section I will give a brief overview of the land- and waterscape that farmers encountered in the development of agriculture in Samsula.

The wild lands encountered by the early agriculturalists in Briggsville were indirectly connected to some genres, such as the maps that attempted to situate them by categorizing types of topography. The 1883 Rogers' map divides the area around Indian Springs (the closest referent) into Prairie and various swamps, including the Lake Ashby system and a large area of Cypress Swamp that corresponds to the Spruce Creek and headwaters system on later maps. Prairie may have indicated the sandier, drier areas that supported the lucrative stands of pine. In the Samsula region of Volusia county, the soil can vary from mucky loam, deposited over time in the boggy areas, to various types of sand that require supplementation to make them arable. The "rich, earthy soils ideal for farming" (Volusia 7) of common lore is contradicted by a 1980 USDA soil survey, which shows

⁴¹ Modern technology has ameliorated total dependence upon land for growing vegetables, as evident through hydroponics; nevertheless, farming mainly relies on farm land, soil, water, and sunlight for productivity.

most of the soil in the farming area to be either fine sand or muck; both require water control and both need fertilizer to support crops (Baldwin, et al. 28, 34, 40, 41). Much of the local soil resides atop a layer of “fine to medium grained quartz sand” and has been “cemented into ‘hardpan’ by deposition of iron oxide at the water table” (Wyrick 23). This feature hampers both root growth and water drainage, serious problems for field agriculture. Adding to the difficulties for farmers, natural drainage in the area relies on Spruce Creek, described in a 1960 geological survey report as “poorly developed” and “inefficient” (Wyrick 10).

The geology of this part of Florida is a remnant of the peninsula’s past as an often submerged area of the continental shelf, and the minor sand ridges of the primarily flat topography are reminders of ancient beaches and dunes. Below the loose sand and soil sediments, which in Volusia reach depths of “30 to 70 feet,” are successive layers of limestone (Wyrick 1). This limestone encases an artesian aquifer, which supplies most of the potable water for Volusia County through deep-water wells. Non-artesian, or ground water sources, also supply water needs through shallow wells. The primary source of fresh water in Florida is rainfall, which supplies the swamps, lakes and rivers, and eventually filters into the aquifers if not impeded by evaporation or runoff (Baldwin and Carriker 2-3). The movement of water through clouds, air, and earth (the hydrologic cycle) is an essential component supporting Central Florida’s semi-tropical native vegetation, which has resiliently adapted to millennia of fluxes in temperature and rainfall. To Florida farmers, who may rely heavily on non-native and domesticated species, the relationship with water is much more complex.

Geological surveys, as scientific genres, are written for a specific audience with specialized knowledge. Interpreting these kinds of genres for non-specialist use was one of the functions of the extension service, whose agents worked with the chemists, soil scientists, hydrologists, and

geologists at the University of Florida. But local farmers, who may not have had the specialized literacies necessary for interpreting the surveys, were still well aware of the limitations of the soil in this area from experiential learning. They recognized the limitations of the hardpan substrate and flat gradient landscape, and the crop damage that standing water triggered. The genre in this situation can explicate the issue, but mitigation and adaptation would require genres that brought together actants within the political, economic, scientific, and technological ecosystems, and social action of a different magnitude.



Wells and Water: Terraforming Florida Land

Water is the lifeblood of an agricultural community, but an excess of water can cause major crop damage or failure: water standing in fields drowns roots, and plants suffocate and die. The hot Florida sun exacerbates the problem, cooking the vegetation in a swampy stew. The earliest farmers in Briggsville found poor soil that alternated between conditions of hard-baked in the summer sun to over-saturated from torrential downpours. Many of the crops they grew, such as bell peppers, rotted in the hot sun after a summer deluge. But, genres of policy, such as legislative acts, board meeting minutes, and citizen petitions, combined with new technologies, such as dredging equipment, to reconfigure the land and remediate the natural features. Major drainage projects attacking the wetlands in the Everglades and around Lake Okeechobee were taking place in south Florida, and smaller projects were taking place elsewhere in the state as well. One of them changed the fate of Briggsville (Samsula), allowing agriculture to survive and thrive in the poorly drained soil.

This section looks at how the multiple ecosystems, including the rhetorical ecosystem, utilized available tools-in-use to claim natural systems for agricultural purposes in the Samsula environs.

Wetlands—swamps and glades—have long been seen as antithetical to the expansion of civilizations and barriers to growth and development, a perception that has often led to extraordinary remediation efforts. A legislative genre—the federal Swamp Land Act of 1850—granted to the states the power “to construct the necessary levees and drains to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands therein, the whole of those swamp and overflowed lands, made unfit thereby for cultivation” (*Minutes, Vol. 1 xv*); this move contributed directly to the aforementioned IIF in Florida, which, in addition to facilitating railroad development, also encouraged drainage projects. In fact, construction of rail lines on bonded lands was often predicated upon draining wetlands as part of the constraints. The minutes also reflect the desire to reclaim land for the purpose “of cultivating corn, cotton, or sugar cane” (*Minutes, Vol. 2 297*).

Railroads, as major landholders in Florida, were responsible for much of the drainage taking place, but they were not the only ones taking part in reclamation efforts. Florida was in the midst of a land boom in the teens and twenties, and speculators and investors saw much opportunity in taming the Florida wetlands. In 1909, the firm of Howe and Currier from Chicago, Illinois, bought and subdivided 32,000 acres around Indian Springs, the Lake Ashby swamp, and the headwaters of Spruce Creek Swamp, including the Briggsville area (“New Smyrna” 8). There were actually two planned communities--Indian Springs and Alamana--and newspaper stories from the era convey the excitement. As noted in the December 3, 1909 *DeLand News*, plans for Indian Springs, the former turpentine camp, included “a good sized hotel building” and a “large store building” with “a first class stock of general merchandise” (“Howe and Currier” 2).



Fig. 6. Detail, Howe and Currier advertisement.
LOC Chronicling America.

The Howe and Currier acreage was set into five and ten-acre plats, and advertised widely as profitable farmland “in the heart of a well-governed community” (Howe and Currier). A 1912 full-page Howe and Currier advertisement from the *Washington Herald* insists that the farmland is “Not in the wilderness,” and that “Land that will yield \$200 to \$1,200 an acre clear profit every year MUST be good” (5). The ad, which also ran in some Midwest papers, was offering a free booklet, *You Can Buy One of Our Florida Farms with Your Savings of \$5.00 a Month* (fig. 6); while this research has found no copy of this book, the claims made in the ad give a good idea of what kinds of information the booklet might contain. For example, the ad argues that “everybody who owns Florida farms should

make big money,” and quotes Andrew Carnegie and [Theodore] Roosevelt as proponents of real estate investment.

In giving reasons for buying a farm in Florida, Howe and Currier provide some half-truths with which they may or may not have intentionally misled prospective farmers (after all, they were real-estate agents from Chicago with no observable experience in farming in the sub-tropics). A list of rationales includes the following enticements:

Crops Yield Abundantly and come on the market in winter when prices are highest.

Most Delightful Climate in the World—The temperature is as balmy, mild and pleasant as Indian summer in the North, during the winter months; and not excessively hot during the summer.

The Natural Rainfall is Abundant—An average of 50 inches a year is enough for every crop except celery.

Transportation is Good—We have first-class railroad and water transportation as well. (5)

The ideas presented in these lures probably sounded very good to interested parties in northern climes who had no experience with the weather, soils, insects, or plant diseases that were all part of the “most delightful climate in the world.”

Regardless of the advertising and what they may or may not have believed about their property, Howe and Currier quickly discovered their acquisition was rich with wetlands, and the farmers they enticed into Florida farming experienced crop-destroying standing water during the rainy season. The developers turned to an engineering project of immense proportions: the draining of Lake Ashby swamp, and the rechanneling of Spruce Creek. The same *DeLand News* article that carried the news of the new settlements also mentions the drainage problem, asserting that Mr. C. E. Howe promised to address “the matter of drainage” by excavating a series of canals and removing

“over 100,000 cubic yard of material” (“New Smyrna” 8). But Howe could not accomplish this by decree alone; a project of this size required overlapping engagement of state and local political bodies, engineers and scientists, transportation experts, and property owners. To initiate the process, the recurring problem of deluge and crop loss was addressed with a petition for a land reclamation project, the Lake Ashby Drainage District (LADD).

The petition, as a form of address from populace to government, has a long history in democratic societies. In the case of the LADD petition, it is an example of a “genre set represent[ing] a system of actions and interactions that have specific social locations and functions as well as repeated or recurrent value or function” (Miller, “Rhetorical Community” 70). In addition to the petition, the genre set includes the initiating state legislation and the resultant bonds, job bids, and contracts. This particular genre set also interacts with supplemental genres that report and support it, such as newspaper articles and notices that make the process visible to the public. A rhetorical artifact such as the LADD petition links the governing body and local constituents; it shows the nexus of overlapping motives and purposes of governments, developers, speculators, and farmers; and it demonstrates a site of activity dependent on congruent recognition, as a recurrent rhetorical activity, by both signatories and addressees of the petition.

Newspapers of the time provide a running commentary on the process of the LADD, listing the names of petitioners (many of whom lived out of state). A petition genre elicits a collaborative effort from a group of people, and while the exigency of a common goal drives the project, individual participants may have varying purposes and motives for signing. Furthermore, the LADD petition was not an innocuous document, since signatories committed to paying taxes on their properties. Other parties, such as investors and speculators, also participated in this agreement, and their long-term goals may have been quite different from the farmers. Fulfilling the requirements of

the petition meant that farmers had to join forces with these other parties who also saw value in diverting the flow of water. In this context, negotiating with non-farmers and government agencies required community members to interface with people outside the community and to understand (at least to some degree) the mechanisms in the political ecosystem.

The petition, as recorded in the June 25, 1915 New Smyrna News, names the LADD and connects it to the legislative act that engendered the potentiality for action (Appendix D). The title of the act as written by the lawmakers contains all the language necessary for initiating a project; all that remained for the petitioners to do was to locate the action in time and place. The title of the act, as shown in this excerpt from the local paper, reveals the attitudes and intentions carried forth by this genre:

“An Act Relating to the Creation Organization and Maintenance of Drainage Districts for the Purpose of Reclaiming and Protecting Swamp, Wet or Overflowed Lands, or Lands Subject to Overflow, from the Effects of Water, for Sanitary or Agricultural Purposes, or When the Same May Be Conducive to the Public Health, Convenience, or Welfare, or of Public Utility or Benefit, by Drainage or Otherwise; to Define the Privileges, Powers, Duties and Liabilities of Such Drainage Districts, the Officers and Agents Thereof; to provide for the Levying of Taxes upon the Property in Said Drainage Districts; Authorizing the Issuance of Bonds by Such Drainage Districts; and Giving to Said Drainage Districts full Power to Acquire Such Lands and Property as May Be Necessary and Proper for its Purposes” (“Legal Notices” 8)

Genres can establish or reinforce the power structures in institutions (Miller, “Rhetorical Community” 71). The LADD petition, aligned with the act, sets the stage for granting powers to the drainage district board, which becomes an extension of governance once approved. It allows for acquisition of “Lands and Property” and taxation of involved properties by the district, thus affecting pecuniary consequence on any property owners within the district. Negligence of such

commitments becomes the subject of further genred action if the district has to resort to suits to enforce tax collection.⁴²

The LADD was officially incorporated on October 9, 1915 (“Drainage District” 1). Once in place, the elected board had the authority to review bids for the project, approve the engineers who would design the project, and authorize the equipment used to create the project’s system of canals. Again, the local New Smyrna newspaper provides insight into the project’s process, as it reports on the engineering firm of Coenraets and Keller, hired to succeed the firm of Isham Randolph on the LADD project in August, 1916. After extolling the education and experience of the head engineer, Coenraets, the writer talks about the “junior member of the firm,” Keller:

He isn’t much on size, but he’s long on levels and figures, and I’ll bet seven dollars and a yellow dog he’s getting some experience right now [in] stringing lines for the commissioners over the drainage district, the like of which he never had before. By the time he gets through tramping over the 42,000 acres in the district he will sure know something of the topography of the country where he will later have supervision of canal and ditch excavations [sic]. (“Town Gossip” 4)

The commissioners are clearly in control, since they appointed the engineers, and it sounds like the poor fellow is hiking over a large expanse of land to satisfy his mission. At the same time, the credentials the newspaper lists on both men let the reader know that once the project is underway, they will have power of their own due to both their education and tacit knowledge.

The genre, as Miller argues, “in its representation of and intervention in spacetime . . . becomes a determinant of rhetorical *kairos*—a means by which we define a situation in space-time and understand the opportunities it holds” (“Rhetorical Community” 71). By specifying the

⁴² A notice posted in the April 9, 1920 *New Smyrna News* signaled the intent of the incorporated district “to enforce the collection of certain drainage taxes on the following described list of lands situated in the Lake Ashby Drainage District” for back taxes dating to 1918 (“Notice” 3). Many of the names were named on multiple parcels, indicating that they were probably investors rather than resident farmers. For example, Tomoka Land Co. is listed twenty-three times, and E. C. Howe is listed thirty times.

connection of this act and all that it signifies with the actual location of the Lake Ashby area and a time in which settlement and agriculture are occurring, the petition reveals the exigence of this particular situation; furthermore, it allows the historian to contextualize the LADD according to the participants in the action. The rhetorical ecosystem becomes a window into the political, communal, and technological ecosystems in 1915 Volusia County, Florida.

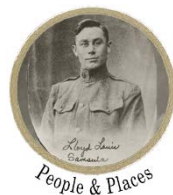
The technologies employed to dig the ditches and reshape the lake, swamp, and creeks were probably similar to the dredges used in south Florida on the Everglades project, which was taking place in the same time frame. A 1916 article from *Current Opinion* magazine describes the machines and processes used in the Everglades, where up to four-million acres were slated for reclamation for farming. There, steam and gasoline-powered engines powered special dredges, some of which could move “over 500 linear feet of soil in 10 hours” (“Turning” 352). The Lake Ashby project was a much smaller enterprise, yet it still required a dredge of some type to excavate the large canals. While no specific model is mentioned, a 1919 accident report describes the “big dredge” and “hug[e] dipper” involved in the mishap (“Right Foot” 1). It is clear from this short article that the workers employed on the drainage district project not only needed to know how to run the equipment, but required literacy in the mechanics of the dredge sufficient to conduct field repairs.⁴³

It would take nearly ten years to complete the LADD project; in the meantime, Howe and Currier continued to advertise high yield land and clear profits with Florida Farms. By 1920, the drainage project was nearing completion and working to draw off excess rains, and some of the promised goals were starting to come to fruition. As reported in the *New Smyrna News*,

⁴³ As described in the *New Smyrna News*, an 18 year old man “was working with others of the crew of the big dredge in making some repairs to the mechanism which controls the hugh [sic] dipper when something slipped or broke and the big dipper fell, catching his right foot under it” (“Right Foot” 1).

In a recent trip through the Lake Ashby Drainage District, since the heavy rains of the last few weeks, which two years ago would have completely destroyed all growing crops, the absence of water was indeed a wonderful surprise, and instead of wilted and drowned crops everything looked finer than ever showing what a great benefit has been derived from the almost completed drainage system which has been put into operation . . . (“Heavy Rains” 2)

The swamps had been tamed through modern technology, and the excess water was under control through wells and irrigation pumps. Farmers could now manage their crops, employing some of the knowledge and practices shared by the extension service in controlling nutrients (adding fertilizer to the soil) and gauging water flow with ditches, raised beds, and irrigation pipes. Along with the advent of new technologies for cultivating the land and feeding the crops, control of the water situation, negotiated through multiple genres, opened the way for a twentieth-century model of farming in Samsula. But, in addition to the institutional support and technological innovations, other factors had to come into play in order for the Samsula community to sustain an agricultural ecosystem. In the next section, I will talk about some of these factors, and of some people who brought truck farming to Samsula.



People and Places

Entering the twentieth century, Florida was still sparsely populated in the interior regions, and many areas still lagged in development. While the Briggsville/Samsula area was home to some early settlers and the turpentine camps, as Hebel observes, little commercial farming was occurring. It would take land reclamation and available acreage, rails and other

roads, but most important for that time and place, it would take a sufficient number of people to make agriculture a viable enterprise. In this section, I will provide some background on the early settlement of Samsula and the people who moved there to farm, and discuss the relevance of the census as a tool-in-use for social action.

In an era before much mechanized agricultural equipment, it took many hands to till, sow, weed, water, and harvest the crops. George E. Pozzetta argues that the post-Civil War period saw a general reorganization of the labor structure in Florida and an effort to attract immigrants to the state. This initiative continued into the twentieth century, and was seen as “the key to renewed economic vitality” (114). To this end, the state constitution of 1868 established an immigration commissioner, followed by an amended constitution in 1885 that combined immigration and agriculture under the auspices of one department (LaGodna 196). From this conjoining came such promotional items as the *New Sectional Map of Florida*, as discussed earlier. The blending of departments signals the interrelatedness of agriculture and immigration: for commercial farming to take hold, a sufficient population was necessary to support it from both the production and consumption ends of the market. Florida needed people, whether from other states or other countries.

Some barriers had to be surmounted before efforts to increase Florida’s population could have an effect, such as the establishment of rail transportation and the implementation of drainage districts. In addition, up until the beginning of the twentieth century the threat of Yellow Fever (a mosquito-borne disease) had hampered efforts at enticing settlers to relocate to Florida, but by 1907 work in the medical and scientific communities had quelled fears of the disease so that new arrivals “had no cause for any fear” of the disease (Dawe 7). Accordingly, census figures from the first decades of the new century show significant population increases in Florida. As described in table 1,

the state population grew almost 42 percent between 1910 and 1925, and Volusia County's population more than doubled, with a 59 percent increase.

Table 1

Population Figures from *Florida, an Advancing State*

Population information from 1925 Report State Department of Agriculture			
	1910	1920	1925
Volusia County	16,510	23,374	40,165
State totals	752,619	968,470	1,296,612

Dawe, in discussing Florida's progress, claims that the "human element" is "the most important consideration when viewing the State as a whole; for without the human being, his education, ambition, work, and his temporary or permanent interest in the state, Florida would at the present time have no meaning to itself or to the nation" (*Florida: An Advancing* 5). And though Dawe attempts to forge a narrative to explicate the state of the state, the analysis rests squarely on data gathered through census protocols. The meaning derived from census data such as that analyzed in *Florida: An Advancing State* can be troubled to some extent, as the census is a rhetorical artifact designed to quantify, codify, and commodify actants. Census numbers quantify actants, but veil individual idiosyncrasies: yes, this farmer has a mule (or tractor), but how old is it? Is it in good health (or maintenance)? How does it perform? A man or woman can be counted, but that information does not reveal whether he or she is hardworking or indolent, community-minded or antisocial, honest or deceitful, hostile to change or open to new ideas. As much as a census provides data, it obscures other information, and much depends upon the genre and the people who handle it.

The census is a tool-in-use employed by state and federal governments to assess resource potentials and demands, and an accurate census can help a governing body determine the amount of resources to allocate to an area (such as schools and roads). It can also show whether programs and initiatives are working, as in the assessment of literacy rates. Accuracy is a variable, however, determinant on the census-taker's ability to reach the populace, and the populace's willingness or ability to participate. The census genre represents a negotiation between the governing entity administering the count and the respondent, and between the respondent and the enumerator physically taking the census. Early enumerators' tasks were complicated by transportation difficulties and the lack of roads, and sometimes encounters with speakers for whom English was a second language.

As a measurement device, the census is also problematized by the personal ideologies of the census taker, the data compiler, the analyst, and the data's end user. Since the census data is used to make determinations such as school construction or road building, does qualifying people as a certain "type" influence decision-makers, or reify existing prejudices? A Florida state census from 1925 illustrates some of the questions that arise from statistical data in its assessment of literacy rates by county. The data regards "all persons ten years of age and over," and qualifies respondents as "White" or "Negro" (Florida 94). The highest literacy rate is listed for Dade County, with a .1 percent illiterate rate for whites, and a 5.8 percent illiterate rate for blacks. Volusia is next highest in literacy for whites, with only .2 percent illiterate, but blacks are shown as 15.3 percent illiterate. Most of the counties reflect a wide disparity between illiteracy rates according to race, but Lee County shows a closer ratio: whites, .6 percent, and blacks, 2.4 percent. One wonders what criteria were used to determine literate versus illiterate—how factual was the claim that only 59 white persons out of 21,491 in Volusia County could not read or write (if those were the criteria for literacy)? How were the questions posed? What were the circumstances surrounding the survey instrument?

Early census figures for the Briggsville/Samsula area do not apply a community name to the area—as an unincorporated area, it was listed then (and still today) as Volusia County. In the 1900 *Twelfth Census of the United States*, Volusia County Precinct 9 seems a likely candidate, as one “Myron Briggs” is listed who may perhaps be the Myron Briggs named in the early railroad story (“Hardships” 2).⁴⁴ Briggs is a white male, married, head of household, with a nine-year old son. He was born in New York in 1839, his occupation is farmer, and he owns his farm, free from mortgage. He is listed as literate: he can read, write, and speak English. These types of data points are very good indicators for broad demographics: the family has a child, so probably has a use for public education; Briggs is a farmer, so he probably would benefit from improved transportation. Specific information on the types of crops he grows, the size of his farm, the kinds of equipment or stock he uses, or his profits from farming are absent. Those kinds of figures can be found disembodied from individuals in other census data, but again the focus is on quantification. The census is a genre that speaks only briefly to the individual. Whereas the genre of the petition uses social action to bridge the transitional space between the political and social ecologies, the census maintains the distance, affirming the boundaries between the political and communal.

The Arrival of the Slovenians

Included among the new residents of Volusia County cited in table 1 were settlers who came to Briggsville attracted by the lure of farm acreage and a warm climate, many of them of Slovenian heritage. The August 1, 1913 *New Smyrna Daily News* describes the purchase of twenty acres—“tracts

⁴⁴ Identifying Precinct 9 as Samsula is problematic, since in later censuses it is marked Port Orange, and Samsula is enumerated under Precinct 13, Glencoe. One explanation might be that Port Orange lies directly north of Samsula along Spruce Creek, and there was a trail and some settlements between the locations. Another explanation may be that the precinct lines were shifted over time.

11 and 12” in the Howe and Currier allotment—by Joe and Mary Tomazin (“Real Estate” 2). The same paper shows a parcel “east of Howe and Currier allotment” acquired by Joseph and Mary Kravanya, the parents of Mary Tomazin. These are generally attributed as the first Slovenians to buy land in Briggsville, though the Tomazins would not actually move there to farm until much later. Whether or not the first immigrant families who moved to the area were responding to advertising directed toward them or simply relocating through family and friends is not known; what is known is that they came to farm at a time when agricultural production was a primarily manual enterprise.

Vernacular histories from early farmers describe what an untamed, wild place they found in Florida, and how difficult it was to clear and cultivate the land. Briggsville farmers moved to Florida for the warm weather and cheap land, but what they found were hot, humid swamps and scrub: uncleared, poorly drained land rife with sub-tropical insects, fungi, and other threats to their vegetables. The rhythms of the hot, dry summers shaped planting seasons as surely as frozen winters did in northern climates, and unpaved roads and unbridged creeks made access to the nearest market—New Smyrna Beach—a sometimes arduous journey. Early conditions, as recounted by John Gerjanc in a 1959 Slovenian-language newsletter, proved challenging. From interviews with locals, Gerjanc recounts that the earliest Slovenian to visit Briggsville, Joseph Tomazin, did not stay long, dismayed by the “wilderness” he found (Gerjanc 2). After building his father-in-law Kravanja’s house, Tomazin and his wife went back to Kansas. Another Slovenian farmer who came to Briggsville in those early years, Joseph Sopotnick, described his efforts to prepare his land for farming as “a very, very hard beginning.” Sopotnick recalled that he

labored like an animal. The land had to be cleared and made fit for cultivation. It was full of trees, every kind of dense scrub growth. Many palms had to be cut down, the stumps and roots dug out. We had no tractors. All of our work was done with shovels, picks, hoes, and our calloused hands. (Gerjanc 2)

A contemporary farmer recounts the story of how one uncle lost an eye as a child of eleven while setting a blasting cap to remove stumps from the farm (Tomazin, Appendix J 211). These vernacular histories, shaped by oral transferal and embellished over time, still offer their own kind of veracity, and offer a contrast to the codified data of the census. The individual narratives may shed a different perspective on the trajectory of agricultural modernization in Samsula.

Despite the difficulties, farmers continued to move to the area and many remained, and by the mid-1920s the settlement was a thriving community. Briggsville became Samsula after World War I, to honor a local resident who had served overseas, with the renaming occurring after the town of Indian Springs, along with their post office, burnt down. The postal service was subsequently moved to a Samsula address, and Indian Springs was never rebuilt.⁴⁵ Although the 1920 *New Sectional Map* of Florida shows a post office in Indian Springs and not Briggsville, post office records show the Samsula post office opening on September 19, 1919, and discontinued on September 30, 1936 (“Postmaster”). The young community also had a school; according to Volusia County School Board records, “the first Briggsville School opened in 1893” (location unknown), and was followed by “a second Briggsville School” in 1912 (Langlotz 116). The second school was a one-room schoolhouse with one teacher teaching eight grades. In 1927, taxpayers approved a \$30,000 bond to build a new school in the same location. As reported in the March, 25 *New Smyrna Daily News*, “Plans for the new schoolhouse,” a “one story building, costing \$30,000 complete, and

⁴⁵ The exact date of the Indian Springs post office burning and the renaming remain unclear, according to the Samsula Local Plan history, but happened at some point between 1919 and 1923 (Volusia). Lloyd Samsula’s name prior to anglicizing was Schamschula, and he moved to Briggsville with his brother Albert prior to WWI (Volusia).

containing six classrooms and an auditorium,” had already been accepted by the school board and were set to commence.⁴⁶

Another facet to the social life of the community was the S.N.P.J. Lodge, a fraternal organization that many Slovenians belonged to prior to moving to Florida. S.N.P.J. stands for Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota, which translates into Slovene National Benefit Society. It is a fraternal organization that emerged in the early twentieth century to provide insurance for immigrant workers (“History” n.p.). Samsula Lodge 603 was chartered in 1926, and for many years held monthly meetings at member’s houses or at Machek’s Corner, one of the local small general stores. In 1940, the members built a permanent lodge hall on donated land; this first structure was destroyed in a tornado. The following year, a new building was erected and dedicated on July 4, 1941 (Volusia 10).

The S.N.P.J. organization was a way for the Slovenians to preserve parts of their ethnic heritage while still participating in American culture and the American economy. The Lodge also served as a gathering place for sharing farming practices and knowledge, an informal space where farmers could discuss the developments and technologies that were rapidly changing agricultural practices. As Roosevelt’s Country Life Commission identified, successful farm communities needed good transportation systems, improved educational opportunities, and better communication with markets and other parts of the country.⁴⁷ Another important factor, though, was “social cohesion . . . the development of a strong community sense of feeling” (48). The communities that had some

⁴⁶ The original 1927 Samsula school building is still in use in the community, now serving a charter school.

⁴⁷ One of the effects of farm life deficiencies was the “widespread tendency for farmers to move to town,” a situation that raised concerns for the stability and sustainability of American agriculture (*Report of the Country* 21). The commission also identified other constraints on farmers, including land-use issues, unfair taxation, and limited access to resources such as forests and rivers, all of which impacted trade balances (29).

kind of organizational support, such as the Grange, exemplified this kind of social commonality. Perhaps the S.N.P.J. Lodge fulfilled this function in the Samsula community.

The Country Life Commission's recognition of the Grange goes along with the belief that farmers needed to organize in order to become a competitive force economically. The commission identified the problem of the solitary farmer, who reflected the "training of generations" that "made him a strong individualist" (49). While individualism and grit aided success, the economic constraints facing farmers made it difficult for many farmers to achieve sustainable production on their own. In Samsula, a packing house was built in the 1920s on the spur of the FEC railroad, and farmers collectively shipped produce from this location. Little is known about the original organization of the packing house in these early days, but a later cooperative venture, the Florida East Coast Grower's Association, was organized in 1948; this group was intended to give the power of a collective to local farmers. The FECGA is mentioned in the extension service field reports of the time as successful in "saving growers about \$20,000 in purchases alone" (Townsend and Platt 19). The co-op was active for several years, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. Similarly, the genre of the field agent report will be covered in more depth in conjunction with my interviews.



Tractors and Tillers: Communicating Farming Technologies

Early Samsula farmers dealt with a climate favorable to insects and weeds, and weather that varied from hot and dry to monsoon-type rain, poor soil, and, prior to the drainage district, standing

water in the wet season. The nearest market, New Smyrna, was over ten miles away, and “vegetables were hauled by horse and wagon over deep sandy roads” (Hebel 35). Early farming under these conditions was indeed a difficult way to make a living, and so the technologies that arose to assist agriculture were eagerly embraced by farmers in Samsula. When the first Slovenians moved to Samsula to farm, agriculture was on the cusp of a technological revolution. Like farmers elsewhere in the country, Samsulans invested in mechanized labor when possible, employing kerosene-powered pumps to irrigate crops when spring rains were not forthcoming, and trading in their horse-driven plows for metal-wheeled tractors as soon as they could afford them. The experiment stations were determining which fertilizers were best suited to the different types of soil in Florida, and a progression of increasingly effective chemical pesticides kept the cabbage borers, army worms, and other pests at bay. These technologies (and an abundance of sweat) allowed farmers to make a living off their crops. In this section I will explore how the farm technologies constitute their own ecosystems that adapt to and evolve alongside the natural, social, commercial, and political systems at work in a communal agricultural system.

Even a partial understanding of the multiple ecologies working together and affecting each other in the Samsula agricultural community must include the relationship between farmer and field tractor. Though farming was possible without the tractor and other emerging technologies, the tractor was integral to the feasibility of agriculture as a way to make a living in the unfavorable Florida soil and climate. The tractor was also a key ingredient in bringing rural farmers into the consumer economy; to purchase the goods and services driving the mass-production economy of the early twentieth century, farmers had to move beyond subsistence and barter. Farming had to

become a business that would not only pay for itself, but would also support a family, and farm mechanization was seen as a solution to that issue.⁴⁸

The arrival of the Slovenians in Samsula happened to coincide with the spread of what we now recognize as the all-purpose field tractor, which, by the 1920s and 1930s had assumed many of the properties we associate with it today. For millennia, farmers had worked by hand and with animal power to assist in such field operations as breaking ground and furrowing, but in the late nineteenth century machine-powered tools began to take over some of these duties. The earliest steam-powered tractors were introduced in the mid-nineteenth century (Csorba; Diffenbach and Gray). Hampered by bulk and weight (Csorba 1) and the number of workers needed to operate them (Diffenbach and Gray 29), steam-powered tractors were neither widespread in use nor as efficient as the later internal-combustion tractors that began appearing on the market at the turn of the century (Csorba 1; Diffenbach and Gray 31; Federico 92).⁴⁹ The earliest petroleum-fueled machines varied widely in performance standards and cost; this, combined with differing farming practices across the country, affected how quickly these new technologies were adopted (Martini and Silberberg 357). Dinah Duffy Martini and Eugene Silberberg, who examine the transition from animal-powered farm cultivation to mechanical methods, observe that the regional differences in farming systems were factors impacting the diffusion of new technologies. The areas that have “an annual cycle of plow,

⁴⁸ A tractor advertisement from 1920 helps illustrate this viewpoint by making the claim that “the farmer with an Allis-Chalmers tractor faces doubtful times with calmness. His production cost is low—his producing capacity high. And with this combination profits cannot help but follow” (Allis-Chalmers 75).

⁴⁹ Paul C. Johnson links the 1862 Homestead Act to eventual demise of the steam engine because of its constraints on farm size. He argues that the 80- to 160-acre farm size that the Act promoted was “much too small to support a steam outfit,” and that these smaller “family farmers . . . stuck with their horses as the principal source of farm power until around 1915-25 when the small gas tractor gave them a practical alternate” (49).

plant, and reap” were the earliest adopters, while acceptance of tractors was more gradual in the areas where the crop cycle was more complex and included hand cultivation and harvesting (357).

Tractor manufacturers responded to the varying needs of farmers by developing multiple kinds of tractor technologies—everything from crawlers that ran on continuous treads to garden tractors for light work (Csorba 2). The first companies to enter the tractor market were the agricultural equipment supply manufacturers as opposed to the automobile manufacturers, because the agricultural suppliers already had a distribution network and an understanding of what farmers could use (Olmstead and Rhode 668). Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode observe that

Evidently it was easier for agricultural equipment firms to learn to make engines than it was for auto firms to learn to serve the farm. Marketing networks and the two-way flow of ideas linking equipment producers with farmers, which was so important for secondary innovations, provided key advantages to the equipment companies. (668)

Henry Ford, with his Fordson tractor, was the only auto manufacturer to achieve success in the tractor market, and he competed with the other tractor producers—companies such as McCormick, J. I. Case, Allis-Chalmers, Deere & Company, Deering Harvester, and Milwaukee Harvester.

Julius J. Csorba argues that the “evolution of the farm tractor has been rapid,” taking the initial hard-to-maneuver “draw bar and beltwork” giants and ending up with “a compact machine which could be adapted to dozens of uses and powered with engines using a variety of fuels” including gasoline, diesel, kerosene, and distillate. The need for smaller machines capable of cultivating as well as plowing resulted in the development of the general-purpose tractor, which made working row crops possible (Csorba 2; Diffenbach and Gray 35; Federico 92; Martini and Silberberg 357; Olmstead and Rhode 668). E. M. Diffenbach and R. B. Gray describe International Harvester’s Farmall, “probably the first successful attempt to build a real all-purpose tractor,” as a machine that “could plow (two-plow size), cultivate four rows, and, as attachments were developed,

do other jobs” (35). In appearance, the Farmall had “two small front wheels close together and large rear wheels on a high axle,” which allowed “tractors to cultivate crops (turn over the soil, weed) until the crops reached the height of the rear axle” (Martini and Silberberg 357). Other developments that increased the utility and value of the tractor were the introduction of pneumatic tires and the development of high-compression engines in the early 1930s (Csorba 1), and the “Ferguson three-point hitch and hydraulic system” (Olmstead and Rhode 668-69). Each of these factors made the tractor easier to operate and expanded the breadth of work it could perform.

The earliest Samsula farmers relied on manual effort to break ground, and animal power (horse or mule) to pull plows through the fields. More manual work was required to cultivate and harvest the crops, and farmers either relied on their families or had to hire outside help for this work. Samsula agriculture was based on a bedded row-crop system, with raised beds to keep the plants from drowning when the rains came, and to encourage deep root growth through ditch irrigation methods. The first tractors were not flexible or light enough to do more than simply plow and prepare the fields (Olmstead and Rhode 668), but innovations driven by experience and need produced machines that were lightweight and maneuverable, with drawbar attachments to achieve a wide range of jobs. Tractors could plow, disc, bed, and with some crops, straddle the beds to assist with harvest.

Table 2

USDA Agricultural Census Data 1920 - 1950

USDA Agricultural Census: Florida 1920 - 1950						
Year	1920	1925	1930	1940	1945	1950
Farms reporting:	602	2,352	4,382	6,319	9,508	15,275
Number of tractors:	680	2,777	5,244	7,703	12,812	22,018

Table 2 shows the increase in Florida farms and tractors from the period of 1920 to the census of 1950. The greatest percentage increase occurred in the early period: between 1920 and 1930, the number of farms reporting to the census increased by 86 percent, and in the same period, the number of tractors on farms increased 87 percent. Specific data for Volusia County or Samsula is not available, but these figures give a good idea of the rapid acceptance of tractor technology into Florida agriculture. But, along with the dissemination of tractor technology came the need for learning about and understanding how to operate, maintain, and repair these machines. Similar to the communication of new methods and ideas coming out of the experiment stations which spoke to a kind of agricultural literacy, understanding and knowing how to operate and repair tractors presumed another level of technological literacy. And for the instantiation of this literacy, specific genres once again played a part.

The agricultural supply companies had a long history of providing marketing materials to their customers, including catalogs with descriptions and images. Sales agents used these genres to explain new technologies and persuade potential customers. Advertisements in periodicals of the day also promoted the new technologies, with large ads extolling the virtues of new machines. Ads often offered connections to more detailed genres, as in this 1921 John Deere plow ad, “John Deere built it for the Fordson”:

Many thousands of Fordson owners are using the John Deere No. 40. Watch it at work in a neighbor's field. Find out from its users how satisfactory it is. See it on display in your town. Ask us for free folder describing it fully. Write today, address John Deere, Moline, Illinois, and ask for free folder—FP-713. (John Deere 63)

Here, they offer multiple ways in which customers can learn about the plow: observation, recommendation, conversation, and for those seriously interested in acquiring more information, another genre.

The agricultural catalogs and advertisements were genres in their own right, but their social impact was mostly uni-directional; their informational impact was constrained by their need to sell proprietary goods, not their need to broadly educate. The periodical *Farm Mechanics*, though, is a genre that embodies Carolyn Miller's idea of social action: it offers information and how-to materials, and also provides a forum for experts and lay persons to exchange questions and solutions, observations and experiences.⁵⁰ The magazine features recurring departments in every issue, including "Handy Andy's Department" and "Do it Yourself Department" (how-to instructions on farm-related projects), "The Tractor in Action" (editors and readers sharing experiences on tractor issues), "Motor Trouble Advice" by F. M. Service (expert responses to reader questions on mechanical issues), "Farm Mechanics Information Exchange" (a bulletin board for connecting people with products of interest), "Our Implement Inspector" (reviews on new farm equipment and technologies), and "The Farm Mechanics Mail Box" (letters to the editor with responses and answers). Individual departments offer different levels of intercommunication; for example "The Farm Mechanics Mail Box" encourage readers "to Make Free Use of this Department for Questions and Answers on Modern Farming and Farm Improvements," a short instruction that appears in every issue.

The letters to the editor and other reader-generated dialogues in *Farm Mechanics* illustrate the skills and ways of doing acquired by farmers, and the ways in which they built that knowledge and shared it with others. In a time before widespread availability of mechanics, farmers who wished to

⁵⁰ *Farm Mechanics* was a monthly periodical published approximately from 1919 through the early 1930s. It was published by the Farm Mechanics Company out of Chicago, Illinois, and was affiliated with American Builder and Radford Architectural Companies. The editorial and business staff consisted of William A. Radford, Bernard L. Johnson, R. D. Radford, Wm. A. Radford, Jr., Paul N. Rothe, J. D. Eddy, N. S. Johnson, and J. T. Dowd. Some guest authors provided articles, but the features were uncredited as to author—presumably the editorial staff wrote the regular departments. The exception to this is the "Motor Trouble Advice" column, credited to F. M. Service—perhaps Farm Mechanics Service.

farm with mechanical power needed to know how to repair and maintain as well as operate their tractors. Many of the communications in *Farm Mechanics* exhibit sophisticated understandings of how tractors and other mechanical aides work. One writer to “Motor Trouble” explains that he is “installing a high tension magneto” on his Fordson tractor, and he asks the “Expert” “which make would be best? Is the Bosch a good magneto and will the spiral gears used to drive it wear out too soon?” The expert answers that “the Bosch magneto . . . is a good outfit to install on your tractor. You need not worry that the spiral gears will wear out, as the strain that they operate under is so slight that the wear is negligible” (Sept. 1921, 84-85). This exchange portrays the farmer as a knowledgeable mechanic who knows the proper names for parts, and assumes that he will understand the mechanical forces being described. Both the farmer and the expert are literate in the physical workings of the tractor engine, and in the applications for successful utilization of the tractor on the farm.

What does a Midwest magazine from the 1920s have to do with Samsula farmers? We do not have a written record of Samsula agriculture from this earliest period, so in a way this genre can help us understand the tenor of the times: what ideas were circulating, and what kind of communities were forming around agricultural technologies. Many of the farmers who migrated to Samsula in the early period came from cities in the Midwest; whether or not they personally read *Farm Mechanics*, the ideologies of farming that it promoted were a part of those places and those times. Physical genres from this period in Samsula so far have been impossible to find; we have pictures and stories, and a few artifacts that carry their own history, such as a burnished nameplate from a metal-wheeled tractor. Nevertheless, we may perhaps get an idea of how the science of agriculture, including the machines, products, and methods, was promoted and filtered into the Samsula community. Along with the oral histories gathered from current residents, the genres of the past may help illuminate the

intersecting ecologies and the direction and impact of agricultural-technological forces on the Samsula agricultural community over time.

The next chapter will introduce some of the descendants of the Samsula pioneer families, and explore the relationships between Samsula farmers and the larger external institutions that helped shape agricultural situations in the community in the succeeding years.

CHAPTER THREE: SPONSORS OF AGRICULTURAL LITERACY

Inevitably an ecological approach starts out from people's lives, from what people actually do and from the sense and meaning people give to their activities. In this way, an ecological approach gets to concentrate on vernacular activities and vernacular values, often contrasting them with more dominant ones.

--David Barton

An orally transmitted tale does not die with the teller: many such stories have been alive for thousands of years, traveling from place to place and from century to century. . . It is passed, not from hand to hand, but from mouth to ear to mouth. In this way it keeps moving.

--Margaret Atwood

Identity, Literacy, and Know-How in an Agricultural Village

As discussed in the last chapter, twentieth-century agriculture can be viewed from multiple perspectives—ecologies of intersecting systems and ideas—and many of these systems employ genres as tools-in-use. We have seen how genres can help map past interactions between communities and institutions, revealing the broad political, scientific, and technological changes occurring over time, and how those broad effects can impact local communities. In this chapter, I will further explore specific local situations to see how the sponsorship of agricultural literacies, through the use of genres, may or may not have influenced the development of agricultural methods and practices in Samsula farming. Sponsorship can also be viewed through the lens of ecologies, as sponsors arise from some of the same systems explored earlier, such as the land-grant college system, agricultural supply companies, and local communities. Each of these ecologies contains

smaller ecosystems, and the multiple rhetorical ecosystems often come into contact with one another in contact zones.

In my introductory review of discursive ecologies, I referred to Marilyn M. Cooper's "ecological model," in which she frames writing within "dynamic interlocking systems" (368). The ecosystems revealed in my research are indeed dynamic—changing and responding to economic situations, political influences, and environmental fluxes—and the places where they intersect and overlap offer windows to the activities in which sponsors of agricultural literacy and genres participate. The ways of knowing in the land-grant college, experiment station, and extension service ecosystems, for example, are science and regulatory-based, with an emphasis on written documentation and specialist knowledge. They may have separate communities within this ecosystem, but they all share common understandings and literacies, and they rely on texts as repositories of institutional knowledge. The ecosystem of the farming community comes into contact with these systems by borrowing from their knowledge base, with accommodation taking place in the transition from institutional to local understandings. Farmers do not become part of the extension service community, but they are able to learn and profit from the ideas, methods, and technologies that originate within that system, and they may also embrace some of the world views that accompany these ways of performing agriculture.

The places where different ecosystems meet and interact can be thought of as ecotones. An ecotone, in ecological science, is the transitional space between two ecosystems, traditionally the boundaries beyond which organisms adapted to a specific environment cannot travel. The ecotone itself, though, is home to the organisms that can adapt to the differences and deficiencies of the in-between. The brackish water of a marsh is an example of an ecotone; the hardiest species tolerate the interface, and some can comfortably transition between fresh and salt water. The ecotone's

margins are porous rather than firm, and “may occur along gradients rather than at thresholds” (Bassett, et al. 6), allowing the surrounding ecologies to overlap and intermingle.

This concept can also pertain to the transitional spaces in rhetorical ecologies, where certain “organisms”—individuals, communities, or ideas—can adapt and thrive. An ecotone in a rhetorical ecosystem is the contact zone where diverse systems such as the cultural, political, technological, and natural ecologies meet, overlap, and affect each other. An ecotone such as that between the farming community of 1915 Samsula and the legislature in Tallahassee, for example, was the rhetorical site where the petition and the LADD Incorporation Act met; the resulting action transformed the relationship between the community and the surrounding undeveloped swampland. Precursor genres from state and federal legislators prepared the ground for rhetorical action; their meaning and intent was interpreted and adapted to local agendas.

The science employed to make the physical transformations in the roads, ditches, and canals swam in a related ecotone; interlocutors translated the findings, assessments, and recommendations of the hydrologists and geologists into a political language which could then be activated through economic and engineering programs. And while these developments were unfolding, the local newspapers were making the process visible to interested parties as well as participating by recording the acts and petitions associated with the LADD. Farmers, real estate brokers, politicians, speculators, contractors, engineers, geologists, and hydrologists all met in the ecotone, where negotiations and resolutions moved the massive project forward.

Thus, a rhetorical ecotone is a site of adaptation, where the oral and written genres of overlapping ecosystems may take on new interpretations. The pristine environment of one ecosystem (although rhetorical environments are never actually that clean or unmuddied) delivers or picks up different ways of communicating in the transitional space. Some of the discourses that

emanate from a specific system, such as management skills or scientific discourses, will also make their way across ecotones into other systems. Some may be repurposed through this process: while they may perform similar (but not identical) functions in their new homes, their language may change, the means of sharing them may shift, and the literacies that absorb or employ them may be quite different than their original source.

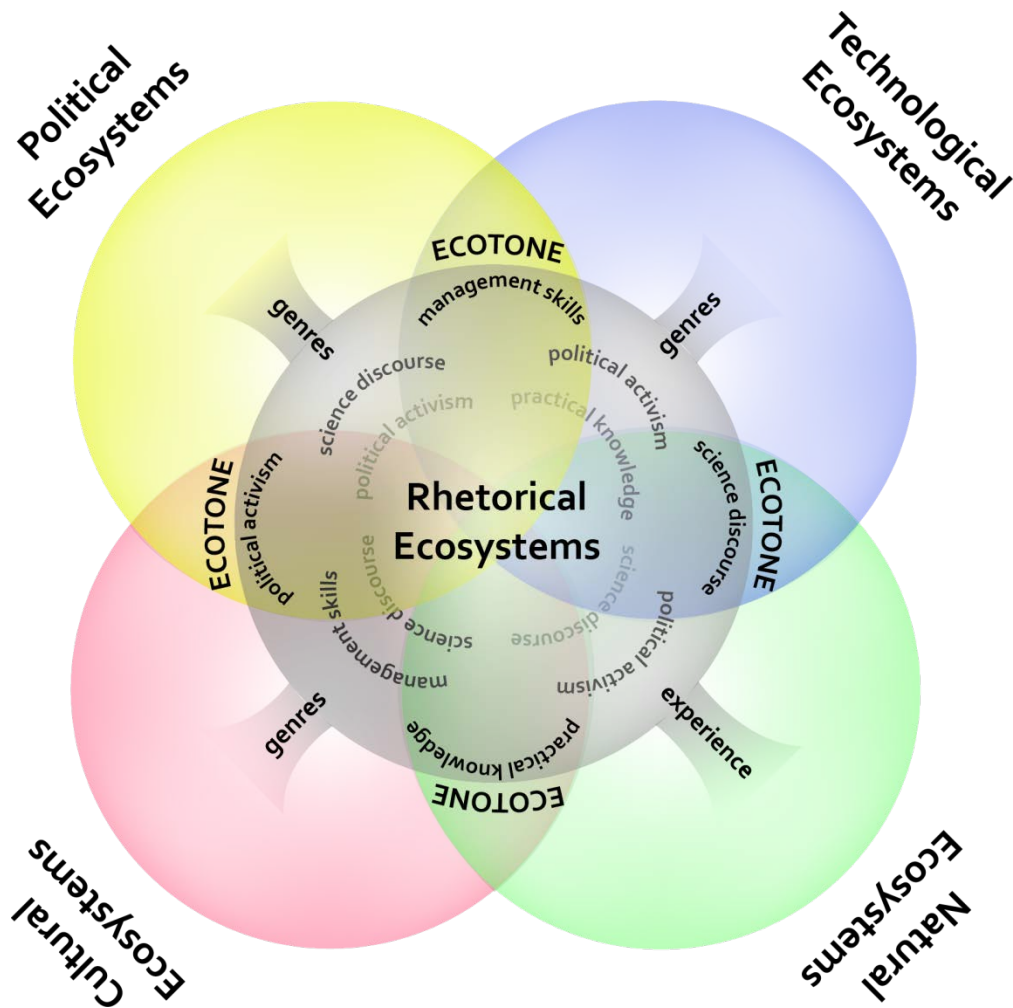


Fig. 7. Samsula Rhetorical Ecotones I

Figure 7 describes what this might look like (based on the Communal Ecologies diagram, page 5). Rhetorical ecotones are not one-dimensional, linear spaces, but complex areas with many

intersections and overlaps; they provide areas for enrichment and knowledge-sharing, as well as opportunities for misunderstanding, manipulation, and obstruction. They are the sites where control can be ceded or appropriated, and where world-views are challenged or reinforced. In the rhetorical ecology of the Samsula community, ecotones can help us understand the diffusion of agricultural literacies from the various sponsors involved and the reciprocal understandings sponsors gain from practicing farmers. Before exploring the ecotone further, though, I will explore two other important concepts from my research, agricultural literacies and communities of practice.

Agricultural Literacies and Their Sponsors

What makes a literacy “agricultural”? Viewing a general notion of literacy through an agricultural lens may help contextualize the kinds of knowledge-sharing and communication taking place in my interviews and the historical reports. Cori Brewster defines “agricultural literacy” as “a functional literacy characterized by the acquisition of knowledge and skills required to perform in particular contexts or to assist sponsoring agencies in achieving particular aims” (36-37). The sponsors of whom she speaks are many and varied, including farmers’ associations, such as the American Farm Bureau Federation, commercial interests such as tractor manufacturers and seed companies, and government institutions such as the FDA and extension service (37-39).

The outside entities that shape agricultural literacy each have their own agendas and perspectives, and must coexist with the more local sponsors such as family, neighbors, teachers, and customers. Deborah Brandt argues that sponsors bring “ideological freight” along with the process of literacy transfer, and that the resultant literacy “takes its shape from the interests of its sponsors” (168). In the Samsula community, there are various entities that might be considered sponsors of agricultural literacy, including family elders, neighbors, extension service agents, equipment

manufacturers, and chemical company salesmen, each of which might regard literate functionality somewhat differently. To the extension service agents, for example, the ability of the sponsees to understand the genres that promote the ideas, methods, and materials the service introduces might satisfy the criteria of functional literacy.

In truth, though, there is more than one “agricultural literacy,” and different levels of sponsorship if we consider the multiple ecologies of this situation. The community of farmers shared more than one kind of agricultural literacy as they negotiated their relationships with the extension service agent, supply vendors, customers, and each other. The community of extension service agents shared some common literacies with the farmers and vendors, and other kinds of agricultural literacies that enabled them to negotiate the texts and instructions coming from the land-grant college system and legislative bodies. The literacies of the extension agents arose from institutional expectations of specialist knowledge, and might have included formal training and mentoring by other members of the service community. As conduits of science-based research, they may have been expected to translate findings from the experiment station, for example, about the effects of a new pesticide, and have known enough about the chemistry and environmental factors to put it into language the local farmers could use. The literacies they needed to master would have been reflective of the most up-to-date technologies available to the community. In addition, they needed to be well versed in the specific local situations with which they were dealing.

The agricultural literacies of the working farmer, in contrast, come from learning based in observation and interactions with family, neighbors, and outside sponsors, and direct experience with the soil, water, insects, and other location-specific factors impacting agriculture. The farmer utilizes these literacies to remain resilient and adapt to the fluid variables affecting his efforts, including market fluctuations and bad weather. The agricultural literacies of the extension agent and

the farmer overlap in the ecotone between the two communities, but each serves a slightly different purpose and overall goal. The aim of the extension service, in sponsoring agricultural literacy to farmers, in other words, is not to enculturate them into the community of the extension service, but to improve farm productivity by sharing methods and technologies developed institutionally, and to learn and adapt from farmers' real-world experiences with these same methods and technologies. This reciprocal space of the ecotone—the common place where both agent and farmer can meet—is the generative space for agricultural adaptation.

From the interviews I conducted, the internal teaching and learning situation in Samsula emerges as a community of practice (CoP), in which agricultural literacies, oral and written, serve as the conduit for knowledge and practical experience within the community. Sponsors, both internal and external, operate within this CoP, shaping the resulting agricultural practices. In community narratives and extension service reports, I have found three ideas emerging from the confluence of agricultural literacies and their sponsors and the activities in the Samsula CoP: that the initial shape of sponsored literacies is always adapted to specific situations; that sponsorship is usually a reciprocal relationship that blurs the lines between receivers and givers; and that sponsors, even when they collaborate, may have competing agendas. In the next section I will look at Samsula farmers, and their genres, as a community of agricultural practice.

A Community of Agricultural Practice

When I first began this project, I was most interested in how practicing farming as a livelihood affected someone's identity and the way they thought about and interacted with the non-human world. Since textual communications play such a large role in many human interactions, I was also interested in how genres or other texts might have participated in these agricultural pursuits

and in the congruent identity development. Due to the fact that all my subjects live in the same community, and thus share similar situations and experiences, many of my early interview sessions centered on the history of Samsula. I soon realized that the multiple perspectives arising from the diverse ecologies complicated my ideas of genre activity. My farmers and other Samsula residents talked less about the texts, genred and otherwise, and more about the oral communications and actual physical “doing” of agriculture; their focus was on the practical-knowledge laden anecdotes shared within the community, and on the plants they grew and the elements that directly impacted that process: the weather, soil, and environment that shaped growing methods, the insects and diseases they competed against, and the mechanical and chemical tools that participated in dealing with these constraints. Their agricultural literacy was steeped in experiential histories, and involved reading the land, plants, and weather as much as reading texts.

The people I interviewed each claimed long histories in Samsula through family and farming connections. Several farmed as the primary income for their families, and some as part of nascent experience in a farming family; some are retired; one is currently engaged in farming; and one married into a farming family. These are all personal acquaintances of mine, people that I have known all or most of my life. They have been quite open about their experiences with agriculture, and many of their narratives will also help tell the story of Samsula in the *Samsula Historical Archive* website. I conducted the interviews at the subjects’ homes, and in one case, in and around the barns and machinery sheds on a family farm. I approached the interviews with a set of initial questions

(Appendix H), but most often the subjects expanded upon the topic, providing details beyond what I asked.⁵¹

The responses I received from the Samsula interviews only tell the farmer's side of the story, since I was not present for their interactions with the extension service. To gain some perspective on the institutional side of the story, I also interviewed a Volusia County extension agent. Volusia County no longer has an agent dedicated to truck farming, as that industry is not the economic force that it was mid-century; instead, they have a horticultural specialist who works primarily with the nurseries, ferneries, landscapers, and public. She was nevertheless generous with her time and insights, and provided useful information, including a copy of the *2012-2013 Vegetable Production Handbook for Florida*—a genre mentioned by one of the Samsula farmers. I interviewed her at the county extension offices in DeLand, Florida.

In addition to the interviews, I researched archival extension service reports housed in the University of Florida Special and Area Collections. These annual reports detail activities at the state and local level, and they provide information on the publications produced by the service and the kinds of interactions agents had with farmers in the multiple types of agricultural pursuits (such as citrus, dairy, or truck farms). Nineteen texts in all were analyzed, with dates spanning from 1921 to 1958. Whenever possible, I worked with local reports for Volusia County, but if those were not available I used state or district reports, and, in one case, a vegetable crop specialist report. The reports, as a genre, offer a diachronic synopsis of shifts in production methods, cooperative ventures, and educational programs such as vocational agriculture programs and the 4-H. While

⁵¹ Excerpts from these interviews are included in Appendix J.

most of these reports are not detailed to the level of local individual farmers, some evidence of the Samsula community's activities is written into the Volusia County records. This proves useful for deriving meaning when considered alongside the farmer interviews.

At the time of my first interviews I had not read the extension service reports and narratives, and so some of the ideas contained in these rhetorical artifacts did not enter my frame of reference. I subsequently performed follow-up interviews with two farmers to see if any of these findings resonated with them, and my last Samsula farmer interview also included direct questions about extension service participation and genres. Perhaps I missed significant data, but it is also possible that awareness of the extension service records might have directed my early questioning, and thus the results I obtained. I also recognize that my relationship to my interviewees presents both advantages, in terms of access, and disadvantages, in that it becomes harder to parse the words of someone who is, in essence, a part of my own worldview and personal identity. The ideas I glean from the data are interpretive, of course, but the initial interviews show that farmers, according to their personal experiences, may think of the genres produced by the extension service in very different ways than the extension service intends, and to me this has implications for the kinds of social actions these genres might perform.

Samsula Narratives

The interviews I conducted reveal that farmers primarily learn their craft and the accompanying agricultural literacy by immersion: they learn at the feet of others, as children, or they come into it as a community experience. Agricultural science as a formal educational venue is not the main source of understandings of what is happening between seed, soil, water, and sun; it is not the primary channel for farming know-how. The farmers' practical experience aligns with a CoP

approach, and even the more complex tasks introduced by twentieth-century technologies, such as mechanized field tools or pesticides, are implements and techniques that are demonstrated and shared either by community members or knowledgeable outsiders.

According to Etienne Wenger, communities of practice are defined by a common interest, a “concern or passion for something they do,” and they “learn how to do it better” by sharing knowledge on a regular basis (1). Improved practice is not always necessarily the goal of interaction, but learning takes place nonetheless, as members of the community engage in shared activities and discourses. Wengers’ idea of CoP hinges on three characteristics: “a shared domain of interest” that brings with it certain competencies; a community in which “members interact and learn together”; and a practice that involves “a shared repertoire of resources: experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems” (1-2). In the Samsula situation I would also add genres to Wenger’s list of shared resources, as socially responsive conduits of agricultural knowledge. Some of the examples Wenger provides for activities of a CoP echo the activities described in my interviews, such as sharing assets (when one farmer asks to borrow a certain kind of tractor disc from another, for example), asking for advice (young farmers learning from more experienced neighbors and relatives), and coordinating efforts (the cooperative marketing venture of the packing house) (2-3).

Children growing up in farming families learned, through graduated stages of difficulty, the ins and outs of raising produce. Retired farmer George Benedict, a second-generation Samsula farmer, recalled an average after-school experience from his childhood:

so you’d get home, you’d gulp down two glasses of milk, big plate full of cookies, but then you was expected to be out in the field, with a wheelbarrow, you push the wheelbarrow, you loaded the collard greens on it, or whatever, you pushed it up to the barn, put them in the cold water, keep them good and fresh, then worked them up and down, took them and stacked them on the cart, laid them twelve in a row, so we knew exactly how many dozen we had, and . . . that was something I did every day. I knew what I had to do when I got home, and then we worked up until dark,

and maybe we'd have about thirty minutes in there to play, and my brother Frank and I, we'd usually run off somewhere, when we got back home, we got a spanking for being late, that was just a daily ritual (laugh). (Appendix J 194)

Learning to farm came with the milk and cookies; it was just a part of life. The experience shapes the understanding of farming practices; the agricultural literacy in this description includes keeping count and keeping the greens “good and fresh” so they did not wilt. This is a story told with a good-humored laugh, a happy memory.

Ray Wright, another second-generation farmer, also spoke of learning the farming ropes from his father. One of his anecdotes concerned the Florida East Coast Grower's Association at the packing house; as he relates,

I remember as a kid going down there and just boxes and boxes of peppers and cucumbers and squash and I remember my dad, well he had ten acres here, and he did bunch radishes and he had a cello wrapper and had wrapped the little bags of cello with the radishes and tops cut off, you know, the machine picked them up and cut them and he built a washer to wash them, he'd take them down to the packing house and put them in the cello things I remember putting them in boxes, cardboard boxes and stacking them up. (Appendix J 214)

By the time Wright was farming on his own, the FECGA had closed, but he remembered it as “a big time thing for agriculture in Samsula. I mean, big time, it was probably 20 different farms, you know, . . . some of them were four acres, some . . . them were 20, but they were all vital . . . everybody grew something” (Appendix J 215). The coordinated venture of the cooperative fulfills another of Wenger's CoP activities, bringing together individual farmers in activities and meetings where they could participate in collective problem-solving, pooling both their material and intellectual resources. The FECGA coordination of ideas came up in several interviews. Jack Pleterski and Bob Jontes both mentioned the cooperative as a way for the small farmer to gain some leverage through bulk purchases and bulk sales. Pleterski noted that “at one time there was somewhere in the neighborhood of 30 to 40 farms,” most of which were members of the

cooperative, and Jontes recalled that “if you had enough acreage and you had enough help, you could make money by pouring it through and [they would] take everything you had” (Appendix J 200).

The concept of shared resources came up several times in my interview with Wright. In reminiscing over how times had changed, Wright recalled that

. . . people were a lot different. Well, if you needed something you went over to the neighbor’s house and said, oh Len, I need a part for my tractor, or, can you help me do this? Here you go, let’s see what we can do; if they couldn’t do it they’d go to somebody else and, well, you can go over to Hafner’s, they don’t have it, so well, go over and talk to Jack Pleterski, he may have it, you know. Or run down to Tomazins or something, he may have some fertilizer you need, or seed, you know. (Appendix J 215)

As Wright’s remembrance illustrates, practical agricultural literacy includes understanding and working with the technologies of modern farming. Some of the early settlers, such as Joe Tomazin Sr., John Luznar, Sr., and John Pleterski, Sr., brought mechanical skillsets to the community from prior occupational experience; yet others gained knowledge from vocational agriculture school or 4-H programs.⁵² Samsula farmers did not call on a local mechanic shop for help when machinery gave problems, but learned (primarily from other community members) how to maintain and repair their tractors, irrigation equipment, and other essential machinery. This knowledge was freely shared, as Pleterski recalled. He discussed starting out on his own, when

. . . there was always somebody that would help you out a little bit, we had a lot of exchange of equipment . . . other farmers would help out if you needed something, and especially if you were a young famer that didn’t have all that stuff. . . I owe a lot, let’s put it that way, to people like Bob Jontes, who was a neighbor and he helped me an awful lot, very generous with his time and his advice and equipment, that helped

⁵² Bill Tomazin said that both his grandfathers (Tomazin and Luznar) were blacksmiths prior to moving to Florida, and Jack Pleterski (another Luznar grandson) mentions that his grandfather on his father’s side was a machinist in Cleveland before coming to Samsula (Appendix J). Bob Jontes talks about learning how to weld in the vocational agriculture classes (Appendix J), and the *1954 Annual Report* lists Joe Benedict III (interviewee George’s brother) as having won the state award for his tractor maintenance project (8).

me a lot . . . my uncle John helped with a lot of things, advice and maintaining equipment and things like that. Gave me a lot of, just taught me a lot, you know. So, I'm very appreciative of that. (Appendix J 210)

Stories like these help us understand agricultural knowledge in a community like Samsula as “collective knowledge” (Brown and Duguid 103) that is shared through oral genres , built upon, and passed down from generation to generation, neighbor to neighbor.⁵³ While each farmer may have sustained an individual business, there was also a common interest in communal success; Pleterski put it thus: “everybody did just kind of cooperate very much” (Appendix J 210).

Jean Lave, who developed the idea of CoP with Wenger, argues that the knowledge acquisition that takes place in a CoP is co-constitutive, creating know-how and identity at the same time; it also recursively fosters the construction of a sense of community through shared understandings and practices. Identity and skillset develop concurrently, and, as Lave argues, “are part of the same process, with the former motivating, shaping, and giving meaning to the latter, which it subsumes” (65). Learning acquired at an early age with the family is eventually extended, shared, and modeled by interactions with other community members through everyday discourses. The situation for learning can be social rather than formal; and “dialectical relations” of the communal ecosystem are at the heart of establishing the situation and meaning-making (Lave 67).

I interpret these dialectical relations in terms of the oral genres practiced by Samsula farmers as ways of saving and sharing knowledge. E. Nolie Emenanjo, in describing anecdotes as oral genres, presents them as “normally short, involving no more than a single incident, generally factual and authentic in context (or at least alleged to be so), and basically uncomplicated in plot line” (171).

⁵³ Amy J. Devitt uses the idea of “oral genres” to provide a “broader linguistic definition of texts as either oral or written,” though she focuses on written texts for her study (“Intertextuality” 355). In this text, oral genres refer to the stories farmers share in Brown and Duguid’s context of collective knowledge.

Malina Stefanovska defines an anecdote as “a short, and sometimes humorous account of a true, interesting, if minor event” (16). While Emenanjo and Stefanovska come at genre from different perspectives (he, as a folklorist scholar on the Igbo culture, and she as an historiographer), they both frame the anecdote as a specific, recognizable component of communication. Mikhail Bakhtin explains “speech genres,” oral and written, “in terms of spheres of human activity” (65), defining the idea of genre as meaningful only in terms of the situation in which it is spoken or written. The recurring anecdotes shared in the context of Samsula farming have significance within the community as experiential lessons, knowledge brought in from outside exchanges, and stories reaffirming historical and cultural genesis. They also have value, from the perspective of this research, as illustrations of the kinds of knowledge blending and accommodation that took place between farmers and extension agents. As genres that respond to recurring rhetorical situations such as requests for help with malfunctioning tractors or discussions on the soil, weather, or insects that impact agriculture, the repetitive narratives offered by Samsula farmers serve an important knowledge-making and continuance function in the community.

One of the main social sites in Samsula where these dialectical relations could be practiced was (and still is) the S.N.P.J. lodge hall.⁵⁴ Wright remembered that when the crops were finished for the season, farmers would share any surplus produce by spreading the word that they were “done with this field, come on and pick what you want,” and that local families would often come together for fish fries or potluck dinners at the lodge hall (Appendix J 215-16). The hall, with its kitchen and bar and large wooden dance floor, was a convenient place for community get-togethers, and

⁵⁴ See page 69.

occasions like an “end of season pepper party” (Luznar, Appendix J 206) that brought farmers and their families together to visit and relax. The farmers not only helped each other when called upon, but talked shop when they gathered at the hall; for example, Bill Tomazin, a direct descendant of one of the early Samsula settlers,⁵⁵ related that he learned a lot from George Benedict when they would meet there after work on the weekends (Appendix J 212). Benedict was a little older and had been farming a little longer, and Tomazin respected his opinion and advice as they traded farming anecdotes.

This kind of shop talk, especially the oral genres, would count as the informal knowledge-making “chat” John Seely Brown and Paul Duguid point to that “continuously but almost imperceptibly adjusts a group’s collective knowledge and individual’s awareness of each other” (103). Brown and Duguid discuss the value of story-telling, which can shape understandings of isolated events by describing a bigger picture. They assert that narratives are central to establishing and continuing a community, and that “the value of stories . . . lies not just in their telling, but in their retelling. Stories pass on to newcomers what old-timers already know” (107). Recognizing the telling and retelling of certain narratives through interview and observation, I believe that Samsula oral genres reinforce Lave’s observations on “dialectical relations between the social world and persons engaged in an activity” which help establish both individual and group identity (67), and that these ideas, in turn, scaffold the rhetorical ecology of this agricultural community of practice. The willingness of Samsula farmers to share their stories and relate their experiences reveals an oral tradition of knowledge-sharing; the stories are rounded, smoothed into familiarity by telling and

⁵⁵ See Chapter Two, “The Arrival of the Slovenians.”

retelling. In the ecotones of the Samsula rhetorical ecology, these stories serve as oral genres for transmitting and shaping knowledge.

The Extension Service Perspective

The dialectical relationships in a community of practice can be spoken narratives—oral genres—as we see in the Samsula farming experience, or they can be textual in nature. The local county agents for the extension service, for example, provide “narrative” reports, along with statistical data, as part of their annual accounting. The language in the reports aims for objectivity, as befitting an organization allied with a science-based institution; with the exception of the sections on the 4-H activities, this discourse depersonalizes the relationships, and attempts to maintain a distanced stance. The narrative reports follow a general template, and cover themes that recur from year to year depending on what kinds of agriculture and associated activities are taking place in the county. What the extension service considered narrative reporting consists of formulaic representations of the happening within the county, district, or state, with little room for anecdotal forays. A report involved a conversation from the local agent to his supervisor, justifying and qualifying his activities for the year. His supervisor, the district agent, used this report, along with the other county reports, to construct a larger picture of activities also aimed at conveying worth and substance. The district exercise similarly flowed into the state report, which was aimed at the state legislative and federal departmental levels, mirroring the purpose and form of the prior genres. Along the way, with each consolidation and derivation of information, details were left behind, producing a final product distilled to an abstract essence.

Brown and Duguid note that “directive documentation wasn’t designed for sense-making,” but for “rule following” (101-02). This might explain some of the redundancy that occurs in these

reports; agents are following specifications for what information to include and what to leave out. The formulaic repetitiveness is not generic in the sense that it is a direct response to the situations encountered in the farming community, but generic in that it responds to the recurring bureaucratic demands of the institutions—the extension service, college, and state. Individual elements enter this textual discourse from time to time, but much of the content or body of the text presents a sense of static, rather than stable, participation.

Rote expectations are met with rote reports, and some of the texts examined show this in repetitive dialogues from year to year. For example, the 1950 and 1951 Volusia County reports use the same descriptions in the “Vegetable Production” section:

1950 Volusia County Report:

Growers needed a meeting to discuss production problems and varieties. This opportunity was provided by the Agent. (Townsend and Platt 19)

Conversion of practically all vegetable farms to tractor farming was accomplished, except on some muck tracts. (Townsend and Platt 20)

1951 Volusia County Report:

Growers needed a meeting to discuss production problems and varieties. This opportunity was provided by the Agent. (Townsend and Platt 20)

Conversions of practically all vegetable farms to tractor farming was accomplished, except on some muck tracts last year. (Townsend and Platt 21)

The 1954-55 reports altered the outline a bit, with a “Vegetables” section instead of “Vegetable Projection.” Still, they displayed similar redundancies:

1954 Volusia County Annual Report:

There is one small but extensive vegetable growing area in the county. The community of Samsula has but forty families engaged in truck farming. Most all the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The agent served as advisor to the cooperative and has worked through the cooperative to promote the latest methods in the control of insect and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latest

information on varieties and best cultural practices. Seedbed fumigation with Methyl Bromide and variety demonstrations were setup. (Townsend and Luttrell 5)

1955 Volusia County Annual Report:

There is one small but extensive vegetable growing area in the county. The community of Samsula has but forty families engaged in truck farming. Most all the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The Agent served as advisor to the cooperative and has worked through the cooperative to promote the latest methods in the control of insects and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latent information on varieties and best cultural practices. Seedbed fumigation with Methyl Bromide and variety demonstrations were setup. The entire lettuce crop was wiped out by Sclerotinis. (Townsend and Luttrell 6)

These incidences of repetition may reflect a tendency to formalize and standardize the processes associated with agricultural production, at least in text. It also could reflect the clerical nature of this part of the agent's job, a chore dispensed by necessity, but often without a lot of true reflection. It was a part of the expectations that came with the position, along with the travel and other activities engaging with agriculturalists in his district. The 1939 *Silver Anniversary Report* provides a summary of the Central and Southern section District Agent for the year, which included visits to county agents; taking part in meetings, demonstrations, and radio appearances; helping plan farm tours, conferences, 4-H camps, and educational meetings; various other administrative activities; and "115 days in office attending to correspondence, working of plans for promotion at work and making out monthly and annual reports" (25). Since much of the district report content is taken from reports from county agents, it is probably safe to deduce that county agents were also expected to dedicate a significant amount of time to organizing information and crafting reports.

These examples show that the ways in which farming community members and institutional agents talk and write about farming, as well as the methods and practices themselves, are contextualized by the varied standpoints of each. In my interviews, references to reading about how to farm are rare, but descriptions of planting, cultivating, weeding, watering, picking, cleaning,

packing, and selling abound. Anecdotes about practical farm experience, such as Benedict's childhood memories, convey tacit learning practices, as novice farmers learn by watching and doing. Agricultural literacies in these contexts mean reading the land, weather, plants, technologies, and people—understanding the environments, economies, and discourses within which agricultural works are conducted. An understanding of agricultural literacy thus shifts according to who is rendering it, and creates a tension between experiential understandings and what one farmer referred to as “by the book” knowledge (B. Jontes, Appendix J 203).

Home-Grown Ecotones

When looking at institutional representatives, “book” knowledge infers formal education and perhaps a skeptical approach to the knowledge stores that exist within the vernacular, communal practices of those who learn farming from the ground up. Bob Jontes, who farmed the same forty acres for over sixty years, recalled an early experience with the extension service that set institutional sponsorship against vernacular agricultural literacy. After serving in WWII, Jontes enrolled in agricultural vocational school primarily to receive the stipend it provided. Newly married, Jontes was working the farm he inherited from his father, a piece of land he had practiced farming on since he was a child. One of the agriculture courses was taught by “a good college graduate and everything, from up in Georgia” (Appendix J 203). Jontes and the other farmers were growing sweet bell peppers, which was a big cash crop in Samsula for many years. The sponsor of agricultural literacy in this case was a teacher who “went by the book” and advised his students to improve their soil for better production. According to the institutional instruction, farmers needed to add dolomite to their soil, advice that was given on good faith but with little knowledge of the physical geology of this area of Florida. The dolomite was freely delivered by truck and spread over the ground, but as

Jontes recalls, “from then on we never grew a bell pepper that was fit” to sell. The ground had been made, as his wife Pauline observes, “too sweet” for the peppers (Appendix J 203). Presumably the extension service learned as much from these kinds of experiences as did the farmers.

The dolomite story appears several times in the interviews and less formal visits with Jontes, and can be seen as an example of oral genre. Sixty-plus years after the event, the details are revived in his anecdotes, both as a cautionary tale and a reflection on understanding the soil, plant needs, and other specificities that undergird successful farming: the ecotone between technology and the land. In the several tellings, Jontes mentions that the instructor was from Georgia originally, and that he was living in DeLand, Florida at the time of the classes (Appendix J 203). Both locations have different soil compositions than Samsula, and thus different requirements for improvement. As a young farmer, Jontes accepted expert knowledge at face value and without question, but his seasoned recounting stresses the value of understanding that even experts may couch their advice in their own non-generalizable experience.

Experiential stores of knowledge, recounted through oral genres, may count as a form of agricultural literacy not only for the farmer involved in them, but also for those external agents who benefit from the knowledge gained through such practice. This recursive exchange illustrates another ecotone in the Samsula rhetorical ecology. The open-air laboratories of farmers’ fields are a good example of the feedback loop: techniques, new products, and innovative farm tools may be tested under controlled situations at the experiment stations, but it is not until they are tested in the real-world situation of a working farm that all concerned know whether they will be effective or not. As Benedict observed,

it was feedback both ways. . . they have experimental farms . . . But they’ll have a 10 by 10 plot, You know, you go look at a 10 acre or an acre, or something, you get a lot more realistic view than that little 10 by 10 plot, and then right next to it you have

another 10 by 10 plot and maybe this had the disease resistant, but since you had a non-resistant variety here, it transmitted across by insects or by wind or rain or whatever (Appendix J 197)

The extension service agent, Karen Stauderman, puts it in even more pointed terms, noting that the experiment stations actually rely on the farmers quite a bit,

Because it's real life. The farmer will go out and spray exactly what the farmer would go out and spray. He's cost effective, he's not going to spray just because he wants to, because the farmers these days, they aren't stupid, you know, they know when to do it, and the experimental station, all the situation's too perfect. So you'll have it there every single time, somebody is always there watching it or babysitting it and, you know, they don't have, in some cases, the real life tools, or you know, the makeshift tools that not every grower has the state of the art. So these growers will do it more of reality . . . you can't get that anywhere else. (Appendix K 227)

The experiment station is an idealized situation, but real life is much more complex, and the experiment station benefits from the opportunity to see, through the work of the extension service and cooperating farmers, how their ideas and products actually perform in less controlled circumstances.

Sponsorship is thus a reciprocal process; the land-grant college, experiment stations, and extension service may introduce ideas and technologies into the local community, but the agricultural literacies are shaped in the process of introduction and adaptation. Farmers know their own land through experience, trial, error, and success; they test and try the new ideas and technologies; talk to each other, compare results, and reiterate lessons from the past; and provide valuable feedback to the service. Benedict provided an example of how this might work when he noted that sometimes farmers experimented on their own with chemicals to find something that would work against a pest or weed. As he pointed out, "of course the university couldn't do it because the label said they couldn't," but a farmer might go around those constraints:

we'd tell them what our problems were and . . . how the disease was affecting our crops and what we were doing to control it, and [the university would] tell us what

somebody else was doing, and we may try theirs for a while and go back to ours, and you have to stay within a label on the chemicals, like if it's an insect or disease you're trying to control, or a weed, and somebody might come up with the idea, well you mix a little manganese with a little copper. (Appendix J 197)

Benedict explained to me that, if such an application were successful, then eventually you would see the chemical company come out with a product that adopted the new combination. The agricultural literacy these farmers were practicing did not ignore the label because they could not read nor understand it, but because—from shared experience, acquired agricultural literacies, and the freedom to experiment—they could try something new.



Fig. 8. Comparison of Seed Drills on Tomazin Farm.
Left: early model, modified for raised-bed farming.
Right: Bill Tomazin describes the operation of his new hydraulic drill seeder.

As we can see by these examples, sponsored literacies get adapted to local circumstances. For example, the “makeshift tools” Stauderman mentions are work-around implements and strategies farmers use to adjust new ideas or technologies to work within an existing situation. While he was showing me around his farm, Tomazin pointed out a mechanical seeder he had modified for raised-bed work by giving it the larger wheels from another machine (fig. 8). Tomazin employed a

literacy that required understanding how the axles and wheels from a different machine would fit and work on his original seeder, and also the relationship between the customized seeder and the seed bed, or what kind of clearance was necessary between seeder and soil for maximum effect. His adaptation changed the original manufacturer's design into something that would perform better in the Samsula environment. He now has a hydraulic drill-style seeder (fig. 8), but noted that the older, adapted model served adequately for many years.

Several of the farmers' narratives help demonstrate the kind of agricultural literacy that emerges out of adaptation and oral genres. They talked about "hard pan" as a geological feature they encountered in the practice of farming, and something that Samsula farmers have been aware of for a long time. The Lake Ashby Drainage District was supposed to forever solve the Samsula water issues, but local farmers know the hard pan is a separate hydrologic problem. Neither Jontes nor Benedict, the farmers who explained the hardpan issue, made reference to any publications or seminars as sources of information on the topic. What they did relate were stories of the ruination hardpan could inflict on a crop, and how this geologic feature shaped their responses to the land. Jontes mentioned how it affected his ability to grow peppers in certain areas of his forty acres:

. . . there was a pan under it, hard pan, no water comes up, you had to pump it all up there, and then finally you got so much on there you changed the pH. For a pepper, it had to be just right, more or less, and that's why everyone was successful farming peppers when they had what you call new ground, or stuff that hadn't been [subject to] a lot of sweetening or calcium, or phosphates; they would eventually sweeten your ground. (Appendix J 200)

Irrigation with groundwater pulled from the limestone aquifer led to a predisposition toward "sweet" ground, and this was the factor that made the dolomite mentioned earlier so damaging to his crops.

Benedict, who lives and farmed near the Jontes acreage, referred to the same constraint as an impediment to farming in Samsula, creating conditions of alternating flood and drought:

And then, we have the hard pan, which is a moisture barrier, and we'll say, a foot of topsoil above it. Well, when it rains, that foot gets saturated, then you get water standing on top. It doesn't soak through that hard pan. And now, when it's dry, your roots only grow down to that hard pan. When there's no water, there's no moisture in that twelve inches of top soil, they can't grow through that hard pan . . .
(Appendix J 195)

Benedict points out that after the LADD was completed in 1919 farmers in the Samsula area had to contend with the hardpan and the limitations it conferred on their acreage. This knowledge is shared from farmer to farmer through story examples, such as the one that Benedict shared with me:

. . . you know, you get 52 inches of rain a year in Samsula, I always say—hey, that's one inch a week—but the way it works out, you get 52 inches one day, and the rest of the year, you're [in] a drought situation . . . there were years where you got that . . . nice little rain once a week; not too many years like that. You know, it was usually where you got no rain, you got no rain, you finally went out there and got all your fields pumped up, got the moisture just perfect, then you got the six inches of rain. So. Oh, the heartbreak of losing a crop because you had it too nice before that unexpected rain came. (Appendix J 195)

When Benedict says “I always say,” he means that he has shared this story before, probably many times. A newspaper article from 1968 further illustrates this issue after tropical storm Abby devastated crops, causing some “75 to 100 thousand dollars” worth of damage (Born 11). The article features pepper recipes from local farm families as a way to use up those that could be salvaged, but it also describes the situation in vivid terms:

Already well irrigated, pepper plants could not absorb the eight to 10 inches of water that fell. Roots were rotting. Wind had whipped off leaves that ordinarily protect the peppers from hot sun; water-soaked peppers were actually beginning to cook right on the plants. (11)

The assessment the reporter provides is a vernacular description that most likely gathered inspiration from the farm families interviewed rather than from some literature on the effects of rain on crops.

At a time when bell peppers were a major crop for the area, this kind of learning experience, and the public sharing of the story, made a deep and lasting impression that locals still talk about today.

The Business of Farming: The Farm Record Book

As most of my interviews revealed, farming can be an unpredictable business, dependent on many variables not within the bounds of human control. Nonetheless, it was the purview of modernizing trends that this uncertainty could be overcome if farming was organized more after the fashion of other industrial sectors. This was the wave of progress initiated by the First Morrill Act, augmented by the Hatch Act, and brought to the local level by the Smith-Lever Act. This wave of progress was also the solution envisioned in the Country Life Commission's report, which argued that "the business of agriculture must be made to yield a reasonable return to those who follow it intelligently, and life on the farm must be made permanently satisfying to intelligent, progressive people" (*Report* 17). "Modernizing" agriculture meant adopting new technologies for controlling insects and disease; new understandings of soil composition and improvement; new ways of bedding plants and cultivating crops, and new ways of irrigation and drainage. It also meant running a farm on a budget, keeping records of profits and losses, and tracking weather, crop outcomes, and expenses—in short, treating farming like a regular business.

A District Agent's Report from 1939 describes one of the methods the extension service developed to help the farmers keep track of their records, which they describe as "farm record work" (Nettles 3). W. T. Nettles, the District Agent, observes that he and his team had "handled, summarized, and taken back to farmers 409 farm accounts and cost of production records covering citrus, poultry, potatoes and dairy work," and that they planned to use these records to help the grower understand "the weak as well as the strong points in his modus operandi" (3). The state

account from 1939, the *Silver Anniversary Report*, describes the two record books that are part of the program:

One book is intended for those who desire to keep detailed records by enterprises. The other book is arranged for chronological entries only and provides for monthly and annual summaries. It is intended for use on small farms. . . The vocational agriculture teachers of the state have adopted the book for use for adult projects during 1940. (27)

The *Silver Anniversary Report* goes on to indicate that not only will the record books help the farmers using them, but they will provide data for longitudinal analysis on a broader scale (28).

Table 3

Farm Record Books: Data Assembled from Extension Service Annual Reports

State Reports by Year	farmers keeping full cost record	farmers keeping part record	farmer keeping cost records at agents' instance [sic]	farm account books distributed	farmers who kept records	farmers assisted with records
1915	86	387				
1916	78	303				
1918			392			
1920			211			
1923				134	86	37
1924				104	41	13
1925				99	60	82
1939					506	671
1944				2,000		
1955						3,320
1956						3,791
1958						4,128

Farm record books, in one form or another, were a part of the extension service from early in the program's existence. Table 3 provides a diachronic sample of the ways in which the record books were described in the annual state reports. In the earliest reports, the agents are noting how many farmers keep either full or partial records of farm accounts. Later reports indicate that the

agents are actively assisting farmers with recording-keeping, and by the 1923 reports, agents are recording how many books they are handing out. The next record I have access to is 1939 (the *Silver Anniversary Report*), and it shows a great jump in both quantities of books kept and of numbers of individuals assisted with accounting by extension service agents. The 1944 state report lists only the number of books distributed in the statistical data portion, but describes the success of the farm record books in the narrative section, reporting that

Farm record books have been supplied to more than 2,000 farmers and assistance has been given to many of them in entering inventories and otherwise posting their books. Noted improvement has been made by farmers in their record keeping during 1944 Report as a result of their realization of the advantages to be obtained from accurate records when they compute income tax returns . . . Approximately 6,000 copies of 'Farm Bookkeeping and the Federal Income Tax' were distributed to farmers. More than 1,100 farmers have been personally assisted with their income tax returns by county agents and the Farm Management Specialist. (*1944 Report* 24)

In the 1950s, the state reports only mention how many people were assisted with record keeping, and by this point that assistance included farm outlook projections, income tax preparation and advice on Social Security filings.

What is most interesting from the perspective of this research is how the language shifts and changes around the idea of farm record books over time through all the reports, reflecting the different ways in which this genre participated in and generated activity. A genre arises in response to a recurring situation, so the implementation of formal record-keeping might indicate an inability or unwillingness of some members of the farming community to formally manage agricultural procedures, as we see the extension service becoming more and more involved in guiding this practice. But another equally compelling recurring situation might be the need of the extension service to have more visibility of the processes undergirding farm practices; from the comments about longitudinal observations in the *Silver Anniversary Report*, it seems clear that the extension

service used the data acquired from these records for at least some tracking purposes of its own. If farmers keep detailed, verifiable records, the extension service will also have statistics to back up their claims of efficacy.

We can thus see the farm record book as an example of a separate agenda for the extension service, one that serves the purposes of the service at least as much as it serves the needs of the farmer. While Samsula farmers most likely had been keeping some kind of records on their own for years (as evidenced by their participation in cooperative ventures that would have required such book-keeping), the production, distribution, and monitoring of a formal farm record book suggests that the needs of the surrounding sponsors were not being met by existing protocols. The introduction of the farm record book, whether produced by state or federal agencies, regularized the kinds of information that could be tracked, thus ensuring a data-based assessment of agricultural progress and a validation of the extension service's value as a financial literacy sponsor.

While none of my local sources were able to provide a historical example, I was able to find a copy of an early USDA farm record book through the *Hathi Trust Digital Library*. The 1934 edition (this example is blank and unused) consisted of a front and back cover, and sixteen inside pages. The frontispiece identifies it as produced by the United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Economics Extension Office of Cooperative Extension Work. The table of contents clearly identify the agricultural nature and intended audience of the ledger, as the "Inventories" listed include "Crops, seed and feed," "Real estate and horses," "Equipment and supplies," and all the kinds of stock animals a farmer might keep. Similarly, "Purchases, sales, expenses" include stock animals, crops, and "General farm expenses." The inside front cover has a grid for drawing a map of the farm, asking for "an outline of the farm" with "the roads, building, fences, woods, and any other fixed points," and the crop boundaries identified with capital letters for identification purposes.

These letters are then transferred to the next page for a summary of the crops grown; the two pages together situate the farm in time and space, providing a visual context for the numerical data embodied there. The ledger pages that follow are each divided into columns for date, identification of item, quantity bought or sold, and amount paid or received. The record book covers everything you might expect for a farm business: equipment and supplies, livestock and livestock products, seed and feed, and ledgers for real estate inventory and rental agreements. The last page is a summary that provides a cost-benefit analysis.

The record book is a genre that serves one purpose for the local user—organizing farm management processes—and at the same time establishes the merit, by collating verifiable data, of the support the extension service provides. Genres, as Carol Berkenkotter and Thomas N. Huckin argue, can help us discern a community’s “norms, epistemology, ideology, and social ontology” (497); from this perspective, the record books indicate that the generative institutions—the USDA and the state extension service—are invested in the standardization and regimentation of farm production. Farm record books, as data collection instruments, could be collected, analyzed, and quantified to show the changes taking place through progressive farm science techniques. While the extension service’s stated purpose was to help farmers by teaching them modern agricultural techniques and science, the agency also stood to gain from farmers’ adoption of both new farming and accounting practices.

The self-promotional nature of the extension service’s activities, visible in the meticulous record-keeping in the reports, reflects a pragmatic outlook, and reaches back to the earliest days of operation. Bureaucracies persist through establishing their value, and this was also part of the extension service’s goals early on. A 1921 report explains the importance of keeping the extension service’s work in the eye of the public, and even more essential, on the minds of those who pass the

laws, advising county agents to present “regular monthly reports to both boards, the County Commissioners and Public Instruction” in order to “keep the activities of the Extension worker before the men disbursing the county funds and making appropriations for the next year's work” (*Recommendations 2*). The extension service is interested in improving the prospects of agriculturalists, but also in sustaining the agency by advertising its good works; more extensive data gathered from farm record books aids in this goal.

The inter-agency promotion evident in the reports makes a dramatic shift in the 1960s, when extension service reports take on a tabloid appearance. Whereas prior reports presented a very formal, institutional appearance with single column text, section headers, and occasional black-and-white captioned photos, the 1960 report ushered in an era of magazine-style layouts, with multiple columns and call-out boxes, colored headers, and bi-color graphics. The photos were still black-and-white, but the layout, mixed fonts (serif and non-serif), and playful graphics indicate that the reports were now aimed at a broader audience. The information contained in the new format was not as dense or statistically oriented, either, and the one brief mention of “Planning and Management of the Farm Business” claims 58,496 individuals were assisted. This is a significant jump for the 1958 number of 4,128, and possibly explicable by condensing the data available in earlier reports. For example, the 1958 number of persons assisted would climb to 43,470 if all categories were included, such as assisting with rural family outlook information, family financial planning, keeping and analyzing home records, family legal matter, legal aspects of farm business, and obtaining and using credit. Total statistical data in the 1960 report, including the fiscal report, is condensed to just one page (contrasted to five or six pages in earlier reports). By eliminating details and generalizing, not only the audience for this report, but the purpose of the genre seems to change as well. The

management assistance is still considered significant enough to mention, but its dilution among the other statistics suggests that the priorities of the extension service are shifting.

In my Samsula research, Jontes was the only interview participant who spoke of learning record-keeping from the extension service, in conjunction with his vocational agriculture classes in the 1940s, and he made light of the exercise. The “bookwork,” from his perspective, did not take into account the vagaries of weather, insects, and other facts of farm life (Appendix J 202). The other participants, who took over family farms in the 1960s and after, did not make mention of farm ledgers or book-keeping, although they all spoke of running their farms as profit-generating businesses. In trying to understand what the records intimate as ubiquitous practice and the relative invisibility of farm record books at the local level, I came to believe that the practices of record-keeping might be entering the community through another route, one that could be explored by looking at other adaptations in the Samsula system.

Beyond Truck Farms

The transitional spaces of change, diversification, and adaptation I have been describing as ecotones emerge in several other areas of my research; one linked to the space shared by the extension service and rural youths, and one responding to market forces and, rather ironically, extension service successes elsewhere. These ecotones show up in discussions of the 4-H, the extension service’s youth outreach program, and farmer’s markets, a response to shifting economies in truck farming. Farmer’s markets, as adaptive collaborations between multiple small farmers, first started gaining a following in the Volusia County area in the 1970’s. Pleterski and Wright were successful with farmer’s market businesses prior to retirement, and Tomazin is still an active participant. The farmer’s markets, as Pleterski points out, offer smaller farmers a way to keep

farming in an agricultural system that favors industrial-scale operations. As he related when I talked to him,

. . . as the trend has been to larger cooperative corporation type farms, the smaller farmer has just kind of been a little bit nudged out, and because he couldn't compete really with the largest farms, in a wholesale type way, you just couldn't make a living and be able to sell real cheap, and so, the farmers markets were actually starting and they started all over the country. It's given some of the very small farmers, and you really don't need that much acreage if you're going to be selling retail, that you can in a way provide for a family (Appendix J 207)

An economic system that once allowed small farms to compete in the wholesale market was already starting to change in the early 1950s, when the FECCA was in operation. Jontes spoke of the pressure local farmers felt from the producers in the Everglades, the “achievements down south” from their “main competitor.” If they could not get the produce picked, packed, and shipped a week before the Everglades, the market was swamped with cheap vegetables and Samsula farmers were “lucky to get [the] basket cost” (Appendix J 201). In addition, the local markets were moving toward supermarket chain stores that contracted for bulk purchase. No longer could the local farmers make a profit on truck routes to nearby cities. So, the farmer's markets provided an option for those who could adapt.

As an ecotone, the farmer's market is the transitional area between traditional wholesale marketing and retail sales; the infrastructure is much less constrained and expensive than a regular market or even a roadside stand. A tent and a table are standard storefront materials, and spaces are rented from the facility or entity that sponsors the market. Working with his father and brother-in-law, Wright starting selling wholesale to farmer's market vendors in the early 1960's, and moved into direct sales in the 1970's. He learned, after his experience as a produce wholesaler, that “the only person making money on wholesale was the broker. Because he got ten percent right off the top, and [there isn't] ten percent in farming.” In contrast, direct sales were “like a bonanza” (Appendix J

213). Wright learned from his wholesale experience; the broker was a literacy sponsor, intentional or not. Other sponsors in the farmer's market venue included other vendors and even customers. Pleterski shared that “when we went to the farmer's market, I think we raised something like twelve or thirteen varieties of leaf lettuce, and it's surprising the customers, you know, once they got used to a certain variety, they requested it, you know, and so we kept a variety of vegetables like that. Our lettuces” (Appendix J 208).



Fig. 9. Tomazin Farms Booth
Bill Tomazin at the DeLand Farmer's Market

The institutions that sponsor the farmer's markets are also sponsors of agricultural literacy; in Volusia County, the markets that Pleterski, Wright, and Tomazin participated in are sponsored by the city of Daytona Beach, the city of New Smyrna Beach, and the extension service, respectively. Figure 9 features Tomazin at his stand at the DeLand Farmer's Market, held every Wednesday

morning and situated next to the county extension office. Much more research needs to be conducted to understand what these sponsors gain or hope to gain from their sponsorship, but some indications came through in the Stauderman interview. She mentioned the special days the service would put on at the market, such as Strawberry Day, where they have a “strawberry mascot” handing out strawberries in the crowd. It is a way of raising awareness for the different crops offered in the state, and also an opportunity for the service to “ask questions” to gauge perceptions of market-going customers (Appendix K 232).

Even more apparent as an ecotone, in both interviews and extension service reports the 4-H club stands out as place where two cultures, the local community and the extension service, overlap. Two of the farmers I interviewed had been active in the 4-H as youths, and between their recollections and the information contained in the extension service reports, a picture of literacy sponsorship, genre use, and practical learning comes into focus. The agricultural aspect of 4-H clubs brought the experience and formal knowledge of the extension service agent together with the young men who had a background or an interest in learning more about farming.⁵⁶

The 4-H is an intriguing prospect because it most clearly resembles the progressive education based in practical experience that the Country Life Commission envisioned, wherein Roosevelt had called for “a new kind of school in the country, which shall teach the children as much outdoors as indoors and perhaps more, so that they will prepare for country life, and not . . .

⁵⁶ While some young women engaged in the agricultural aspects of 4-H, most were channeled into what was at the time considered “woman’s work” in projects such as canning, sewing, and home management. This was reflective of the sexual dichotomies persistent in the culture of the times. As the F. S. Perry states in the *Annual Narrative Report, 1949* for the district, the “4-H Club Program . . . fits rural boys and girls to be good farmers and homemakers, to be good and useful citizens, to be good Americans” (9). The girls’ 4-H work was patterned after the Cooperative Extension Service Home Demonstration programs, which brought food preparation and preservation, sewing, health, home improvement, and other home economics demonstrations to local rural communities. The perception was that the produce girls and women grew was intended for home use, not necessarily for market (*Annual Report, 1915* 41-42).

mainly for life in town” (7). Nationalized in 1914 as part of the extension service, the 4-H has its roots in the boys and girls clubs organized at the beginning of the twentieth century (“4-H History”). Early mentions in the state reports categorize the clubs by livestock or vegetable, such as “Pig Club,” “Calf Club,” or “Corn Club” (*Annual Report, 1925* 28-29). The local agents oversaw and helped organize the clubs, and this work was seen as significant enough to the overall goals of the extension service that agents reported the time spent “devoted to club work” (*Silver Anniversary* 50). In the 1939 state report, for example, the agent in Volusia County reported that he spent 6% of his days worked engaged with the 4-H, visiting club members 25 times, and holding 16 club meetings (*Silver Anniversary* 50). The annual state reports show that agents dedicated to boys’ club work had equal status with the district agents and that the youth programs were considered “one of the most important features of the agent’s activities” (*Annual Report, 1919* 27).

Local 4-H chapters not only interfaced with the county extension agents, but also with other 4-H clubs from across the district and across the state. Club members were brought together at annual recreational camps; short courses at the University of Florida; county, regional, and state fairs, where they exhibited; and local, state, regional, and national competitions, where they vied for awards and recognition. The rationale for the different events is spelled out in the reports, in which each activity is seen as contributing to the development of the individual and the organization. For example, the annual camps are seen as a social exercise and reward for work accomplished, and also as a way for “the county agent [to] hold his members from year to year” (*Annual Report, 1924* 43). Club members had certain criteria to meet in order to attend camp, as recorded in the 1954 Volusia County report, which notes that “fifty-six boys were selected to attend camp on the basis of meeting attendance, project work, and record books” (Townsend and Luttrell 7).

The short courses are another reward-based opportunity that exposed rural boys to the University of Florida. The 1925 state report describes the experience thus:

The winning boys in every county gather at the University. They receive practical instruction in agriculture but the greatest good derived is from the inspiration to go to college which gets hold of the boys . . . Each year the number of former students that enter the University increases. All these boys do not enter the College of Agriculture; but better a successful lawyer or doctor than an uneducated, dissatisfied farmer. (30)

Boys could earn scholarships to the short courses from local civic organizations such as the Kiwanis and Lions Clubs, and business and government associations such as the Chambers of Commerce and Board of County Commissioners (Townsend and Luttrell, *Annual Report . . . 1954* 7). In addition to the short courses, other incentives included scholarships and trips, awards supported by entities such as Amour & Co., which sponsored an annual trip to the Chicago International Live Stock Show; the Florida Banker's Association, which awarded scholarships to the Agricultural College (*Annual Report, 1924* 43); and the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, the State Department of Agriculture, and local feed stores, which contributed to prizes in the Dairy-Poultry Show at the county fair (Townsend and Luttrell, *Annual Report . . . 1954* 8). These organizations and institutions saw the value of enculturating agricultural literacy in upcoming generations of potential farmers, since these programs were also grooming future associates and customers.

All of the rewards were predicated on 4-H projects and their accompanying project books. While the earliest boys clubs only had a limited range of activities such as the corn club and the pig club, later programs expanded the breadth of subjects and interests. In 1955, for example, the *Annual Report of Volusia County* listed projects in "Corn, Irish Potatoes, Sweet Potatoes, gardening, poultry, citrus, goats, beef, swine, rabbits, bees, forestry, nursery, ornamentals and citrus, bulbs, farm and home electricity, farm and home safety, soil conservation and tractor maintenance" (Townsend

and Luttrell 6). The boys were guided in these efforts by parents and by the agent or other representatives of the extension service. “Demonstrations and lessons in agricultural subjects” were given to groups, and the agent would also visit individual 4-H member’s homes “to aid the club boys in carrying out the latest and best methods in agriculture” (Townsend and Luttrell 6). In 1955, these efforts in Volusia County resulted in 421 completed projects by 232 club members (6).

In the mention of “latest and best methods in agriculture,” we hear the continuing drumbeat of progressive farm practices. As in their work with adult farmers, the extension agents used a variety of methods to inculcate these ideas and practices, such as live demonstrations and workshops. Additionally, 4-H members were encouraged to compete, individually and in teams, with each other. Project competitions could take the form of demonstration, such as the tractor-driving competition in which Pleterski participated in 1954, or showing a prize pig at the county fair. Competitions could also affirm the protocols of USDA programs. Benedict remembered learning how to grade vegetables in a 4-H competition, a skill that he carried into his adult farming experience. Contestants worked in teams, using forms to record their observations and assessments of various produce examples. He related that

. . . they started the vegetable judging team, when I was one of the older members in the 4-H club, and my brother Frank and Dickie Stamper, Chuck Hall, Davie Shaw, myself, and I can’t remember who else, but we were on the team and we always seemed to come in second place. . . . you had to identify weeds, you had to identify diseases, you had to identify all the varieties, different varieties of cucumbers, cabbage, carrots, peppers. (Appendix J 197)

When asked what the process was like, he remembered filling in a form, like a test sheet. This genre guided the participants through the produce judging process:

You go to the state contest and they’ve got a cabbage plant here with black rot, and it’s A, B, C, and D, and one of them is black rot and that’s the one you check, then you go to the next area and they have a crabgrass and you go there and it may be a fill in the blank: this is crabgrass, and you go to the next one, and there would be

three cucumbers. And the first one is straight, the next one is crooked, and this one's got a ... Yeah, a little bit of decay on it, and you had to give it a grade, just like the federal standards of grading produce. (Appendix J 197)

While they did not place first, the experience gave Benedict a feeling of authority on the subject. As a retired farmer, Benedict jokes that in his time in agriculture, he felt confident around the federal inspectors because of his 4-H knowledge, and he would tell them “if you don't judge my produce right, I'm going to appeal it, you know, because I know enough” (Appendix J 197). Whether or not the sponsors in this case intended to give their sponsees the confidence to challenge USDA decisions is debatable, but the outcome of the literacy gains from 4-H coupled with his CoP experience had just that effect.

Young people in 4-H selected projects from the available choices, and then kept a record of everything that was associated with the project. One research participant remembered a turkey project that he undertook in 4-H over sixty-five years ago. While some of the details were lost to time, he remembered that the birds were “Bronze Wagonwheel strain” and that he heard “the grandfather, if there's such a thing for turkeys, weighed in excess of 60 lbs.” He also recalled that he had to keep records on them, “feed, and medications, the initial cost,” a task his father helped him with since he had “never been tasked to do something like that before” (Galbreath, Appendix J 199). The knowledge gained through projects such as this was experiential, and part of that experience was keeping the record book. Exposure to the project record book was also immersion in the kinds of information the extension service valued, and the kinds of genres necessary for the business of agricultural.

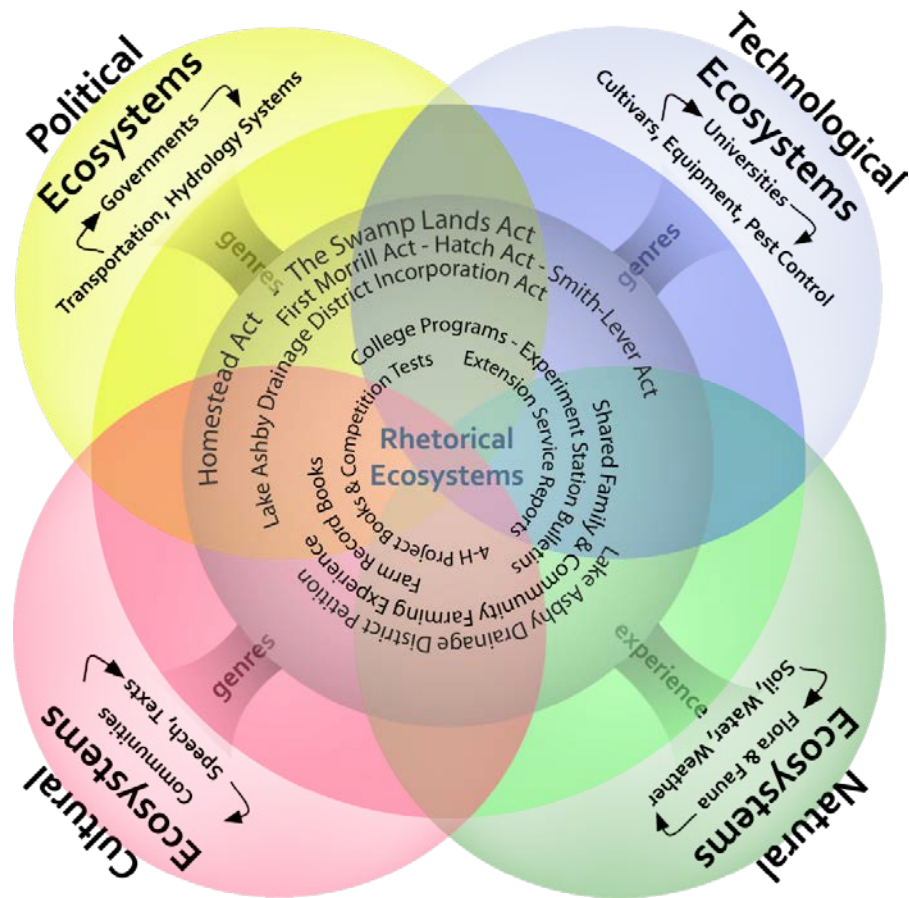


Fig. 10. Samsula Rhetorical Ecotones II

The 4-H Project Record and the Farm Record Book might belong to different genre sets, but they are genetically related in origin and purpose, and potentially inhabit the same genre ecology (fig. 10). The 4-H genre is an introductory text, with simplified ledgers and self-reflective pages. It starts with a biographical section, where the project owner provides his personal information and the project he is pursuing, as well as an affirmation of fidelity to the project details, approved by a parent or guardian. The second part provides the rationale for record-keeping, with bulleted items such as “Records point up the advantages and disadvantages of projects,” and “To train yourself for future work” (*4-H Project 2*). The next section asks for goals (at the start of the project) and things

learned (at the end of the project). These self-reflective sections help the project owner develop meta-awareness of the process they are going through.

III. Things I did in my project (Show size and scope of project by showing growth, profits, losses, savings or size of project.)				
Items Made or Grown	Use: Sell or Self	Expenses	Income	Profit

Fig. 11. Sample ledger from a 4-H Project Record Book

It is not until the fourth page of this very short (ten page) booklet that a ledger appears, and it only takes up half the page. Figure 11 gives an idea of what the ledger looks like; it is patterned on actual farm ledgers, but simplified for the beginning entrepreneur. Unlike the Farm Record Book, which has specific ledgers for crops, chickens, eggs, cattle, pigs, dairy, and goats sold, separate pages for farm expenses, and a separate section for summarizing crop production, the Project Record ledger is general enough to be used for many different kinds of projects. The goal is to get young people thinking in terms of costs and benefits, as the information recorded here will help them fulfill the other parts of their project work.

The second half of page four is allocated to the activities into which this project leads: “demonstrations, talks, exhibits, newspaper articles, tours, workshops, camps, judging events and field trips” (4). On the following pages, charts for tracking leadership participation, club activities,

citizenship and community service, and awards or recognition in the project area await completion. The project is not a solitary pursuit, but the nexus for interaction with other club members, family and the community, and any sponsors who may be involved. The final assignment in the Project Record book is an essay, in which the project owner is asked to reflect on the process and describe what they have learned, what they would do differently the next time, and about the experiences surrounding the project.



Fig. 12. 1956 Officers of the State Council of boys' 4-H Club Work.
Special and Area Studies Collections, George Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

As a genre in the rhetorical ecotone between the Samsula community of practice and the extension service, the Project Record brings the “new” knowledge the boys learn in their 4-H activities together with the farming practices they have lived around for most of their lives. For someone like Benedict, who grew up around truck farming, learning the formal aspects of judging vegetables gave him extra confidence to speak with authority when he marketed his own produce as an adult. Pleterski (fig. 12, second from left in the front row) completed many projects and had

opportunities to attend short courses at the University of Florida (Appendix J 209). In 1954, he won the state Farm and Home Safety Award Program; he also won the state Tractor Driving Contest, for which he received a gold watch and a chance to compete in the Atlantic States Operators Contest in Richmond, Virginia (Townsend and Luttrell 8). In 1955, he received a county award in leadership (Townsend and Luttrell 7), and in 1956 he served as an officer on the 4-H leadership council. While he has farmed as an adult, his primary vocation (as stated during his interview) is Certified Public Accountant. Pleterski does not attribute his career to his experience in 4-H, but it does seem that the kind of exposure to process and organization facilitated by 4-H project work is a good foundation for a career in accounting.

The confidence, organization, and other leadership qualities are features of the transitional exposure 4-H members received. The learning they gained from 4-H was not in opposition to the community dialogues and understandings with which they grew up, but it was structured in a way that supported the goals of the extension service and all the literacy sponsors with which it aligns—the experiment stations, the University of Florida, and the USDA. In addition, other corporate and civic sponsors had access to the young people through systems of incentives and awards, subtly establishing future relationships. The ideologies brought to bear by these sponsors, like the processes inculcated through the Project Record, are not always visible, even if they are always shaping perceptions of modern American agriculture.

There is little doubt that the Samsula farmers of the second half of the twentieth century benefitted from the rhetorical actions and genres employed by the farmers and others in the first half of the century. Without the drainage district, for example, farmers would not have had the resilience to withstand the other vagaries of soil, weather, and economic crises. Support from the extension service, made possible through genres such as annual reports which convinced lawmakers

to keep funding the service, brought new soil enrichment and pest control technologies to local farmers. Record books, both in the scope of farming as a business enterprise, and in the purview of 4-H inculcation, formalized processes and justified an institutional approach to farm management. While other forces came into play, such as competition from large-tract farms in south Florida, increasing land values, and repeated weather events that made farming less profitable, those who stayed in agriculture adapted and thrived. For instance, Wright, Pleterski, and Tomazin created healthy businesses through produce sales at local farmers' markets. The Jonteses found a resilient market in seasonal sweet hybrid corn that they sold, along with other produce, from a small market store on their property. The community in 2014 still has a few practicing farmers, and an appreciation for a shared agricultural history. In the next chapter, I will trace efforts to sustain and preserve this history through the construction of an online community website, the *Samsula Historical Archive*.

CHAPTER FOUR: INTERNET GENRES AND MEANING-MAKING IN AN ONLINE COMMUNITY ARCHIVE

The fluidity of form in genres on the Internet . . . especially challenges old notions of form and illustrates the need for dynamic and rhetorical views of form.

Amy Devitt, “Re-fusing Form in Genre Study”

The Samsula Historical Archive: Databased Memories

As I discussed in the introduction, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Samsula was facing a crisis of identity; encroaching sprawl from neighboring cities was spiking land values, and a very large debate was taking place in the community over what value agriculture retained under the changing conditions. Part of this debate concerned preserving a history of Samsula as an agricultural entity, thus ensuring that part of the agricultural identity would remain, if only in an historicized form. A few farmers were still engaged in truck farming, and many others, even though they were not personally involved in farming, felt strongly that this history was something to record and retain in some fashion. The possibilities of creating a museum were tendered by some, or of reviving the Samsula post office; these discussions convinced me that some kind of historical repository would be welcomed by the community. Thus, when I began a project exploring the uses and changes in mechanical and writing agricultural technologies in this community, the possibilities opened by the Internet and the participatory nature of social media seemed to point the way toward a corollary project: an online, community-fostered memory book, *The Samsula Historical Archive*.

In my research into the rhetoric and technologies of Samsula agriculture, I learned about long-ago happenings, such as the negotiations that brought about the Lake Ashby Drainage District and the cooperative venture of the East Coast Grower’s Association, that might be of interest to

others both inside and outside the community. As I argued in Chapter Two, Samsula has a rich history that not only touches the people immediately involved, but that also weaves and illustrates complex relationships with outside institutions and entities. As someone who had lived in Samsula for most of my life, I was surprised at how much there was to learn about our past, and I wondered if others would feel the same. I wanted to share my findings, and also hear the reactions from other Samsulans, and an interactive website that provided information and also invited participation seemed to offer the most effective way of accomplishing this outcome.

In constructing the website, I found the same rhetorical considerations shaping this artifact as any other composing exercise. In addition, I experienced new languages and genres in digital composition that presented both opportunities and challenges as I worked out my concepts in multimodal formats. These areas highlight the complexities of communicating in a digital environment. While a website is complicated by hyperlinks and multimedia, it is still at the root a rhetorical construct. Sonja K. Foss's description of a "rhetorical artifact" as "the trace or tangible evidence of a rhetorical act" (5) is an apt description of a website. Foss asserts that "Rhetoric . . . persuades by creating our reality or generating our knowledge about the world" (4). Richard A. Lanham terms the computer itself "a rhetorical device" that introduces the "new rhetoric of the arts" by combining text, image, and sound (31, 14). This shift transforms the relationship between author and audience into an interactive dance, identifying interactive, intertextual communication that the Internet makes possible in new and inviting ways. An online historical website offers possibilities that a printed text only imagines, if the site designer can capture and engage the audience. This chapter will look at the decision-making processes involved in building an effective online communal project, and explore the role genre plays in meaning-making in a digital environment.

Building Community in an Internet Archive

Community-based historical websites, of course, are not a new idea; since the advent of the Internet, histories have been moving online, and with the introduction of participatory media in Web 2.0, histories co-constructed by participating communities have captured the imagination of many scholars.⁵⁷ The location of the archive online brings an opportunity for non-specialist involvement through interactivity. This feature allows site users to contribute individual stories to the database, adding an emerging complexity to an ongoing narrative. As Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig observe, such interactivity might “transform historical practice,” since “the web becomes a place for new forms of collaboration, new modes of debate, and new modes of collecting evidence about the past” (7). Not only can humanities scholars use the Internet to build webs of intertextuality, but now these webs might also give a direct voice to local narratives.

The research I conducted for the earlier chapters of this project led me into archives such as the state repository in Tallahassee and the Special Collections of the Universities of Florida and Central Florida. These experiences were exhilarating and enlightening, providing access to primary materials such as the F.E.C. and Florida extension service records. I hoped to replicate, at least in part, this kind of encounter with historical materials in an online repository. While the website cannot provide the tactile or physical experience, it can still bring together images, recordings, and texts that might otherwise be out of reach or inconveniently located. For those interested in the community’s history, an online collection might bring the archive home. Following this idea, the website became the *Samsula Historical Archive*. In this naming, I was interested in constructing an

⁵⁷ See Michelle Knobel and Colin Lankshear (2007) for a discussion on the contrasts between early Internet activity and Web 2.0.

identity that would accurately represent the kinds of material I hoped to find and catalog in the database. Heeding Cohen and Rosenzweig's advice to explore the genres of other history websites (18), I began by looking at *Wessel's Living History Farm* and *Philaplace*; two sites that provided, respectively, ideas of how online agricultural history and community-added narratives could work. At the time I was focused on site construction and elements such as navigability, content, and interactivity, and I did not take into consideration the effect that naming conventions might have on the audience. So the site became categorized, through nomenclature, as an online archive.

Even from an academic perspective, "archive" is still a musty term, conjuring up images of dusty tomes and quiet rooms with solitary researchers digging deep into the bones of past experience. Jacques Derrida argues that whatever is consecrated into textual representation and then contained in an archive is open to question and to reconstruction; the archive

. . . is not only the place for stocking and for conserving an archivable content *of the past* which would exist in any case, such as, without the archive, one still believes it was or will have been. No, the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event. (17)

Even in the fluid, malleable interface of the web, historical memories can take on the aura of permanence and reliability, but Derrida reminds us that histories are built with the memories of the future; the construction materials are the narratives we tell ourselves as well as the physical remainders of the past. These considerations shaped my understanding of, and approach to, construction of the *Samsula Historical Archive*.

Yet, while much of my initial planning was centered on academic considerations, my audience of Samsula residents is listening and speaking from a different perspective, one in which the vernacular concept of "archive" might be too constraining. The idea of the archive, in the

popular imagination, might be tied to institutional repositories—something which someone else controls and maintains. From the early scholarly language I included about my purpose and goals, and since many of my neighbors know that this is part of my dissertation, site visitors may have surmised that it was “my” site and not theirs, too. I have since changed the descriptive explanation on the “About” page, but the name of the site remains.⁵⁸ I now try to welcome contributions by framing the discourse as “a community ‘scrapbook’ that preserves and documents our shared histories as Samsula locals,” that will “hopefully grow as more of us take the opportunity to share our stories” (*Samsula Historical*). The language changes are slight, but shift the focus on participation to a shared perspective that seeks dialogue with interested neighbors. This process illustrates the kind of decision-making and rhetorical considerations that have emerged during my experience with building the website.

Composing for a Website: Community Intertexts

As Cohen and Rosenzweig point out, initiating and maintaining a website requires a substantial commitment in time and effort. They caution that other options might be more appropriate, depending on the situation (56). But for the Samsula community, with a potential audience both at the local level and dispersed geographically, the Internet provides options a physical archive could not offer. In addition, with the capabilities of digitizing artifacts, items that might never leave the owner’s home (such as the original Samsula schoolhouse bell) have a chance of becoming part of a virtual exhibit. Both from the perspective of the community and as an academic instrument, a digital environment offers unique access to multiple items, narratives, and

⁵⁸ Since it is listed as the *Samsula Historical Archive* on IRB materials, I do not feel free to change it at this point in time.

information. For the community, such an archive brings together the various strands of a common history. The community of farmers in the Samsula area shares a predominantly homogenous ethnic background, and many trace roots to one family that settled the area in the early twentieth century. Other farmers claim a comparable deep heritage, and so share similar historical perspectives. While the community organization of the S.N.P.J. Lodge preserves some cultural history by maintaining Slovenian traditions in food, music, and celebrations, there exists no formal collection of the history of the area. An online archive could offer a communal compendium for current residents, dispersed descendants of the early farmers, and outside visitors linked by common ethnicity or shared interests. Such a repository could serve an epideictic purpose in celebrating the agricultural heritage, reinforcing community identity and reifying memories and narratives for future generations.⁵⁹

An online historical collection can also bring to light various perspectives of the identity of the farmer, a theme emerging from my ongoing research. Far from a life of drudgery, the farmers participating in the study reveal a tone of optimism and fondness for farm work. All but one of the farmers are now retired, but most who were interviewed still describe themselves as farmers. One spoke of how the urge to farm never leaves, and how the smell of fall in the air brought on the sense that it was time to start preparing the ground for the winter crop. Others spoke of the freedom of having an independent business in their farm, recalling the small miracles of planting seeds and watching life emerge, harvesting healthy plants, and serving satisfied customers. Their stories reveal an aesthetic of cultivation—a direct sensory response to the smells, sights, and sounds of the land.

⁵⁹ Citing Aristotle, Jeanne Fahnestock describes epideictic oratory as “a current, here-and-now judgment over whether something deserves praise or blame”; it is “discourse that ultimately aims at solidifying the values of its audience” (333).

Their stories also show the importance of community in their practice of farming, as they recollect shared practices, borrowed equipment, and the willingness of neighbors to help neighbors.

For those outside the community, either visitors or researchers, this view into the life of a farming community can extend that sense of identity outward, and help the non-farmer understand the relationships farmers have with the land, the community, the outside consumers and customers, and the outside institutions with which they interact. Additional materials reveal the political, technological, and social factors that shaped farming practices; for example, newspaper reports help capture larger ecosystems such as the early land management activities of the drainage district. Farmers' perspectives on these and ensuing issues can help illuminate the course of local histories and show how these histories fit into larger national narratives such as land management and agricultural education. As one farmer pointed out, early land management decisions, such as the Lake Ashby Drainage District, helped the farmers of the 1920's and 1930's, but the long-term effects of such policies—in the case of the LADD., the damage to Spruce Creek Swamp—were ultimately detrimental to the overall health of the land and the farmers who depend on the land (Benedict, Appendix J 199). Assembling these materials together in one online location brings together the multiple ecosystems, organizing the various materials and narratives in a way that makes the overlapping ecotones visible.

Rhetorical Ecosystems and Website Genres

An archive presented online not only acts to visualize communal genre ecologies, but can be seen as a system of genre ecologies in its own right. Enabled by an associative database and designed with the ecosystems in mind, the interface connects the user to multiple elements of the site, delivering digitized artifacts, oral histories, interactive maps, and other embedded genres. These

elements all participate organically to enact the digital archive. In Chapter One, I broached the idea of databases as “hyper-genres” because of their associative properties. In this section, and after working with relational databases for the past two years, I would like to expand and explore the genred nature of database. First, though, I would like to better define how I am using the idea of “database.” Lev Manovich describes database as “a structural collection of data” which has become a dominant force in new media representations, subsuming narrative (218). A database is an organizing framework that contains ordered collections of ideas and artifacts which are then recalled through coded inquiries that allow multiple entry and exit points. Database can potentially deconstruct the beginning-middle-end linearity of narrative. As Manovich argues,

. . . Web sites never have to be complete; and they rarely are. They always grow. New links are continually added to what is already there. It is as easy to add new elements to the end of a list as it is to insert them anywhere in it. All this further contributes to the anti-narrative logic of the Web. If new elements are being added over time, the result is a collection, not a story. Indeed, how can one keep a coherent narrative or any other development trajectory through the material if it keeps changing? (220-21)

There is an assumption in this claim that narrative is concrete and other-based, and seems to ignore the capacity for the reader or viewer to co-construct narrative from the elements presented through database.

N. Katherine Hayles rebuffs Manovich’s argument by pointing to database and narratives as “natural symbionts” inhabiting a “complex ecology” (*How We* 176). Database, which “can construct relational juxtapositions but is helpless to interpret or explain them,” relies on “narrative to make its results meaningful” (*How We* 176). Narrative concepts help us make meaning of life, and while database may provide structure for content (albeit flexible, mutable structure), narrative contextualizes and situates the data. Hayles describes a relationship in which “. . . database allows large amounts of information to be sorted, cataloged, and queried, [while] narrative models how

minds think and how the world works, projects in which temporality and inference play rich and complex roles” (*How We* 179). The two sides of the coin—database and narrative—can and must work together to make meaning in a website.

The *Samsula Historical Archive* is intended to provide a narrative framework for databased information. The database is the root structure of the *Omeka* software program upon which the site is built, and the design elements, such as the exhibits, take shape by connecting to content from the database. Items are entered into the database according to Dublin Core Metadata Initiative, or DCMI, protocols, a widely-used system of documentation used by universities, libraries, and museums.⁶⁰ Items can then be selected and linked to exhibits, which are patterned on elements of the systems I identified in Chapter Two: “People & Places,” “Tractors & Tillers,” “Crops & Cash,” “Roads & Rails,” “Wells & Water,” and “Swamps & Soils” (fig. 13). Separate pages, located as tabs on the top menu, fulfill other functions, such as linking to maps or allowing visitors to contribute a story. The exhibits are structured into categories that overlap and share items as a way of establishing one narrative: my ecological concept of multiple, inter-related events, stories, and texts. In addition, they open up the site to others’ individual stories, whether from oral histories, past newspaper articles, photographs, maps, or other rhetorical artifacts. Viewers have the option to follow the linked ecosystems—the narrative—I have established, or to move through the exhibits and pages according to their own interests. The database contains the elements with which to construct symbiotic narratives either way.

⁶⁰ According to *Metadata Innovation*, the DCMI “is a vocabulary of fifteen properties for use in resource description.” Elements in the DCMI include contributor, coverage, creator, date, description, format, identifier, language, publisher, relation, rights, source, subject, title, and type (“Dublin Core” n. pag.)



Fig. 13. *Samsula Historical Archive* Home page

The database—the coding tool consisting of rows and columns that stores the links to individual pieces of text, images, and audio files—is not apparent to the end user. Only the functionality implicated in the ability to search, view, link, and capture is apparent to the user. The designer or webmaster, though, has password-protected access to add, delete, or modify elements in the database. For this installation, three different interface tools guide changes and additions to the database and site appearance: the *Omeka* interface (to edit content), an FTP client (winSCP, to add files directly into the source files hierarchy), and an SSH client (puTTY, an open-source interface that

provides access to administrative functions).⁶¹ Each interface tool has its own language and rules, with varying degrees of difficulty. Figure 14 shows the *Omeka* interface opened to the database entry form, while figure 15 shows the SSH client, puTTY, interface. A basic website can be constructed with just the tools within *Omeka*, but if the designer wants the ability to modify or customize a project, the other tools and access to the operating system on the server are necessary.

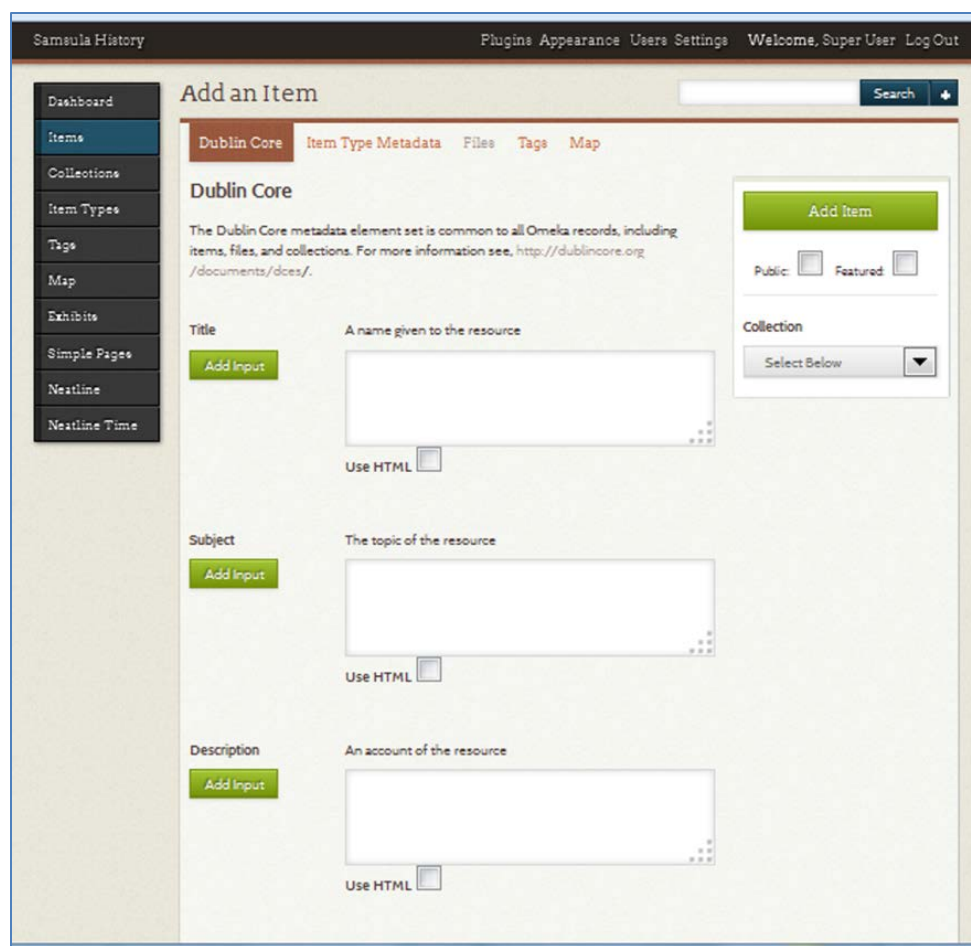


Fig. 14. Omeka user interface

⁶¹ winSCP, or Windows Secure Copy Protocol, allows a user to safely transfer files directly from a source computer to the server. puTTY integrates with winSCP to allow networked remote sessions between a computer and server.

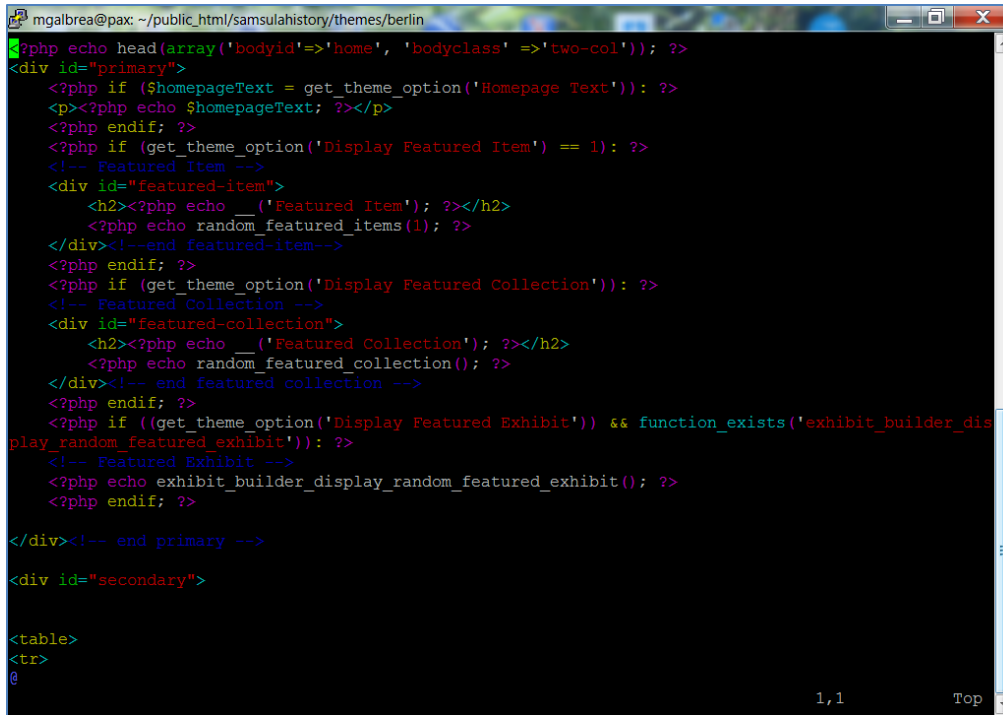
A screenshot of a puTTY terminal window. The title bar shows the user 'mgalbrea@pax' and the current directory '~/public_html/samsulahistory/themes/berlin'. The terminal displays PHP code for a theme, including conditional logic for displaying homepage text, featured items, featured collections, and featured exhibits. The code uses functions like 'get_theme_option' and 'random_featured_items'. The terminal interface includes standard window controls and a status bar at the bottom showing '1,1' and 'Top'.

Fig. 15. puTTY interface

Manovich mentions several genres which database, in its multiple guises, appropriates: “virtual museums,” “photo album[s],” and the “database biography” (220). This perspective of genre is the formalist aspect that Carolyn Miller contests with her argument establishing genre as a kind of literate action—a textual response to a recurring rhetorical situation. Amy J. Devitt reminds us that Miller rejected formalism, but not form, and that “all three elements—form, substance, and situation—contribute to writers’ and readers’ knowledge of genre; all three elements shape genres” (“Re-fusing” 30). The forms language products take, in other words, work in concert with content and context to establish meaning and “make generic action happen” (27). I argue that the very attributes of database with which Manovich supports his claim of anti-narrativity are attributes that lead to a recognition of database as genre: form and substance fused with action, responding to a rhetorical situation. A database orders information through its formal organization, and at the same

time responds, through coded instructions, to recurrent rhetorical moves. The mutability Manovich notes, in which content (information) can continuously be added or subtracted, does not change the purpose of the database or its responsiveness.

By re-instantiating form as a significant analytical quality of genre research, Devitt opens the way to discussing the “fluidity of form in genres on the Internet” (“Re-fusing” 28). As she asserts, form on the Internet is responsive and variable (38-39), contributing to the destabilization of genres without reducing their recognizability. The destabilizing nature of genre in an Internet context seems inextricably linked to the actions of the database as it responds to individual rhetorical moves. Site visitors, even when not interactively responding textually, are still making conscious choices in travelling a website by selecting the links they wish to visit. These travelling choices offered to site users are predicated upon the rhetorical moves put into place by the person coding content into the database.

What are the linguistic “purposes and effects” (Devitt, “Re-fusing” 27) the genre form of database accomplishes? If we consider code as writing (Vee 45), then the coded instructions which form a database structure produce a genre of code that has a purpose of organizing and making available whatever content is entered into it. Because genres call on recognizable signals—features, form, or function—they offer “a powerful means of complexity reduction” (Giltrow and Stein 6). A relational database gathers information together according to whatever criteria the database designer deems useful for accomplishing communicative ends, and makes this data available for programmed coded actions. Just as a filing cabinet or a card catalog (material analogs to database) help organize and situate information, a digital database provides the structure to make data functional.

To the person implementing computer code, a database is a recognizable form—a genre—that performs specific rhetorical actions enabling communication to an end user. The database

consists of a logical form into which text and links to other semiotic elements, such as photos, audio files, and PDFs, are written. The structure of a relational database is based on columns and rows (referred to as records). Column headers define the fields that delineate where columns and records intersect. According to Stephen Ramsay, this tabular organization “model[s] the *generic form* that the particular instances of data will take” (181). An associative database starts with a tabular form, but builds additional relationships with other tables by linking attributes through primary keys, “unique value[s] associated with each individual record in a table” (Ramsay 182). The nested relationships of an associative database allows the establishment of more connections and within the collected data.

Substance in the database has two levels: the substance of the original rhetorical artifact (oral history, newspaper article, or photo, for example), and the substance that results from combining these artifacts within the new context of associative databases. The generic action here also has multiple levels, consisting of the ordered representations summoned from the database (such as exhibits), the browsing or linking activities of the site visitor, and (potentially) responses such as “sharing” an item on *Facebook* or contributing another item or story to the site.

In her argument, Devitt references past studies on blogs as an Internet genre, but these blogs, in addition to representing individually formed textual artifacts, emerge through database actions. Consideration of the database is important because, without database functionality, the blogs would not demonstrate the responsiveness and iterability that Devitt and others see. Just as material rhetorical analysis considers such factors as the kind of paper or layout used in a genre to understand situation and purpose, an analysis of Internet genres can also look to the form of the underlying database. In the case of blogs, database enables recursive communication for writers by categorizing, storing, and recalling messages. It allows interactive responses and organizes related posts. When users locate a thread in a blog or wiki, they are seeing the database in action.

In the *Samsula Historical Archive*, the *Omeka* database is structured to not only capture the object of archivization, but also to gather the associated information required of the DCMI. The field categories in this database clearly show the values of the designers, and, by extension, of the webmasters who use it. Documentation is important to the scholarly community, and documentation is the primary function for the database—one might even argue that it rises above display, as I will discuss in a moment. The other Internet genres in the website, parts of the *Samsula Historical Archive* genre ecology, either draw from the database, as in the case of the exhibits and geolocator, or work alongside the database to explain and narrate, as in the case of the pages created through the Simple Pages plugin.

When Cohen and Rosenzweig advised novice web developers to know their genre, I do not believe they were thinking in terms of database; nevertheless, my experience shows that database is an important consideration in Internet genres. In addition to acting as an Internet genre, database structures communication by controlling the display and communication features of the texts and other rhetorical artifacts it contains. In the case of *the Samsula Historical Archive*, items entered into the database include digital representations of many recognizable genres such as interview transcriptions, newspaper reports, and advertisements. As a hyper-genre, database has the authorial prerogative to show or withhold these other genre forms according to its programming. It is the voice of the programmer, even if the programmer is no longer involved in the writing. Traces of the rhetorical intentions of database design emerge repeatedly to assert themselves in current dialogues with the interface, and this has implications for webmaster and audience alike.

Databases correlate data relationally through criteria established in column headers; these defining elements determine how data is entered into the database. For example, the DCMI uses standard elements by which items are categorized, including “title,” “description,” “contributor,”

and “creator.” When these descriptive fields are filled in with appropriate data, they provide information for site visitors as to the attributes of an item. Searching the database for specific attributes will show how items relate to each other (the same contributor, for example). Exhibits bring together various items under another relational interaction, this one described and determined by the webmaster. While DCMI attributes are predetermined by standards and conventions of its associated academic community, attributes for exhibits are determined at the local level, and are more responsive to recursive processes: they are editable. The local web manager thus has some flexibility within the overriding constraints of community conventions.

Constructing Digital Ecologies

I bring all this information about the architecture of database construction up not just to establish database as hyper-genre, but also to open a discussion into the effects of these constraints and the impact they had on the design decisions that went into the construction of the *Samsula Historical Archive*. My initial goal was to construct a website that would operate as a memory book for local history. In planning the site, I came to realize the information might also be of interest to scholars. This combination of intended audiences has proven more complex than I first imagined, and not only because of the different genres to which each community responds. The hyper-genre database has also played a role in how I anticipate community responses, and has forced me to make some rhetorical programming choices, or what can be thought of as “work-arounds.”

I worked with my colleague Amy L. Giroux, who has over twenty years programming experience, to gain insight with my first installation of *Omeka* and on FTP/SSH tools. I experimented with several of the *Omeka* open source themes before settling on one which Giroux pointed out as offering more customizable features than the others. Once the framework for the site

was established and it was installed on the host university server, I downloaded compatible plug-ins for features such as Exhibit Builder, Geolocation, and Simple Pages. Simple Pages allows for the addition of features such as the “Time Map,” which utilizes a *Google Earth* platform and old maps of the area for a diachronic virtual tour, and an “Add Your Story” tab to elicit contributions from site visitors.

The Exhibit Builder software plug-in comes with pre-configured templates for display construction. It allowed me to create visual representations of the ecosystems I discussed in Chapter Two, allotting each ecosystem its own exhibit. I used hyperlinks to display some of the multiple connections found in the items, anticipating this connectivity would bring to life the ecological interrelationships I perceived through my research. I soon learned, however, that inputting items into the database and then connecting them to an exhibit or two did not produce the effect I desired. Using the pre-fabricated exhibit options, it is easy to add an item, its caption, and descriptive text. The difficulties arise in the display. When a site visitor selects a thumbnail image (the default representation), it links to the item page, opening in the same window. The viewer is now one step removed from the exhibit. The item page opens to reveal DCMI data first; only after scrolling to the bottom of the page can another thumbnail of the image be found. When selected, this thumbnail opens to the full image, again in the same page. Visitors are now two steps removed from the exhibit, and if they do not remember to return via selecting the “back” arrow twice, they can easily unintentionally leave the site by closing the image.

From a usability perspective, moving a visitor around this much to reach the objective (viewing the item) is an ineffective design. As Terry Winograd and Fernando Flores argue, design that enables intuitive, seamless operation, or “ready-to-hand” usability, enhances user experience through transparency (553). Users who do not have to focus on navigation are free to focus on

meaning-making from the items and narratives embedded in or instantiated by the exhibits.

Winograd and Flores use the example of an email user suddenly confronted with a server error message, a situation where “bad design forces the user to deal with complexities that belong to the wrong domain,” that of “system designers and engineers” (553). In rhetorical terms, the domains of system designers, academics, and casual visitors could be seen as disparate discourse communities that have different communicative expectations and needs. Walking into a page full of documentation data, to the casual community visitor, may seem unexpected and intrusive—an exposure to a “language” of which they are not part.

Site managers can only redirect this path through editing the HTML, but even that is constrained by the kinds of actions performed.⁶² For example, a webmaster must add certain commands by including the code in “Allowed HTML Elements” in the *Omeka* Settings/Security editor. Even then, other constraints, such as item size limitations, present design and usability challenges. All items for upload through the database must be two megabytes or less; at this resolution, some large format maps lose legibility. To bypass this issue, I used another tool, winSCP, which allowed me to import items directly onto the server. I also included these items, at a smaller size, in the database for searchability, and used the database thumbnails as links. By bypassing the database, I was able to include large-format images that open in a separate window from the exhibit. The site visitor would thus not lose the exhibit, and would have the ability to read the file at a legible resolution. Conceivably, the construction of the original *Omeka* theme’s connectivity and display

⁶² HTML stands for Hyper-Text Markup Language.

properties were not an issue that would have troubled an academic audience. From the standpoint of usability for non-academics—the intended Samsula audience—it left much to be desired.

The unedited *Samsula Historical Archive* can be seen as answering the goals of an academic community of archivists and historians, while at the same time impeding the translation of databased information for the non-academic community it archives. While Giltrow and Stein point out that Internet genres might generate “a lesser sense of ‘domination,’ either in terms of topic or in terms of social relationships, or in terms of the kinds of parameters which have traditionally given rise to discourse communities” (13), I would argue that, at least in some cases, database asserts exactly this kind of dominance by controlling the parameters of discourse itself. Because database helps define what kinds of items are entered, stored, and displayed, it exerts an influence on dialogue and interactivity. An awareness of this generic tension between form and purpose helps guide website design, construction, and revision.

The core idea for website travel is navigability, or how easy it is to move around the site from one page to another. This is a rhetorical consideration, for it takes into account audience expectations, the other Internet genres with which a visitor might be familiar, and the motives and desires of the website designer. To facilitate readiness-to-hand functionality, consideration must go into the architecture of a site: the hierarchy of page structure, the order of presentation, the implementation of hyperlinks, and any narrativity the webmaster might want to build into the navigation process. I had to think of what I wanted as far as site visitor perceptions of the site, and what kind of response I was seeking from those visitors. My intention at the outset of constructing the *Samsula Historical Archive* was to generate community involvement, but so far I have seen limited success in this. Considering the responsiveness of my subjects during the interview phase, I found this surprising. I am not sure why it has been so difficult to engage the community, though I have

some conjectures: perhaps the technology is too daunting, or the process seems too time-consuming, or maybe it is because the feedback form was not added immediately, or because site construction, including loading audio files, has been such an extended process.

I have recently connected the site with *Google Analytics* to track site use, and installed a social media sharing tool to connect the site with *Facebook*. I am seeing some activity and several repeat visitors, and I am still modifying site elements to increase navigability, adding items to increase interest, and actively soliciting participation. In addition, I will be presenting the site at a lodge function to get direct community feedback. I have demonstrated the site for a couple Samsulans with positive feedback, but I feel a group might be more apt to point out changes upon which they could collectively agree. As more of these changes take place, the potential for feedback increases, and my hope is that at some point the site will gather enough participants to initiate a self-sustaining recursive feedback loop.

Visualizing Oral Genres

In the *Samsula Historical Archive*, the recognizability of traditional genre forms, such as newspaper articles, railroad schedules, advertisements, or maps, display through the hyper-genre database. These textual snippets, combined with image and audio components and contextualized within exhibit themes, enable audience reception. Instead of the disjointed anti-narrative which Manovich posits, the more organic, symbiotic relationship Hayles identifies emerges. Visitors can retrieve and take in narratives, and potentially connect narratives in a way that sustains the ecological interrelatability of the site. Connecting Manovich's description of database as genre, Hayles' perspective of the interdependence between database and narrative, and Devitt's ideas on Internet genres provides a conceptualization of the *Samsula Historical Archive's* underlying database as a

symbiosis of form, substance, and generic action, which in turn produces narrative meaning. At this point I would like to look at one of the specific features of the archive that demonstrates this symbiosis and narrative outcome, the oral histories in “Samsula Stories.”


In Chapter Three I noted that oral genres often took the place of written genres as knowledge was passed among community members and shared with outsiders in the Samsula agricultural community. Examples from my research and observations illustrate how these anecdotes carry communal knowledge and experience from farmer to farmer. Seeing my interviews as sources of unique data for the archive, I utilized some of the narratives in “Samsula Stories,” a page in the “People & Places” exhibit. This exhibit features some family histories as well as pages covering the S.N.P.J. lodge, Samsula School, the Samsula Woman’s Club, and early history. This exhibit is slated to grow, as more families contribute items and the full scope of interrelations in the community becomes clear. For now, I’ve brought together images of the speakers, audio recordings, and transcripts from my interviews in “Samsula Stories” in order to present some of the oral histories. Figure 16 shows part of the page layout, with retired farmer Jack Pleterski’s picture, transcripts, and two audio clips.

People & Places

Samsula Stories SNPI Lodge 603 Samsula School Samsula Woman's Club Jontes Farms

Klun Farm Howe & Currier

SAMSULA STORIES



Jack, or Jackie Pleterski as many know him, was born and raised in Samsula. His parents were Anton "Tony" Pleterski and Antonia Luznar Pleterski. Jack's grandparents on both sides were Samsula pioneers.

0:00 1:22

Ok, it has changed, and if you talk to anybody else, you've probably found that my mother's side of the family, and my father's side of the family, they were here before the 1920's. And . . . my grandfather on my mother's side, they came from Cleveland, and he was a machinist; and even though he came from an agricultural area in Slovenia, in this country he worked, like I say, as a machinist in Cleveland. But, he wanted to take his family, which is a large family, he wanted to move them out of the city—he thought that Cleveland was getting too big, and they didn't want them to have a cow and chickens in the city anymore. So he got a box car, because . . . his job was a machinist on the railroad, so he was able to get a boxcar and load all his belongings and his family and what have you up here, and they settled here in New Smyrna.

0:00 2:15

I can recall my uncle telling me about taking produce to the New Smyrna area, to the stores, very much like I mentioned about my dad having a route. They had a route in New Smyrna, from Samsula, and their first experience with delivering to New Smyrna area was with horse and wagon. And so my uncle would tell me that he and his dad—my grandfather, of course—would get about half way to New Smyrna and they would stop and they would unhook the horse, let the horse rest and feed the horse and give her some water; and they would make a little fire and brew a pot of coffee. And then after

Fig. 16. Samsula Stories

Whereas earlier I could only theorize oral genre, including them in an exhibit makes them visible and contextualizes them within a narrative framework. Transcripts embed oral genres in textuality, but multimodal production gives them substance and connectivity to other site elements. When I first posted this page, I received feedback from another viewer (not Pleterski) that there were errors in the transcript; after some discussion, I realized the issue arose from my word-for-word replication of what Pleterski said on tape, including pauses, skipped or repeated words, my attempts to convey vernacular phrasing, and the other idiosyncrasies of a spoken language in its raw form. The viewer interpreted the transcription as discourse that made his friend sound uneducated, or of a lower class. To address his complaint, and because I did not want to offend the interviewee, I amended the transcript to Standard English and removed the pauses and skipped words. The person who complained appeared satisfied with my alterations of the written dialogue, so I applied similar correctives to the other transcripts on the website. I realized in the process of making revisions that

this viewer had constructed a narrative based on personal experience and the sometimes pejorative opinions of critics who portrayed rural people, regardless of education, as backward and uneducated. Interestingly, the person who complained never mentioned the actual recording, so he did not question the oral genre—just my representation of it. This incident suggests that the archive makes visible in a very personal way the identities viewers construct for themselves and others, and their suppositions of how those identities project into the external world.

The idea that site viewers can respond in this way affirms that meaning can be made from the items included in exhibits, even if they are but fragments of a larger whole. My interpretations of Samsula history guide the items that are currently entered into the *Samsula Historical Archive*, but I look forward to eventually receiving items other community members deem necessary in telling the Samsula story. Whether they agree with my presentation or challenge it, their understandings are equally valid, and important in developing a full picture of the individual histories that come together in this project. As I suggested in Chapter One, multiple vantage points can provide a much fuller, and much more interesting, viewpoint of Samsula history than the gatherings of one solitary researcher. This website may be titled an archive, but my hope is that it will present more of a communal scrapbook to represent the Samsula lifeworld.

POSTSCRIPT

My research of the Samsula agricultural community produced an image of complex relationships where knowledge circulated within interconnected domains. Each ecosystem contains specific literacies and genres, and at times these genres cross boundaries into the overlapping ecotones to distribute literacies and other information from one system to another. The construction of my written project and my growing understanding of communal ecologies and ecotones informed the design of the *Samsula Historical Archive*, and the design and implementation of the online presentation brought into sharper focus the multiple interconnections between rhetorical systems in the Samsula communal ecology. It became clear that the boundaries between ecosystems, even genre ecologies, were much less clear than I had originally envisioned, and that participants who traversed these ecosystems needed rhetorical skillsets to negotiate the different expectations and demands each required. In this postscript, I will describe how theoretical concepts emerging from both the actual and virtual communities can contribute to multiple areas of research.

I see my research into the Samsula agricultural project adding to Anis Bawarshi's concept of genre ecologies by examining how genres participate and adapt in the intersections of multiple rhetorical ecosystems. The communication taking place in the rhetorical ecotones includes genres from outside sponsors as well as oral genres, or stories and anecdotes based on experiential learning that shape and reshape community memories and understandings of agriculture. One example would be the farm record book mentioned in the prior chapter, adapted for youth participants as the 4-H project book. Through the project book we can infer the actions and intentions of the institutional actors, and see the persuasive manner in which the uptake of certain ideologies of modern farm practices was accomplished. Another example would be the textual-oral translations

that work back and forth between farmers, extension service agents, and chemical company sales representatives, a system of relationships that can help us understand the reciprocal nature of sponsorship within rhetorical ecotones. As revealed in my interview with George Benedict, the farmers, agents, and salesmen regularly exchanged information, whether by brochure, oral genre, or product instructions. The practical application of the product, adapted by farmers in actual agricultural situations, could inform future product development, and thus future product labels and sales materials. Both outside influences and embodied experiences are subject to the rich broth of adaptation, invention, and resourcefulness in the ecotone. This kind of ecotonal interaction and reciprocal sponsorship offers a model that could be extrapolated into other rhetorical situations and other contexts as a strategy for genre analysis.

My research also adds to our understandings of agricultural literacies and the institutions and entities that sponsored them, and how the knowledge and associated technologies that sustained these literacies shaped agricultural production in twentieth-century Samsula. Agricultural literacy in the twentieth century meant learning to negotiate the technologies shaping farming practices: the mechanical, chemical, and biological inventions and products that increased agricultural productivity. The organizations that came into being through legislative acts—the land-grant colleges, experiment stations, and state extension services—were the sources and channels of these new agricultural literacies. I explored these actions through a lens of literacy sponsorship over time and through the genres and other rhetorical artifacts the institutions employed.

If we think about the roles genres play in literacy sponsorship, uptake becomes a central concept in distributing literate ideas and behaviors. What I found in the case of the extension service documents was that genres did not move seamlessly from one community to another, but were accommodated throughout the process with regards to the literate experience and expectations of

each community. The service's internal communicative genre of the narrative report, for example, was not laden with research methodologies or extensive use of scientific jargon such as we would see in an experiment station report; rather, the narrative report most often took the form of a bureaucratic document—an indication of its ultimate destination at the state house.

Communications from the extension service to the farmers, in contrast, were accommodated to fit the mostly oral culture of knowledge transmission active in that community. While the local community valued education, as evidenced by early and sustained interest in a community elementary school and the fact that four out the five farmers I interviewed had some post-secondary education, farm knowledge was still communicated primarily through oral genres. Therefore, the most effective communicative actions from the extension service were onsite visits, community demonstrations, and accompanying agricultural product sales representatives.

I arrived at these recognitions through comparing a combination of oral history transcripts and archival documents, a method of analysis that revealed the paths of knowledge transmission and actions of literacy sponsors within the agricultural community of Samsula. The different forms of agricultural literacies I found—the institutional discourses and the genres used for communicating them, and the oral narratives used for sharing inherited and acquired know-how—may be useful to rhetoricians researching the role of genres in communal ecologies, but they may also contain meaning for literacy scholars interested in how genres help mediate and respond to exchanges among multiple literacies grounded in different ecologies. The concept of ecotones offers a new way of examining the literate activities occurring in the intersections of rhetorical ecologies and of understanding the adaptations and translations that occur in these transitional spaces.

Through the ecotone, we can see ideologies transmitted diachronically through a community's literate artifacts; ecotones become potential locations for literacy transfer that may or

may not develop as intended by the sponsors. My analysis of the 4-H project record shows how young people with an agricultural background and embedded vernacular knowledge adapt to the experience and educational aspects of an institutional literacy sponsor, yet some of these participants used the knowledge gained from their experience to appropriate authority (as in Benedict's response to the USDA graders), or to challenge traditional supply-chain economies, as in the farmer's markets. The genre of the project record alone had little meaning; seen through the context of extension service reports and oral histories, it could be identified as a site of uptake. These examples demonstrate how literacy sponsors may come together in an ecotone, and be seen through the genred texts at play in that space. This same process of research could be extended to potential applications in other types of oral, print, and web-based rhetorical situations.

Figure 17 provides a visualization of the ecotonal activities, both in the lifeworld situations and in the virtual space of the archive, as the concept of ecotone analysis also applies to rhetorical Internet research. In this image, the ecotones have assumed visual dominance as the important areas where rhetorical/material activities bridge ecosystems. The darker shaded areas signify the overlaps between local (cultural) and commercial regulatory (political) systems, for example; this is an area where a hybrid marketing form such as the farmer's market can adapt and succeed. The S.N.P.J. Lodge, as a locus for community identity, emerges in the ecotone between community (cultural) and land (natural) systems, as traditions carried from the old country are shaped and forged by the harsh conditions of a new landscape. These images of ecotonal transitions appear more static than the actual situations reveal, but it gives a general idea of the interplay between systems, and the effects to which these relationships contribute.

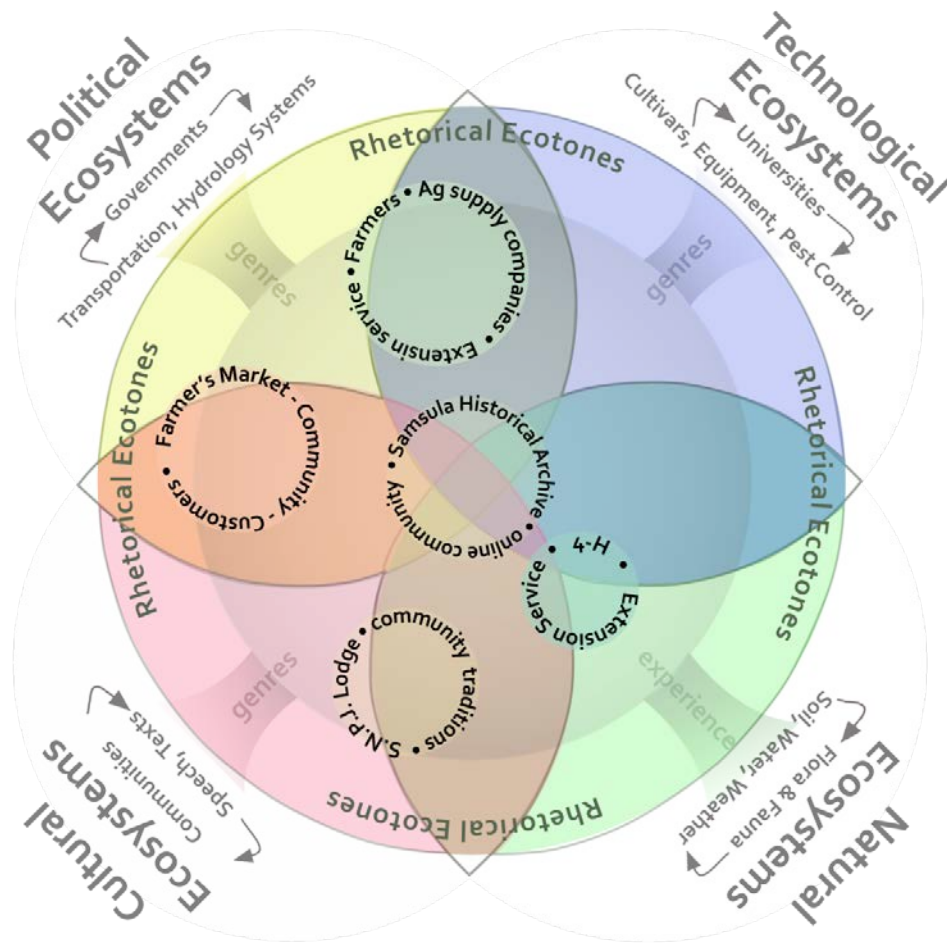


Fig. 177. Community and Digital Ecotones

The archive occupies a central position, since it is informed by, and built with, the genres from the real world ecotones. Within the architecture of the *Samsula Historical Archive*, the fact that some elements do not fit into neat categories or that some ecologies encompass multiple actors and ideas points to a blurring of edges, suggesting discourses, technologies, or ideas that participate in or influence more than one system. For example, the archive's Cash & Crops exhibit and the People & Places exhibit both seemed appropriate locations for the narratives I gathered from my interviews, to such an extent that I considered creating duplicate pages between the two exhibits. This

realization illustrates the ways in which these oral genres shape Samsula's history from multiple perspectives, with potentially different significance for different audiences. Whereas the ecological construct provides a useful organizational metaphor, the ecotone metaphor accommodates the overlaps, issues, and synergies revealed in complex systems.

The work performed with the *Samsula Historical Archive* illuminates the transitional areas between an envisioned design and the knowledge of code necessary to enact that vision. The considerations shaping the website emerged, at least in part, in the transformative space of learning a new language, that of code. Adapting to the possibilities and constraints contained within the language of the black screen sometimes tested my resilience, but at other times immersed me in hours of detailed modeling to achieve a desired effect. The other part of constructing the website, working with a relational database, forced me to think ecologically; in other words, the relationships I perceived directed the implementation of database elements and resultant website connectivity. It is in the database that the ecologies of research and practical application overlap, and this ecotonal space produces a searchable compendium of related artifacts.

My earlier discussion of rhetorical ecotones showed how the communal overlaps produced new ideas, new relationships, and adaptive behaviors. The *Samsula Historical Archive* can similarly represent ecotones in a virtual environment; as the website brings visibility to oral genres, it can also give life to the concept of rhetorical ecotones. When viewed as an example of a virtual rhetorical ecotone, the *Samsula Historical Archive* can help us understand how representations of history manifest, evolve, coalesce, and shape each other in digital rhetorical spaces. Adaptations, whether apparent in databases, transcripts, or design elements, reflect the mutable responsiveness of an online archive. The website not only represents the ecotones of the Samsula agricultural community by organizing and displaying multiple connections and overlaps, but facilitates new narratives and

new ways of interpreting the past. Rather than just a dialectical space, it offers a dialogical forum inviting multiple viewpoints and histories. As an ecotone, the *Samsula Historical Archive* helps us envision the multiple places in the site where the same narrative might have connections and resonance, such as interconnections between people and the equipment they used to farm, the complex relationships between farmers and the water and soil situations in Samsula, and related yet exterior perspectives on modernization and development that can be represented in various exhibits.

An example might make this concept more concrete. The artifacts displayed as Items in the database consist of digital images of photographs, documents, and items, audio files, and html text files. A individual artifact might have multiple identities: the image of the 1920 *New Sectional Map of Florida* is a digital representation of a physical lithograph print copy, scanned into one file format (tif), converted into another format (jpg), resized to fit the constraints of Omeka protocols, and then resized again to escape the Omeka constraints and show the desired detail. Like the organisms that adapt to fit the ecotone between disparate environments, the *New Map* acclimates to different situations. It fits into the genre of cartographic representation and describes the extant railways in Florida, and thus would be an appropriate entry into the ecosystem of Roads & Rails. It also acts as an infographic, providing statistical data on crops and industries that make it a suitable entry for the Cash & Crops exhibit. The *New Map* mentions Briggsville as the site of a railroad stop and a post office, and it also gives demographic data for rural areas and counties, information that might be of interest under People & Places.

Many hyperlinks, enacted through the hyper-genre database underlying the website, could connect this one image to different systems for varying purposes, where it can be further related to other maps, other census data, other railroad information, and other economic data. The original artifact has been recontextualized and repurposed through the ecotone of the website interface, an

effect that is not limited to this item or this project. Conceptually, these ideas could help bridge discussions of Internet genres and rhetorical web design, giving rhetoricians another way to think of genre in digital spaces, and digital theorists another way to envision the rhetorical effects of coded language.

In addition to rhetoricians, literacy scholars, and digital theorists, those working with public histories may find the idea of communal ecologies useful as an organizational tool for developing web-based histories. As I found in working with the Omeka design platform, having a clear idea of the interrelationships between the database and associated pages was essential in creating meaningful navigation in the website. Due to the design constraints endemic to my initial template, the ecological map I had already drawn made adaptation possible. I was able to communicate my vision to someone adept at revising code, working in an overlapping ecotone of different experiential backgrounds: programming knowledge and rhetorical understandings. This combination of skillsets allowed us to modify and shape the web interface to produce the desired effects. I did not become a master coder, but in this ecotone I learned enough to perform some operations, and, more importantly, enough of the language of code to communicate adequately with someone who was an experienced professional.

A public history website such as the *Samsula Historical Archive* introduces multiple ecotones: the transition space between researcher and designer; the space between different pages or functions in the interface; the space between different subject areas in the website; the space between database and narrative; the space between the website and other, related Internet locations; and, most importantly, the transitional space between the person(s) creating the website and the audience to whom they are speaking. This last ecotone depends heavily on conventions and affordances for viability; site visitors must quickly understand the purpose of the site and how to travel within its

ecologies. Most of the accommodations built into the design of the *Samsula Historical Archive* came about with these issues in mind; for instance, the *New Sectional* map is just one example of creating a direct link to an artifact so that selecting it opens an enlarged image in a separate tab.

My concern over the issue of images that opened in the same link (and thus encumber navigation) was based on personal experience (and aggravation) over sites that employ this method. Forcing site visitors to focus on navigation rather than content is a barrier to the narrative construction that I see as critical to a community memory site. My decision to bypass the default programming and create what I perceived as a more navigable alternative for most of my images was conceived and accommodated in the author-audience ecotone. I feel these kinds of considerations are important for a public history site, as success depends heavily on audience reception. A site that is difficult to navigate or that does not meet a visitor's expectations will probably not receive many return visits. Thus, seeing the relationship between a researcher-designer and potential audience members as taking place in an ecotone can increase awareness of affordances; just as the extension service accommodated its genres to reach the rural farmers in Samsula, I realized the necessity of structuring and communicating my rhetorical artifacts in a way that meets my audience's (ideally, the Samsula community's) expectations. The website brings my relationship with my subject community full circle; from the narratives and images they have given me, I can give back a shared space for making meaning of these genres.

There is also still much to be learned about the effects a collaborative memory project can have on a community's understanding of its own history. More research into the history of this community remains to be done, as I feel I have only scratched the surface and that there are still hidden troves of material stored in someone's attic. I still believe that a community history website can add to our understandings of how communities use genres and other rhetorical artifacts to make

meaning, and so I will continue to work with the community to make the *Samsula Historical Archive* website a viable participatory scrapbook of communal memories. I understand this process will take time and require extensive communication with my target audience, but the response has been encouragingly positive so far. My research is valuable in that I now have methods, strategies, and insights to share with other researchers, and the elements that work well in the archive are ideas that can be exported to other projects.

At the beginning of this project, I wondered if understanding the historical genres of the Samsula agricultural community could help us understand how farmers relate to the environment within which they cultivate their crops, something I anticipated the *Samsula Historical Archive* would help explicate. At the time, I had a different understanding of the significance of the written texts that transposed institutional ideas into the community; now I believe that the oral genres shared by farmers are an equally important component to add to this discussion. There are clues in the interviews, such as Benedict's memories of Spruce Creek Swamp, in which he mourns the loss of the place he roamed in as a child:

I kind of grew up in the Spruce Creek Swamp, because we hunted there when we were children, and it was such a healthy, beautiful swamp when I was a child; boy, it is a piece of trash now. It looks like a landfill, it's got so many invasive plants growing in it. Stays too dry; they put in canals that should've never been put in . . . today you could not drain or fill in a wetlands. You can't disturb the vegetation in a wetlands. As a farmer, I could go into a cypress swamp and cut all the cypress out and sell it—because I'm a farmer, I have to make income off the land to be able to pay the taxes. I couldn't go in there and clear it, and dig a hole somewhere and fill it in because I want to; it has to be left there. But we're just so far past that now, every swamp has a ditch leading out of it. (Appendix J 199)

In Benedict's contemplation, there is a dichotomy that creates a tension between the uncultivated and cultivated aspects of land; the difference between a utilitarian perspective and a sense of a child's

wonder. More interviews with other farmers might add a broader context to this one narrative, as would stories and artifacts that visitors to the archive might contribute.

Furthermore, more interviews and website contributions might facilitate a better comprehension of the role oral genres play in rhetorical ecosystems and ecotones. A follow-up study could potentially differentiate identifiable oral genre types, such as stories for teaching about planting, anecdotes that warn of damaging practices, or narratives that recount community histories. Developing these categories would contextualize these anecdotes, and situate them more firmly in the constellation of genre theory. As a teacher of composition who often uses genre theory in my curriculum, I feel that a fuller understanding of oral genre could provide a way to talk to students who bring up the role of oral narrative in genre situations. Establishing constraints around the idea of oral genre would provide a necessary structure to further incorporate it into our understandings of rhetorical genres at work.

The relationships and interrelationships uncovered through my research add to the emerging body of rhetorical research into rural and agricultural situations. In the end, I may have failed to find a neat answer to how modern agricultural practices impact the farmer's viewpoint of the natural world, but I did learn how the genres of twentieth-century agriculture may have shaped the communities they touched, and how those communities responded and effected change of their own. I also learned that a good story can connect generations, produce teachable moments, and inscribe a life experience into the narrative of a small town.

**APPENDIX A:
DETAIL, 1920 NEW SECTIONAL
MAP OF FLORIDA**

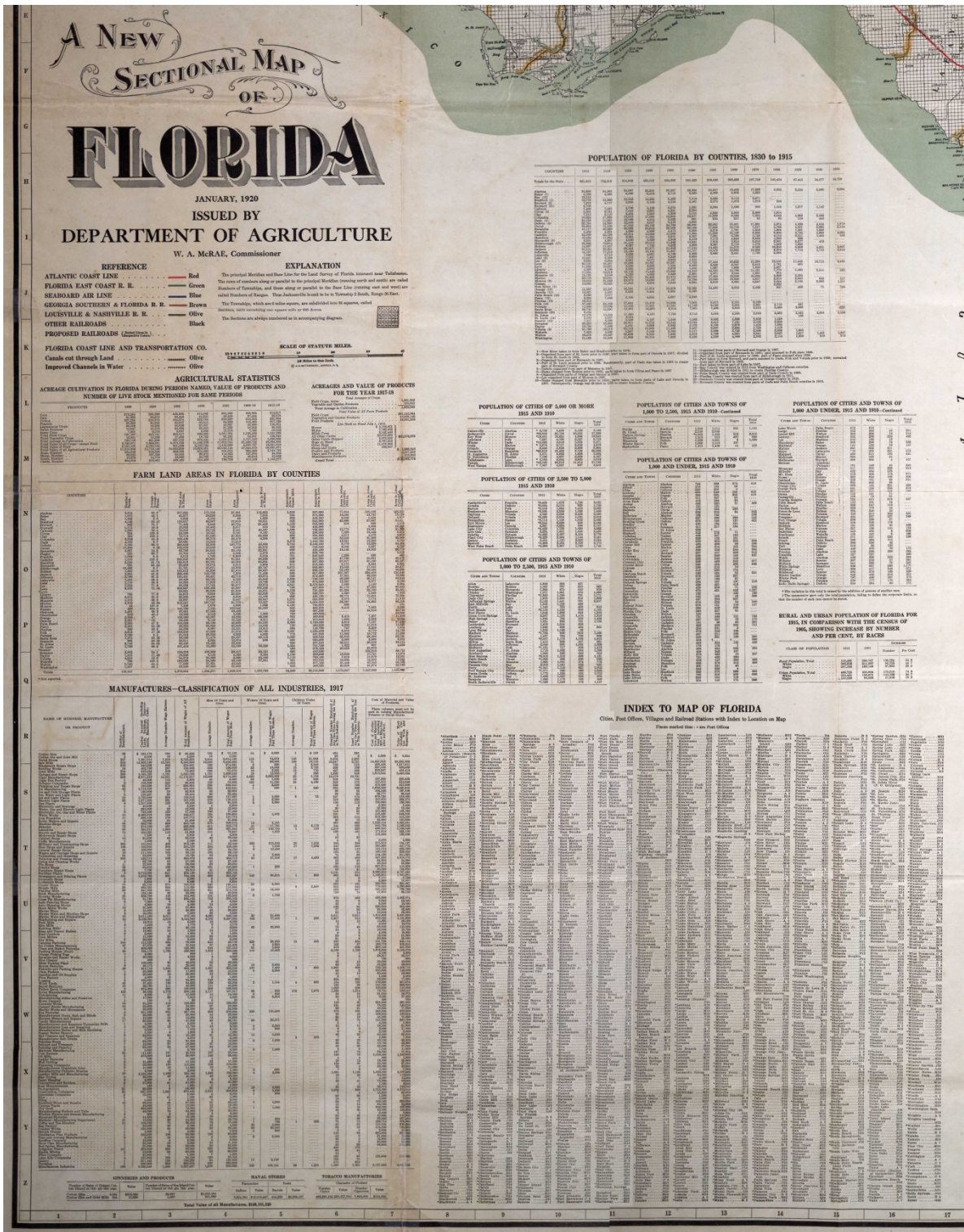


Fig. 18. Detail, 1920 *New Sectional Map of Florida*. University of Florida Library.

**APPENDIX B:
DETAIL, 1883 D. D. ROGERS
MAP OF VOLUSIA COUNTY**



Fig. 19. Detail, D. D. Rogers *Map of Volusia County*. 1883.
Library of Congress American Memory

**APPENDIX C:
DETAIL, 1888 A NEW SECTIONAL MAP OF FLORIDA**

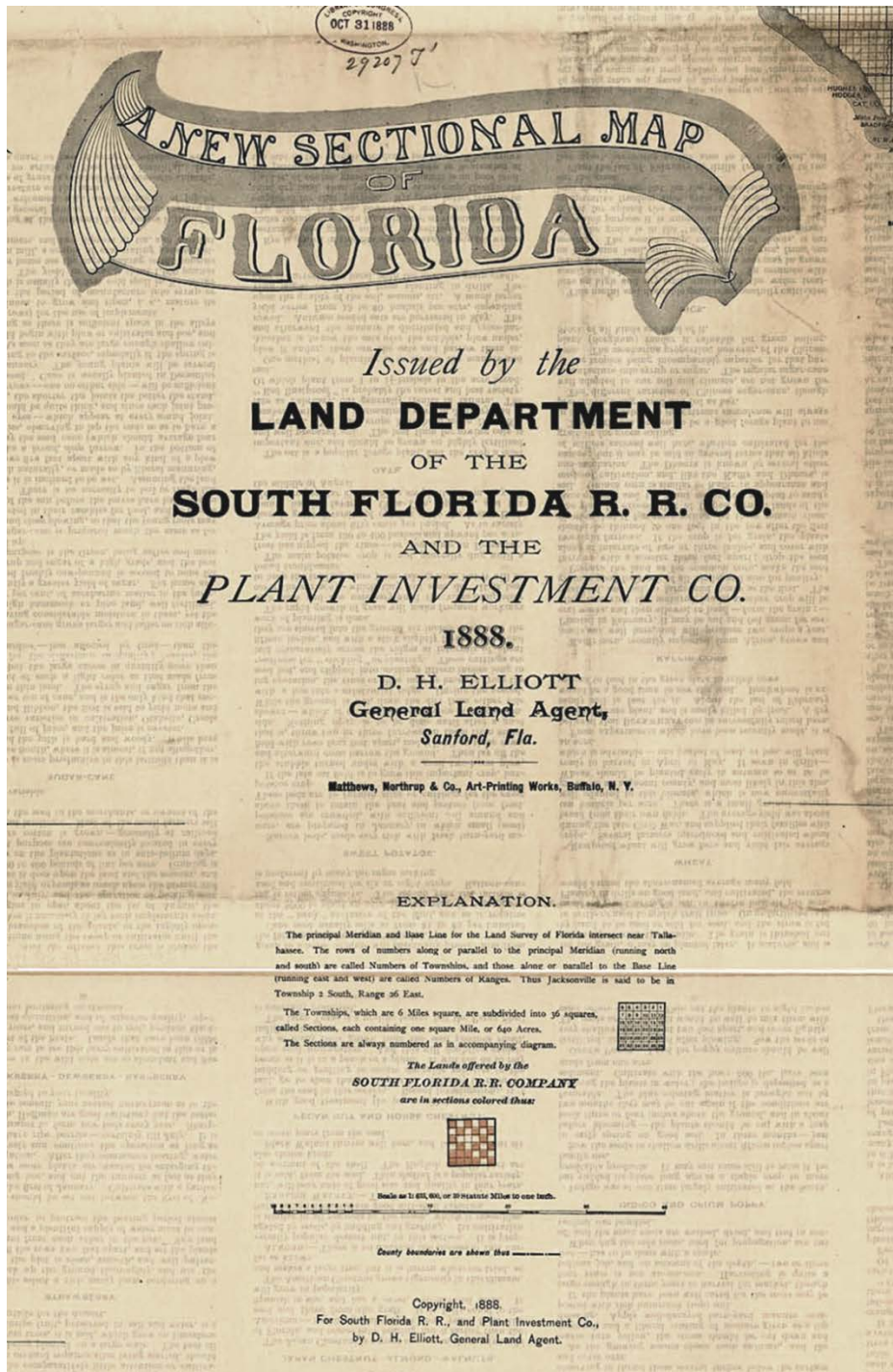


Fig. 20. Detail, *A New Sectional Map of Florida*

Issued by the Land Department of the South Florida R. R. Co. and the Plant Investment Co.
1888. Library of Congress American Memory.

**APPENDIX D:
1915 PETITION FOR LAKE ASHBY
DRAINAGE DISTRICT**

[Transcript of petition notice for Lake Ashby Drainage District]

“Legal Notices.” *New Smyrna News* 25 June 1915, 8. *Newspaperarchive.com*. Web. 25 Feb. 2012.

That a petition, asking that the following described lands, situated in said Volusia County, State of Florida to-wit:

[list of properties by sections, townships, and ranges]

according to United States survey, be formed into a drainage district to be named the “Lake Ashby Drainage District” under the Act of the Legislature of the State of Florida, entitled, “An Act Relating to the Creation Organization and Maintenance of Drainage Districts for the Purpose of Reclaiming and Protecting Swamp, Wet or Overflowed Lands, or Lands Subject to Overflow, from the Effects of Water, for Sanitary or Agricultural Purposes, or When the Same May Be Conducive to the Public Health, Convenience, or Welfare, or of Public Utility or Benefit, by Drainage or Otherwise; to Define the Privileges, Powers, Duties and Liabilities of Such Drainage Districts, the Officers and Agents Thereof; to provide for the Levying of Taxes upon the Property in Said Drainage Districts; Authorizing the Issuance of Bonds by Such Drainage Districts; and Giving to Said Drainage Districts full Power to Acquire Such Lands and Property as May Be Necessary and Proper for its Purposes,” being Chapter 6458, Laws of Florida, approved June 9 1913, has been filed in this office and that the foregoing lands will be affected by the formation of said drainage district and rendered liable to taxation for the purpose of paying the expenses of organization, and making and maintaining the improvements that may be necessary to affect the reclamation of the lands included in such district, and you and each of you are hereby notified to appear on the first rule day occurring not less than twenty days after this notice has been published for four weeks as required by said act, at the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Said Volusia County, and show cause, if any there be, why said drainage district shall not be organized as a public corporation of the State of Florida.

Date of first publication: June 25th, 1915.

SAM'L D. JORDAN, Clerk Circuit Court of Volusia County, Florida

By CLIFFORD BOTTS, (Seal) Deputy Clerk

VANS AGNEW & CRAWFORD, Attorneys for Petitioners.

**APPENDIX E:
EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH**



EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH

3 January 2012

Title of Project: A Diachronic Perspective of the Agricultural History of Samsula, Florida

Principal Investigator(s): Marcy Galbreath

Faculty Supervisor: Blake Scott, PhD

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Whether you take part is up to you. The research study will include about 15 people who are either involved now or in the past in agriculture in Samsula, Florida. You have been asked to take part in this research study because you have experience with Samsula agriculture. You must be 18 years of age or older to be included in the research study.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of this study is to understand better the agricultural history of Samsula as it has responded to technological, economic, and cultural changes over time. Samsula, a rural community settled by Slovenian immigrants in the early 20th century, stands as a microcosm of agricultural adaptation to economic and environmental forces, and while some of Samsula's history has been transcribed, it has not been described in the context of the larger social and scientific transitions of food production in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Samsula has seen various forms of farming and other agricultural enterprises over the years, and this research will attempt to record, archive, and analyze these changes. Subjects will be invited to share oral histories, although that is not a requirement to participate in the research. This research will also explore existing historical records and archival materials, as well as the relationship of Samsula to other Central Florida agricultural communities. This project is being conducted as part of dissertation research, and some results of this research may be included in the web-based RICHES Central Florida Mosaic Interface (CFMI) section on agriculture.

What you will be asked to do in the study: Your participation in the study is limited to interview participation. The interview is expected to last less than sixty minutes, and consists of answering questions and sharing recollections. You do not have to answer every question you are asked, and

you may end your participation in this study at any time. Any interviews conducted in relation to this study will be scheduled at your convenience.

Location: Interviews will be scheduled and arranged at your convenience in a location of your preference.

Time required: This study is being done as a part of research in conjunction with the RICHES CFMI project in the 2012 Spring semester. Any interviews and involvement will cease by May 1, 2012. The initial expectation of 60 minutes for the interview may be increased if additional interviews are deemed necessary and agreed upon.

Recording: Interviews made for this study will be recorded. Audio recordings will be used for face-to-face and online audio conversations. If you do not want to be recorded you will still be able to participate in the study. Discuss this with the researcher before participating. If you are recorded, transcriptions and recordings will be archived on the researcher's secure external hard drive for an indefinite period, with standard password protection against unauthorized account access. If a recording is selected as an oral history entry for the RICHES CFMI, you will be notified. Oral history recordings will not be anonymous—your identity will be credited with your contribution.

Written data from this research, such as any responses included in published dissertation materials, will be kept anonymous and listed with a pseudonym.

Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem: If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, feel free to contact Marcy Galbreath, Graduate Student, Texts & Technology Program, College of Arts and Sciences, by phone at 386-690-2467, or by email at marcy.galbreath@knights.ucf.edu. If you prefer not to speak to the researcher directly, you may also contact Dr. Blake Scott, Faculty Supervisor, Department of Writing and Rhetoric, by email at bscott@ucf.edu.

IRB contact about your rights in the study or to report a complaint: Research at the University of Central Florida involving human participants is carried out under the oversight of the Institutional Review Board (UCF IRB). This research has been reviewed and approved by the IRB. For information about the rights of people who take part in research, please contact: Institutional Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901.



EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH

8 May 2014

Title of Project: Tractors and Genres: Knowledge-Making and Identity Formation in an Agricultural Community

Principal Investigator(s): Marcy Galbreath

Faculty Supervisor: Blake Scott, PhD

You are being invited to take part in an interview or a follow-up interview. You were previously interviewed for this research study, and follow-up information is being sought to answer additional questions. Whether you take part is up to you. You have been asked to take part in this research study because you have experience with Samsula agriculture. The research study will include about 15 people who are either involved now or in the past in agriculture in Samsula, Florida. You must be 18 years of age or older to be included in the research study.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of this study is to understand better the agricultural history of Samsula as it has responded to technological, economic, and cultural changes over time. Samsula, a rural community settled by Slovenian immigrants in the early 20th century, stands as a microcosm of agricultural adaptation to economic and environmental forces, and while some of Samsula's history has been transcribed, it has not been described in the context of the larger social and scientific transitions of food production in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Samsula has seen various forms of farming and other agricultural enterprises over the years, and this research will attempt to record, archive, and analyze these changes. Subjects will be invited to share oral histories, although that is not a requirement to participate in the research. This research will also explore existing historical records and archival materials, as well as the relationship of Samsula to other Central Florida agricultural communities. This project is being conducted as part of dissertation research, and some results of this research may be included in the web-based Samsula Historical Archive (samsulahistory.net) and the RICHES Central Florida Mosaic Interface (CFMI).

What you will be asked to do in the study: Your participation in the study is limited to interview participation. The interview is expected to last less than sixty minutes, and consists of answering questions and sharing recollections. You do not have to answer every question you are asked, and

you may end your participation in this study at any time. Any interviews conducted in relation to this study will be scheduled at your convenience.

Location: Interviews will be scheduled and arranged at your convenience in a location of your preference.

Time required: This study is being done as a part of research in conjunction with the RICHES CFMI project in the 2012 Spring semester, and continuing into dissertation research in Spring-Summer 2014. Any interviews and involvement will cease by June 1, 2014. The initial expectation of 30 minutes for the interview may be increased if additional interviews are deemed necessary and agreed upon.

Recording: Interviews made for this study will be recorded. Audio recordings will be used for face-to-face and online audio conversations. If you do not want to be recorded you will still be able to participate in the study. Discuss this with the researcher before participating. If you are recorded, transcriptions and recordings will be archived on the researcher's secure external hard drive for an indefinite period, with standard password protection against unauthorized account access. If a recording is selected as an oral history entry for the RICHES CFMI, you will be notified. Oral history recordings will not be anonymous—your identity will be credited with your contribution. Written data from this research, such as any responses included in published dissertation materials, will also be credited with your contribution.

Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem: If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, feel free to contact Marcy Galbreath, Graduate Student, Texts & Technology Program, College of Arts and Sciences, by phone at 386-690-2467, or by email at marcy.galbreath@knights.ucf.edu. If you prefer not to speak to the researcher directly, you may also contact Dr. Blake Scott, Faculty Supervisor, Department of Writing and Rhetoric, by email at bscott@ucf.edu.

IRB contact about your rights in the study or to report a complaint: Research at the University of Central Florida involving human participants is carried out under the oversight of the Institutional Review Board (UCF IRB). This research has been reviewed and approved by the IRB. For information about the rights of people who take part in research, please contact: Institutional Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901.

**APPENDIX F:
INFORMED CONSENT**



**A Diachronic Perspective of the
Agricultural History of Samsula, Florida**

Informed Consent

2 January 2012

Principal Investigator(s): Marcy Galbreath

Faculty Supervisor: Blake Scott, PhD

Investigational Site(s): Various, Samsula, Florida

Introduction: Researchers at the University of Central Florida (UCF) study many topics. To do this we need the help of people who agree to take part in a research study. You are being invited to take part in a research study which will include about 20 people who are either involved now or in the past in agriculture in Samsula, FL. You have been asked to take part in this research study because you have experience with Samsula agriculture. You must be 18 years of age or older to be included in the research study.

The person doing this research is Marcy Galbreath of the University of Central Florida's Text & Technology program. Because the researcher is a graduate student, she is being guided by Blake Scott, UCF faculty supervisor in the Department of Writing and Rhetoric.

What you should know about a research study:

Someone will explain this research study to you.

A research study is something you volunteer for.

Whether or not you take part is up to you.

You should take part in this study only because you want to.

You can choose not to take part in the research study.

You can agree to take part now and later change your mind.

Whatever you decide it will not be held against you.

Feel free to ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of this study is to understand better the agricultural history of Samsula, Florida, as it has responded to technological, economic, and cultural changes over time. Samsula, a rural community settled by Slovenian immigrants in the early 20th century, stands as a microcosm of agricultural adaptation to economic and environmental forces, and while some of Samsula's history has been transcribed, it has not been described in the context of the larger social and scientific transitions of food production in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Samsula has seen various forms of farming and other agricultural enterprises over the years, and this research will attempt to record, archive, and analyze these changes. Subjects will be invited to share oral histories, although that is not a requirement to participate in the research. This research will also explore existing historical records and archival materials, as well as the relationship of Samsula to other Central Florida agricultural communities. This project is being conducted as part of dissertation research, and some results of this research may be included in the web-based RICHES Central Florida Mosaic Interface (CFMI) section on agriculture.

What you will be asked to do in the study: Your participation in the study is limited to interview participation. The interview is expected to last less than sixty minutes, and consists of answering questions and sharing recollections. At this time, only one interview is planned; however, if additional conversations seem appropriate as the interview progresses, further interviews may be discussed. You do not have to answer every question you are asked, and you may end your participation in this study at any time. Any interviews conducted in relation to this study will be scheduled at your convenience.

Location: Interviews will be scheduled and arranged at your convenience in a location of your preference.

Time required: This study is being done as a part of research in conjunction with the RICHES CFMI project in the 2012 Spring semester. Any interviews and involvement will cease by May 1, 2012. The initial expectation of 60 minutes for the interview may be increased if additional interviews are deemed necessary and agreed upon.

Recording: Interviews made for this study will be recorded. Audio recordings will be used for face-to-face and online audio conversations. If you do not want to be recorded you will still be able to participate in the study. Discuss this with the researcher before participating. If you are recorded, transcriptions and recordings will be kept on the researcher's secure external hard drive for an indefinite period, with standard password protection against unauthorized account access. If a recording is selected as an oral history entry for the RICHES CFMI, you will be notified.

INFORMED CONSENT

Risks. There are no reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts involved in taking part in the study. Questions used in the interview will be limited to the topic of Samsula agriculture and your

recollections of your experiences. This interview is being conducted as part of the RICHES CFMI and also as part of a dissertation research project. Responses may be included in the CFMI and/or in the final report.

Benefits. There are no expected direct benefits to you for taking part in this study. There is no compensation or other payment to you for taking part in this study.

Confidentiality. This study is not being conducted confidentially. The Faculty Supervisor is aware of interview participants. No secret will be made of your identity. The interviews, their recordings, and information derived from them will not be used beyond the limits of this research.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

4.1. Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, feel free to contact Marcy Galbreath, Graduate Student, Texts & Technology Program, College of Arts and Sciences, by phone at 386-690-2467, or by email at marcy.galbreath@knights.ucf.edu. If you prefer not to speak to the researcher directly, you may also contact Dr. Blake Scott, Faculty Supervisor, Department of Writing and Rhetoric, by email at bscott@ucf.edu.

IRB contact about your rights in the study or to report a complaint: Research at the University of Central Florida involving human participants is carried out under the oversight of the Institutional Review Board (UCF IRB). This research has been reviewed and approved by the IRB. For information about the rights of people who take part in research, please contact: Institutional Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901. You may also talk to them for any of the following:

Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.

You cannot reach the research team.

You want to talk to someone besides the research team.

You want to get information or provide input about this research.



Tractors and Genres: Knowledge-Making and Identity Formation in an Agricultural Community

Informed Consent

8 May 2014

Principal Investigator(s): Marcy Galbreath
Faculty Supervisor: Blake Scott, PhD
Investigational Site(s): Various, Samsula, Florida

Introduction: Researchers at the University of Central Florida (UCF) study many topics. To do this we need the help of people who agree to take part in a research study. You are being invited to take part in a research study which will include about 15 people who are either involved now or in the past in agriculture in Samsula, FL. You have been asked to take part in this research study because you have experience with Samsula agriculture. You must be 18 years of age or older to be included in the research study.

The person doing this research is Marcy Galbreath of the University of Central Florida's Text & Technology program. Because the researcher is a graduate student, she is being guided by Blake Scott, UCF faculty supervisor in the Department of Writing and Rhetoric.

What you should know about a research study:

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Whether or not you take part is up to you.

You should take part in this study only because you want to.

You can choose not to take part in the research study.

You can agree to take part now and later change your mind.

Whatever you decide it will not be held against you.

Feel free to ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of this study is to understand better the agricultural history of Samsula, Florida, as it has responded to technological, economic, and cultural changes over time. Samsula, a rural community settled by Slovenian immigrants in the early 20th century, stands as a microcosm of agricultural adaptation to economic and environmental forces, and while some of Samsula's history has been transcribed, it has not been described in the context of the larger social and scientific transitions of food production in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Samsula has seen various forms of farming and other agricultural enterprises over the years, and this research will attempt to record, archive, and analyze these changes. Subjects will be invited to share oral histories, although that is not a requirement to participate in the research. This research will also explore existing historical records and archival materials, as well as the relationship of Samsula to other Central Florida agricultural communities. This project is being conducted as part of dissertation research, and some results of this research may be included in the web-based Samsula Historical Archive website and the RICHES Central Florida Mosaic Interface (CFMI) section on agriculture.

What you will be asked to do in the study: Your participation in the study is limited to interview participation. The interview is expected to last less than sixty minutes, and consists of answering questions and sharing recollections. At this time, only one interview is planned; however, if additional conversations seem appropriate as the interview progresses, further interviews may be discussed. You do not have to answer every question you are asked, and you may end your participation in this study at any time. Any interviews conducted in relation to this study will be scheduled at your convenience.

Location: Interviews will be scheduled and arranged at your convenience in a location of your preference.

Time required: This study is being done as a part of research in conjunction with the RICHES CFMI project in the 2012 Spring semester and continuing into dissertation research in Spring-Summer 2014. Any interviews and involvement will cease by June 1, 2014. The initial expectation of 60 minutes for the interview may be increased if additional interviews are deemed necessary and agreed upon.

Recording: Interviews made for this study will be recorded. Audio recordings will be used for face-to-face and online audio conversations. If you do not want to be recorded you will still be able to participate in the study. Discuss this with the researcher before participating. If you are recorded, transcriptions and recordings will be kept on the researcher's secure external hard drive for an indefinite period, with standard password protection against unauthorized account access. If a recording is selected as an oral history entry for the RICHES CFMI, you will be notified.

INFORMED CONSENT

Risks. There are no reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts involved in taking part in the study. Questions used in the interview will be limited to the topic of Samsula agriculture and your

recollections of your experiences. This interview is being conducted as part of the RICHES CFMI and also as part of a dissertation research project. Responses may be included in the CFMI and/or in the final report.

Benefits. There are no expected direct benefits to you for taking part in this study. There is no compensation or other payment to you for taking part in this study.

Confidentiality. This study is not being conducted confidentially. The Faculty Supervisor is aware of interview participants. No secret will be made of your identity. The interviews, their recordings, and information derived from them will not be used beyond the limits of this research.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

4.1. Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, feel free to contact Marcy Galbreath, Graduate Student, Texts & Technology Program, College of Arts and Sciences, by phone at 386-690-2467, or by email at marcy.galbreath@knights.ucf.edu. If you prefer not to speak to the researcher directly, you may also contact Dr. Blake Scott, Faculty Supervisor, Department of Writing and Rhetoric, by email at bscott@ucf.edu.

IRB contact about your rights in the study or to report a complaint. Research at the University of Central Florida involving human participants is carried out under the oversight of the Institutional Review Board (UCF IRB). This research has been reviewed and approved by the IRB. For information about the rights of people who take part in research, please contact: Institutional Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901. You may also talk to them for any of the following:

Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.

You cannot reach the research team.

You want to talk to someone besides the research team.

You want to get information or provide input about this research.

**APPENDIX G:
RICHES ORAL HISTORY RELEASE**



RICHES Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: *George Benedict*

Interviewer Name: *Marcy Galbreath*

Email: _____
Date: *2/17/2012*

Email: _____
Date: *2/17/2012*



RICHEs Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: Chris Galbreath

Interviewer Name: Marcy Galbreath

Email:
Date: 22 June 2012

Email:
Date: 6/22/2012



RICHEs Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: Robert M. Jontes, Sr.

Interviewer Name: Marcy Galbreath

Email:
Date: JAN 22, 2012

Email:
Date: 1/22/2012



RICHEs Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: Pauline Jontes

Interviewer Name: Marcy Galbreath

Email:
Date: 1/22/2012

Email:
Date: 1/22/2012



RICHES Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: *Anna Lou Luznar* Interviewer Name: *Marcy Galbreath*

Email: _____
03-08-2012
Date: _____

Date: *3/8/2012*



RICHEs Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: Jack Pleteraki

Interviewer Name: Marcy Galbreath

Email: jack@ucf.edu
Date: March 10, 2012

Date: 3/10/2012



RICHEs Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: [Handwritten Signature]

Interviewer Name: [Handwritten Signature]

5

Date: [Handwritten Date]

Date: [Handwritten Date]



RICHEs Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: William Tomazin

Interviewer Name: Marcy Galbreath

Email: _____

Date: 5/26/2014

Date: 5/26/2014



RICHES Oral History Release

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Interviewee Name: Ray Wright

Interviewer Name: Marcy Galbreath

Email: 3-6-12
Date:

Date: 3/6/2012

**APPENDIX H:
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

FIRST IRB APPROVAL: Interview 1:

Interview Questions

1. Where were you born? How long have you lived in Samsula?
2. What did your parents do for a living?
3. Have you taken part in any agricultural enterprises while living in Samsula? What did you do?
4. What kind of role has farming or agriculture filled in your life?
5. What does the term “agriculture” mean to you? How has this perception been shaped?
6. How long have you farmed?
7. What kind of crops/livestock did you grow/raise?
8. What are the benefits of working in agriculture, in your opinion?
9. What are the challenges of working in agriculture?
10. What was your best year? Why?
11. What was your worst year? Why?
12. How has agriculture in Samsula changed, in your perspective?
13. What different kinds of agriculture have you seen in Samsula while you have lived here?

SECOND IRB APPROVAL: Interview 2:

Interview Questions

1. When you first started farming, how did you prepare your ground for planting? Why was it necessary? How did you learn what to do?
2. What kind of relationship did you have with the extension service over your years of farming? Who were some of the agents you dealt with? Who was the most helpful? Why?
3. Where did the meetings usually take place (on your farm or somewhere else)? Did they ever contact you through the mail or over the phone?
4. What kinds of reading materials (such as pamphlets, information guides, or bulletins) were available through the extension service to assist with farm practices? Were any of these materials helpful, and if so, how?
5. What kind of changes in farm equipment would you say were most significant in your experience?
6. What was your first tractor? How did you learn how to use it? How did it change or not change the way you farmed?
7. What kind of catalogs or sales materials have you received over the years? How have they influenced or guided you with any of your tractor purchases?

Extension Agent Interview Questions

1. What is your background, and how long have you been associated with the extension service?
2. What is the function of the extension service?
3. Historically, what has been the role of the extension service for Volusia County farmers?

4. How did you communicate with area farmers?
5. What kinds of knowledge did farmers bring to your interactions with them?
6. What kinds of activities or workshops associated with agriculture do you offer? How does this compare to historic activities?

**APPENDIX I:
IRB APPROVAL**



University of Central Florida Institutional Review Board
 Office of Research & Commercialization
 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501
 Orlando, Florida 32826-3246
 Telephone: 407-823-2901 or 407-882-2276
www.research.ucf.edu/compliance/irb.html

Approval of Exempt Human Research

From: **UCF Institutional Review Board #1
 FWA00000351, IRB00001138**

To: **Marcy L. Galbreath**

Date: **January 13, 2012**

Dear Researcher:

On 1/13/2012, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review: Exempt Determination
 Project Title: A Diachronic Perspective of the Agricultural History of Samsula, Florida
 Investigator: Marcy L. Galbreath
 IRB Number: SBE-12-08126
 Funding Agency:
 Grant Title:
 Research ID: N/A

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request in iRIS so that IRB records will be accurate.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the Investigator Manual.

On behalf of Sophia Dziegielewski, Ph.D., L.C.S.W., UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

Signature applied by Joanne Muratori on 01/13/2012 08:36:10 AM EST

IRB Coordinator



University of Central Florida Institutional Review Board
 Office of Research & Commercialization
 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501
 Orlando, Florida 32826-3246
 Telephone: 407-823-2901 or 407-882-2276
www.research.ucf.edu/compliance/irb.html

Approval of Exempt Human Research

From: **UCF Institutional Review Board #1
 FWA00000351, IRB00001138**

To: **Marcy L. Galbreath**

Date: **April 08, 2014**

Dear Researcher:

On 4/8/2014, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review: Exempt Determination
 Modification Type: Consent and Protocol revision
 Project Title: Tractors and Genres: Knowledge-Making and Identity Formation
 in an Agricultural Community
 Investigator: Marcy L. Galbreath
 IRB Number: SBE-12-08126
 Funding Agency:
 Grant Title:
 Research ID: N/A

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request in iRIS so that IRB records will be accurate.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the Investigator Manual.

On behalf of Sophia Dziegielewski, Ph.D., L.C.S.W., UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

Signature applied by Patria Davis on 04/08/2014 09:05:56 AM EDT

IRB Coordinator

**APPENDIX J:
FARMER INTERVIEWS**

The interviews in their entirety have not been included due to length. The interviews have been edited for purposes of understanding, with “um,” “ah,” repeated words, and similar vocal tics removed. Some speakers have a distinct southern drawl, and in these cases words have been written in Standard English for clarity. An ellipsis in the line of a quote signifies the omission of some irrelevant or less significant text (in relation to the code in question). While these excerpts have been coded for inclusion in the relevant charts (Appendix L), they are presented here as text entries sorted by interviewee for ease of reading.

George Benedict interviews, 17 Feb. 2012 & 23 May 2014

(GB). . . being independent, ah, I get up in the morning I decide what I’m going to do. But there’s, you know, you have customers, and they say, they say they want a hundred boxes of cabbage, well, they decided what I’m going to do, but I decide, you know, where I’m going to cut, how I’m going to do it, and, and of course I’d try to satisfy the customer when that was what I was doing. . . I plan my day. I’m boss, I’ve never had a boss—like I say, your customers are your boss. I had two older brothers I was in a partnership with; they were my boss, you know, cause by virtue of being older. But, we, we knew what had to be done. And, and, we might argue as to, you know, you’re going to cut cabbage first, or you’re going to do this first, or something, but it, it all had to be done; we knew that.

(GB). . . like if you’re short of money cabbage market goes to \$3.00, they know you’ll take 2.75 because you got bills—you got bills backed up. You know, they got a choke hold on you. They know, they don’t cut you any slack. But it’s, you know, be your own boss; I live, what, 300 feet from where I was raised and grew up and I think that’s a pretty unique situation. And I tell people, well it’s just you can’t pick up your farm and move, I have to stay here. You know, it’s by choice, but it’s not by choice.

.(GB). . . so you’d get home, you’d gulp down two glasses of milk, big plate full of cookies, but then you was expected to be out in the field, with a wheelbarrow, you push the wheelbarrow, you loaded the collard greens on it, or whatever, you pushed it up to the barn, put them in the cold water, keep them good and fresh, then worked them up and down, took them and stacked them on the cart, laid them twelve in a row, so we knew exactly how many dozen we had, and . . . that was something I did every day. I knew what I had to do when I got home, and then we worked up until dark, and maybe we’d have about thirty minutes in there to play, and my brother Frank and I, we’d usually run off somewhere, when we got back home, we got a spanking for being late, that was just a daily ritual (laugh).

(GB). . . if you’ve never been to the San Joaquin Valley, in California, my goodness, so much acreage, and perfect weather compared to here. They’re able to get enough water out of the mountains to irrigate with. Or, they pump enough in order to irrigate. But, it never rains, so, they, it always gets exactly how much water they want it to get. And it was level, and such rich, mineral rich soil. Where here, you have sand, poor sand, that if you put enough fertilizer to it, it will grow a crop. And here, you have high humidity, so you’re going to have every bug, every fungus, every weed, you name it. And then, we have the hard pan, which is moisture barrier, and, and we’ll say, a foot of

topsoil above it. Well, when it rains, that foot gets saturated, then you get water standing on top. It doesn't soak through that hard pan. And now, when it's dry, your roots only grow down to that hard pan. When it's, there's no water, there's no moisture in that twelve inches of top soil, they can't grow through that hard pan in order to go—we have hard pan, you've got twelve inches of roots, now you go on a sand hill, your roots may be four foot deep, you know. They'll go down and find the water. But, sand hills are harder to farm on and require more fertilizer, but, ... because of the drainage and the irrigation aspect, we always wanted it perfectly level. Well, with today's technology, you want it six inches higher on one end of the field than the other. Or, that, you irrigate from that end, drain from this end, and ... even when it's not dry, you let a little irrigation water trickle through the field. So that you'll never get the, oh my goodness, it's dry, we got to start irrigating! It's, oh my goodness, we better turn the irrigation water up a hair, you know, make sure everything got enough water. And it's the new technologies, large equipment that, you know, you'd move the soil from the low end to the high end so you, you have a perfect plane.

(GB). . . our problem was, we could get our water from the field to Airport Road. Then you had to depend upon Volusia County public works to keep ditches clean from in front of our farm to Spruce Creek. And, you know, drainage, when, when you read the stories that the old timers tell, and I, I can understand what they're talking about. Without any man-made drainage, this place was wet. It was wet. Now, don't get me wrong—because of the hard pan, because of, ah, difference in—you know, you get 52 inches of rain a year in Samsula, I always say—hey, that's one inch a week—you got what it—but the way it works out, you get 52 inches one day, and the rest of the year, you're a drought situation (laughing). You know, it's just, ah, there were years where you got that look, nice little rain once a week—not too many years like that. You know, it was usually where you got no rain, you got no rain, you finally went out there and got all your fields pumped up, got moisture just perfect, then you got the six inches of rain. So. Of, the heartbreak of losing a crop because you had it too nice before that unexpected rain came. You know, that's ... you said, oh, if I'd a just let it suffer a little bit and not grow so good, you know, and, and had to work so hard to make it perfect, and then, bam

(GB). . . you shoot yourself in the foot, but—that's all part of it, you know, you're, they're still having those same problems today, even with the technology, you got, you know now when it, they, use the plasticulture, they use soil fumigants underneath the plastic to control the insects, diseases, they lay the plastic on top so the weeds don't grow through . . . you put the fertilizer underneath the plastic—now the rain doesn't leach the plastic out, underneath the plastic you put a, a drip irrigation line, a little thin plastic tube that has a hole at each plant, and it puts out just the right amount of water. Now you have to maintain these irrigation lines—they have to have chlorine fed through them so the calcium doesn't build up, and you have to do all this. But, you know, you've got, you know how I was telling you, everything, you're farming on a level piece of ground, now you've got a, a laser-graded piece of land, with all this technology and all that, and you get the freeze of the century, you know, what have you accomplished?

(GB). . . originally celery had to be bleached, so they put cardboard on each side of it and held it up so it was nice and white and then they came out with varieties, that they called themselves bleaching, but the old ones, and then they did the same with endive. They'd gather it up, but the cardboard on each side, and it was just white as snow on the inside, you know

(GB) I mean they used to, we used to take the cauliflower and take all the outside leaves, pull them together, and put a colored string or rubber band around it, so, one day, you go through and cut all the red ones, trim it up, pack it in a box. Next day you come through, do all the green ones, and in the meantime, somebody's going through the field, pulling them back up and putting the old string or rubber bands back around them. . .

(GB). . .and you have to understand, back then we didn't have the varieties you have today . . . Today you have varieties that will pretty much all make it at the same time.

(GB) I've seen the old extension service pamphlets about harvesting cabbage, they were all trying to come up with an easier way to harvest cabbage, and you know, some would say, well, you take the cabbage cart, throw it on there, then go under a shade tree and pack it, some said no, you build a big wagon, put the trough behind it, they cut it, put it on there, and they pack it out in the field, and it stays on the trailer, then you just, like John Roy did, you backed up the semi, and now today most of it goes to a packing house, and they have packing machinery that gently unloads the cabbage, it goes on a belt, you have the first people take out the oversized heads and pack them, next one take out the medium and the junk goes off the end

(GB). . . my father bought some fairly new equipment in the early 50s; he retired in the mid-60s, and it was fifteen years old, and . . . he had one tractor, and one this, one that, and he kept it up and maintained it well, but here we were in the late 60s with some 1950s-style equipment, and they were going to newer types of equipment. The hydraulics— Massey-Ferguson came up with a new hydraulic system; they came up with a three-point hitch hydraulic system where, instead of taking a wrench and lifting up ten bolts to change your implement on your tractor, you backed up, hooked up with three pins, and put it in, you took off and went. Now, you had to have more equipment, cause you had to have a toolbar for everything—you had to have something for every implement. But, if we got into more mass production of, of vegetables, you just didn't have the time to be making all these adjustments, and you couldn't hire somebody to do it. You know, you were just limited to what the farmer himself could do. Where if you had a better set of bedders, on a three-point hitch, toolbar, you could hire employee to back up there, hitch it up, and just start, start driving, you know. But with the old, what we call the old Farmall International Harvester system, you spent uh, maybe an hour just hooking everything up, then you make your first couple passes through the field, then you readjust all your equipment, get it where the bearings in this hiller, aren't taking the grease like this one does, so you got to, this one's like this, and this one you got to turn like this, so that it, it makes the bed even and your crop grows uniform. But, it's just . . . we started out, we could grow nice vegetables but we just didn't have the equipment, and the truck, and the, packing equipment, and all that to back it up, too. I mean, sure, you can go out there and plant ten acres of yellow squash, but if you can't harvest it, get it in the packing house, get it in the box, find somebody to ship it for you.

(GB). . . you know, we went from a marketing aspect of we grow it, we take it to the retailer, and he sells it, and that's all we grow, to where we grew it, we still went to that retailer some, but we could grow all we wanted, cause we could go to a broker in Sanford and he'd ship it to New York City, you know. A few people in Daytona, a lot of people in New York City.

(GB). . . But, and every community, well Oak Hill didn't have one, New Smyrna, I think they had a 4-H club at one time, but I don't know what happened in there, but, Port Orange had one, Barberville, Pearson, Deleon Springs, Lake Helen, and so the nice thing about the 4-H club, not only did you learn from the extension agents, but you got to meet other kids from agricultural counties, I mean from other agricultural communities, in Volusia county.

(GB). . . We had a real good vegetable judging, they started the vegetable judging team, when I was one of the older members in the 4-H club, and my brother Frank and Dickie Stamper, Chuck Hall, Davie Shaw, myself, and I can't remember who else, but we were on the team and we always seemed to come in second place. But they had, you know, you had to identify weeds, you had to identify diseases, you had to identify all the varieties, different varieties of cucumbers, cabbage, carrots, peppers,

(MG): How did they test you on that?

(GB). . . You go to the state contest and they've got a cabbage plant here with black rot, and it's A, B, C, and D, and one of them is black rot and that's the one you check, then you go to the next area and they have a crabgrass and you go there and it may be a fill in the blank ___ this is crabgrass, and you go to the next one, and there would be three cucumbers. And the first one is straight, the next one is crooked, and this one's got a ... Yeah, a little bit of decay on it, and you had to give it a grade, just like the federal standards of grading produce. And that was, and I always, when I'd run into a state federal inspector, I'd just tell, I'd mention to him, I'd say hey, I was on the 4-H vegetable judging team, you know, if you don't judge my produce right, I'm going to appeal it, you know, because I know enough.

(GB). . . Extension had a tri-county vegetable specialist. He would, I think usually they were stationed out in Lake County, or Seminole county, and you could call them, they'd come over, or they'd come over on a regular basis, and their biggest problem was they would try to offer people information and some hard headed farmer just wouldn't take it, you know. But no, it was a lot of good information from them

(GB). . . yeah, we'd tell them what our problems were and you know, how the disease was affecting our crops and what we were doing to control it, and they'd tell us what somebody else was doing, and we may try theirs for a while and go back to ours, you know, and you have to stay within a label on the chemicals, like if it's an insect or disease you're trying to control, or a weed, and somebody might come up with the idea, well you mix a little Manganese with a little copper. Well the label didn't say you could do that . . . And of course the university couldn't do it because the label said they couldn't, you know

(GB) Yeah, it was feedback both ways, yeah, feedback both ways. I mean, they have experimental farms . . . But they'll have a 10 by 10 plot, You know, you go look at a 10 acre or an acre, or something, you get a lot more realistic view than that little 10 by 10 plot, and then right next to it you got another 10 by 10 plot and maybe this had the disease resistant, but since you had a non-resistant variety here, it transmitted across by insects or by wind or rain or whatever. .. carried it, and I wasn't too impressed with their research station, and they, the university had them, all the chemical companies had them. And in the Sanford area there were several of the chemical companies, seed companies trying new varieties.

(GB). . . if we could find some of the old engineering papers—Chris came up with how it was done, and who was behind it, and who was on the board, and all that, it was political, there was probably some graft and you know, crooked dealings going on, but, when you think that, the people signed a petition saying we need a drainage district. We're starving. We're under water, just can't do anything. They signed a petition.

(GB). . . and you'd go down in there and they'd have whatever, of course, you go over to the new extension office, and at the AG center, and they've got a complete library, and they've got it all, you go into their offices and they've got more books, and of course, they've got computers and they can bring up more information so, but back then, it was strictly the pamphlets, and whatever the agents got from Gainesville.

(GB) I always enjoyed talking to other growers, especially the ones from the Zellwood district. There were several over there that I could ask questions to and get good information from and we also depended a lot on the chemical salesman, Jack Ludwig was a salesman for Agro-Killgore for years, and Jack would always give us good information and later on, we had, they gave us what they called a tri-county vegetable agent, Reggie Brown, there was a man before him, I can't recall his name.

(GB). . . those were back in the days when, when you had a problem, a chemical company would come out with a new chemical that would take care of that problem, well you'd get all the growers from Central Florida would meet somewhere and there was steak and there was liquor, and there was information on how to control this disease and with their chemical. Now sometimes they worked, sometimes they didn't but at least you got a free meal out of it, so, and you got to talk to other growers.

(GB) The other story I like to tell, is Dick Bowman, we were selling lettuce in Daytona, all of the sudden California had bad weather and the lettuce price jumped up sky high and Dick had asked me, he says, can you sell any of my lettuce, packing house won't pay me anything for it, he says I'll take it to Sanford, I got to drive it over there, he says, I think I'm just going to leave it lay in the field, and it was pretty weedy, and wasn't high quality lettuce, well, all of a sudden, California has a bad weather incident, and lettuce goes up 4 or 5 dollars, which is really big money back in those days . . . So, I was picking up used boxes, so I go back down to Dick, and I said, well Dick, now I can use your lettuce, and he said, well can you pay me a dollar a box for it, and I said, yeah, you know, and this was when it was first going up, and then later on when it got higher, I said Dick, I said now I can afford to pay you a little more for your lettuce, he says George, we agreed on a dollar a box and we shook hands, and we made a verbal contract, he said, the price is a dollar a box, you know.

(GB) I tell people, in 1917 they dug the drainage district—the Lake Ashby drainage district, which Samsula's part of. And, [it was the] greatest thing that ever happened, in 1917. But, since 1917 it has leached our surface water, 365 days a year, 24 hours a day, that surface water just steadily leaching out. No, nobody's even thought about putting in some control structures that when it's dry would stop it. You know, hold the water back. You could have a nice recreational fishing area, have this, have that. Now, you'd probably run into a problem, when you've got these water control structures, but they'd be designed where they would work. But, during a hurricane, the water would flow. When it's dry, the water wouldn't flow—they'd have to buy a little real estate, do a little engineering, but it

could be done. But instead, the County's even worse now, they came up with this stormwater [system], a management fee; now they've got all this extra money, they're buying all this equipment to clean these drainage ditches out, and make them so they'll leach more water. And you kind of say, well the canal shouldn't have been built to begin with, some real estate developer wanted to sell that property, so he dug the canal. Now, county government comes through and maintains it and improves it so it makes things even worse.

(GB) I kind of grew up in the Spruce Creek Swamp, because we hunted there when we were children, and it was such a healthy, beautiful swamp when I was a child; boy, it is a piece of trash now. It looks like a landfill, it's got so many invasive plants growing in it. Stays too dry; they put in canals that should've never been put in . . . today you could not drain or fill in a wetlands. You can't disturb the vegetation in a wetlands. As a farmer, I could go into a cypress swamp and cut all the cypress out and sell it—because I'm a farmer, I have to make income off the land to be able to pay the taxes. I couldn't go in there and clear it, and dig a hole somewhere and fill it in because I want to; it has to be left there. But we're just so far past that now, every swamp has a ditch leading out of it.

Chris Galbreath interviews, 22 Jan. 2012 & 7 July 2014

(CG):well how old was I when grandpa had me gathering cutworms from around the peppers, whatnot there, put them in a can he would give a nickel or something like that...they live under, you know they don't, they're not that far under the ground, but they're just a little bit under the ground and that's where they spend the day, and whenever it's time they'll... you know they eat through a pepper plant just like that

(BJ): yeah

(CG): wilted, they cut it off

(talking about his 4-H project approximately 70 years ago: Bronze Wagonwheel strain, I was told. I never saw any papers on them or anything else like that--I believe it was said that the grandfather, if there's such a thing for turkeys, weighed in excess of 60 lbs., but I never saw any turkey that big

(MG): Ok. You said that you kept a record book for the 4-H when you did that project? Yes, it recorded feed, and medications, the initial cost, I don't remember what any of that was, it's not...didn't cost me anything, that's what my parents did. I was a kid.

I was still going to school out here in Samsula...

(MG): You said daddy had to ride herd on you to feed them and everything

Well yes, parental supervision was required—I had never been tasked to do something like that before that I know of,

(MG): Did he help you fill out the book, or was that all

Yes --Probably a lot of it was in his writing, what happened to it, I have no idea

Bob Jontes interviews, 22 Jan. 2012, 28 May 2012, & 15 May 2014

(BJ) = Bob Jontes; (PKJ) = Pauline Klun Jontes; (CG) = Chris Galbreath

Here you go down and maybe most of the time three or 4 feet and it would start puddling, you know off of this hard pan.

(BJ). . . yeah, that story about that, they did not bend over, they'd get the weed—try to get it out, then whoops! The plant was probably that big and then it'd be sitting there wilting, with a big pile of dirt around to hold it up (talking about hired help)

(BJ) I didn't know whether they were peach [aphids] or not, but they really done us in good . . . We wound up with zero peppers, and I got to growing cucumbers instead, and then everybody else started growing cucumbers

(BJ). . . Sopotnicks ... they didn't farm much—they had the farm, but they didn't, didn't grow these little cash crops we did, you know, bunch stuff, then later they made, were big potato farmers. They grew that whole place in the Irish potatoes. That's where they made money, hit the right stock.

(BJ): . . . yeah . . . we bombed out over there on that ground . . . it was farmed so much a lot of it wasn't fit for peppers—you see where the oaks are growing over there? That's strictly oak tree land

(CG): it was dry, cause there was no organic matter left in it

(BJ): it was, and there was a pan under it, hard pan, no water comes up, you had to pump it all up there, and then finally you got so much on there you changed the pH. For a pepper, it had to be just right, more or less, and that's why everyone was successful farming peppers when they had what you call new ground, or stuff that hadn't been a lot of sweetening or calcium, or phosphates, they would eventually sweeten your ground

(MG): because the water coming up comes out of a limestone aquifer?

(BJ): you could use it for a while, your well, and your water would sweeten the ground—see some produce thrives on it, lettuce, cabbage, you can't hardly harm the soil with over, putting too much lime on it

(CG): what was the name of the—your dad used guano

(BJ): boy, that was the best ... Peru, they hauled it, they loaded it in ships in bulk, and through it, come right on the railroad, these coal cars, they dumped it in there, and then, when they got to the port where the, whoever received it, they would bag it, you know, they were in big bags like this

(CG): did he put any supplements with the guano?

(BJ): well, that was sort of a nitrogen, and it had everything in the world in it, probably, the minor elements probably from the sea birds, you know

(BJ). . . That was when the price was the best for a couple years, 8 or 10 ... Well, it was, I don't know, eventually the thing collapsed, all that pepper growing round here, achievements down south, that was our main competitor, we could get this thing all year long, plant, get a week of picking ahead of Okeechobee ...

(BJ) Yeah, get in there ahead of the Everglades, and then their buyers would come up here and have all of these peppers produced out of that packing house. There was two of them ... Chapman was one ... they had a deal with Joe Tomazin, was a salesman for that

(MG) Now was that the east coast grower's cooperative?

(BJ) Yeah, if you had enough acreage and you had enough help, you could make money by pouring

it through and [they would] take everything you had, I mean ... One way or another, if you, somebody had a bad crop, out of shape peppers or something, or all, brought overall price and they would get the good ones cheaper, you know, when they'd buy it ... And he made the same, whether they got 10 dollars for—unheard of then—box, 4-5 dollars a crate for peppers or a bushel basket or if they sell it for 50 cents, he got the, they made some money . . . Then they took a dime away from him and then he said I work for a nickel, wound up getting half as much, a nickel a package for selling it, and he's right in there with the other buyers, you know, year to year they were over here and . . . would come down the belt and look at them big peppers, and they were high good quality, most of them, they wanted them. Boy, the last ones you shipped you really got stung every year, you're lucky you got the basket cost, you know, most of the time

(CG): if you want green onions, i.e., scallions, whatever, this is the way to plant them. If you plant them by seed, you're raising big onions to turn to seed to get the seed to raise these things

(BJ): you plant the plants then, and reset them. We done that for the last few years—we never, that was so costly that you didn't even break even—cost you money to grow them

(BJ): so the bushels, the labor evidently cost so much that when we ordered a sack of , I think it was, what 30 lbs. or 20 lbs., one of these mesh bags you see . . . we got the price on them, we said we can't mess with this stuff anymore, now you seed them out real thin, then thin them out, then reset the other ones and you make, of course we grew those big ones

(PKJ): those big sweet onions

(BJ): that's what you call organic farming—the only way, capture them and (squish sound)

(MG): is that the same as army worms?

(CG): they were the same family

(BJ): they're worse, they cut the plant down...: they're about that long and they'll kill it depends on how much they eat—they get, they're lying there dormant more or less during the ... if it nipped 'em, they will, that's the end of 'em, cause they cut into em, and the pepper will never heal, just fall over eventually

(BJ). . . they shipped by rail, ... loaded it on at New Smyrna at that time, and then there was different, ... Tony Pleterski had a big GMC truck, he would haul right on up, load her down, and go on up the country and then and then Frank Luznar done that, too. ... All this, it's the same Luznar family down there, you had John and Jack and Willie, and [Frank], the brother to all of them, and Georgia's brother.

(MG): would they drive all the way up north?

(BJ) oh yeah, the trucks went right up to the Potomac yards, I remember the name where, and that went good till the Everglades started producing, then they swamped (laugh)

(BJ): they had old Mel

(MG): to pull a plow?

(BJ): racehorse, yeah ...there was a horse that a preacher had in Lake Helen, Cassadega, Lake Helen, somewhere, and he had it for sale, and he had a little disc that went with it, but we never used it cause it was all in pieces, ... but that horse would, you had to bear down if he was going to pull a plow, it's not like a wagon, boy, he would want to run, and he'd run from there to there, and the dirt flying, you know, and then ... the reins tighten up in your hand, out on the plow handle just as tight,

holding back, I said this isn't going to work, you know. Some guy bought it finally, we finally got that little tractor, from Joe Tomazin

(MG): bout what year was that?

(BJ): 1947, 48

(BJ): oh, when we had this deal with Albertson's, we supplied a hundred stores with collards, and load that dad-gummed truck up til it, looking for space on top of the roof, but we had to ice it all down cause we got something the day before, and we'd just keep picking for two days, and that ice machine was going, a ton of it ice in there...

(CG): when I was working here you didn't have that ice machine

(BJ): no, we didn't have that much collards, either, it was like 500 boxes of collards a week, over there, and that's 250 dozen

(MG): is this to Plant City?

(BJ): yeah

What schools did you attend?

(BJ): Well, let's see I went to high school, grade school in Samsula, and Live Oak high school, and then I went to Mary Karl, during the war, Mary Karl vocational training, ah, aircraft, engine mechanics, and then before I went to the Cape I went to junior college, vocational division I guess you would call it. Electronics, and that's it, that took care of that. That's enough—still learning (laugh)

(PKJ): that's when you went to DeLand on certain nights?

(BJ): Oh yeah, that was a quite a, that was a three year deal with the, after I got out with the, had the veteran's vocational farm—what the heck was the name? It was the agricultural school, put on by the, paid by the government, I guess

(MG): What kind of stuff did they cover in that? The agricultural school

(BJ): They touched, they messed us up . . . on that ground that had been farmed, we got this free dolomite, lime—well, our instructor . . . —he's from Georgia, and he lived in Sanford, and they farmed, it's a different world of soil—they think you're supposed to put lime on the soil every year, well it gets sweetened with all the water, limestone water, pH is way up there, in the blue . . . So that ruined our pepper business, but anyway that's another story. . . they taught the—they helped you keep books out of, you know, you didn't make enough money but then you had to keep the books up to what you bought and spent, and [what you're going to] make in advance, and then see what you really did make, and all that, which it's a lot of government-type work . . . it doesn't turn out too good with this weather—we don't know what the weather is, wipe you out, but anyway, it was bookwork. They had a welding shop set up where we could use, which was Ernie Hafner's barn, he give us a corner in there, and they put an electric welder in there and a lot of tools, and stuff to work on your tractor, and advice on what different new methods of farming and whatnot, which we found out it was trial and error, trial and error the rest of your life (laughs) . . . But it was a what we lived on, the 90 bucks a month you got paid, so.

(BJ). . . That was good money in the bank, it was already spent, but it was more than you made in the field most of the time.

(BJ): the agricultural . . . when we started farming, we joined . . . they had an agricultural vocational school over there, and we got paid a little sum for attending each month, and

(CG): that's where you went after you got out of the navy

(BJ): yeah, that was one of your benefits, and, we wound up going by the book, you know—they, our instructor, he was a good college graduate and everything, from up in Georgia . . . well, he went by the book, you know, you needed so much dolomite on your soil, and we got it, they got it free, you know, the county they had a truck and just spread it on there, the agriculture department, and then it, from then on we never grew a bell pepper that was fit to

(PKJ): cause the ground was too sweet for them

(BJ): yeah, they would just grow like crazy then stunt, and we didn't know—we thought it was some kind of disease, and we finally found out

(CG): needed some Epson salts

(BJ): yeah, magnesium

(BJ): Yeah, everybody had a hand in it, our problem was we had this mosaic, boy our crops were short for several years, until we found out what was causing it, just like this disease on the oranges. It wouldn't be any plant or anything but it was ... carried by a peach aphid, from a host plant which are usually, thing looks like eggplant grows along ____

(PKJ): Nightshade or something? Nightshade?

(BJ): Nightshade was one of them, but it froze often, but this stuff, the roots stayed in there, that these Japanese [lanterns] ... and once it hit, your plant would turn mottled color, the leaves color and quit bearing, nothing but knots on it . . .

(BJ): . . . we had confined, this little space, if it got out in the middle of 100 acres and they would be free of all that—this disease hung up around in the ditch banks, I used to spray them with weed killer, but the darn things come back, the roots stays in there. Now the guy come by ... he graduated from the University of Florida, he's doing a post[graduate] on that disease, and he says, do you mind that I go and sample your, run tests over here, and I said for what? And he says mosaic, and I says go to it, and they took him over here, I remember, and have him always washing his hands with alcohol you know and everything so he wouldn't contaminate ... And he come up one time and says this is what's doing it [peach aphids]. ... but he said ... what would benefit—plant tall crops . . . like sunflowers as a buffer . . . But anyway, . . . it was too late, I noticed one patch springing up here at the old Dallas place when Rudy Hafner farmed it one year . . . And he had sprayed and the darn pepper bushes were big, but he didn't have no peppers on them, I mean, had a couple of acres of them, and he had a brand new tractor and he was spraying all the time trying to get them leaves back . . . they had like chlorosis and, you know, yellow streaks in it and . . . you couldn't transfer that, you grab a leaf off of there and go rub it on another pepper plant, they wouldn't get [it], they wouldn't have a vector. And it happened to be the peach aphid, come right down to it. And it used to grow along the ditch bank and I'd raise a leaf and it was covered with lice, aphids on it.

(MG):When you dealt with the extension service, did you ever get any materials from them like this? Like the booklets or the pamphlets that they handed? The extension service. Did they ever come out here? The extension service guy

(BJ): Yeah. He used to come by regular, but then they took his job away. We had, you know, we had a bunch of folders, we didn't have a book like this, but it had, yeah, we had all the pepper diseases. We got some in there on bananas in there I think and what to feed them and all that.

(CG): you were in the tomato business—how much does a tomato plant grow? If I plant a tomato plant, and I put up a little trellis there, I don't want to spend my life nipping the damn fresh sprouts out of it, because every one wants to grow a runner, I mean another plant out of every what do they call node just about—how do you prune them back, or do you?

(BJ): you got two types, some that don't grow and the high ...

(PKJ): some of them just make so many tomatoes and quit, and the ones that we had

(BJ): and some of them make, get so high, and then they don't keep on crawling higher

(CG): well I want some that will keep on producing

(BJ): when we grew them in the greenhouse, some of the stalks were 29 feet long, and we laid them down

(CG): but you tied them up

(BJ): well, we laid them down like a snake, then they went up, and we picked tomatoes off and took the leads off and laid them down some more... this one will grow here, and we pick it way down here, eventually, so it's a –there's two broad varieties. I never did pay attention cause there's one variety that you don't want if you're in commercial, they're determinant, they're called

(PKJ): right, and indeterminate goes on and on

(BJ): yeah, that's your one that you keep on picking

Pauline Jontes interview, 22 Jan. 2012

(MG): so what kind of role would you say that farming and agriculture has played in your life

(PKJ): well about 70% because Bob worked at the Cape, too, so it didn't all come from farming you know

(MG): did you consider yourself a farmer for big part of your life

(PKJ): I did. I planted the tomato seeds in the greenhouse, you know little things put them down in there and I fed them, and I took care of them and I helped pick them, and the, yeah a big part of it actually he would be at the Cape and I, we would be working, you know, here in the fields and everything

(PKJ): (laughing) I guess you get to be your own boss, that's about the main thing

(MG): ok—it's an independent kind of lifestyle?

(PKJ): you know that kid told me, he said, Mrs. Jontes, I've never worked with anybody with the boss working right alongside of me, and I thought, you know what, that's one sure way of getting everything out of them (laugh)

(PKJ): (greenhouse tomatoes) well you put them down in pipes there's holes in these big pipes every so far and it would be a tomato plant a plant in there, and then you would feed them through the pipe through the water to the pipes flowing through there

(MG): what were the advantages of raising tomatoes like that or what are some of the difficulties of raising tomatoes in this climate?

(PKJ): well you can't raise tomatoes out in the fields because you got rain and all the bad weather all the time, so it's hard to raising 'em here but that actually as we found out it wasn't too good raising them in the greenhouse, either as you had heat problems there had to keep the water flowing on the

end to keep it cool ... and then that cost a lot to keep 'em heated, you know it I think the guy who made the most money off of that was the gasman (laugh)

(MG): I remember when I was a kid and you had the really big pipes that would run down the, down the

(PKJ): Rows

(MG): down the rows, yeah, but that irrigated from the roots right? You didn't have the

(PKJ): well we had overhead irrigation here, too, that he used some of the time—they were up like this and went around

(MG): how has the agriculture in Samsula changed over the years?

(PKJ): it would be more motorized I guess, I mean it used to be everything was done by hand or by mule and then when the tractors came along why

(MG): it made a big difference

(PKJ): yeah

(MG): did more people get into it after the tractors or was it the same the same people

(PKJ): I think it was just the same people that were here to start—always the Luznars, some Luznar was always in it

Anna Lou Luznar interview, 8 March 2012

(ALL): I wasn't ever involved with the farm really, outside of sometimes going out and picking a few green beans, but my husband was a farmer from the age of a young man and it was his life, and he told me that he loved everything about farming. He loved getting the ground ready, he loved planting, he loved taking care of the crops, he loved getting the crops up for sale, he loved delivering and dealing with the customers, he loved all of it, and I guess because it was his life, it was pretty important in mine, and he supported the family with it, which was no small thing, but he loved it. It fulfilled his every need in that area of his life.

(ALL): There weren't any really bad years after we were married. He did tell me about one year when they had pepper plants that were just absolutely gorgeous, you know, and beautiful peppers and getting ready, just getting ready, and they had a hail storm and destroyed everything, and you know, sometimes it was too wet and the things would cook in the ground, if it was too dry he would irrigate, but there wasn't ever a year after we were married that he didn't make money, it was, just sometimes you made more money than others.

(ALL): One of the other aspects that kind of came in about the time that I came into Samsula also was the egg production, which was another whole area and of course my stepson was one of the ones who got into the chickens for eggs. He had 30,000 chickens and when he finally went out of business with the eggs, he was told that he was the last large independent producer in the state. But the big conglomerates had all got into it and he tried to compete, he put in the feed mill, so that he was making his own feed and sold feed on the side, but he went from being an egg farmer to being a feed store basically. I can't think of any other types of agriculture outside of the eggs, I know we had some hydroponic tomatoes for a while, and you would remember that

(ALL): Well, when he got in to [the egg farm], it was really the place to be, and he paid off his investment with the buildings, he built his home, basically raised his children, but then it was done, you just couldn't make it.

(MG): What year was that? That 44 was put in?

(ALL): I was a teenager, so it would've been maybe somewhere, well the early 50's. Maybe 52, something like that. It was just a very big deal, I guess this area had not seen road construction like that since before my lifetime, you know? And it was just a big deal to come in and clear out all of those woods and strike a line, you know, and it was just a straight shot out for many many miles, and straight shot all the way out to Samsula!

(ALL): . . . the Samsula student's, school got out at 3 o'clock, and most of the buses did not come to the school 'til like 3:30, but the Samsula bus, it was a small bus and it left that school at 3:00, because those kids had to get home to help on the farm, and they were students that stood out, they were, had a lot of leadership qualities, and for them to be involved in sports and clubs, that kind of thing, it was a really big sacrifice for their families. There was, the transportation was a big thing, and the time was a big thing, but that was my first contact with Samsula, and at that time, state road 44 did not exist, Pioneer Trail was the highway between New Smyrna and DeLand, and our Samsula Drive as we know it now, wound around off of Pioneer Trail and South and then hit what is South State Road 415 now and travelled on toward Osteen. There was nothing but woods and swamp where 44 is now.

(ALL): . . . my mother lived like one block West of the Glencoe Road, and so my younger brother and sister were zoned for Samsula and came to school in Samsula. My mother got involved, and Jessie Luznar, who was my husband's wife at that time and the mother of his two sons, invited my mother to come to the S.N.P.J. lodge for an end of season pepper party. My mother was a very social creature and she went to the lodge and she felt like she had died and gone to heaven. And at that time you had to be 55 or younger to actually join the lodge because it was a fraternal organization and you took out insurance to belong. My mother was too old to belong and so she put my younger brother and sister in the youth group and also my son, because at that time you could insure a child for 18 cents a month, and she insured the three children and then harassed me until I took out some insurance and became a member, and that's actually how I met my husband and his family, and became more or less a little part of Samsula because I became involved in the S.N.P.J. lodge.

(ALL): I probably was, I think like about 21 when I joined, and I'm 75 now, I'm over 50 years I know. I have a picture of a picnic out at Lake Ashbee, and my son was just a couple of years old, which he is almost 56 now, but he was trying to turn the handle on an ice cream churn. That's my earliest memory of George Benedict, because he was just a young teeny bopper and his dad Joe had taken a boat out to the lake and was giving the kids waterskiing, and I remember George waterskiing behind his dad's boat. I remember the lodge having a picnic over on the beach, and they would take two of the big produce trucks with the high rails on the sides, drive those over there and drape a tarp between the two trucks so we would have a little bit of shade and a kind of sheltered area. I remember Jerry Hafner, who was a young boy at that time, and is now a very mature man, but, Jerry had had to have his foot amputated when he was a baby, and it was the first time I had ever seen

Jerry without his artificial leg because he was on crutches, and he raced down to the waterline on his crutches and tossed the crutches and he was in the water, and it was, it was a hardy group of people out here, just a hardy group of people and they knew how to work and they knew how to play.

Jack Pleterski interview, 10 March 2012

(JP): . . . because I grew up in it, it's always been of course an interest to me and it's one of those things that someone might talk about that's just absolutely hard to get out of your system, regardless of your age or when it is, there's certain, certain times like the fall that you, you know, just kind of smell the air and you smell Fall, and you just know it's time to get out and get on the tractor and prepare the ground for planting, and it's an urge that I think most farmers have.

In the summer, there wasn't much farming that went on.

(JP): . . . our farmers market, we've gone to the farmers market up until the present time, and Mary was active last year, [until] when she was hurt last year. Going to the farmers market, we did very well and the trend, as far as the produce in the area, is that there was a combination that the early growers had to do, which was both wholesaling and retailing or wholesaling to the grocery stores, not really retailing to the ultimate consumer. But, as the trend has been to larger cooperative corporation type farms, the smaller farmer has just kind of been a little bit nudged out, and because he couldn't compete really with the largest farms, in a wholesale type way, you just couldn't make a living and be able to sell real cheap, and so, the farmers markets were actually starting and they started all over the country. It's given some of the very small farmers, and you really don't need that much acreage if you're going to be selling retail, that you can in a way provide for a family, but, and as we've attended various conferences in the last couple years, the prediction from the department of agriculture is that there will be more and more small farms and more and more farmers markets. It's very prominent now to see signs "eat fresh" and "eat locally", and with the advent of higher fuel prices and shipments from all over the world, those will not be able to be made efficiently and economically so that the local farmers will have a little bit more of a chance, and like I say, that's anticipated to actually increase. So, who knows?

(JP): There were bad years on the farm, there were good years, but they weren't terrific years on the farm as far as finance or, and the bad years were times that we had, the weather didn't cooperate at all, we had floods or freezes, those were the bad years financially on the farm, and yes, I can recall a, you know, the end of the season when we had spring crops, like we had bell peppers and so forth and the storm come along and blew over all the plants and the hail messed up all the fruit and usually you're dependent on the last of the crops for the year, which was the Spring crops, to kind of carry you through the Summer, because the Summer was lean, you couldn't really farm, and so if you didn't make it toward the end of the year, you just, I can remember having to borrow money just to live on in a summer because of a crop like that. So there was good, there was bad

(JP): You know, not that I can recall much of a change, I can remember the analysis of the fertilizer then and it's very similar, you know, today, it's can't get away from the elements that you have to have to grow things, but there have been some changes in the fertilization, a lot of more spraying gets done, or some of the farmers actually use the liquid that they kind of inject it in the ground as

opposed to dry fertilizer. Some of them, you know, more organic than others, were you know, the fertilizer had to be broken down by microorganisms, some of it's quick acting, but that's pretty well the way it's been and of course, in the very earlier days, they just, they probably used a lot of manure from animals. I know we used to get, and that hasn't happened, that I can recall, in many many years, but we used to get Peruvian guano from bats and birds that you know, had their droppings and died and was shipped into this country and we used it as kind of an organic fertilizer.

(JP): Well there's so many, you know there's hybrids and so forth now, but there's a lot more variety of different varieties, of various vegetables, like for example, when we went to the farmer's market, I think we raised something like 12 or 13 varieties of leaf lettuce, and it's surprising the customers, you know, once they got used to a certain variety, they requested it, you know, and so we kept a variety of vegetables like that. Our lettuces.

(JP): . . . and I think that the term organic is thrown around so much that to really be true organic, you have to be certified, and that's a lot of time and effort and stuff like that to be certified organic. So some, because we didn't use sprays, so people would say, you grow organically, and we would say no, we use commercial fertilizer, we just don't spray, and that was the biggest thing that people didn't want are sprays on it, but we've been to so many organic farms and it really, they most time, really rather pitiful, because they don't, in your fertilizer

(JP): . . . they don't get enough of the different elements that need to be there and the minor elements, if you include those in your fertilizers, then you have a lot more healthier plant than you do in the organic plants unfortunately most people think that if it's organic it's best, but it's not. It's you get a lot more nutrients and so forth if you've got, you know, it takes your regular things, Nitrogen, Phosphorous, pot ash, to make a plant grow, and if you bring it along organically, you may or you may not get as much of one as you should or shouldn't, but also the various elements that you get put into commercial fertilizers like Iron and you know, whatever elements that are required, you know, like maybe 7 or 8 different elements that make for a very, you know, healthy plant, and healthy for people that eat them too.

(JP): Yeah, lady bugs would ... Since you don't spray, you'd be surprised, the lady bugs controlled a lot of that aphids and everything else. So, and if you tried to plant something like Chinese cabbage in the early Fall, it would just be shredded with worms, you know so, we just ... Planted it for them

(JP): . . . that's all there is to it, but we could grow collards, and we didn't grow much of that. Most everything that we grew was for salads, and, but if you grew things like Swiss chard and collards and mustard and kale, during the winter time, you just don't have much problem, you know, you crop it every two weeks, you got to get all those leaves off anyway, just didn't have that much problem unless you had a real summery winter. So, that's how we controlled, just didn't control

(JP): I had a couple of the uncles would actually had a big truck that they would deliver all the way up to New York and you know, and they told of experiences on the road that were kind of baffling at times, but that's the earlier part.

(JP): I can recall my uncle telling me about taking produce to New Smyrna area, to the stores, very much like I mentioned about my dad having a route, but they had a route in the New Smyrna area,

and their first experience with delivering to New Smyrna area was with horse and wagon and so, my uncle would tell me that he and his dad, my grandfather, of course, would get about half way to New Smyrna and they would stop and they would unhook the horse, let the horse rest and feed the horse and give her some water, and they would make a little fire and brew a pot of coffee and then after they got through with that they would, you know, continue on to New Smyrna and make their deliveries.

(JP): . . . later on, my grandfather was successful in what he did, and he enlisted his, I think it was three, three boys that he bought them old model A trucks or what have you, and one of them would deliver in New Smyrna, one of them went to St. Augustine, and one went to DeLand, and as I recall, most of those did that during their later years, they still had customers and routes for those areas, so that was how the early days of farming started out at least with, on my mother's side of the family.

(JP): We talk about agriculture, which I think you were interested in knowing about, so, certainly seen a change in the way things were done, and I can recall as a boy, and of course, all the time before that, everything had to be prepared, you know, plowed, and bedded and everything with a mule, and so I can still remember when we really got our first tractors, and we had one big tractor that did the disking and one smaller tractor to do cultivating work and bedding and stuff like that. And so through the years, there's been a change as far as the equipment, but that's an obvious change that's happened, you know, all over the country, it's an amazing, it's amazing what has happened with all the farming that goes on across the country. As I recall, even when I was growing up, about 10 percent were involved in agriculture, of the population, and of course, in our very very earliest days it was close to 100% people involved in agriculture, not quite, but close to it, and now, I think there's less than 2%. Involved in agriculture, so all that's been due and happened in almost the last 100 years with the efficiencies that come about, it's seemed to developed in geometric proportions, so.

(JP): And 4-H, there was always activities, you know, the 4-H club camps, I attended the University of Florida short courses, as Mary mentioned, the rally days that we had was always different contests, related to that, like swimming contests, like you know, bag races and the like, and different communities competed against each other and got points for each participation and where they placed, you know, in the event

(JP): . . . my father's side of the family, they were here before the 1920's and when my grandfather on my mother's side, they came from Cleveland, and he was a machinist, and even though he came from an agricultural area in Slovenia, he, in this country, like I say, was a machinist in Cleveland

(JP): I think at one time there was somewhere in the neighborhood of 30 to 40 farms, and they were all small vegetable farms, I would say, anywhere from 5 to 20 acres, and those crops were either sold at routes around the various cities in Central Florida, or they formed a cooperative, which, most of the farmers, growers in the area, belong to, and they had a marketing manager there who would make arrangements to ship whatever their crops were at the times to northern markets.

(JP): when we would go to the market, you would have part of it was a lot of work getting there, but it was a social thing with all the vendors, you know, and the customers that you would, that would come from the north for like three months and then leave, and then you'd see the same ones the

next year, Well when you think about food, at least the consumption of it, has always been a social thing for human groups, you know, going all the way back, so I think that when you can bring some of that back in, you know, that community, with the growers and the consumers it's really kind of a neat thing

(JP): Like I was telling you before, we had good and bad years and some of the years were pretty slim, but it seemed like, there was always somebody that would help you out a little bit, we had a lot of exchange of equipment, you know, people wouldn't, other farmers would help out if you needed something, and especially if you were a young famer that didn't have all that stuff. I just have a lot of, I owe a lot, let's put it that way, to people like Bob Jontes, who was a neighbor and he helped me an awful lot, very generous with his time and his advice and equipment, that helped me a lot when I was, you know, not having some of that, you know, so, I'm very appreciative of things like my uncle, my uncle John helped with a lot of things, advice and maintaining equipment and things like that. Gave me a lot of, just taught me a lot, you know. So, I'm very appreciative of that.

(MG): From what you're saying and what some other people have said, it doesn't sound like the famers were competing with one another,

(JP): No

(MG): it sounded like everybody really pulled together.

(JP): Yeah, and a lot of times when, if we didn't have certain crops on the farm, on our particular farm, when my dad had a route, and so forth, somebody would have excess of something and he would sell it for them if he could, you know, his regular customers, in like the Daytona area. And that was true of the rest of them, so, I think they were, everybody did just kind of cooperate very much.

Bill Tomazin interview, 26 May 2014

(BT): . . . yeah, both my grandfathers were blacksmiths . . . Because in Slovenia, they ran out of iron ore in 1904, that's when everybody left, because they had not jobs, but, have you ever been to Slovenia? ... Because, everybody was in the iron industry, I mean they had places in the, they were like water ran and mills and stuff, And they had, mostly they made shovels, knives, we got a lot of that in the barn here, my grandfathers made them, this, you look in the museums over there, these sickles, I got a bunch of them here... But, John Luznar and my grandfather, Joe Tomazin, they were both blacksmiths, but everybody worked in the iron industry over there ... and actually, I've got some tools over here that my grandfather Luznar brought the pattern from Slovenia, I still use them, the same, they're like sweeps, but they're like angle ironed and Uncle Frank gave me the pattern, and I've made some and they work really good ... But he brought them from Slovenia, the pattern, he brought the pattern over with him.

(BT): We've got a thing now, we think it's black rot, but we're not really sure, it's been getting in stuff, we had to send some seeds away to south Florida, and it was like, they raise all kinds of plants down there, seedlings, and we used them before, but this year the plants came back and they were all half rotten and we got this black rot in our ground and its spread all over the fields, so we think that's what it is.

(MG): Like a fungus?

(BT): Yeah, it makes everything, makes the leaves just yellow and blight, one crop to the other. It started in the one part of the field, we had seed beds there where those plants we pulled up and planted over here, see, we didn't know what was going on in the beginning. And now it's pretty much all over the field and we're trying to find out exactly what, if it's black rot or not, then you got to dust the ground all summer and try and kill it . . . But it's just been kind of a disaster, not a disaster, but it's hurt everything this year

(BT): We get things tested every once in a while. If we come up with some kind of, we send it to the University of Florida, and they'll test it and see what it is, whatever particular disease it is, or deficiency or something, but they have a book they put out, it's I got one the thing, the extension service has it over there, and they have a new edition, it comes out every few years but it tells you every crops that's raised in the state of Florida, how to do it and what weed killers to use and what pesticides, what fertilizers, and that's a big help.

(BT): Well, we send up there soil, they run soil samples to see if we need dolomite, or need in the soils, we send it off, everything University of Florida. . . .

(BT): No, it's Huck's field, our field, but we're getting ready to send that thing up to University of Florida to find out for sure what it is and what to do for it.

(BT): Oh yeah, I use that all the time, with the extension service, yeah, they have books that they put out and I tell everybody, if you want to learn anything about farming, get one of those books, if you want to try to grow something here, people come to the market... I say go up to the AG center and ask them about it, and they can get, you can buy one of those books, and they can tell you everything how to do it. What pests and what to watch for, you know, bugs and whatever.

(BT): Oh, I've got to tell you stories of how they did meat.

MG: Meat, to keep it from spoiling?

(BT): Uhuh, they said if they had beef, they would usually have a big cookout and eat the beef and invite everybody around, somebody butchered a calf or something, and they would all eat that night and they would take some meat home, and then the rest of it they would salt to keep it. But the pork, Uncle Frank said they used barrels, they would render all the fat off the hog and then they would cook all, when they cooked everything and keep all the fat, and then they would take a layer of pork chops a layer of roast and they'd put them in the barrel and put the fat over them in the barrel and then just keep making layers and keep putting fat over them, and then you'd pull them out of the fat and just reheat them, it'd keep them from spoiling . . . they were all cooked, but they were immersed in that fat . . . They'd just pull them out and heat them up. So pork they could pretty much keep, but the beef they had to, somebody else would butcher a calf sometime later whatever, beef had to be eaten pretty fast

Observations: Tomazin mentioned his uncle Frank lost his eye as a child from setting blasting caps as the family was removing stumps to clear the land for farming.

Observations: his parents bought two brand-new Farmall tractors when they could afford them--the only new tractors they ever bought. Bill still has the remains of these tractors--they were used and repaired until they couldn't be repaired anymore. He still has several working tractors, newer models for his ongoing farm operation.

Observations: Bill drove a tractor at age 5--it was the first thing he described to me when I got there. He has been working on the farm all his life, and it's how he supported his family. Most of his farm knowledge seems to be experiential, with outside information added as needed.

Observations: as well as the machines themselves, where they are housed is important. Bill showed me the three barns on his property, and pointed out all the areas where timbers had been replaced or tin had been repaired. Much of the tin on the buildings was the original tin from 1963 when these particular barns were built. The timber came from a saw mill his brother operated, and was mostly pine. They did much of the construction work themselves or with family/friends to help.

Observations: he showed me the new automatic seed drill that they bought--it's pulled by a tractor, and automatically digs trenches and plants seeds two rows at a time. The old seeder that they used did not precision measure every seed, and Tomazin had reworked it to mount large metal wheels on it (taken off another machine) so it was more useful in the field. He said the new one was the best investment he'd ever made because of the increased efficiency and reduced waste.

Observations: Bill mentioned learning a lot about farming from George Benedict--he said they would meet up at the lodge hall on a weekend evening, and talk farming over a couple beers.

Ray Wright interview, 6 March 2012

(RW): . . . it's self, a lot of self-gratification. You plant something and it comes up and it grows and you take care of it and you harvest it, and you know, the big thing is, you know, about the money thing is one thing, of course you've got to make money, but you know, the other thing is, you know, there's a lot of coolness, I mean about growing, farming, that people don't realize, you know, you just go out there and grow it and—look what I've done. That's really satisfying, you know, my dad, you know . . . he said "it don't matter how much money you make, it's how you do it. If you do it right, everything will fall into place" Boy what a dreamer he was!

(RW): I was the first one, I'm telling you, it was [unintelligible] said you're the "Broccoli Baron" of Samsula. We'd laugh, we used to laugh about that, that was so funny. Oh lord. That was a lot of good times, man, farming back then.

(RW): But I remember, you know, it was, it was like, everybody'd clean all the fish, remember being a kid and to take them buckets of guts and stuff and put it on somebody's truck and they'd take it bury it around their orange trees. You didn't throw that stuff away! I don't know or they grind it, some people would even grind it up, put it in a compost and this is back in the '50's, '60's, you know, that was before it was even cool, you know.

(RW): That's when my dad broke his back, cranked one of those big old steam one cylinder steam motors we used it for the pump. He put the water in it and cranked it up and pat tat tat tat. . . . he was in Bert Fish Memorial for ten days and traction, and for 50 years he wore a back brace, you know, just tighten it down, that big back brace. He wore it every day.

(RW): It was a big joke, you know, you see somebody with a hamper basket on the back of their truck and . . . didn't have them tied down, they'd just fall off or over. But the old beans went back, I remember beans in the hampers, boy hated beans. . .

(MG): Hated picking them or growing them?

(RW): Picking

(MG): Picking?

(RW): Picking sucks. That was the worst part about farming.

(MG): what kind of crops did you grow over the years?

(RW): Variety. You know, when I really started farming, you know, pretty good, a lot, I was into the wholesale at first, and I grew the same things my dad and John would grow, it was, you know, the cabbage and the peppers, cucumbers, and squash, and wholesaled it, didn't take me long to figure out the only person making money on wholesale was the broker. Because he got 10% right off the top, and there isn't ten percent in farming. But then, that's when the farmers market started coming about. In the early '60's. and we sold to people that had, in farmers markets, you know, and that was cash money. As my dad used to call it, that was green stamps, he said bought groceries with that money. That was, I guess it was in the, when we farmed down at Lake Ashby, it was 698 acres there, but we had 10 acres we called the garden, and we grew carrots and radishes, turnips and you know, mustard and collards and stuff for farmers markets, so we'd have people from the farmers markets.

(RW): Always sold lot Mr. Watson, a lot of cabbage and stuff. Watson's was a big help in this area. ... anyway, the farmer's market come out, that was like a bonanza, and when I got into farming here, I guess, Janey and I moved in here '78, '79 and I started growing stuff for the farmer's markets. And I sold to people that did farmer's markets, you know, and occasionally I'd go to a farmers market. And then I got the idea of why sell it to somebody, they're making all the money, and I'm making peanuts on the crate, started doing the markets, and the rest is history, as they say ... I started the market in New Smyrna, 1990, I started going occasionally, see the one in DeLand on Wednesdays was a big farmers market, that and City Island, see the one at DeLand was the first farmers market ... And that was a big deal, still is. That's a big market, I . . . call it the zoo, because this time of year when all the Yankee snowbirds are down, there's probably 50-60 produce vendors and if they 300, 400, 500 people over there of junk. Garage sales, flea market stuff, Huge flea market, huge. Junk is what I call it. You can get everything you want to get there. But the produce, you know, is, a lot of produce goes through there, a lot. I did that, I guess I started doing that often, but see, it was hard to get in there because it was more of, not a clique, but everybody was there had a spot, you know, sort of reserved, and so you came in they put you back in the back, you know, and then you with seniority you worked your way up, and I guess it's to the point now, I think there's Bill Tomazin, and myself, are probably the two oldest people that still go to that market. And there longest. And Bill had been there since day one. ... Well, I've been there since the '80's, late '80's. And then they started one in New Smyrna and I did that one, you know, New Smyrna.

(RW): That was a big year, we made some money that year. I had four acres of bell peppers over on the other side of that chicken farm when the chicken farm was still up, and they, never been farmed before. I went in there, took me probably two weeks to disk and hardest I could do to get all the weeds out of it, because they kept throwing that manure in there, manure in there, years and years of manure, and there was grass in there and if you manicured it you could have used it for a golf

course, it was just so thick, thick, grass. And I finally got it disked up good enough and I planted peppers over there and I grew some peppers, some of the prettiest peppers I've ever grown in my life. Man, I had four acres over there, and the market was big, I don't know why it was big, I don't know, and I remember, it was working for me then. Gary Grimes and Steve Benton and Richie Bowman, and a couple other guys were working, I had four or five people working every day for me. And 1990, '91, we were hitting our stride then, you know, it was kind of cool, that was after my dad died and everything and I went through a relapse there, you know, after my dad died, you know, and then I said, what am I doing? I've got to work, you know, and then Randle was born and then I said I really got to work now, but we kicked it that year. I mean I hit a pepper [bonanza]. I remember Eddy Pollak, come up to the hospital and he said the boys have been bringing some of the most beautiful peppers I've ever seen in my life, ... I mean it was just, that was a good year. One way or another. Health-wise, it was terrible, but farm-wise it was great.

(RW): And we had men, the Hastings come and dig them with the machine and now back then, that was the cat's ass, that they could come in and just dig the potatoes, but the thing about it was, it would throw out the little potatoes. You know, and at the end of it when it got done, daddy and John would say hey, everybody told everybody come out here all you can have all the potatoes that's left in the field, and it was these little creamers, now they're two dollars a pound, and they were culls back then, because they fell through the machine.

(RW): That's how they built the packing house, they had all kinds of packing machines. . . I remember as a kid going down there and just boxes and boxes of peppers and cucumbers and squash and I remember my dad, well he had ten acres here, and he did bunch radishes and he had a cello wrapper and had wrapped the little bags of cello with the radishes and tops cut off, you know, the machine picked them up and cut them and he built a washer to wash them, he'd take them down to the packing house and put them in the cello things I remember putting them in boxes, cardboard boxes and stacking them up.

(RW): But I remember at the packing house they had train tracks there because they had a freezer car there, a railroad car, that was their cooler . . .

(RW):. . . it was bizarre, I mean, they had boxes here, you made boxes, and I remember back then they used to use bushel baskets instead of boxes, big bushel and hampers, hampers, god people talked about hampers, they don't know what a hamper is anymore. And you pack hampers, and that was a treat

(MG): How much did a hamper hold?

(RW): It's a little bit more than a bushel. And they, and that's why they came out with a bushel and ninth box, because when they did a bushel basket, they'd heap the bushel up so much it would crush the top layer, so they went to they called it the universal box and it was a bushel and a ninth, so you could put the box level and it would still be a bushel and that's why they'd call it a bushel ninth so you could load it up

(RW):. . . and we had cucumbers and peppers, watermelons, we had that field down there at the, behind the old post office, I had cabbage and broccoli, and I cut broccoli out of there and I cut broccoli and cut broccoli and cut broccoli, oh my god, just fast as I could cut it I could sell it.

Because that's back when broccoli became the, found out it was one of the good foods. And I mean, it was a big push on broccoli, and I was the only one sort of who raised broccoli out here, everybody said, you've lost your mind, but I'd read something on broccoli a couple years before, and I swore, how come nobody grows broccoli around here? And I started growing broccoli.

(RW): Now it's got to the point where you, know, they had to do something about the restrictions on the pesticides and everything, but it, if you're careful and know what you're doing, and plant a rotating crops, that's the big thing to do about it, it's just like, the people that raise the strawberries in plant city, around the farm is strawberry fields and every 8 or 10 rows they'll plant a row of the sweet onions, and they call them strawberry onions, but it keeps the bugs out, you know, that's one of the tricks, it's funny, you know, that that works for the strawberries, you know, a lot of things work around here. [] works, try not to plant, oh, your cabbages and stuff next to your broad leaf stuff because the certain bugs will get into the greens, you know, your mustard, turnips, and stuff. Mean, plant your lettuces together with your greens, your mustards, turnips and stuff, and it keeps the white flies away from your cabbage and stuff, because your cucumbers and squash, your mustard and turnips, stuff like that, is prevalent to get white flies.

(RW): As a kid I remember the farms around here. I remember, you know, my dad farmed, the Hafners farmed, the Pleterskis farmed, you know, everybody on this road farmed, and that was so cool because everybody, one person would grow radishes, another would grow onions, and like Mr. Reiter would grow peppers, you know, Reichels would grow onions, you know, it was kind of cool.

(RW): I remember the farm thing though, that was pretty neat. I liked all that. And the people. I remember when we grew up, you know, people were a lot different. Well, if you needed something you went over to the neighbor's house and said oh Len I need a part for my tractor or can you help me do this? Here you go, let's see what we can do, if they couldn't do it they'd go to somebody else and ah well, you can go over to Hafner's, they don't got it, so well, go over and talk to Jack Pleterski, he may have it, you know. Or run down to Tomazins or something, he may have some fertilizer you need, or seeds, you know. And he plants something or another seeds you go run somebody's you know, it was cool.

(RW): I remember we filled bushel baskets and bushel baskets full of potatoes, and put them in the barn and we'd have them all summer, because you didn't clean them, you left them dirty, and everybody in Samsula had, we talked about that for years, everybody had potatoes, you know, that was one of the things that was kind of cool about this community. You know, when you got through with a field you'd say, you'd tell everybody we're done with this field, come on and pick what you want.

(RW):. . . that was back when it was going wide open out here, you know, they had the packing house, we had our own co-op, they did. You know, and, well it was a big time thing for agriculture in Samsula. I mean, big time, it was probably 20 different farms, you know, they were, some of them were four acres, some of them were 20, but they were all vital, I mean, you know, everybody grew something, you know. And it weren't for the co-op, you know.

(RW): I remember you know, you know as good as I do, back in the day, back when we were kids, there was somebody somewhere would be going fishing . . . or somebody would be having something to eat, and there would be always a fish fry at the hall, or somebody would have a potluck dinner.

**APPENDIX K:
EXTENSION SERVICE ANALYSIS**

Explanation of codes: The spreadsheets are color-coded to distinguish the data criteria. These same colors are used in the graphs associated with this data. The data was sorted according to these categories, with totals at the bottom of the sheet. Data items consist of quotes taken directly from transcripts or documents. The first column identifies the interview subject or source document (all of these sources are listed in the List of References at the end of this document). The second column contains the citation, and the data is encoded as “1” in one of the following categories:

Farmer identity
Experiential
New Tech
Ext. Svc. Teaching
Farmer to ext svc teaching
Genre use
Farmer to farmer Collaboration
Outside information
Svc to svc teach-learn

The header, with these categories, is repeated on each sheet of the dataset to make connecting codes and quotes easier. Entries are arranged first by code heading, then chronologically within that code subgroup.

source	Extension Service Data										
		Farmer Identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext. svc teaching	Ext. Svc. Teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn	
Nettles, 1939	District Agents Report, Central & Southern FL: "One of the biggest jobs in Extension work is after the real need is located, to get folks to really want to solve the problem bad enough to get out and work and make some real sacrifice to accomplish the aims of the program" (1)	1									
Extension Director's Report, 1937	County Agent Leader Reports: "Personal Problems: In spite of all the academic training a man may have, when he gets out in the field as a county agent he has lots of things to learn, making friends, creating confidence, enlisting cooperation and engendering enthusiasm are among the few things a new county agent has to learn" (33)		1								
Nettles, 1939	District Agents Report, Central & Southern FL: talks about developing the "personality" to do the job of ext. agent: "New agents, full of a lot of information they think is good, have to be taught the necessity of creating confidence, making friends, engendering enthusiasm, enlisting cooperation and learning how to take criticism and not lose sight of their goal" (2)		1								
Baetzman, 1943	"Most of the vegetables [sic] growing takes place in the Samsula area, DeLeon Springs, Seville, and around the edge of Lake George. Competition with the Okechobee section has reduced this acreage to a minimum in [sic] getting smaller each year. Truck growers supply local markets only and do not make carload shipments to northern markets as in the past, except cabbage" (5)		1								
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "New varieties did not turn out to be much better than standard varieties, and in some instances were not up to standard varieties. Truck crop farmers in Volusia County practiced a diversified program of 12 to 25 garden varieties of vegetables, with major emphasis on special crops, such as watermelons, cantaloupes, cabbage, lettuce, peppers, tomatoes, cauliflower and sweet corn" (20)		1								
Townsend and Luttrell, 1958	Volusia County report: "There is one small but extensive vegetable growing area in the county. The community of Samsula has about 30 families engaged in truck farming. Most all of the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The Agent served as advisor to the Cooperative and has worked through the Cooperative to promote the latest methods of control of insect and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latest information on varieties and best cultural practices. Only a few growers made money in 1957-58 as all the majors crops were lost due to extensive cold or high water. The Agents gave as much assistance as possible with their problems" (7)		1								
Townsend, 1960	Volusia County report: "Only a few growers made their cost of production in 1959-60 as all the majors crops were lost due to extensive cold or high water. The Agents gave as much assistance as possible with their problems. This vegetable area is declining due to competition from large vegetable farms located in the southern part of the State." (7)		1								
Stauderman, 2014 interview	We also offer our kids camps for children, so it's not only with growers, we also have growers come in and help teach these programs, so I also put them to use as my volunteers, so we have that for the youth.		1								
Extension Director's Report, 1928	Extension Director Annual Reports: "Soils--recognizing the problem of soil variation and the necessity of soil building the work done under the soils project has been primarily to increase the productiveness. This must be done economically and through the turning of cover crops" (1-2)			1							

source	Extension Service Data	Farmer Identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext. svc. teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Extension Director's Report, 1934	North & Central Florida District Supervisor's Report: "The use of commercial fertilizers is one of the greatest factors in Florida in the handling of soils for productive purposes" (47) --refers to taking of samples by ext. agents			1					
Extension Director's Report, 1934	North & Central Florida District Supervisor's Report: talks about "manganese and copper sulphate" enabling growers to produce vegetables "grown to perfection, where before the using of manganese these vegetables could not be produced" (48)			1					
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "Truck Crops: The Florida Easy Coast Growers' Cooperative completed its second successful season. Trucking acreages increased in 1950, with the addition of many new tractors and special equipment" (9)			1					
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "Conversion of practically all vegetable farms to tractor farming was accomplished, except on some muck tracts" (20)			1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "Truck Crops: The Florida East Coast Grower's Cooperative completed its third successful season. Trucking acreages increased in 1951, with the addition of many new tractors and special equipment" (9)			1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "Conversions of practically all vegetable farms to tractor farming was accomplished, except on some muck tracts last year. Most of the Agent's efforts this year have been on introduction of new varieties and crops" (21)			1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "New materials under various trade names were used, and most growers stayed thoroughly confused throughout the year. New materials only did part of the work claimed by them, and were affected by weather condition just as much as were old standby materials. However, growers managed to save their crops in most instances. Chlordane in fertilizer was outstanding in mole-cricket and cut-worm control in seed beds. DDT 25% oil emulsion were good in controlling sweet corn 'bud' and 'ear' worms" (21)			1					
Townsend and Luttrell, 1954	Volusia County Annual Report: "Vegetables: There is one small but extensive vegetable growing area in the county. The community of Samsula has but forty families engaged in truck farming. Most all the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The agent served as advisor to the cooperative and has worked through the cooperative to promote the latest methods in the control of insect and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latest information on varieties and best cultural practices. Seedbed fumigation with Methyl Bromide and variety demonstrations were setup. (5)			1					

source	Extension Service Data	Farmer identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Ext. Svc. Teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Stauderman, 2014 interview	Whatever comes down the pipe that's new, they should be teaching the growers on what the new technologies are, what to avoid or what's coming up, what the new restriction and regulations are, and that includes the pesticide training and all that, so their mostly the teachers as well as the motivators as well as beating the bushes and letting the growers know that they're out there and it, coming as a recognizable force so that they know where to go to if there is a situation, the growers can come to the office and realize that we're a safe haven, we are not enforcement, and if we don't know the answer, we can direct them to somewhere up the chain at UF where we can possibly help them.			1						
Extension Director's Report, 1934	"...the county agents work continually with these growers in assisting them to work out their fertilizer program" (48)				1					
1944 Report	state report: "Since discharged veterans were already returning to the State during 1944 Report, many of whom were interested in farming, veterans' advisory committees were set up for the State and in all cooperating counties, under the direction of the Extension Service. Membership is composed of county agents, AAA representatives, farmers and others capable of giving sound suggestions to returning veterans and other who wish to farm" (8)				1					
Baetzman, 1946	Volusia County Annual Report: "Veterans training in agriculture. . . This plan will enable many veterans to acquire the knowledge necessary for useful farming who otherwise would be unable to obtain an agricultural education" (23)				1					
Perry, 1949	District Annual Narrative report: "At these meetings research workers from the Everglades Experiment Station and the Sub-tropical Experiment Station, as well as a representative of the USDA from Ft. Lauderdale, were present to discuss with the many topics that are of particular concern at the beginning of the planting season. A county agent was in charge of the meetings and the Extension Vegetable Specialist was moderator." (3)				1					
Perry, 1949	District Annual Narrative report: "4-H Club Activities: One of the most important phases of Agricultural Extension work is the 4-H Club Program. This program fits rural boys and girls to be good farmers and homemakers, to be good and useful citizens, to be good Americans" (9)				1					
Jamison, 1949	Annual Narrative Report of Vegetable Crops Specialist: "Black rot of cabbage appeared in near epidemic form last season. Hot-water treatment was suggested and at least 5000 pounds of seed were so treated for the current season. Where untreated seed were planted, black-rot is not present and it is anticipated that either treated or disease-free see will be used on approximately 90 percent of the cabbage acreage by another season. The almost universal use of methods recommended for ear-worm control on sweet corn, and many other insects and diseases, illustrate quite well the acceptance of improved methods as suggested by the Agricultural Extension Service" (4)				1					

source	Extension Service Data									
		Farmer Identity	Experiential	New Tech	Ext. Svc. Teaching	Farmer to ext. svc. teaching	Farmer to Farmer Collab.	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Townsend and Platt, 1949	Volusia County Annual Report: "Production problems: Irrigation and drainage are essential. The Agent has assisted many growers in over coming water control problems. Diseases and Insects: The Agent has advised and demonstrated proper use of new improved insecticides and fungicides. Disease and insects have in most instances been held under satisfactory control" (20)					1				
Townsend and Platt, 1949	Volusia County Annual Report: "The membership of 275 boys carried a total of 322 projects of which 270 were completed. Projects carried by members wereL corn, peanuts, conservation, Irish potatoes, Sweet potatoes, citrus, gardens, poultry, dairy cattle, beef cattle, swine, goats, rabbits, bees, forestry, wildlife, tractor maintenance, leadership, nursery, bulbs, farm safety, and better methods" (24)					1				
Townsend and Platt, 1949	Volusia County Annual Report: "Eleven outstanding boys won scholarships to the Short Course which were donated by the DeLand, Daytona Beach, and New Smyrna Beach Kiwanis Clubs; New Smyrna Beach Lions Club and DeLand Beach Chamber of Commerce. Also the Board of County Commissioners of Volusia County. The course was held June 6-11 at the University of Florida in Gainesville. The boys attending the Short Course from Volusia County were: . . . and L.E. Crider, Samsula" (24)					1				
Townsend and Platt, 1949	Volusia County Annual Report: local Samsula 4-H winners show the different kinds of agricultural literacies learned through the 4-H programs: "Jimmy Machek, Samsula, Better Methods in Electricity" (National winner); "George Arnold . . . Garden; . . . Johnny Reichel, Jr. . . Senior Dairy; . . . Barney Bowman... Tractor Maintenance" (27)					1				
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "Growers needed a meeting to discuss production problems and varieties. This opportunity was provided by the Agent" (19)					1				
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "Irrigation and drainage were major problems worked on by the Agent" (20)					1				
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "New materials under various trade names were used, and most growers stayed thoroughly confused throughout the year. New materials only did part of the work claimed for them, and were affected by weather condition just as much as were old standby materials. . . Chlordane in fertilizer was outstanding in mole-cricket and cut-worm control in seed beds. D.D.T. 25% oil emulsions were good in controlling sweet corn 'bud' and 'ear' worms" (20)					1				
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "The Agent in cooperation with Agents in Seminole, Lake and Orange counties, Extension workers, and Experiment Stations, together, held a Vegetable Field Day in Sanford which was well attended by Volusia County growers" (20)					1				
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: Thirteen outstanding boys won scholarships to the Short Course which was donated by the DeLand, Daytona Beach, and New Smyrna Beach Kiwanis Clubs; New Smyrna Beach Lions Club; DeLand and New Smyrna Beach Chambers of Commerce; and the Board of County Commissioners of Volusia County. The course was held June 12-17, at the University of Florida in Gainesville. The boys attending the Short Course from Volusia County were: . . . John Roy Pleterski, Samsula" (25)					1				

source	Extension Service Data	Farmer Identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext.svc teaching	Ext. Svc. Teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "Growers needed a meeting to discuss production problems and varieties. This opportunity was provided by the Agent" (20)				1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "Irrigation and drainage were major problems worked on by the Agent" (21)				1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "The Agent in cooperation with Agents in Seminole, Brevard, Lake and Orange counties, Extension workers, and Experiment Stations, together, held a Vegetable Meeting in Orlando which was attended by some Volusia County growers" (20)				1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "The membership of 274 boys carried a total of 336 projects of which 270 were completed. Projects carried by members were as follows: Corn, peanuts, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, citrus, gardening, poultry, dairy, beef, swine, goats, rabbits, bees, forestry, nursery, bulbs, Safety, Better Methods, Home Beautification, Soil Conservation, and Tractor Maintenance" (25)				1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "Twelve outstanding boys won scholarships to the Short Course which were donated by the DeLand, Daytona Beach and New Smyrna Beach Kiwanis Clubs; New Smyrna Beach Lions Club; DeLand and New Smyrna Beach Chambers of Commerce; and the Board of County Commissioners of Volusia County. The Short Course was held June 12-17, at the the University of Florida in Gainesville. The boys attending the Short Course from Volusia County were: John Roy Pleterski, Johnny Reichel, Jr., Neal Nabakowski, all of Samsula; ..." (25)				1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "Mr. Joe Benedict, adult leader, and Johnny Reichel, Jr., junior leader of the Samsula 4-H club, along with the Agent and Assistant Agent, represented Volusia County at the State Tractor Maintenance School held at Camp McQuarrie, September 4-5, under the direction of Jack Johnson, Extension Engineer. Joe Benedict and Johnny Reichel, Jr., took a very active part in the Volusia County Tractor Maintenance school. The county school was conducted at the S.N.P.J. Lodge at Samsula, on November 4, Townsend and Platt, 1951. 16 4-H boys and 20 parents from the county attended the school" (27)				1					
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: (under 4-H Achievements): "10 Judging Teams were trained. . . 10 Demonstration Teams were trained. . . 8 lessons were taught to each club in the latest and best methods in agriculture" (27)				1					
Townsend and Luttrell, 1954	Volusia County Annual Report: "A vegetable clinic was held in Samsula in October. Forty-three farmers attended the clinic. Specialists of the Experiment Station and the Extension Service were on hand to help the farmers with their problems" (5)				1					
Townsend and Luttrell, 1954	Volusia County Annual Report: "A 4-H club boy from Samsula won a trip to the 4-H Congress in Chicago as a reward for winning the State 4-H Garden contest" (5)				1					

source	Extension Service Data									
		Farmer identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Ext. Svc. Teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Townsend and Luttrell, 1954	Volusia County Annual Report: "John Roy Pleterski of Samsula, was the state winner in Gardening and is to be awarded an expense paid trip to the National 4-H Club Congress in Chicago, also making this trip will be Joe Benedict III of Samsula, state winner in Tractor Maintenance, and Jackie Pleterski of Samsula, state winner in the Farm and Home Safety Award Program. . . Jackie Pleterski of Samsula, also won the State Tractor Driving Contest, and was presented a gold watch and also received an expense paid trip to Richmond Virginia where he represented the State of Florida in Atlantic States Operators Contest which was held in conjunction with Rural Exposition. Jackie placed eighth in this contest" (8)					1				
Townsend and Luttrell, 1955	Volusia County Annual Report: "There is one small but extensive vegetable growing area in the county. The community of Samsula has but forty families engaged in truck farming. Most all the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The Agent served as advisor to the cooperative and has worked through the cooperative to promote the latest methods in the control of insects and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latent information on varieties and best cultural practices. Seedbed fumigation with Methyl Bromide and variety demonstrations were setup. The entire lettuce crop was wiped out by Sclerotinis" (6)					1				
Townsend and Luttrell, 1955	Volusia County Annual Report: "Outstandin 4-H Club boys receiving gold medals for having the most outstanding project in Volusia 4-H were . . . [from Samsula] Rudy Hafner--Garden, Ernest Hafner--Farm and Home Safety, Robert Hart--Meat Animal, Joe Tomazin, III--Tractor Maintenance, Jack Pleterski--Leadership" (7)					1				
Townsend and Luttrell, 1955	Volusia County Annual Report: "The agents were able to assist farmers producing such crops as cucumbers, watermelons, and clover pastures by explaining and demonstrating the part bees play in the pollination of these crops. A demonstration was set up on a clover pasture in Samsula" (7)					1				
1956 Report	Florida state report: "Youth Work--All staff members in Florida devote a portion of their time to 4-H Club and other youth work. A major effort is given by all in concerted action to provide the youth of the state, and especially the rural youth, with an opportunity to improve themselves through work with agricultural or home economics projects, by following better health practices, by participation in community or county projects, and active participation in citizenship affairs." (11)					1				
1956 Report	Florida state report: "Planning and Management of the Farm Business . . . Individuals assisted with 20,955" (13)					1				
1956 Report	Florida state report: "It has been conservatively estimated that educational work by the Extension Service will result in social security benefits being received by at least 600 families who otherwise would not have qualified" (17) (education in other areas besides planting/growing)					1				
Townsend and Luttrell, 1958	Volusia County report: 4-H Club special awards to Samsula boys: "Frank Benedict...Boys Agricultural Gardening, Tractor Maintenance, Soil Conservation; Robert Reichel...Junior Garden; Robert Hart...Tractor Maintenance" (12)					1				

source	Extension Service Data								
		Farmer identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Townsend, 1960	Volusia County report: "Volusia County held their annual Public Speaking Contest in DeLand and the Tractor Operators and Electric Reading Lamp Contest in Samsula during April" (10)				1				
Stauderman, 2014 interview	[the extension service is] the liaison between the university and the grower, at least in my current position, it can also be the university and the homeowner, but in my current position is with the grower, so I think that they work together with the farmers as well as with the scientist in trying to find practical ways on helping the farmer make a profitable endeavor in whatever crop he's growing. We don't push it in any direction; we don't endorse any particular product. We are simply looking to see what works on the particular situation, whether it's a disease control, fertilizer control, or helping to improve crop production, so there, I feel as their the liaison.				1				
Stauderman, 2014 interview	They spent more time back then, one on one with the farmer. Now a days we have the electronic communication, so it's not, you don't have to make field visits as often, and they can get a hold of you through email, through phone calls, so it has not been, and with budget cuts, we don't have the ability to go out to the homeowners or with farming as much. That's about all I can say on that historically				1				
Stauderman, 2014 interview	We have different kinds of workshops and I always keep trying to change it up. My pesticide training, for instance, ... I work with the commercial growers, and commercial growers are just like anybody else, they at times want to be entertained and they want to play, but I don't mean that in a bad sense, I mean they want to be stimulated on hands on things, unconventional ideas, and so from our regular pesticide training they would come in and they had a classroom setting and they would sit and watch a PowerPoint and then take a test and leave, or sit there through the class. We've changed it up this year, we've, some of the things we've done is holiday-ize them, so we have a thing-tastic Halloween program which is matter of fact what I'm working now, we had a themed Halloween, and so our power points were Halloween themed, we had a Halloween themed lunch, we gave out pesticide gift bags based on Halloween, and they enjoyed it. ... things like that, so it nearly tripled, 200% increased on our attendance, so they're starting to come to these fun related pesticide trainings, ... so it'll be more hands on, physical, so those are the things that they've responded to positively				1				
Stauderman, 2014 interview	...we also offer those state of the art types of things and bring in speakers from all over the state, especially with University to speak to them				1				

source	Extension Service Data	Farmer Identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Ext. Svc. Teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Genetic use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Stauderman, 2014 interview	Theirs [4-H] is more structured like at a camp site, or our 4H agent might have a day camp and we would offer master gardeners would teach, or we would teach in any way we can, with her camps, the camp that we have, we had junior master gardener camp, or summer, Ag summer day camp over the summer in the past, it's just been all the agents get together and somebody speaks on an hour and an hour and it's kind of changing a little bit just for the general public. We have one coming up in July, it's a three day camp. 8, 9, and 10 year olds are going to be doing an Ag camp and I've asked the growers for the first time since I've been in this position, to help us teach this, so the grower's children will come out and they'll get volunteer hours from the school because they need a certain amount in order to graduate, and then a lot of them just to help out with man power, we'll have other agents of different disciplines teach the students for a certain amount of time or hours, because we all have to do our share for children, and so, and we have crafts and we serve lunch and we do charge because we need, it's not, we're a non-profit					1				
Stauderman, 2014 interview	We have, 4H is so vast that the agent [Laura Cash] can specify what they want to put the direction of their program into, their emphasis, so she does a lot shooting sports, she'll have sheep, she'll have perhaps chicken and they judge those, photographs, so the produce rating is just one of many, they have the citrus trees, so all the students would have a citrus tree and they grow that up for an entire year and then the sell that at the fair, so they make money to go to school, same with the beef cattle that grow that up ... As far as produce judging, she doesn't do that here, but that's just a matter of her preference and time involved. She doesn't have any help because the budget has been cut, so all she has it what is available, but she has all that stuff and photos and everything					1				
Townsend, 1960	Volusia County report: Medal winners from Samsula: "Frank Benedict...Achivement; Chuck Hall...Agriculture; Lonnie Ramsey...Electric; Chuck Hall...Electirc; Chuck Hall...Entomology; Frank Benedict...Garden; George Benedict...Garden; Frank Benedict...Tractor; George Benedict...Tractor" (11)					1				
Stauderman, 2014 interview	What kind of knowledge do farmers bring to you in the interactions? Well they have the real world experience, which is wonderful. They tell me what works and what doesn't work, what the issues are, where are their price costs that they need to make it cheaper, they are invaluable, without them I wouldn't be able to find out, you know, what, some of the pulse of the problems these days. They give me feedback on some of the experimental projects that we're doing, we have, case in point, I have a fern trial that we're working at a growers farm without his fernery, I'm not able to run whether or not the product works or not, so that's helped an awful lot as a resource for me to run some of these trials and to help them out.								1	

source	Extension Service Data	Farmer identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Farmer to Farmer Collab	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Stauderman, 2014 interview	So compared with what happens at the experiment station, how would you describe that transition from the trial of the experiment station to the trial in the field? Because it's real life. The farmer will go out and spray exactly what the farmer would go out and spray. He's cost effective, he's not going to spray just because he wants to, because the farmers these days, they aren't stupid, you know, they know when to do it, and experimental station, all the situation is too perfect. So you'll have an every single time, somebody is always there watching it or babysitting it and you know, they don't have, in some cases, the real life tools, or you know, the makeshift tools that not every grower has the state of the art. So these growers will do it more of reality, so that's, you can't get that anywhere else.						1		
Stauderman, 2014 interview	we've done a lot of those things and won awards for all those things, but this time we have growers involved, they've promised to help bring their implements and show what a disk is, show what a bedmaker, all these kinds of stuff are so the kids can actually see it, and then talk about what these crops are, maybe make something and have them taste it, so						1		
Recommendations, 1921	Committee on Publicity: "The posting of bulletins, running professional cards and the establishment of bulletin boards on which may be run announcements of meetings, want, for sale, and exchange notices, etc., and the running of slides in the moving picture shows and signs on cars, offices, residence yards and other places of headquarters of the agent will go far toward placing this work before the public" (1)						1		
Recommendations, 1921	"The holding of field meetings and demonstrations as well as adult farmers' schools covering the topics then under consideration, in the plans of the year's work to which the local editor was occasionally [sic] invited is a good way of obtaining publicity . . . The submitting of regular monthly reports to both boards, the County Commissioners and Public Instruction, will keep the activities of the Extension worker before the men disbursing the county funds and making appropriations for the next year's work" (2)						1		
Extension Director's Report, 1937	County Agent Leader Reports: program to encourage keeping of farm records--already established citrus, Irish potatoes, farm flock and dairy record keeping " ...and a new vegetable record has been presented to the vegetable growers" (38)						1		
Nettles, 1939	District Agents Report, Central & Southern FL: "To accomplish this we hold committee meetings, group meetings, make radio talks, write news letters, send out mimeograph letters and make personal visits" (1)						1		
Nettles, 1939	District Agents Report, Central & Southern FL: Farm records: "Our farm record work is growing in interest under the guidance of our Agricultural Economics Department ...The plan we have of analyzing these records from the growers and pointing out to him the weak as well as the strong points in his modus operandi have appealed to him very much...We plan the coming year to do this work with a number of vegetable growers in the winter vegetable section" (3)						1		

source	Extension Service Data	Farmer identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Farmer to farmer Collab	Gene use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Silver Anniversary, 1939	Silver Anniversary Report: Bulletins and Circulars: "Manuscripts for bulletins, circulars and miscellaneous publications are prepared carefully by the authors, and are then checked by Experiment Station specialists in the field covered by each bulletin, as well as the Vice-Director of Extension and others. When the manuscripts reach the Editor they have been thoroughly checked for accuracy of subject matter" (17)						1		
Silver Anniversary, 1939	Silver Anniversary Report: "All weekly and a few daily newspapers in Florida were served by a weekly clipsheet containing from eight to 12 or more items relating to agricultural work and recommendations by the Extension Service, Experiment Station and other agencies. Newspapers reprinted this material generously, showing a keen interest in agriculture and its problems" (18)						1		
Silver Anniversary, 1939	Silver Anniversary Report: 4-H training in writing: "On request of home demonstration agents the Extension Editor conducted two one-day training courses for reporters in girls' 4-H clubs . . . Newspapers receive and use more material where such courses have been conducted" (18)						1		
Silver Anniversary, 1939	Silver Anniversary Report: district agent's activities included "115 days in office attending to correspondence, working out plans for promotion of work and making out monthly and annual reports" (25)						1		
Silver Anniversary, 1939	Silver Anniversary Report: Farm Record Books: "One book is intended for those who desire to keep detailed records by enterprises. The other book is arranged for chronological entries only and provides for monthly and annual summaries. It is intended for use on small farms. . . The vocational agriculture teachers of the state have adopted the book for use for adult projects during 1940" (27). "it is hoped that records of the same 70 farmers [who participated in 1938] may be secured for the 1939 crop year" (28)						1		
1944 Report	Florida state report: "...assisted farmers with their appeals, applications for certificates of necessity, and allocations of gasoline for farm trucks; assisted farmers in making applications for the purchase of farm trucks; reviewed and placed their recommendations on such applications; made recommendations to OPA regarding off-the-highway gasoline for farm use and furnished letters of recommendation to farmers for the purchase of surplus Army trucks and other equipment" (16)						1		
1944 Report	Florida state report: "Bulletins, circulars, record books, charts, window cards and other supplies are distributed from the Mailing Room, the bulletins and circulars going to all county and home agents and to others on request. Ninety-eight agents in 62 counties reported that they distributed 182,991 bulletins of all kinds" (18)						1		
1944 Report	Florida state report: "Farm Records.--Farm record books have been supplied to more than 2,000 farmers and assistance has been given to many of them in entering inventories and otherwise posting their books. Noted improvement has been made by farmers in their record keeping during 1944 Report as a result of their realization of the advantages to be obtained from accurate records when they compute income tax returns. . . Approximately 6,000 copies of 'Farm Bookkeeping and the Federal Income Tax' were distributed to farmers. More than 1,100 farmers have been personally assisted with their income tax returns by county agents and the Farm Management Specialist" (24)						1		

source	Extension Service Data									
		Farmer Identity	Experiential	New Tech	Ext. Svc. Teaching	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Farmer to farmer Collab.	Genre Use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Perry, 1949	Annual Narrative Report of Vegetable Crops Specialist: "a comprehensive program for presentation to the Vegetable Section of the Florida State Horticultural Society and the Florida Seedsmen's Association, while an active part was taken in presenting production material to the annual meeting of the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association" (1)							1		
Jamison, 1949	Annual Narrative Report of Vegetable Crops Specialist: "In most of the cases [meeting with individual farmers] it was a question of furnishing additional subject-matter information" (3)							1		
Jamison, 1949	Annual Narrative Report of Vegetable Crops Specialist: "Material prepared for assistance of agents.--Mimeographed material giving variety recommendations was prepared and released. While material on fertilizer recommendations is being prepared at the request of the Specialist, a number of publications are being prepared on a number of subjects" (3)							1		
Townsend and Platt, 1949	Volusia County Annual Report: "Project work: . . Applications for payment were submitted. A total of 501 applications, or 76% were submitted out of 656 worksheets" (20)							1		
Townsend and Platt, 1949	Volusia County Annual Report: "Forty-eight boys were selected to go to Camp on the basis of project work and record books" (24)							1		
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "A total of 524 applications, or 78.9% were submitted out of 664 worksheets. . . Plans were completed with County Officials to re-map the County by aerial photos this winter" (21)							1		
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "As of July more than half the worksheet signors had reported. . . A remarkable number of farmers had reported liming and pasture building programs well underway or completed" (21)							1		
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "Forty-eight boys were selected to go to Camp on the basis of project work and record books" (25)							1		
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "Orientation charts on new insecticides and new fungicides were made and distributed to all vegetable farmers to guide them in choosing materials" (21)							1		
1956 Report	Florida state report: "The Farm Management Specialist gave major attention to outlook, income tax, social security and farm accounting"--several publications attended this work, the "mimeographed Florida Agricultural Outlook, Economic Series 56-2," and "Looking Ahead for Florida Agriculture"; both "served as reference material for growers and ranchers in production planning" according to this report							1		

source	Extension Service Data	Farmer identity	Experiential	New Tech	Ext. Svc. Teaching	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn
Stauderman, 2014 interview	I use email a lot, right, and the print media also, the television show that I also promote the extension, I also go visit the farmers, I also provide educational programs in the various locations I'll offer something in Daytona, something in Pearson, so I try to bring them together, as the community is spread out, I try to at least localize those specialties. The sports turf will be in Daytona, the fern growers are in Pearson, here in Deland we hit most people that are either starting a business or some pesticide training, so it depends on where it's located and what the venue is. We offer educational conferences here, workshops, so I communicate through my listserve, I'll communicate, again, print media, television again, things like that							1		
Stauderman, 2014 interview	So how do you advertise these events? I'm shameless, I go everywhere. I hit newsletters, I hit the newspaper, we have a county, a county affiliation, and she takes that out to the mass media, to the newspapers and if they like it, they'll pick it up. I have websites, social medias, my commercial hort website as well as our county has a website, the county extension office, so everybody's office is part of it, so we announce our classes there ... We'll send it out to fellow colleagues to spread it out through the central district, and then we'll list serve everybody, send it out to our list serve and I'll throw people some emails, let them know what's coming up, and then FOX news sometimes comes out and they'll feature, they'll have a reporter come out and feature that too, if it's a slow news day, they'll come out ... But yeah, we, and then I send it out to Southeast Ag net if it's citrus, and then I'll send it out to the leader, which is a publication through farm credit, and that goes throughout the state of Florida, so we have several different avenues, I brought my list of some editors I send it to make them put it out and then to other organizations. The pomegranate association or the blueberry association and I'll say hey we've got this They all have their own newsletters? Yes, so we'll send it to the agents who write for that and say hey, can you push this? So, yeah							1		
Nettles, 1936	District & Leader Reports: "Farmers are learning that their problems of production and marketing are not merely local problems but entail the cooperation of [o]ther faremrs as well as business interests"; Farmers are learning to think and act collectively and are gradually forgetting their rugged individualism when it becomes necessary to act as a group" (55-56)								1	
Townsend and Platt, 1949	Volusia County Annual Report: "Truck Crops: Acreage increased in 1949, partly due to a new vegetable cooperative formed in the Samsula area. New machinery and improved labor conditions made vegetable growing more encouraging" (9)								1	
Townsend and Platt, 1949	Volusia County Annual Report: "The East Coast Vegetable Cooperative Association was formed and functioned in the Samsula Area in 1949. Peppers was the principle crop handled. Gross sales were over \$45,000.00 for a short spring season. Savings on farm cooperative purchases amounted to almost \$10,000.00" (20)								1	
Townsend and Platt, 1950	Volusia County Annual Report: "Truck Crops: The Florida Easy Coast Growers' Cooperative completed its second successful season. Trucking acreages increased in 1950, with the addition of many new tractors and special equipment" (9)								1	

Source	Extension Service Data											
		Farmer Identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext svc teaching	Farmer to farmer teaching	Gene use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn			
Townsend and Platt, 1951	Volusia County Annual Report: "Vegetable growers enjoyed working together under the East Coast Vegetable Cooperative Association for the third year. Gross sales of this cooperative exceeded \$80,000.00 and reported saving growers about \$28,050.00 in purchases alone" (20)									1		
Townsend and Luttrell, 1954	Volusia County Annual Report: "Vegetables: There is one small but extensive vegetable growing area in the county. The community of Samsula has but forty families engaged in truck farming. Most all the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The agent served as advisor to the cooperative and has worked through the cooperative to promote the latest methods in the control of insect and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latest information on varieties and best cultural practices. Seedbed fumigation with Methyl Bromide and variety demonstrations were setup. (5)									1		
Townsend and Luttrell, 1955	Volusia County Annual Report: "There is one small but extensive vegetable growing area in the county. The community of Samsula has but forty families engaged in truck farming. Most all the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The Agent served as advisor to the cooperative and has worked through the cooperative to promote the latest methods in the control of insects and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latent information on varieties and best cultural practices. Seedbed fumigation with Methyl Bromide and variety demonstrations were setup. The entire lettuce crop was wiped out by Sclerotinis" (6)									1		
Townsend and Luttrell, 1958	Volusia County report: "There is one small but extensive vegetable growing area in the county. The community of Samsula has about 30 families engaged in truck farming. Most all of the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The Agent served as advisor to the Cooperative and has worked through the Cooperative to promote the latest methods of control of insect and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latest information on varieties and best cultural practices. Only a few growers made money in 1957-58 as all the majors crops were lost due to extensive cold or high water. The Agents gave as much assistance as possible with their problems" (7)									1		
Townsend, 1960	Volusia County report: "There is one small but extensive vegetable producing area in the county. The community of Samsula has about 30 families engaged in truck farming. Most all of the vegetable growers are members of a Cooperative. The Agent served as advisor to the Cooperative and has worked through the Cooperative to promote the latest methods of control of insect and diseases of vegetables and to disseminate the latest information on varieties and best cultural practices. " (7)									1		
Jamison, 1949	Annual Narrative Report of Vegetable Crops Specialist: "assisted with and participate in special sectional meetings held with the Seed and Fertilizer dealers in Marion County and in West and North Florida"										1	
Stauderman, 2014 interview	I also have programs for new growers in which I bring in a sponsor, the sponsor talks a little bit about what kind of products they have available or kind of perhaps insurance they have available for new growers, and they'll come in and we'll talk about protective horticulture structures, that's just a standard classroom program with power points and speakers and then we also have displays about what's available.										1	

source	Extension Service Data									
		Farmer identity	Experiential	New Tech	Farmer to ext.svc teaching	Farmer to farmer Collab	Genre use	Outside information	Svc to svc teach-learn	
Extension Director's Report, 1933	District Supervisor's report: "The county agents look to the specialists [from the college Experiment Station] for guidance and direction in their more important and difficult problems" (8)									1
Jamison, 1949	Annual Narrative Report of Vegetable Crops Specialist: "Two area training schools for County Agents were held. . . The other, at the Maint Station, Gainesville, was attended by Agents from the important vegetable counties of North and Central Florida. At these meetings intensive instruction was given by research workers on the more important developments in varieties, fertilizer, fungicides, insecticides and other phases of production" (1)									1
1956 Report	Florida state report: "Personnel Training: A series of one- or two-day area training conferences was held with county and home demonstration agents to give the agents new research information available in the more important fields of work. These training conferences included only subject matter recognized as of major concern to agents in a given area. The agents were enthusiastic about this system of training and are asking for "repeats" on this type of school during the coming year. In addition, specialists continue to provide agents with new information through the usual channels of communication" (10)									1
Stauderman, 2014 interview	I worked together with my farm bureau partners as well as the state and national promotional boards and the facts (?) office with Adam Putnam's office, and we celebrated strawberries in Central Florida. Do we grow strawberries here in Volusia County, a little bit, but you would never know by the program, we have the strawberry mascot come out and we hand out strawberries and we ask the people questions, do you like to buy local?									1
Stauderman, 2014 interview	I'm a member of Florida state Hort. society, I'm a member of FNGLA, Florida Nursery Growers and Landscape Association, ASHS, American Society of Horticultural Sciences, member of Florida FACAA, Florida Agricultural . . . And then NACAA, Florida Strawberry Grower's Association, and Florida Wine Growers Association. And if there are any more, I can't remember. [her identity, not the farmers]									
Stauderman, 2014 interview	I went to University of Florida at their research station in Apopka, and I started there as a plant pathologist ... Then from there I went to Sanford and I was at their research center, so I spent 11 years in extension, and then teaching, and I, finally after teaching at a high school for 6 years, I got a job with the extension service. So my experience as a research scientist helping the extension personnel in the laboratory facilities helped me with extension. So I've been with extension for about 7 years now, and so, with the University of Florida, I've been about 22 years with the University of Florida, so I had the research end where they did all the soil testing, disease diagnosing experiments, and worked together with the extension agents until I finally became an extension agent, so I've kind of worked both ends, in the field as well as in the laboratory. [her identity, not the farmers]									
Analysis totals:		1	7	10	40	3	25	9	2	4

**APPENDIX L:
CODING AND ANALYSIS
INCLUDING DATA CHARTS**

Explanation of coding process for both interviews and extension service records: My method of analysis in this research consisted of coding for particular ideas and concepts, and tracking evidence of these in a spreadsheet in order to reveal patterns in the data. Since I am trying to understand the ecological connections between local farmers, outside institutions, and the genres that flow between them, I notated sections that indicated teaching and learning activities associated with the extension service, or signs of information transfer in the form of feedback loops between farmers and the extension service, experiment station, and land-grant college. I also looked for signs of new technology use and how it was acquired or transmitted; indications of cooperative work and teaching/learning from farmer to farmer; and evidence of information transfer from outside entities such as equipment or chemical sales persons. I looked for references to genre ecologies, such as pamphlets or books provided by the extension service, mentions of readings that influenced farming practices, or programs used by the extension service to further their institutional aims. I also searched for any clues that helped me understand how practicing agriculture and experiential learning might influence someone's self-image and shape their approach to farming.

I applied this coding to both interview transcripts and extension service reports according to their perspectives, then analyzed the results as qualitative data sets.⁶³ The meaning derived is thus from a personal perspective, and although I make every effort to remain unbiased, I recognize that my own experiences, investment in the community, and environmentalist background may impact my interpretations. That the data concerning community members is based on interviews while most of the data on the extension service is based on written texts also poses some constraints, since I cannot interrogate the texts in the same way I can question live subjects (with the exception of the extension agent interview). I also recognize that this research could benefit from further interviews and more records analysis to overcome the relatively small sample size of interviews as well as the fact that I did not review all the reports from the extension service. Nonetheless, I feel that the results are interesting in their own right, and deserve consideration.

The data acquired through these methods shows consistent differences between the personal perspectives of Samsula farmers and the extension service records in the areas of identity formation, experiential versus formal learning, perceptions of genre use, and perspectives on the sources of agricultural knowledge. Figure 21 provides a visual interpretation of the results of the interview analysis, in which experiential learning was a frequent referent—35 percent of the data points notated in the Samsula interviews, or the most of any of the data criteria. Farmers who grew up in farming families grew into an agriculture life, learning farming practices and lore from parents, other relatives, and neighbors. They participated in farming as a way of daily life. They also gained experience as adults from crop failures or successes, and referred to these vernacular stores of knowledge in recounting their farming practices. This seemed to also influence their self-identification as farmers, which appeared in 9 percent of their comments. The importance of technology in supporting and assisting farming practices also emerges repeatedly, as mention of mechanical field tools and chemical technologies appears in 21 percent of the interviews. Learning to use these technologies either came about experientially, generally in relation to tractors or other

⁶³ The interview with the county extension agent is included with the extension service reports.

mechanical technologies, or through the extension service, primarily regarding the use of fertilizers and pesticides. The farmers also shared their experiences with the extension service as an educational resource through vocational agriculture training and 4-H participation as youths. Altogether, they attribute the extension service with learning experiences in 12 percent of their comments.

Many of the farmers I interviewed remembered reaching out to other farmers for help with equipment or a helping hand with crops, and some of them also brought up the cooperative venture at the packing house (the Florida East Coast Grower's Association). I also categorized talk of farmer's markets as cooperative ventures. Overall, farmer-to-farmer collaboration was mentioned in 12 percent of the interviews, matching the emphasis put on the extension service's efforts. Reflective knowledge sharing, where farmers recognized that they were giving useful information back to the extension service, was mentioned in 2 percent of the interview comments, and outside non-extension service contributions to local knowledge, usually in the form of chemical company salesmen, also occurred in 2 percent of the comments. The interviewees mentioned extension service materials and miscellaneous readings as textual resources for some farming issues in 7 percent of the comments. One farmer referenced the Lake Ashby Drainage district petition, which I included in the genre use count. The extension service reports (figure 22), in contrast, show a much higher estimation of the importance of genre, with 25 percent of the relevant comments mentioning instructional or promotional materials.

The reports also place a much larger emphasis on the knowledge the extension service brings to the agricultural community, with 39 percent of the relevant texts talking about demonstrations, meetings, and individual assistance. Accordingly, they spend less time talking about experiential knowledge within the farming community (7 percent), and while they place a little more emphasis on collaborative efforts in the community (9 percent), they do not speak of these efforts in terms of farmer-to-farmer teaching and learning, but rather in terms of economic advantage. The reports barely acknowledge self-identity as a factor in agriculture in their reports (1 percent), but they do give some recognition (3 percent of the relevant data) of the feedback information they receive from farmers. While not emphasizing it as much as the farmers do, the reports recognize the importance of technology as a factor in successful agriculture, focusing on it in 10 percent of the citations. As far as outside information (again, predominantly chemical company salesmen), the extension service aligns with the farmer interviews at 2 percent. Additionally, the extension service reports include references to agent-to-agent training (4 percent), an element absent, as might be expected, from the farmer interviews.

Figure 23 shows a side-by-side comparison of the results, which gives an even clearer indication of where the two sets of data diverge. The area that both the interviews and the reports seemingly agree upon is the collaborative nature of knowledge-making and resource-sharing, but that, too, bears further dissection, as I will discuss further in the next section. Both sets of data reveal little influence from outside actants, but the other indicators show an almost mirror image of each other in terms of how agricultural literacy is perceived and employed.

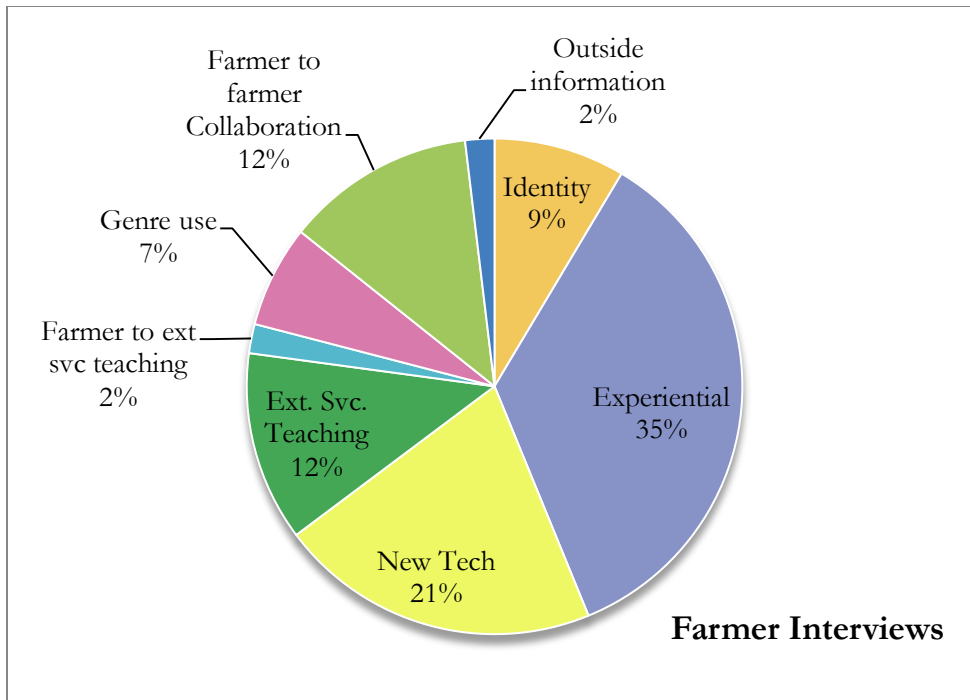


Fig. 21. Farmer Interview Data

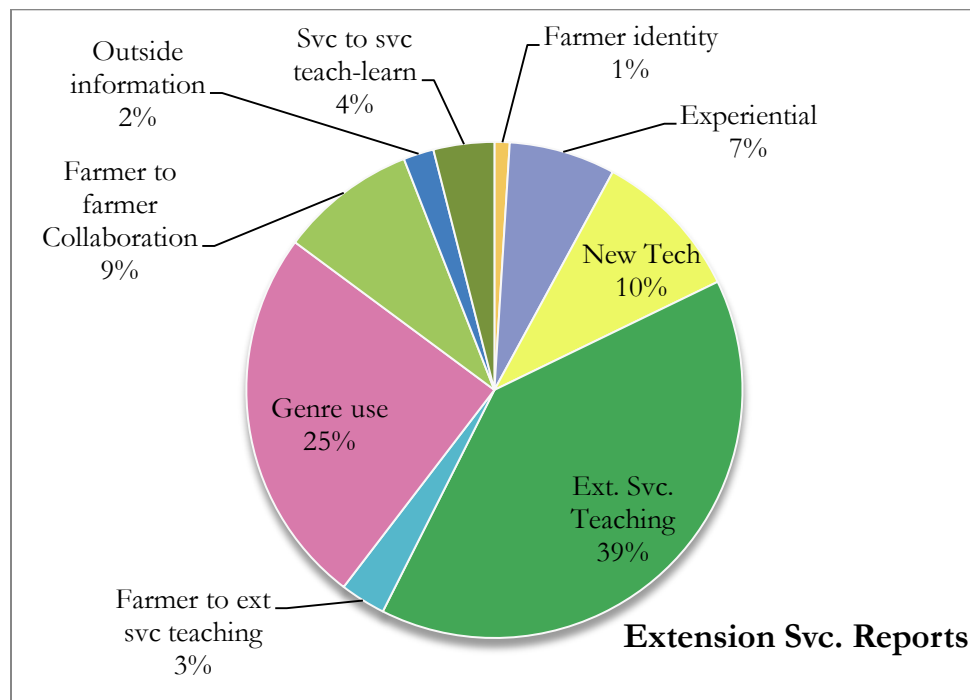


Fig. 22. Reports Data

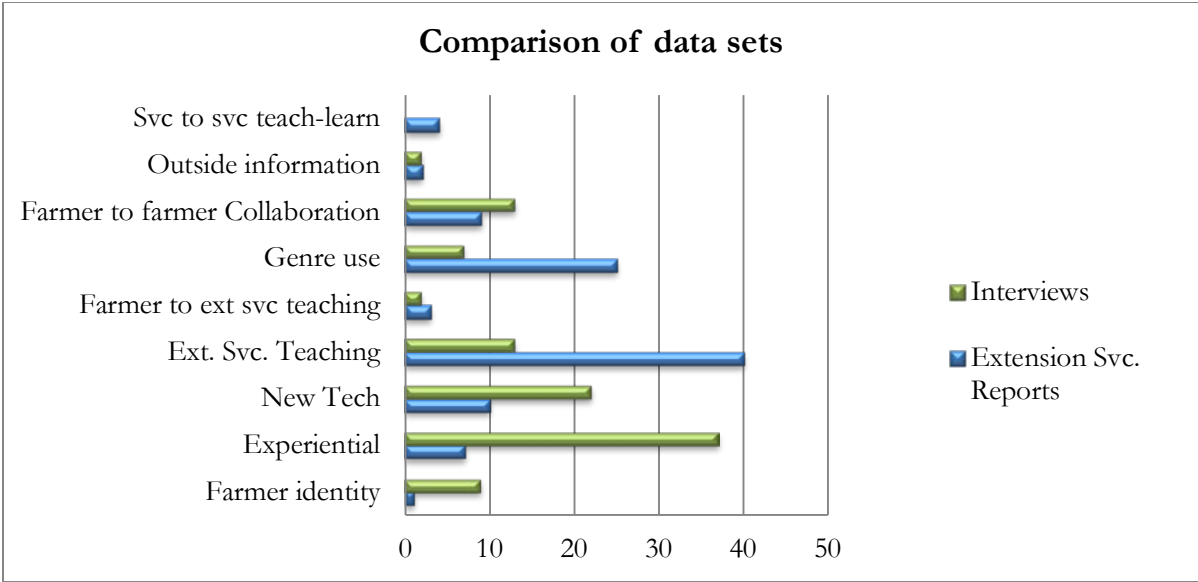


Fig. 23. Data Comparison

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