THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FALL 1998

COVER

In 1958 in Melbourne, a group of rocket scientists and engineers launched Brevard Engineering College (BEC). Pictured, from left, are Reagan DuBose, BEC's first graduate; founder Jerome Keuper; Dean Harold L. Dibble; Vice President of Student Affairs Ray Work; and mathematician Donya Dixon. *Photograph courtesy of Florida Institute of Technology Historical Records, Special Collections, Evans Library, Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne.*

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume LXXVII, Number 2

Fall 1998

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935, and is printed by E.O. Painter Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, FL. Second-class postage paid at Tampa, FL, and at additional mailing office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935.

Correspondence concerning contribution, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350.

The *Quarterly* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of Florida. Sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers are considered. All copy should be double spaced and about 25 pages or 6,000 words. Footnotes are to be numbered consecutively in the text. Documentation should conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style.* THE AUTHOR SHOULD SUBMIT AN ORIGINAL AND A PHOTOCOPY RETAINING A COPY FOR SECURITY Authors are also asked to submit articles on a diskette in IBM WordPerfect 5.1. The Florida Historical Society and the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made or opinions held by authors.

The *Quarterly* reviews books dealing with all aspects of Florida history. Books to be reviewed should be sent to the editor together with price and information on how they may be ordered.

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Jacksonville Before Consolidation

by JAMES B. CROOKS

AT the inauguration of the new Jacksonville city-county consolidated government in October 1968, Local Government Study Commission Chairman James Jacqueline Daniel wrote that "Jacksonville had experienced a political renaissance." Ten years later, Jacksonville mayor Hans Tanzler declared that consolidated government was "the salvation" of the city. In 1993, at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of consolidated government, then-Mayor Ed Austin called for rekindling "the spirit that drove the consolidation effort . . . because our form of government is the envy of cities around the world." Tanzler, chairing that celebratory occasion, agreed, adding, "[c]onsolidation has been described as Jacksonville's 'Greatest Moment.'"[1]

For many Jacksonville residents, the consolidation of city and county governments in 1968 climaxed a decade of changes in Jacksonville, but it was not the only show in town. The decade also saw substantial urban growth and development, a full fledged civil rights movement, attempts to turn around a school system in crisis, and substantial political reform before consolidation took place. In effect, consolidation became the capstone for a decade of urban development and reform.

The starting point for change can be seen in the demographics. The city's population declined slightly from 204,517 in 1950 to 201,030 in 1960 (and still further to approximately 196,000 in 1965), while Duval County grew rapidly from 304,029 to 455,411 during the same period. This county gain of almost fifty percent was a continuation of a suburban population boom begun at the end of World War II resulting from local economic growth and increased birth rates.[2]

James Crooks is professor of history at the University of North Florida. He would like to thank Dr. Joan Carver, Alton Yates, and Gerry Wilson for their careful reading of this manuscript.

1. Richard Martin, *A Quiet Revolution: Jacksonville-Duval County Consolidation and the Dynamics of Urban Reform* (Jacksonville, 1993), xiv, 332-34.
2. Local Government Study Commission of Duval County, *Blueprint for Improvement, 1966* (Jacksonville, 1966), 15-16.

Economic growth came in part from the substantial expansion of the insurance industry following passage of the Regional Home Office Law by the Florida legislature in 1956. The Prudential Insurance Company of America established its Southeast (later to become South Central) regional home office in Jacksonville, and the State Farm Group substantially expanded its facilities there. Other insurance companies establishing home offices in the city included Independent Life, Peninsula Life, American Heritage Life, Gulf Life, Blue Cross and Blue Shield, and the Afro-American Life Insurance Company. By the end of the decade, Jacksonville claimed the title of "Insurance Center of the Southeast" with seventeen locally headquartered insurance companies, five regional home offices, and twenty major general insurance agencies. The expansion of banking facilities, the arrival of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad home office (forerunner of CSX Transportation) from Wilmington, North Carolina, and later the expansion of the United States naval presence during the Vietnam War brought additional regional growth.[3]

Meanwhile downtown Jacksonville received a major facelift after World War II, much of it coming in the 1960s. Mayor W. Haydon Burns replaced the unused, rotting wharves along the riverfront with concrete retaining walls, parking lots, walks, and roadways. The construction of a new civic auditorium, city hall, courthouse, jail, and coliseum became part of downtown's urban renewal. Private capital, in turn, funded construction of the Atlantic Coastline Building, a new downtown Sears Roebuck superstore, Robert Meyer Hotel, Florida National Bank, Barnett Bank, and Independent Life Building. Across the St. Johns River on the south bank, the new Prudential building, Baptist Hospital, Sheraton-Jacksonville Hotel, and Gulf Life Insurance Company were either completed or underway. To the east, the Jacksonville Port Authority (created by the Florida legislature in 1963) began a major upgrading and expansion of its facilities. North of the Trout River, Burns's successor, Mayor Louis H. Ritter, began building the new Jacksonville International Airport.[4]

3. J. Edwin Larson, "Insurance Center of the Southeast," *Jacksonville Magazine,* Spring 1964, 19-23. Larson was the State Treasurer and Insurance Commissioner.

4. Ron Sercombe, "Mr. and Mrs. Hogan Really Started Something When They Built a Log Cabin," *Jacksonville Magazine,* Summer 1963, 9-13; and Lawrence Dennis, "JPA Finds Gold in its Silver Anniversary Year," *Jacksonville Magazine,* June/July 1988, 42-43.

For residents of both city and county suburbs, downtown provided a variety of jobs for both high school and college graduates working as clerks, secretaries, sales personnel, underwriters, credit and claims personnel, managers, and professionals. Downtown also provided department stores in which to shop and hotels, restaurants, and theaters for evenings on the town. It was clearly the employment and entertainment center for the metropolitan area.

Yet changes beyond downtown also were underway. The Jacksonville Expressway System and new bridges across the St. Johns River had begun to open southeastern portions of Duval County to development. Suburban home-building crept eastward across Arlington and south to Lakewood and San Jose. Ira Koger's Boulevard Center became one of the nation's first suburban office parks. In the sand dunes east of Arlington, Martin Stein began building a major regional enclosed shopping center at Regency Square. Across the St. Johns River, Gateway and Roosevelt Malls also opened during these years, on the northside and westside, respectively. Increasingly suburban homeowners began to shift their shopping patterns to the nearby malls at the expense of downtown stores.[5]

Jacksonville's development expanded beyond suburban and commercial growth. In old Riverside, the Cummer Museum opened in 1961, the result of a generous bequest by Mrs. Ninah Holden Cummer, art collector and member of a prominent Jacksonville family. In the same neighborhood, board members of the Jacksonville Children's Museum sought to expand their collection and programs beyond their crowded quarters. They combined a $100,000 gift from the Junior League with a ninety-nine-year lease from the city in a new park on the south bank of the St. Johns River and the award-winning design of architect William Morgan to build the core of the facility that now stands as the Museum of Science and History. Next, trustees of the Jacksonville Art Museum began plans to move the collection from its crowded Riverside location. Land donated by the Koger family at the new Boulevard Center office park on the south side and designs provided by the architectural firm of ReynoIds, Smith and Hills led to the construction of a

5. Williams S. Johnson, "Spans and Ribbons of Progress," *Jacksonville Magazine,* Fall 1963, 19, 27-31; "Boulevard Center," *Florida Trend,* August 1962, 20-22; and *Florida Times-Union,* September 14, 1992.

new facility, which opened in 1968. It later became the Jacksonville Museum of Contemporary Art.[6]

During the same decade, the Duval legislative delegation in Tallahassee secured authorization to establish a junior college and later a state university in Jacksonville. In Washington, D.C., Congressman Charles Bennett obtained funding to build Fort Caroline National Monument, a replica of the original European settlement on the banks of the St. Johns River. For city boosters, Jacksonville was on the move with downtown renewal, expanded transportation facilities, suburban growth, and new or expanding cultural and educational institutions.[7]

A key player in what community leaders liked to call "Jacksonville's Decade of Progress" was Mayor Haydon Burns. First elected mayor in 1949 on a reform ticket challenging increased bus fares, the thirty-seven-year-old Burns began a political career that resulted in five terms as mayor and a successful campaign to become governor in January 1965. As mayor and one of five commissioners serving as the city's executive branch of government, Burns controlled the police and fire departments. A shrewd politician, he built political alliances through patronage with the other commissioners and city employees. He campaigned for votes in the African American community and appointed the first black police officers. He won re-election by wide margins.[8]

But Burns was more than just a successful politician. He saw himself as a city-builder determined to revitalize a decaying downtown. He secured passage of major bond issues to remove the dilapidated wharves along the St. Johns River. He built the new civic auditorium, city hall, and coliseum. He lobbied for the new insurance law and recruited the Prudential and Atlantic Coast Line Railroad to Jacksonville.[9]

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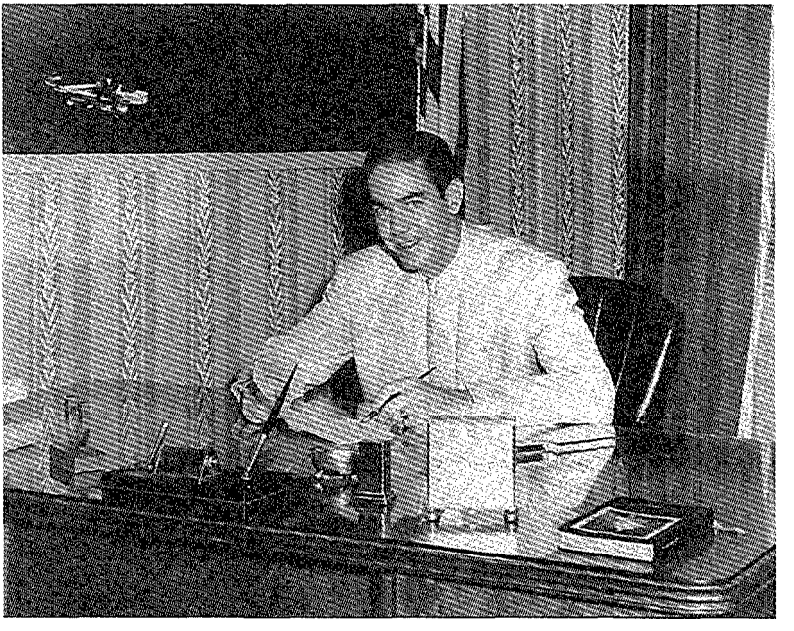
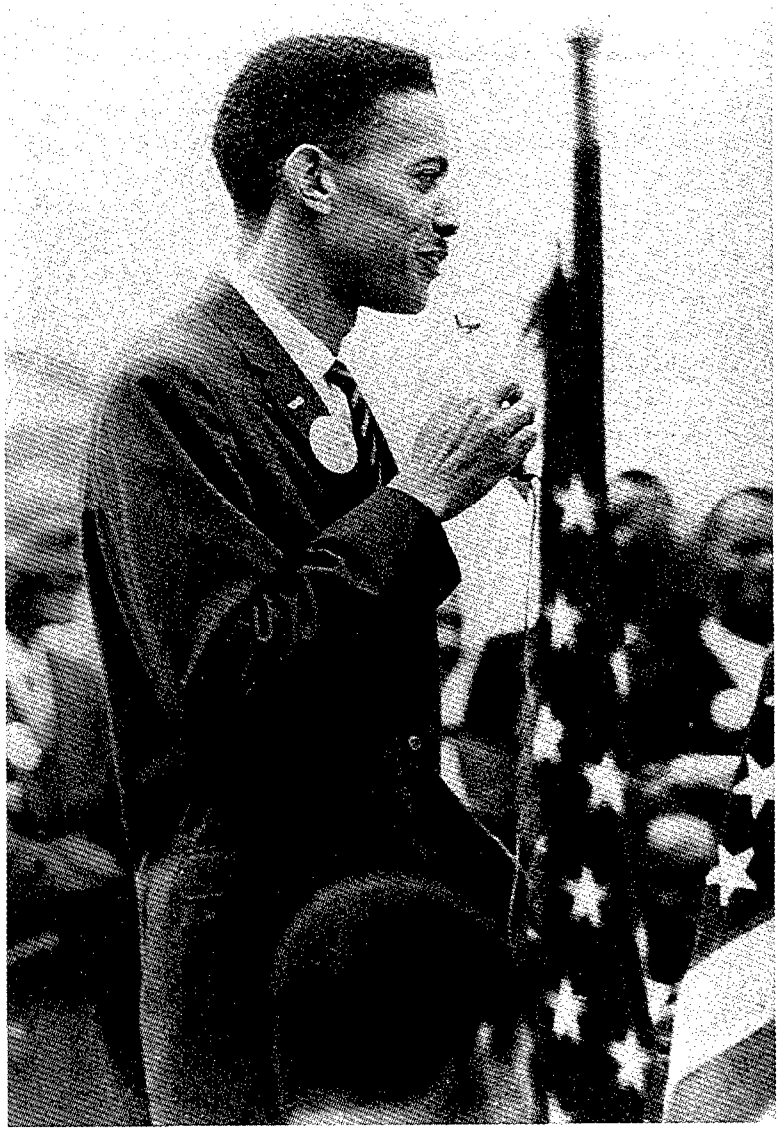
6. *Cummer Gallery of Art* (Jacksonville, n.d.); *History, Jacksonville Art Museum* (Jacksonville, September 1993, mimeograph); and *Museum of Science and History of Jacksonville, Inc.* (Jacksonville, n.d., mimeograph).
7. Robert B. Gentry, ed., *A College Tells Its Story: An Oral History* of *Florida Community College at Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, 1991), 1; Daniel L. Schafer, *From Scratch Pads and Dreams: A Ten Year History of the University of North Florida* (Jacksonville, 1982), v, 10-12; and "The Dedication of Fort Caroline National Memorial," *Papers: The Jacksonville Historical Society,* vol. 4 (Jacksonville, 1960), 57-62.
8. Gerry Wilson, interview with author, January 15, 1991, Jacksonville; *Florida Times-Union,* November 23, 1987.
9. *Florida Times-Union,* November 23, 1987; former state senator Bill Beaufort, interview with author, January 28, 1992, Jacksonville.



Hayden Burns, mayor of Jacksonville, 1949-1965. *Photograph courtesy of Eleanor Watkins, Jacksonville.*

Obviously Burns did not achieve his urban renewal efforts alone. He had strong support from the business community. Yet it was Burns as salesman for Jacksonville, with his slide show entitled "The Jacksonville Story," who left a legacy of downtown redevelopment during Jacksonville's Decade of Progress. A grateful city council honored Burns's substantial contributions to Jacksonville by naming the new city library after him in 1965.[10]

10. Not all Jacksonville residents felt positively about Burns. He came from a lower-middle-class background that Jacksonville's elite Ortega crowd frequently snubbed. Raised on the north side, Burns graduated from Andrew Jackson High School, attended Babson College near Boston, served in World War II as a commissioned officer and naval aeronautics salvage specialist, and on the eve of his election, worked in public relations. Burns worked hard at presenting himself as a business-oriented city official, but the lax financial management practices of the day convinced some observers that political patronage edged over into corruption. One person who knew Burns well claimed this was untrue. Another source asked how Burns, on a $15,000 mayoral salary, could own homes in Jacksonville, Fort Lauderdale, and the North Carolina mountains. One answer lay in the personal use of campaign funds left over after election victories. Laws at that time did not regulate their use, as now. Beaufort, interview; and *Jacksonville City Directory, 1949,* vol. 47 (Richmond, Va., 1949), 99.



Rutledge H. Pearson Sr., civil rights leader in Jacksonville. *Photograph courtesy of Mary Ann Pearson, Jacksonville.*

As white Jacksonvillians renewed their downtown and expanded into the suburbs, the forty-two percent of the population that comprised black Jacksonville began its quest for integration into the city's mainstream. A month after the famous Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-ins in January 1960, Jacksonville African Americans entered Woolworth's, Penney's, Grant's, Kress, and other downtown stores requesting service at lunch counters that previously had excluded them.

The leader of the sit-in movement was a remarkable thirty-one-year-old high school social studies teacher named Rutledge H. Pearson. A Jacksonville native, graduate of segregated Stanton High School and Huston-Tillotson College in Austin, Texas, Pearson played professional baseball briefly before turning to teaching. Tall, slim, and brown skinned, Pearson was advisor to the NAACP Youth Council, many of whose members had been his students in the Duval County public schools. The young people loved Pearson. Several remembered him as the "Pied Piper of Integration," a charismatic man who listened to and respected his young charges. He enjoyed their youthful energy and humor, instilling in them the principles of non-violence along with the ideals of freedom's rights.[11]

Under Pearson's leadership, youthful demonstrators assembled and picketed on the sidewalks in front of stores that excluded them. Others attempted to obtain service at lunch counters. Store managers responded by closing the counters. Still the demonstrators persisted, daily after school and on the weekends, with a sense of mission fondly remembered a generation later.[12]

Spring turned to summer and downtown merchants complained about losing business. Their Miami counterparts had already desegregated their lunch counters. Proposals to open lunch counters in Jacksonville, however, required the support of Mayor Burns. As police and fire commissioner, he could control potential white rabble rousers. Reflecting the segregationist attitudes of the majority of southern whites at that time, Burns refused. The demonstrations continued.[13]

11. Quillie L. Jones and Bob Ingram, interview with author, November 4, 1991; Lloyd Pearson, interview with author, November 5, 1991; and Alton Yates, interview with author, September 25, 1991, all in Jacksonville.
12. Yates, interview.
13. *Pittsburgh Courier,* March 26, April 23, September 24, 1960.

On Saturday, August 27, the NAACP Youth marched to Hemming Park. They sat-in at the Woolworth lunch counter and moved next door to J.C. Penney's. Then they proceeded to the Grant and Kress department stores a block away before returning to the park. At that point they were attacked by 150 axe-handle- and baseball-bat-wielding whites. The demonstrators retreated to the nearby black neighborhood of LaVilla. Jacksonville police at the scene did nothing to protect the young people from the mob. In LaVilla, the Boomerang gang, a group of street-wise young men not affiliated with the Youth Council, heard of the attack and mobilized to confront the white mob. In response, two hundred police officers, squad cars, and fire engines intervened, separating the antagonists and restoring order. An uneasy calm settled over downtown, but on neighboring streets, acts of random violence by both blacks and whites continued into the night.[14]

Afterwards, black clergy from the Jacksonville Ministerial Alliance met with Mayor Burns and Duval County Sheriff Dale Carson. Burns again refused to support desegregated lunch counters, rejected appeals to form a biracial committee to discuss grievances, and urged all parties, black and white, to keep the peace. This response clearly was unsatisfactory to blacks and the demonstrations continued.[15]

Sit-ins and demonstrations were not the only weapons of Jacksonville African Americans in 1960. Businessman Frank Hampton went to court to desegregate the city's recreational facilities. A year earlier he had tried to open the city's municipal golf courses to blacks. When federal courts ordered their integration, the city sold them to private parties at bargain prices. Hampton now sued to integrate all municipally owned segregated facilities, including the Gator Bowl, new civic auditorium, baseball stadium, and parks. In December 1960, the federal courts ruled in Hampton's favor. The city could not sell all of these facilities, especially with their bonded debt. Thus in January, "all over town," reported the *Pittsburgh Courier,* "the 'white' and 'colored' signs . . . were torn down and tossed into garbage receptacles." Hampton

14. Jones, interview; Yates interview; Pearson, interview; Rodney Hurst, interview with author, February 18, 1997, Jacksonville; *Pittsburgh Courier,* September 3 and 10, 1960; *Jacksonville Journal,* August 27, 1960; and *Florida Times-Union,* August 28, 1960.

15. *Florida Times-Union,* August 29, 1960; *Pittsburgh Courier,* September 10, 1960.

and his supporters celebrated by taking their children to the Jacksonville Zoo and ordering soft drinks at the formerly "white" lunch counters.[16]

In December 1960, six years after the United States Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, local NAACP attorney Earl Johnson filed suits on behalf of black parents and their children for school desegregation. In court, school officials acknowledged that all eighty-nine white and twenty-four black schools were completely segregated– students, teachers, and administrators. United States District Court Judge Bryan Simpson ordered the Duval County School Board to develop a plan for integration. In October 1962, he approved a board plan for neighborhood schools integrating initially first and second grades, and one additional grade each year thereafter. In residentially segregated Jacksonville, the court decision did not look promising. When the next school year began in September 1963, only thirteen black first graders were enrolled in five previously all-white schools. According to the Jacksonville correspondent of the *Pittsburgh Courier,* "a wave of threatening phone calls to parents . . . succeeded in deterring the integration of other schools." Violence followed in February 1964, when five Ku Klux Klansmen dynamited the home of one of the first graders. Fortunately no one was hurt. Appeals to expedite the process fell on deaf ears, and by the fall of 1964, only sixty-two black youngsters had enrolled in previously all-white schools.[17]

Frustrated by both the school board and the court, NAACP leaders supported by the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, and other groups in the black community turned to direct action, challenging the system where it might hurt: the pocketbook. State support for local schools was based on pupil attendance. Students staying away from school would reduce that support. In a carefully organized campaign beginning on Monday, December 7, 1964, 17,000 black youngsters skipped school. The next day 10,000 children stayed away, while 7,000 absented themselves on Wednesday, The 34,000 absentees cost the county $75,000 but did not change school board policies. A year later, still only 137 black students (less

16. *Pittsburgh Courier,* December 17, 1960, January 21, 1961.

17. Cormac O'Riordan, "School Desegregation in Duval County, 1960-1971," unpublished manuscript, 1990, 8-11, in author's possession; *Pittsburgh Courier,* January 13 and September 1, 1962, February 29, 1964; *Florida Times-Union,* March 13 and August 29, 1964.

than one-half of one percent of the total black student population) attended previously all-white schools. No whites attended all-black schools.[18]

Meanwhile Pearson, by now president of both the local branch and the state chapter of the NAACP, continued to press for community-wide desegregation. A proposed Easter 1963 boycott of downtown stores was canceled when fifteen merchants agreed to provide jobs for previously excluded African Americans. Only five, however, followed through on their promises. That summer, the NAACP picketed Southern Bell demanding jobs. When Southern Bell officials claimed they wanted to hire blacks but could find no qualified candidates, NAACP officials identified a dozen candidates, one of whom had worked successfully as a telephone operator for three years in New York. In September, theater owners agreed to desegregate downtown but then reneged. Hotel proprietors agreed to accept blacks as guests only if they were members of predominantly white convention delegations. Restaurant owners promised service but also later backed down.[19]

Events escalated at the beginning of 1964. Youthful demonstrators supported by black clergy sought to desegregate downtown restaurants. Management refused to serve them and called the police when the youths refused to leave. In mid-March, demonstrators moved through downtown and its fringes making their presence felt by walking slowly in front of traffic, acting boisterously and calling attention to their demands. Arrests followed, along with more demonstrations and more youths in jail. Pearson assembled two hundred supporters in front of the police station to protest the arrests. Observers feared an impending violent confrontation the weekend of March 20-21.[20]

These demonstrations occurred during a hard fought gubernatorial primary campaign in which Mayor Bums was a candidate. One of his opponents had commented that race relations throughout Florida were generally good, except for Jacksonville. Burns became defensive and determined to end the protests. He swore in 496 firefighters as special police to assist his 508-member police de-

18. O'Riordan, "School Desegregation in Duval County," 15; and *Pittsburgh Courier,* December 19, 1964.
19. *New York Times,* March 26, 1964; *Pittsburgh Courier,* August 3, 1963.
20. *Florida Times-Union,* March 18 and 20, 1964, *Jacksonville Journal,* March 19 and 20, 1964; and Southern Regional Council, "Report L-47" (Atlanta, April 16, 1964, mimeograph), 1, 2.

Civil rights demonstrators in Jacksonville led by Rutledge H. Pearson Sr. *Photograph courtesy of Mary Ann Pearson, Jacksonville.*

partment in maintaining order. With one thousand law enforcement officers, Burns said in a pre-arranged television interview that Saturday night, "peace will prevail." In response to Burns's call for law and order, someone firebombed the mayor's campaign headquarters in the black community. Though little damage was done, Burns blamed his political foes.[21]

The following Monday, a crowd of NAACP youth acting independently of Pearson and the parent body assembled in Hemming Park downtown. The mayor ordered his police to "disperse or arrest them." With their motorcycle sirens screaming and their engines roaring, police dispersed the demonstrators who headed north to the all-black New Stanton High School, where some 250 persons entered the building apparently to recruit more demonstrators. Within minutes seven squad cars arrived on the scene. Someone pulled a fire alarm evacuating students and demonstrators alike. By this time hundreds of people were milling about outside the school. While school officials tried to regain control of their students, other demonstrators moved on to Darnell Cookman Junior High School. It was neither an orderly procession, nor was it quite a mob. Police followed, arresting youths who sassed back or threw bottles or rocks. In other parts of the city, police closed off ramps to the expressway entering downtown; firefighters responded to real and false alarms in the black community; an unidentified white assailant shot and killed a black woman stooping to pick up packages dropped in the street; other assailants shot at three sailors, two of them black, when their car was stopped at a barricade. Mayor Bums downplayed the seriousness of the events, assuring television viewers that it was not a riot but more of an outburst similar to what might occur following a Florida-Georgia football game.[22]

The next day, Tuesday, March 23, demonstrations resumed with a bomb hoax at New Stanton High School. Police arrived. Someone threw a rock. A youth vandalizing a bread truck was arrested by a black police officer and placed in a patrol car. While one group of students distracted the officer, others freed the ar-

21. *Florida Times-Union,* March 22 and 23, 1964.

22. *Jacksonville Journal,* March 23, 1964; *Florida Times-Union,* March 24, 1964; *New York Times,* March 24, 1964; Bob Ingram, interview with author, September 4, 1997, and Quillie Jones, interview with author, September 5, 1997, both in Jacksonville.

rested youth. The officer pulled his revolver and fired warning shots into the air. Instead of quieting the crowd, the shots spurred rumors that a student had been hit. Others responded, throwing bricks and bottles. Police reinforcements arrived including fifteen cars carrying state troopers. As tensions escalated, several teachers persuaded the assistant police chief on the scene that they could restore order if he would withdraw his men. The officer wisely agreed, and the students gradually returned to their classrooms, but not before a handful of youths attacked a group of white journalists, overturned their car, and set it afire. Across the city, similar though less violent scenes took place at other inner city schoo1s.[23]

Subsequently a privately selected biracial commission of business and professional men under the leadership of Judge William H. Maness met, held public hearings, and proposed voluntary desegregation of all facilities serving the public along with increased job opportunities for blacks. Its report got shelved. Little change took place locally until after congressional passage of the Civil Rights Act that summer, desegregating hotels, restaurants, theaters, and other facilities serving the public. Only then did white Jacksonville begin to move.[24]

While African Americans pushed for desegregation, community leaders faced another crisis when all fifteen public high schools were disaccredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in 1965. Conditions were reprehensible. Teachers and students were the primary victims. Duval County ranked last among Florida's sixty-seven counties in per pupil funding. In teacher salaries, among Florida's ten largest counties, Duval again ranked last. Low salaries in turn contributed to an annual twenty-five percent teacher turnover rate. Too many teachers were either unqualified or teaching out of field. Working conditions were comparably poor and included overcrowded classrooms, inadequate instructional tools, no time during the day for preparation or grading, and unpaid overloads for extracurricular activities. In addition, one-quarter of the teachers (seventy-five percent of the male

23. *Jacksonville Journal,* March 24, 1964; *Florida Times-Union,* March 25, 1964; *New York Times,* March 25, 1964; *Pittsburgh Courier,* April 4, 1964.

24. *Florida-Times Union,* March 26, 1964; and December 31, 1964; *Jacksonville Journal,* March 26, 1964; and William H. Maness, interview with author, January 25. 1992, Jacksonville.

teachers) had to work second jobs to support themselves or their families.[25]

For Duval County students, large classes, outdated or inadequate numbers of textbooks, minimal laboratory, library, or audio-visual equipment, and mediocre instruction inevitably affected their education. The average Duval County student did less well than other Florida high school graduates on college placement exams. Their drop-out rate was higher. Only sixty percent of seventh graders completed high school. In the elementary grades, large numbers of students were overage for their grade. Classes for handicapped or gifted students barely existed, and kindergartens existed not at all.[26]

Conditions for African American youngsters were worse than those for white students. Most of the overcrowding was in their segregated schools. Crumbling physical facilities, ragged hand-me-down textbooks, and minimal laboratory or library materials are still remembered by former pupils a generation later. Only the most determined young people completed their studies and went on to college, supported by dedicated teachers, coaches, and administrators.[27]

The Duval County public schools also suffered from critical deficiencies in the leadership and management. School policies were affected by eight different elected boards with much conflict and overlap. The popularly elected school superintendent (the only one among the twenty largest school systems in the nation) had authority independent of the school board and was not answerable to it.[28]

Duval County was the only school system among the nation's largest without an administrative structure delineating areas of authority and responsibility. Decisions large and small were made at the center of a system with 4,842 teachers and 106,370 students. No assistant or area superintendents existed for delegated responsibilities. The superintendent even interviewed individual teaching ap-

25. "Summary of the Report of the School Bootstrap Committee, November 6, 1963," 13-18, Florida Room, Haydon Burns Library, Jacksonville; and *Duval County, Florida Public Schools: A Survey Report* (Nashville, 1965) (hereinafter Peabody *Survey),* 47-52, 55-56, 98-99, and chapter 7.
26. "Bootstrap Report," 18-21; Peabody *Survey*, chapters 2, 4, and 5.
27. Citizens Committee for Better Education in Duval County, "Still Separate, Still Unequal: A Study Specifically Related to Discrimination and Inequities in the Duval County Public School System by the Citizens' Committee for Better Education" (Jacksonville, May 1965, mimeograph).
28. "Bootstrap Report," 24-31; Peabody *Survey*, chapter 5.

plicants, particularly if they were black. Principals were considered political appointees, and ten years after *Brown v. Board of Education,* Duval County still had a separate division of Negro education staffed by all-black personnel.[29]

Of all the problems confronting the Duval County schools, the greatest was financial. On a per pupil basis, Duval County spent twenty to twenty-five percent less than the average of other Florida counties or large systems nationwide. Yet Duval was not a poor county. In the early sixties, it was third in the state in per capita personal income and in median family income. The tax rate was the maximum twenty-five mills permitted under the state constitution. The problem lay with property assessments. In 1964, the Duval County Taxpayers Association reported that property was assessed locally at only thirty percent of true value. On a $15,000 house (decent accommodations in the 1960s), a thirty percent assessment resulted in an assessed value of $4,500. With the Florida homestead exemption then at $5,000 of assessed value, the homeowner paid no taxes. The Taxpayers Association estimated that of 93,487 households in Duval County in 1963, two-thirds were totally exempt from all property taxes. A fifty percent assessment, less than that of Dade, Pinellas, or Hillsborough Counties, would close much of the funding gap for Duval County's schoo1s.[30]

In 1962, the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce initiated a citizens' Bootstrap Committee composed of representatives from the business and professional community, League of Women Voters, Junior League, Parent-Teacher Associations and trade unions. It issued its report in 1963, followed by a book-length study two years later undertaken by consultants from the George Peabody College of Teachers in Nashville. Meanwhile, African Americans, under the sponsorship of the local branch of the NAACP, formed the Citizens Committee for Better Education in Duval County and issued its report in 1965.

The 1964 county elections provided an opportunity to begin to turn around the deterioration of the public schools. The incumbent property appraiser promised to hold the line on assessments. His challenger promised to face the school financial crisis by raising them. The issues were widely discussed in the media, but the voters gave the incumbent a decisive victory. Low taxes, regardless

29. Peabody *Survey,* 46-48, 286-89.
30. Ibid., 313-19; "Bootstrap Report," 37-38.

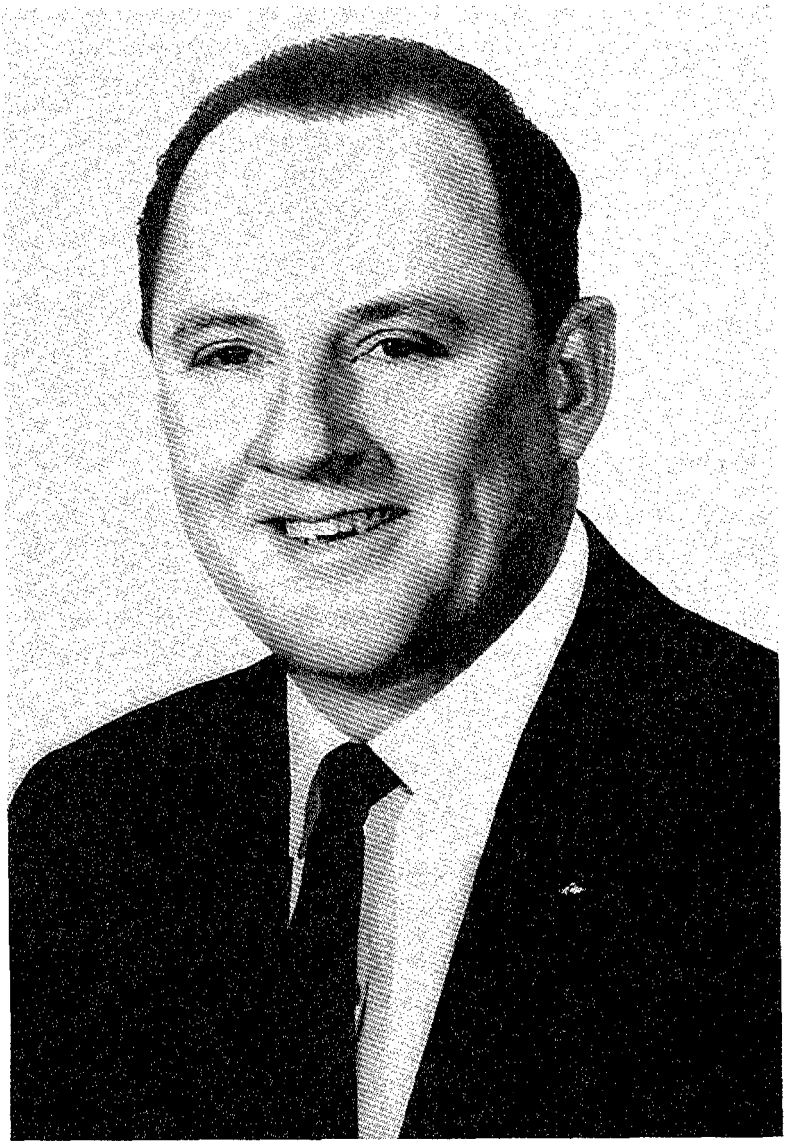
of the educational consequences, appeared to be the voters' choice.[31]

One week after the election, the Florida Department of Education stripped state accreditation from eight local schools and issued warnings to thirty-seven others. The Florida Commission of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) announced it would recommend disaccreditation of all fifteen high schools (which took place in 1965). Belatedly, the Jacksonville community began to awaken. Newspaper editorials blamed local conditions on the "indifference, apathy and selfishness of Duval residents." Prominent citizens worried about disaccreditation's effect upon college-bound students. Leading clergy pointed to the moral responsibility of taxpayers to provide adequate education for the next generation. High school students demonstrated downtown carrying signs demanding "No accreditation without taxation." The Duval County Taxpayers Association under the leadership of railroad executive Prime F. Osborne III filed suit seeking a "just evaluation" of properties. In early 1965, local Circuit Court Judge William Durden ordered full market value property assessments by July 1, 1965. After three years of citizen efforts, conditions began to improve.[32]

The fourth area of substantial change before consolidation took place at city hall. The turnaround began mid-decade. Floridians elected Haydon Bums governor in 1964, and he moved to Tallahassee the following January. Succeeding Burns as mayor of Jacksonville was City Commissioner Louis H. Ritter, a thirteen-year veteran at city hall. First elected to the city council in 1951 at the age of twenty-six, Ritter played well the "old boy" game of insider politics. But he was more than just a politician. A University of Florida graduate with a degree in public administration, Ritter worked hard as mayor. He accepted the changes taking place locally and nationally in the 1960s especially in the area of race relations. He began talking directly with civil rights leaders and appointed the first African Americans to city policy-making and advisory boards. He also sought federal aid for urban renewal and welcomed Presi-

31. Peabody *Survey*, 9.

32. Ibid., 10-11; James R. Rinaman, interview with author, February 19, 1992, Jacksonville; and Walter A. Rosenbaum and Gladys M. Kammerer, *Against Long Odds: The Theory and Practice of Successful Government Consolidation* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1974), 44.



Louis H. Ritter, mayor of Jacksonville, 1965-1967. *Photograph courtesy of Louis H. Ritter, Jacksonville.*

dent Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty with the formation of the Greater Jacksonville Economic Opportunity Program. Unlike his predecessor who spurned federal dollars for fear of federal controls (especially in the area of race relations), Ritter sought federal help, securing for Jacksonville one of the first Model Cities Programs. Aware of the disgraceful condition of the sewage-ridden St. Johns River and its tributaries, the mayor appointed an advisory committee for water pollution control and applied for federal dollars to expand Jacksonville's sewage treatment facilities. In addition, he secured a minimum standard housing code to upgrade 20,000 substandard houses and developed plans for expanded parks, recreational facilities, additional public housing, improved transportation, and a community college campus downtown.[33] In his race to be elected mayor in the spring of 1967, Ritter won a plurality in the three-person Democratic Party primary, but then lost narrowly in the run-off to forty-year-old Hans Tanzler Jr., another University of Florida graduate, former Southeastern Conference basketball star, attorney, and criminal court judge. Under normal circumstances, Ritter would have won re-election handily. But 1967 was different. Stormy weather on the north side of town deterred from the polls many African American voters who supported Ritter. Perhaps more important, Tanzler's victory reflected strong opposition to what was perceived by many white voters to be corrupt and partisan politics, which had surfaced over the preceding year in the wake of grand jury investigations.

The grand jury investigations were the result of a series of television exposés that began in 1965 on WJXT, a local station owned by the *Washington Post-Newsweek* Corporation. Its news and public affairs director, Bill Grove, felt that other local media "were glossing over the essential problems of the metropolitan area . . . contenting themselves with superficial reports on their news pages." WJXT chose to investigate. It reported the purchases of luxury automobiles for city officials without competitive bids, excessive insurance costs, and lawsuits resulting from jurisdictional disputes

33. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *News* (HUD-No. RH-66-768), December 13, 1966; "Confidential Memo to Mayor Ritter," November 22, 1966; Citizens Advisory Committee on Water Pollution Control, *Report, Citizens Advisory Committee for Water Pollution Control* (Jacksonville, November 17, 1966); Jacksonville-Duval Area Planning Board, Minutes, May 26, 1966; and Louis H. Ritter, "Speech to Engineering Professional Club," September 30, 1966. All documents from Louis H. Ritter file, Mayor's Papers, City Hall, Jacksonville.

between the city council and city commission. In February 1966, WJXT called for a grand jury investigation of political and governmental abuse.[34]

Criminal Court Judge Marion W. Gooding responded to the call at the beginning of the court's spring term. In forming a new grand jury, he challenged the jurors to either prove or disprove the allegations of WJXT. That summer and fall, the jury heard testimony from local officials. Periodically, it issued reports.[35]

The first report on June 30 condemned the city commission's practices of doling out insurance contracts to "friends and political allies" without regard to "cost, coverage, need or sound business practices." The absence of competitive bids and the failure to consolidate similar coverages cost Jacksonville taxpayers hundreds of thousands of dollars per year.[36]

The second presentment on July 22 indicted two council members and the head of the Recreation Department with grand larceny, conspiracy, and perjury. Thirteen indictments charged the three men with purchasing televisions, watches, jewelry, and electric blankets from a sporting goods store and charging them to the city recreation department.[37]

An August 12 report focused on the purchase of 168 automobiles over the preceding five years from one dealer without competitive bids. The city paid maximum list price for each car. City commissioners relied on subordinates to make the purchases. Department heads signed off on the purchases but claimed the commissioners had authorized them. Purchasing agents and auditors said they simply followed orders. No one seemed to be responsible. Meanwhile city officials used their luxury sedans for private as well as public transportation, charging the cost of fuel on city credit cards. Copies of the charge slips secured from oil companies lacked signatures yet the city paid the bills.[38]

Next, City Commissioner Dallas L. Thomas, a twelve-year veteran, after whom a riverfront park recently had been named, resigned over charges that the city had paid for labor and building materials used on his private property. He submitted a check to the

34. Martin, *A Quiet Revolution,* 71-75. Grove is quoted on p. 71.
35. *Florida Times-Union,* May 28, 1966.
36. Martin, *A Quiet Revolution,* 75-76; *Florida Times-Union,* July 1, 1966.
37. Martin, *A Quiet Revolution,* 77-78; *Florida Times-Union,* July 23, 1966.
38. Martin, *A Quiet Revolution,* 78-79; *Florida Times-Union,* August 13, 1966.

city for $8,872.01 pleading ignorance of the whole affair. Subsequently, the grand jury indicted him on forty counts of larceny.[39]

Over the succeeding months, further indictments followed against the city auditor, two city council members, and one city commissioner. By the end of the six-month term in November, the grand jury had indicted two of five city commissioners, four of nine city council members, and two other ranking officials in city government. Not all of the indictments led to convictions, but the grand jury's report verified what many Jacksonville voters had long believed: local government was corrupt. The corruption was not on the grand scale of a Tammany Hall Boss like William Marcy Tweed, who stole millions of dollars from the City of New York. Rather it was the more common "nickel and dime" corruption seen in many boss-ridden American cities where officeholders and contractors used public funds for private perks (a television set here, home improvements there), and special interests kicked back a small portion of their profits in campaign contributions to re-elect their friends to office. It was a practice that characterized many local governments that had become entrenched and ripe for reform.

Another factor in the reform thrust was the growing recognition of the high cost of Jacksonville's city government. In addition to the luxury sedans and excessive insurance costs was the ninety-three percent increase in the city budget over the preceding ten years in the context of a declining population. The Local Government Study Commission in 1966 concluded that Jacksonville spent substantially more on sanitation, police, fire protection, parks and recreation, and other personal services than did other cities of comparable size, without a lot to show for it.[40]

The reform thrust that elected Hans Tanzler mayor carried over into city council elections where eight of nine incumbents lost their seats. Most significant among the races were the victories of two African American candidates, Mary Singleton and Sallye Mathis.

Forty-year-old Singleton, a graduate of Florida A & M University, former school teacher, and business partner with her husband

39. Martin, *A Quiet Revolution,* 79; *Florida Times-Union,* August 24 and 31, 1966. Subsequently, Thomas pleaded no contest and received a prison sentence. *Florida Times-Union,* November 8, 1967.

40. Local Government Study Commission, *Blueprint for Improvement* (Jacksonville, 1966), 82.

in five barbecue restaurants, had entered politics supporting her husband in losing council election campaigns in 1955 and 1963. Following his death in 1964, she became active in the Duval County Democratic Executive Committee, crossing racial lines and making many white friends. She was bright, capable, and "a dynamic, loveable person," according to Hans Tanzler. Mayor Ritter appointed her to the Housing Board where she served as vice chair. Frank Hampton helped persuade her to run for city council. Despite recent surgery for breast cancer, she agreed. She campaigned vigorously, winning support from white Catholics (she was a practicing Roman Catholic), Jewish groups, and the 35,000-member (white) Northeast Florida Building and Construction Trades Council. Singleton won decisively in the second primary with sixty percent of the vote and faced no Republican opposition in the general election. The victory was particularly impressive because council candidates, while representing districts, were elected at large by all of the city's black and white voters.[41]

Where Mary Singleton came from a strong partisan Democratic background, fifty-five-year-old Sallye Mathis approached her council campaign more as a civil rights activist with the NAACP and as a nonpartisan community leader. A graduate of Bethune Cookman College, she too taught school. She also counselled students and became dean of girls at Matthew V. Gilbert Junior-Senior High School. She retired in 1962 following her husband's death and began devoting herself full time to community issues. She helped develop strategy and marched for civil rights locally. She observed city council meetings on behalf of the League of Women Voters. She integrated the governing board of the Jacksonville YWCA and helped organize the Jacksonville Opportunities Industrial Council. She worked with Wendell Holmes on school desegregation. Mayor Ritter asked her help in developing the city's antipoverty program. Like Mary Singleton, Sallye Mathis had crossed racial lines and had substantial support in the white community, from organized labor and others. Her NAACP colleagues urged her to run for the city council. She defeated the race-baiting incumbent Barney Cobb in both primaries and went on to win the general election.[42]

41. Barbara Hunter Walch, *New Black Voices: The Growth and Contributions of Sallye Mathis and Mary Singleton in Florida Government* (Jacksonville, 1990), 34-51, 106 (Tanzler quotation); and *Florida Times-Union,* June 7, 1967.
42. Walch, *New Black Voices,* 56-73, 86-94, 107-17.

The election of Tanzler, Singleton, and Mathis (as well as future mayor Jake M. Godbold who also defeated an incumbent), provides evidence that Jacksonville voters had begun to clean up what many considered to be a politically corrupt city before the passage of the consolidation referendum. The election of Singleton and Mathis, however, suggests something more. White Jacksonville was beginning to accept integration. Racial attitudes were moderating. Nancie Crabb, active with the League of Women Voters and later elected to city council, believed the civil rights marches of the 1960s raised the consciousness of whites. They began to see blacks as part of the community. Lew Brantley from the Duval legislative delegation and active with the Jacksonville Jaycees, had come to believe that anyone aspiring to community leadership in the late sixties must aggressively look "to include the whole community rather than exclude anybody. We knew," he said, "we had to work with the black community." This shift in attitude was also reflected in Mayor-elect Tanzler's declaration that "qualifications, not color of skin [would be] his criterion for appointments to city boards."[43]

The city elections of May 1967 preceded the consolidation referendum by three months. It showed Jacksonville voters clearly involved with political and racial reforms. The results, however, were no panacea promising good government. Problems still existed. Both city and county governments were expensive and inefficient. They duplicated some services and failed to provide others in the metropolitan area. But the consolidation effort was not the only game in town. During the 1960s, Jacksonvillians were involved in multiple efforts toward improving the city's economy, downtown, cultural life, race relations, schools, and politics.

43. Ibid., 99-100; *Florida Times-Union,* June 21, 1967.

Countdown to College: Launching Florida Institute of Technology

by GORDON PATTERSON

EAST central Florida underwent a revolution in the 1950s as an army of 75,000 technicians, engineers, and scientists poured into the sleepy fishing communities stretching from Titusville to Melbourne along the Atlantic Coast.[1] The year 1958 was one of significant change for the country and for Florida. In January, the United States launched its first satellite into orbit. In July, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed into law the bill creating the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). A month later the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) called for the creation of a new super-rocket code-named Saturn.[2] Less attention was paid to young RCA physicist Jerry Keuper's May announcement of the creation of Brevard Engineering Institute (BEI). When classes began in September the school's name had changed to Brevard Engineering College (BEC). In 1966, the school became known as the Florida Institute of Technology.

Brevard Engineering College was the offspring of America's space program. Like the space program, the college faced formidable financial, institutional, and political hurdles during its early years. In 1958, Americans pinned their hopes on the "elbow of land jutting out into the Atlantic" where scientists, engineers, and technicians prepared America's response to the Soviet space challenge.[3] Twenty-nine miles to the south, in tiny Melbourne, a handful of rocket scientists and engineers launched a technological college designed to meet the educational needs of America's missilemen.

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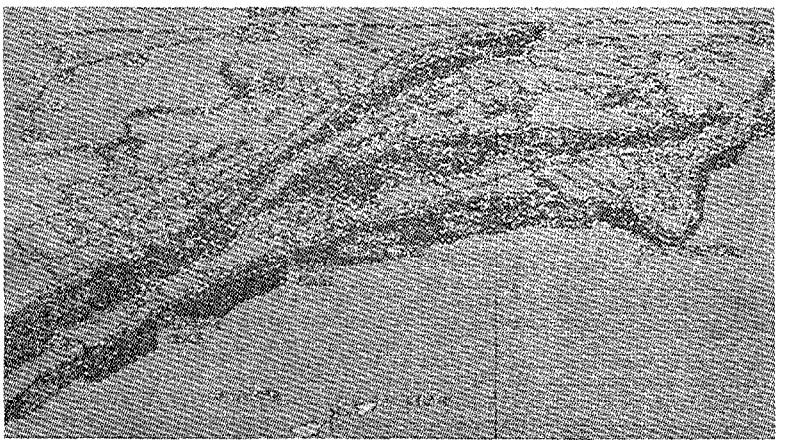
1. *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard Edition), January 14, 1959, in Scrapbook 1:24, Florida Institute of Technology Historical Records, 1958-, Special Collections, Evans Library, Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne (hereinafter cited as Scrapbook).
2. Charles D. Benson and William Barnaby Faherty, *Moonport: A History of Apollo Launch Facilities and Operations* (Washington, D.C., 1978), 2. Also available at HTTP://www.hq.nasa.gov/office/pao/History/Moonport/chl-1.html.
3. Benson and Faherty, *Moonport*, 4.

In the twelve years since the end of World War II, America had lost its preeminent position within the international scientific and technological community. On May 29, 1947, United States Army personnel launched a modified V-2 rocket at the White Sands Test Range in New Mexico. The rocket went the wrong way and landed in a cemetery in Juarez, Mexico. This was one of several factors that prompted the Joint Chiefs of Staff to choose the east coast of Florida for future rocket experiments. In the late 1940s east central Florida was a "comparatively unsettled place."[4] At the beginning of World War II, Cocoa Beach, "a small ocean resort built on a dune ridge along the shore," had a population of thirty-one.[5] By 1950, Cocoa Beach's population had grown to 245. Melbourne's population was 4,223.[6] Three additional factors contributed to the selection of Cape Canaveral as the site for America's rocket program. The Banana River Naval Station near Melbourne provided a potential support base, and the Bahama Islands furnished ideal locations for the chain of missile tracking stations. Finally, the Cape's easy access by water eased transportation problems.[7]

Only a few paved roads and tracks (but plenty of rattlesnakes and mosquitoes) graced Cape Canaveral when the first technicians arrived in 1948. The first launch from the Cape took place on July 24, 1950. The blockhouse for the mission was an old shed used by swimmers to change into their swimsuits. Engineers and technicians knelt behind sandbags as the countdown reached its conclusion. Twenty-nine miles to the south in Melbourne, people stopped in parking lots and watched a missile called Bumper 8 streak off into the heavens.[8] Florida's missile age had begun.

America's space program encountered numerous obstacles during the ensuing eight years. The Korean War tapped the nation's resources, and the era's virulent anticommunism fostered a distrust of scientists and government programs. Perhaps more fundamental, Americans in the 1950s were less interested in pioneer-

4. Ibid.
5. *Melbourne Daily Times,* June 1962, in Scrapbook, 3:7.
6. Ted Smart, "Cape Canaveral Launches Money Boom in Florida," *Chicago's American,* May 22, 1962, in Scrapbook, 3:87.
7. Benson and Faherty, *Moonport,* 4.
8. The first launch at Cape Canaveral was scheduled for July 19, 1950. Bumper 7, a modified German V-2 rocket that served as the first stage with a WAC Corporal as the second stage, "fizzled" on the launch pad. Salt had corroded the rocket's engine. Five days later Bumper 8 lifted off. See Benson and Faherty, *Moonport,* 6-7.



Cape Canaveral, c. 1950. Map Courtesy of the National Aeronautics and Space Association.

ing than in celebrating the good life as portrayed in shows like *Father Knows Best* and *Ozzie and Harriet.* All of this changed on October 4, 1957, when the Soviets successfully launched Sputnik, sending a shock wave across the nation. Within a month the Russians had a second Sputnik, weighing 1,100 pounds and carrying a barking dog named Laika, in orbit. On December 6, 1957, an American Vanguard rocket carrying a four-pound satellite blew up on the launch pad. The following day the *London Daily Express* ran the banner headline "U.S. Calls it Kaputnik." Edward Teller warned that the United States faced a "technological Pearl Harbor." Commentators blamed American education, and thousands rushed to buy a book entitled *Why Johnny Can t Read.* Nathan Pusey, president of Harvard University, called on the nation to commit a higher percentage of its gross national product to education.[9] President Eisenhower and the rest of the nation looked to the Cape for America's response.

Three months after Sputnik, on January 31, 1958, Explorer 1, America's first satellite, lifted into orbit. Putting a satellite into orbit was only the first step in meeting the Soviet threat. The long-term success of America's space program rested on the shoulders of the nation's scientists and engineers. There were, however, dis-

9. David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York, 1993), 625-26

turbing trends in American higher education. In 1959, the Engineering Manpower Commission reported that "freshman engineering registrations dropped 11 percent" against an overall 7 percent increase in college enrollments since 1958.[10] Fewer young people were choosing science and engineering as their college majors. Perhaps worse still, the scientists, engineers, and technicians at the Cape lacked an opportunity to advance their education.

Jerry Keuper had just crossed the Florida state line driving a station wagon towing his 1952 MG when he heard Major General John B. Medaris, commander of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency (ABMA), announce the launch of Explorer I. Keuper, his wife, Natalie, and their infant daughter, Melanie, were on their way to Melbourne where Keuper, a nuclear physicist with a doctorate from the University of Virginia and a master's degree from Stanford University, had accepted a position as a senior engineer in RCA's Systems Analysis section of the Missile Test Project (MTP).[11]

Keuper had spent the previous five years working for the Remington Arms Company in Bridgeport, Connecticut. In the evenings he taught calculus at the Bridgeport Engineering Institute (BEI). Arthur Keating founded BEI in 1924 to meet the needs of individuals who wished to become engineers but who were unable to enroll in a traditional university program. Keating took a liking to the lanky physicist and appointed Keuper chairman of the mathematics department. Keuper remembered discussing with Keating his impending move to Florida. One thing troubled him. He liked teaching and there were no nearby colleges or universities. Keuper asked Keating what he thought of the idea of starting a Florida branch of Bridgeport Engineering Institute. "No," Dr. Keating barked, "start your own college."[12]

Keuper considered the idea. Bridgeport was in the midst of applying to the Connecticut Department of Higher Education for a license to offer an associate degree in engineering. Keating had charged Keuper with organizing the accreditation process. As a hedge, Keuper made copies of the BEI accreditation documents.

10. *Miami Herald* (Brevard Edition), December 28, 1959.
11. Jerome P. Keuper, "Founding Florida Institute of Technology: Conception," manuscript (9704) (1996), 1, Florida Institute of Technology Historical Records.
12. "Dinner Planned for FIT's Founder-President," unidentified newsclipping, [September 1968?], in Scrapbook, 14:38-39.

Brevard Engineering College founder Jerry Keuper standing in front of Technical Laboratory at Patrick Air Force Base with his 1952 MG. *Photograph courtesy of Florida Institute of Technology Historical Records, Special Collections, Evans Library, Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne.*

By the time he reached Melbourne, Keuper decided to follow Keating's advice. His 1952 MG still had a BEI (Bridgeport Engineering Institute) parking decal on the window. Why not call the school Brevard Engineering Institute? he thought.

During his initial weeks as chief scientist in RCA's Systems Analysis Group, Keuper weighed the possibilities for starting a college. The position of Florida's aerospace industry, Keuper believed, was analogous to that of northeastern industries in the late nineteenth century. A tradition of higher education existed in the Northeast that supplied a pool of educated technicians and engineers to area industries. East central Florida was different. There were no technical or engineering schools in the region.

Keuper shared his idea of starting a college with three members of the Systems Analysis team. After work, mathematicians George Peters and Donya Dixon and computer scientist Robert Kelly would often meet Keuper at the Pelican Bar on state highway AlA where Keuper outlined his plan.[13] Keating's Bridgeport Engineering Institute would serve as their model. Classes would be offered in the evenings, the faculty would be drawn from the Missile Test Project, and missilemen would be the students. The curriculum would be tailored to meet the needs of technicians and engineers who wished to advance.[14]

Brevard Engineering Institute grew from these musings at the Pelican Bar. A young inertial guidance engineer named Harold Dibble joined the group in the early spring. Dibble, who had earned his doctorate from Cornell University and had taught in the evening engineering program at the University of California at Los Angeles, brought valuable experience to the discussions. The group delegated responsibilities. Keuper was to be the school's president, Dibble took the title of dean, Peters became the head of the mathematics department, Kelly agreed to serve as the school's

13. George Peters held a master's degree in mathematics from MIT and a Ph.D. in mathematics from the University of Georgia. Peters worked at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia and taught at Drexel Institute of Technology and Johns Hopkins University's evening school. He came to Florida in 1957 when he accepted a position as a member of RCA's scientific staff. Besides leading BEC's mathematics department, Peters served as acting chairman of the electrical engineering department. *Melbourne Daily Times,* August 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:14.

14. Keuper, "Founding," 1.

financial officer, and Donya Dixon was named the organization's secretary.[15]

Over the next few weeks Keuper and his confederates drafted a four-page outline of Brevard Engineering Institute. Classes would be held Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings between seven and ten o'clock. Students could pursue courses in mechanical and electrical engineering and "possibly business administration." The undergraduate program would lead to an associate degree in three years. BEI would apply for regional accreditation as soon possible. Classes would be limited to "approximately fifteen students." Admission was open to any individual with a high school diploma. Graduate courses would be added to the curriculum "once the mechanism of the school has been set in motion." Faculty and administrators would consist of "professional men, regularly employed in local business and industry. In each case, men will be selected to teach in the subject area most related to their regular employment and where their college background shows academic strength." There would be, however, "no full time instructors, administrator, or employees (with the possible exception of a registrar)." A board of directors would be chosen from local "scientific, industrial, and civic leaders." Keuper shared responsibility for the day-to-day administration of the school with Dibble, Kelly, Peters, and Dixon.[16]

Kelly raised the question of finances. Planning was essential, but eventually the school was going to need some operating capital. Keuper, Dibble, and Kelly held special meetings at the Pelican Bar to map out a fundraising strategy. The fledgling missile college received its first cash donation when one of Keuper's friends volunteered the thirty-seven cents change from a phone call.[17]

15. Harold Dibble was described in several early press releases as "co-founder" of Brevard Engineering College. According to Jerry Keuper, Dibble's wife wrote the school's early press releases. Dibble joined RCA at the Missile Test Project at Patrick AFT in 1958. Dibble came to the Cape in 1955 to work as a guidance analyst with North American Aviation on the Navaho missile. He graduated first in his class from Cornell in 1949 with a degree in mechanical engineering. Dibble received his Ph.D. from Cornell in theoretical mechanics. In 1961, Dibble severed all connections with the school and returned to California. Keuper, "Founding," 4; *RCA Service Newsletter* 15 (January 1959), in Scrapbook, 1:29.
16. "The Brevard Engineering Institute," Correspondence File (5800), Florida Institute of Technology Historical Records.
17. Keuper, "Founding," 5.

Later in the spring, Keuper made a more serious attempt to win recognition and financial support for the college when he asked the Brevard Joint Chamber of Commerce for its endorsement. Norman Lund Sr., chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, was enthusiastic. Lund had come to Melbourne in 1923 to build U.S. Highway 1. He later became the business manager for Melbourne Village. Despite Lund's support, the Chamber gave Keuper a lukewarm reception and tabled the motion until their next meeting. Later Keuper learned that the Chamber "had turned down my request and [had] voted to invite the University of Miami to come to Brevard County and set up a similar educational program."[18] Keuper recalled being "disheartened" by the episode until he learned that the dean of engineering at the University of Miami had rebuffed the Chamber's overture saying, "Let Keuper do it[;] he is on the scene and probably can [do] a better job than we could."[19]

Running on enthusiasm alone, Keuper's "administration" spent April and May working out the details for BEI. The Brevard County Schools agreed to rent BEI three classrooms at Eau Gallie Junior High School. On May 19, 1958, Melbourne's *Daily Times* reported that "Dr. Jerome P. Keuper, president of Brevard Engineering Institute, [announced that] the area's first engineering college will open this fall."[20] To raise both public awareness of the institute and money for the publication of the Institute's first catalogue, Keuper and his colleagues organized an "Engineer's Cotillion, a semi-formal dance" at the Trade Winds Club in Indialantic.[21] The evening's entertainment featured singers Natalie Keuper and Mary Hayward, a former Broadway musical star; Hawaiian dancer Lilo Williamson; and a barbershop quartet. Louie Camp, principal of Indialantic Elementary School, served as the evening's master of ceremonies, and Tom Doherty, the owner of the Trade Winds Club, catered the event.[22]

The Engineer's Cotillion was nearly a disaster. The evening started on a sour note when Keuper quarrelled with Doherty over the hors d'oeuvres as the guests were arriving. Eventually, Keuper

18. Keuper, "Founding," 5-6.
19. Ibid., 6.
20. *Melbourne Daily Times,* May 19, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:4.
21. *Melbourne Daily Times,* May 19, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:5.
22. *Melbourne Daily Times,* June 6, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:9.

"invited Doherty to step outside and settle the matter." As they were preparing to leave, one of the guests whispered to Keuper that Doherty was a champion amateur boxer. Keuper suggested that they move on to the evening's planned entertainment.[23]

The Cotillion raised enough money to print a catalog for the fall semester. A few days later Harold Dibble announced that registration for classes would be held at the Country Club Road office of the University of Melbourne.[24] Much to his surprise, the prospective students informed Keuper that they did not want to attend an "institute"; they wanted to go to college. Keuper agreed, and overnight Brevard Engineering Institute became Brevard Engineering College (BEC).[25]

The course catalog appeared in July. Nine classes were listed: Advanced Calculus, Transients in Linear Systems, Statistics and Probability Theory I, Modern Algebra, Advanced Circuitry Analysis, Servomechanisms, Electromagnetic Fields, Transistor Theory I, and Numerical Analysis.[26] Tuition for one course was $35; $68 for two; and $96 for three. Classes were scheduled to begin on September 22, 1958. Moreover, Dibble announced that the school intended to offer graduate courses leading to a master's degree in electrical engineering and applied mathematics. Dibble explained that the "basic philosophy of the graduate division" of BEC was to offer courses which were designed around the special expertise of the individuals working at the Cape. "The men who are doing the teaching," Keuper added, "are practicing what they teach in the day time." As an example he cited a course on rocket propulsion taught by Sebastian J. D'Alli, a member of a local engineering firm who possessed extensive knowledge of rocket engines.[27]

Alten Thresher, dean of admissions at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), gave BEC an unexpected boost in July 1958. Keuper had met Dean Thresher during his undergraduate years at MIT. Earlier in the summer Keuper wrote to Thresher and described his plan to develop BEC on the model of the Bridgeport Engineering Institute. "I have always felt," Dean Thresher replied, "that the Bridgeport Engineering Institute represented a very

23. Jerome P. Keuper, interview with author, April 4, 1997, Melbourne Beach.
24. *Melbourne Sunday Times,* June 15, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:10.
25. The first reference to Brevard Engineering College appeared in *Melbourne Sunday Times*, June 15, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:10.
26. *Melbourne Daily Times,* July 28, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:12.
27. *Melbourne Daily Times,* August 25, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:15.

sound and viable educational effort, and it is good to know that the pattern is now being reproduced in Florida. We are entirely willing to consider for possible credit here subjects given at Brevard which are substantially equivalent in content." Thresher had visited Melbourne in 1957 and knew about the educational "problems in that area." Brevard Engineering College, Thresher concluded "seems to be an excellent solution to some of them."[28]

BEC's first faculty meeting was held at Hensel's Red Rooster Restaurant in Eau Gallie on September 18. The forty-five prospective faculty members were told that 154 students (114 undergraduate and 40 graduate) had registered for classes. The average age of the applicants was thirty-three. Six women were among the first students. Keuper explained that the purpose of BEC was to "train men and women who might not otherwise gain such an education in engineering, the sciences, and business administration." He informed the faculty that he had written to the Southern Accrediting Association in Atlanta for guidance. Association personnel indicated in their response that they were aware of the special problems that a school like BEC faced and promised to begin "studies to find a method for accrediting specialized technical schools."[29] Dean Dibble and the school's treasurer, Robert Kelly, outlined the school's procedures and teaching assignments. Kelly summarized the school's financial situation and told the faculty that an agreement had been reached with the National Bank of Cocoa to help students finance their tuition.[30]

The following evening a mass meeting of BEC students and faculty was held at Eau Gallie Junior High School, located north of what is now the South Brevard Branch Court House. Students purchased their books and course materials in the school's foyer. When George Peters introduced Keuper as the school's president, one student called out: "Hey, he is the guy who sold me the pencils."[31] Selling pencils was simple. Arranging with publishers to ship books was more difficult. One of the publishers sent their books

28. *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard edition), July 10, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:13.
29. *Melbourne Daily Times,* September 19, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:17.
30. Ibid.
31. Keuper, "Founding," 6. The school's name was eventually changed to Central Junior High School. In the 1990's Central Junior High School was moved to a new facility. In 1997, classes for Sherwood Elementary School were being held at the site while a new building was being constructed for the elementary school.

C.O.D. to the Eau Gallie post office. Keuper and Kelly managed the book sale in such a way that they were able to "collect enough money from the sale of other books to bail out the rest of them."[32] Necessity would compel similar financial juggling in years to come.

"I've only been fishing once in the last five weeks," BEC student Arthur Penfield told a reporter for the *Miami Herald.* "I haven't got time . . . and I'm a rabid fisherman."[33] Penfield was a fairly typical BEC student. A forty-year-old retired navy chief warrant officer, Penfield worked at the Cape as a computer specialist. The navy trained him to be a technician "who can get by" on what he knows. He, however, wanted to be an engineer. BEC gave him an opportunity for advancement.

Glenn Routh, a thirty-two-year-old Boeing technician working on the Bomarc missile, went back to school for similar reasons. BEC was his last chance to become an engineer.[34] RCA and the other base contractors faced the constant threat of losing their best technicians because of the lack of educational opportunities. "Engineers like to continue studying," student John Wright observed. "That's why places like Boston with MIT, and Chicago and Los Angeles are so appealing. Brevard College will help us keep engineers in the area." At the Cape, Wright led a team of twelve engineers charged with devising firing mechanisms. Wright enrolled in BEC to earn a degree in space technology.[35]

BEC's first students and faculty were hard workers. Five weeks into the first semester the faculty met at the Red Rooster Restaurant to compare notes on their classes. "I've never seen students slave like this," one faculty member observed.[36] Eight of the twenty-three faculty members held doctorates. Like their students, most of the faculty were employed by private contractors at the Cape. Keuper and Dibble had recruited seventy-five students from among their fellow RCA workers.[37] BEC drew students from contractors such as General Electric, Aerojet, Convair, and Radiation, Incorporated.

Midway into its first semester BEC won national recognition when both *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines sent reporters to cover the college. *Newsweek* praised the determination of both the faculty and

32. Ibid.
33. *Miami Herald* (Brevard Edition), November 17, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:19.
34. *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard Edition), November 30, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:21.
35. *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard Edition), November 30, 1958, in Scrapbook, 1:21.
36. "Missilemen at School," *Newsweek,* November 24, 1958, 70.
37. *RCA Missile Test Project News* 5 (January, 1959)

students. "While technicians at Cape Canaveral prepared for the Army's first attempt to raise a rocket to the moon," the *Newsweek* reporter declared, "a project to raise the educational level of the base's personnel moved smoothly into orbit last week."[38]

Final examinations for the first semester were held during the last week of January 1959. The regents of the University of Melbourne, which sporadically offered non-credit seminars on global issues, contributed a $40 prize for freshmen enrolled in algebra, engineering, drawing, and chemistry courses.[39] John B. Dillon, owner of Dillon Reality Company and the Brevard Real Estate School, contributed a $25 prize for the top calculus student.[40] Twenty-six-year-old Richard Argo, an RCA employee, triumphed over one hundred students to win the $40 dollar top freshman prize.[41] John Richard, thirty years old, won the Dillon Math Prize.[42]

Classes for BEC's second semester began on February 2, 1959. Sixteen courses were listed in the college's January announcement. Two additional classes were offered at the University of Melbourne's Country Club Road office on Tuesday and Thursday evenings: a professional engineers' license review and an introduction to technical Russian. Dibble and Keuper shared responsibility for the engineer review. Helen Hopkins taught the technical Russian course. Hopkins, the child of Russian émigrés was a Bryn Mawr College graduate. Before coming to Florida, she had taught at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.[43] The technical Russian course was the first BEC course taught by a woman.

Early in February Dibble announced the appointment of Ray Work as chairman of BEC's electrical engineering department. Work, a graduate of Ohio State University, came to Florida in 1954 as an installation design manager with RCA.[44] In the fall of 1958, Work enrolled in BEC's graduate program. Work impressed Keuper and Dibble with his enthusiasm for the school. Officially, he was charged with organizing the curriculum for a program that

38. "Missilemen at School," 70.
39. *Melbourne Sunday Times,* January 18, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:24.
40. *Melbourne Daily Times,* January 21, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:24.
41. *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard Edition), March 4, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:28.
42. *Melbourne Sunday Times,* March 1, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:27.
43. *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard Edition), January 13, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:23.
44. *Melbourne Daily Times,* February 3, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:26.

would lead to a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering. Unofficially, Work served as BEC's "registrar" at RCA.[45]

BEC found itself in the midst of a local controversy in March 1959. Keuper learned that the Brevard County School Board was not going to renew the college's contract to rent classrooms at Eau Gallie Junior High School. Woodrow Darden, county superintendent of schools, cited several reasons for the Board's decision. Darden argued that BEC presented "competition" to the "proposed junior college" currently under consideration. "Taxpayers' money is involved," Darden declared. "If a junior college would be put into operation, the private school would be a duplication of service." Moreover, Darden added, "night activities like this create a problem, because teachers cannot return to work in the classrooms and there are parking jams and other things."[46]

High among the "other things" that made BEC a problem for Woody Darden was the school's admissions policy. In February, Darden phoned Keuper. Darden had discovered that two of BEC's students were black. According to Keuper, Darden told him that blacks were not allowed in the building.[47] Darden gave Keuper an ultimatum: expel the students or face eviction. Word got back to the students. One of the students, Julius Montgomery, discussed the situation with Keuper. Ultimately, the two black students "volunteered to drop out." Classes continued. "If they hadn't done that," Keuper contended, "the school would have been tossed out on the street. It would have closed the school down."[48] Darden dropped his threat of immediate eviction and agreed to allow BEC use of the classrooms until June 5.[49] "After the confrontation," Keuper observed, "we had an unhealthy relationship with Darden and the Brevard School System."[50] Blacks were regularly admitted to BEC when classes moved to the Methodist Church in September 1959.

Part of the problem may have been that Keuper and Dibble campaigned for local political support in their battle with Darden

45. *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard Edition), March 3, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:27.
46. *Miami Herald* (Brevard Edition), March 11, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:28.
47. Keuper, interview.
48. Ibid.
49. *Miami Herald* (Brevard Edition), March 11, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:28.
50. Keuper, interview.

and the school board. On March 9, Keuper appeared before the Titusville City Council to refute Darden's claims. "While all this hubbub about a junior college is going on," Keuper declared, "Eau Gallie is losing a much better college. I may be wrong, but I think this is the largest engineering graduate school in Florida." Instead of recognizing BEC for its accomplishments, the Brevard County School Board and Woodrow Darden "would like to see our college stop its operation." Keuper appealed to the city council members to judge the school's achievements for themselves. Councilman William Woodsan asked Keuper if he wanted the council to try and "dissuade the school board." "No, Sir," Keuper replied, "[a]nd we don't want money: we want moral support."[51]

George Shaw and Homer Denius, the founders of Radiation, Inc., which was located in Melbourne, provided Keuper with a solution to Darden's eviction notice.[52] The previous summer Keuper had contacted Shaw and Denius and asked them to become charter members of BEC's Board of Trustees. Both men supported the idea of forming a college, and Shaw agreed to serve. Denius, however, declined to join the board because of other commitments. Led by Clifford Mattox, president of DBM Corporation at Patrick Air Force Base, BEC's Board of Trustees held its first meeting on February 25 in the midst of the school board controversy.[53]

Denius and Shaw founded and served as directors of the First National Bank of Melbourne. They, along with BEC trustee and bank president Robert Brown, proposed a solution for the college's classroom problem. The bank owned the building that served as the old Methodist Church on Waverly Place in Mel-

51. *Melbourne Daily Times,* March 10, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:31.

52. Under Denius and Shaws' leadership Radiation, Inc. became one of the preeminent high tech corporations in Florida. Radiation, Inc. is known today as the Harris Corporation.

53. Keuper served as the board's chairman; Dibble was the secretary. Members included: Clifford Mattox, president of DBM Corporation at Patrick Air Force Base (AFB); Garrett Quick; Eau Gallie attorney; George Shaw, vice president, Radiation. Inc.. Melbourne: Ken McLaren, vice president, RCA; B. G. McNabb manager, Convair Astronautics, Patrick AFB; Col. Robert Workman, deputy chief of staff, personnel, Patrick AFB; and C. Robert Brown president of First National Bank. Also J. J. Finnegan, general manager, Port Malabar; Dr. Sam Wright, University of Florida; Norman S. Lund, chairman of joint council of Brevard Chambers of Commerce; Norman Bitterman, director of test engineering at Patrick AFB; Dr. John Sterner, vice president, Cordis Corporation, Miami; and Rev. Alex Boyer, rector Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Melbourne. See *Orlando Sentinel,* December 20, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:60.

bourne. The building was scheduled to be torn down. The bank offered to postpone the demolition and allow BEC use of the building for 1959-60 academic year.[54]

At the faculty dinner meeting on March 18 at the Belcelona Hotel in Melbourne, Keuper announced that Gertrude Martin, a leader in Melbourne Village and secretary for the University of Melbourne at its Country Club Road office, would serve as the school's registrar.[55] Keuper, however, did not tell the faculty that the school was facing a financial crisis. Many students could not afford to pay for their courses. RCA and the other base contractors had tuition refund and loan programs that paid for college courses. The catch was that the courses had to be taken from accredited colleges and universities. Because BEC was not accredited, students could not apply for tuition support. A grim-faced Bob Kelly, BEC's chief financial officer, who was known for his sense of humor, explained that this was no joking matter. If students did not receive tuition and loan support from their employers, many would not enroll in classes.

Keuper visited the RCA personnel director who told him that there was nothing he could do for BEC so long as the school was not accredited. Keuper recalled that the personnel director suggested that if he did not like the policy he should write to Dr. Robert Sarnoff, president and CEO of RCA, and request a change in company policy. Keuper took him at his word and wrote to Sarnoff.

Fortune intervened in the college's behalf. Apparently, Keuper's letter was lying on Sarnoffs desk when Irving Wolff, RCA's vice president for research, head of Princeton Labs, and chair of the company's education committee, arrived for an appointment. Later, Wolff recounted to Keuper the story of his introduction to BEC. Sarnoff handed the letter to Wolff and asked him what he thought about it. Wolff, who was nearing retirement, decided to visit BEC and investigate the school. A few days later Keuper received a letter informing him that Wolff was on his way. Keuper showed the letter to RCA's leaders at the Cape. They told Keuper that Wolff was his problem.[56]

Keuper picked Wolff up at the Melbourne airport in his 1952 MG convertible. Keuper apologized for not having a fancier car.

54. *Melbourne Daily Times,* March 10, 1959, Scrapbook, 1:31.
55. *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard Edition), March 19, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:30.
56. Keuper, interview.

Dean Harold L. Dibble holds first graduate Reagan Dubose's diploma as Dubose shakes hands with Brevard Engineering College founder Jerome Keuper. *Photograph courtesy of Florida Institute of Technology Historical Records, Special Collections, Evans Library, Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne.*

Wolff, however, was delighted. He loved the convertible and asked if he could drive it. Wolff, who had been a barnstorming pilot in his youth, listened to Keuper describe BEC as they sped across the Melbourne Causeway. Keuper remembered that there was "a good chemistry" between them from the start.[57] Leaving Melbourne, Wolff told a newspaper reporter that "Brevard Engineering College is contributing significantly to the added education of the engineers and scientists at the Atlantic Missile Range. The initiative and dedication of the college administration and teaching staff is very commendable and is an important factor in the project."[58]

Wolff wrote a memorandum to Robert Sarnoff when he returned to Princeton. Keuper remembered Wolff's description of the memorandum. Wolff had described the college in glowing terms.

57. Ibid.
58. *Orlando Evening Star* (Brevard Edition), June 9, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:35.

BEC was doing a great job for RCA's people at the Cape. Wolff advised Sarnoff to accept BEC's courses for the tuition refund and loan plan.[59] Sarnoff agreed.

RCA's approval of BEC's courses for the tuition refund and loan program in June 1959 saved the college. AVCO and Aerojet-General announced they would follow RCA's lead and give tuition refunds for BEC's courses. By September 1959, most of the base's contractors had approved the college for their individual tuition loan and refund plans.[60]

Irving Wolff became one of the college's staunchest supporters. In July 1959, Wolff presented BEC with a $2,400 gift from RCA. "This donation represents an unrestricted grant," Wolff explained, "and is to be used in defraying the operating expenses of the institution. The grant is made now to aid the financing of the college's immediate needs."[61] Wolff invited Keuper to visit him at the Prince-

Brevard Engineering College circa 1960. *Photograph courtesy of Florida Institute of Technology Historical Records, Special Collections, Evans Library, Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne.*

59. Keuper, interview.
60. *Miami Herald* (Brevard Edition), September 1, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:41.
61. *Melbourne Daily Times,* July 26, 1959, in Scrapbook, 1:38.

ton Labs. During one visit to New Jersey, Wolff gave Keuper complete bound sets of the *Physical Review* and *IRE* (Institute of Radio Engineers) journals for BEC's library. On another visit, Wolff told Keuper that he and Sarnoff would donate RCA surplus hardware for the college's labs. Keuper was told to pick out what he wanted and RCA would ship it down. Keuper told the lab director he wanted everything. Wolff ordered that "the barnful of electronics" be loaded onto an eighteen-wheeler and hauled to Florida.[62]

Classes for the fall semester began on September 21, 1959, at the old Methodist Church in Melbourne. Two hundred and forty-seven students were enrolled for classes. Graduate students outnumbered undergraduates 149 to 98. "They call it Countdown College," G. K. Hodenfield wrote in a nationally syndicated article describing the opening of classes. "The campus," Hodenfield continued, "is a former Methodist Church in Melbourne, but its laboratories are Cape Canaveral and Patrick Air Force Base. The Faculty includes some to the nation's top scientific talent– men who build rockets, fire them, and track them through uncharted space. The student body is a host of eager technicians and graduate engineers engaged in missile work."[63] Keuper and his confederates succeeded in starting a college. Their next challenge was finding it a permanent home.

62. Keuper, interview.
63. G. K. Hodenfield, "Countdown College," *Florida Magazine,* October 11, 1959, 12-G, in Scrapbook, 1:45.

Pensacola's Medical History: The Colonial Era, 1559-1821

by WILLIAM S. COKER

A number of studies have been written about various aspects of *Panzacola's* / Pensacola's medical history during the colonial era, which encompasses the first Spanish period (1559-1763), the British era (1763-1781), and the second Spanish presence (1781-1821). This essay attempts to synthesize the disparate studies of hospitals, doctors, patients, medicines, illnesses, diseases, and medical practices of colonial Pensacola. The cumulative record indicates that, despite their best efforts, medical practitioners encountered numerous problems, among them a shortage of personnel, funds, and medicines, as well as the prevalent fevers, over which they had no control.

When the 1,500-member expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano came to Pensacola Bay, then called *Santa María Filipina,* in 1559, medical personnel undoubtedly accompanied the expedition. However, the documents related to the excursion do not identify any of them, nor do they mention any hospital or infirmary.[1] After the Spaniards evacuated *Santa María Filipina* 1561, no settlement existed at Pensacola Bay until 1698.

Records pertaining to medical personnel and hospitals exist for the period following the establishment of the *Presidio Santa María de Galve* (on the grounds of the present-day Naval Air Station) in 1698. In 1701, Governor Andrés de Arriola built a hospital, *Nuestra Señora de las Angustias* (Our Lady of Afflictions), near Fort *San Carlos de Austria.*[2] Several surgeon-friars of the Order of Sun

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1. A careful review of Herbert Ingram Priestley, ed., *The Luna Papers: Documennts Relating to the Expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida* in 1559-1561, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1928), failed to uncover any references to doctors, hospitals, or medical services provided during the Luna expedition, 1559-61.
2. There are references to the hospital as both *San Juan de Dios* and *Santa María de Galve.* See William S. Coker and R. Wayne Childers, "Santa María de Galve: The First Permanent European Settlement on the Northern Gulf Coast, 1698-1722," in Virginia Parks, ed., *Santa María de Galve: A Story of Survival* (Pensacola, 1998), 26 n. 78, 35-37.

Juan de Dios served there, including Fr. Joseph Antonio de Espinosa Ocampo and Fr. Joseph de Salazar.[3] The large number of sick people– probably victims of malaria and yellow fever– prompted Arriola in 1702 to purchase a house from one of the soldiers to provide additional space for them.[4] By this time, however, the medicine was all gone "and the only cure possible was that of divine intervention."[5]

In approximately 1708, the governor moved the hospital inside the fort and two medico-friars, Fr. Juan de Chavarria and Fr. Felipe de Orbalaes, also of the Order of *San Juan* de *Dios,* served there.[6] On September 1, 1712, three bands of enemy Indians ambushed a large detachment of Spaniards outside Fort *San Carlos de Austria.* Among others they killed Surgeon Friar Orbalaes.[7]

A 1713 map of the area by Fr. Francois Le Maire, a French priest from Mobile who served at *Panzacola* for several years, identifies a building within the fort as the "Ospital." This is the only map that identifies any medical facilities at *Panzacola* during the first Spanish period, 1698-1719.[8] A 1699 map does show the location of the *"Entierro,"* or cemetery, which quickly grew in size because of the high death rate at the presidio.[9] Virtually nothing is known about the extent of illness and the number of deaths in the ensuing years except that both were high.

The French destroyed Fort *San Carlos de Austria* in 1719 and occupied Pensacola until 1722. In December of 1722, the Spaniards returned and established their new presidio on Santa Rosa Island. The Spaniards built a hospital there. The hurricane of November 3, 1752, destroyed all of the buildings except the storehouse and

3. Names of other friars who served at *Panzacola* during the first Spanish period, 1698-1719, and data on the hospitals are in Ibid., 21-56ff.
4. Ibid., 26.
5. W. B. Griffin, 'Spanish Pensacola, 1700-1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (January-April 1959), 251.
6. *"Autos* made upon the Measures taken for the Occupation and Fortification of *Santa María de Galve,"* William Edward Dunn Transcripts, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.
7. Governor Salinas de Varona to the Viceroy of New Spain, September 17, 1712, *Archivo General de Indias, Contaduría* 803, Sevilla, Spain.
8. Joseph Le Moyne de Sérigny's map and plan of Pensacola of 1720 identifies the buildings within the fort, but there is no reference to a hospital. See *NL, Cartes Marines* #85 *(Ms. Map) 135,* Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.
9. See William S. Coker, "The Village on the Red Cliffs," *Pensacola History Illustrated* 1 (1984), 24, for a reprint of the 1699 map.

hospital. Phelipe Feringan Cortes' map of 1755 shows the location of the hospital on the island. Obviously, some medical personnel and perhaps a doctor or two served there. In 1756, the Spaniards officially moved to the area of present-day downtown Pensacola.

In 1757, the new governor, Colonel Don Miguel Ramón de Castilla, began construction of a stockade within which a number of buildings were to be built including a hospital. The Spaniards completed much of the work by the summer of 1760. However, a hurricane in August of that year and a devastating attack by Indians the following spring "left the buildings in shambles." After the arrival of the new governor, Colonel Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, in October 1761, reconstruction of the buildings commenced, but by the time the British arrived in the summer of 1763, the Spaniards had accomplished little.[10]

More records concerning hospitals and medical personnel exist for the British period. In 1764, a surgeon, Dr. Samuel Fontinelle, and six mates composed the medical staff in British West Florida. Virtually nothing, however, is known about Dr. Fontinelle. In August 1765, Dr. John Lorimer came to Pensacola from London as the surgeon for the military hospitals in West Florida. He remained in West Florida for the next seventeen years. Unfortunately, he had arrived at a bad time.[11]

In August and September 1765, Pensacola residents suffered from a series of epidemics: yellow fever ("putrid bilious fever"), dysentery ("flux"), typhus ("hospital" or "jail fever"), typhoid, and malaria. By September, the diseases had killed four officers, five out of six officers' wives, and some 100 men– twenty per cent of Pensacola's population. The residents blamed part of the problem upon a shortage of medicine.[12]

The following year, 1766, showed no improvement. The British used a barracks as the hospital, but the roof leaked and the windows remained uncovered. The hospital had no kitchen or chim-

10. A. B. Thomas, *Report on Documentary Evidence Bearing on Early Colonial Structures in the Historic District,* Historic Preservation Planning Study (CPA-P122) (Pensacola, 1971), 2. References to the hospital on Santa Rosa Island are in Stanley Faye, "The Spanish and British Fortifications of Pensacola, 1698-1821," *Pensacola Historical Society Quarterly* 6 (April 1972), 163-64. For a convenient survey of Pensacola's history, 1698-1763, see William S. Coker and Jerrell H. Shofner, *Florida: From the Beginning to 1992* (Houston, 1992), 34-39.
11. Robert R. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,' West Florida, 1763-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47 (April 1969), 346-47.
12. Ibid., 348.

ney. In November 1766, the General Assembly of British West Florida estimated the cost of hospitals for Pensacola and Mobile at ƒ1,500. In comparison, they estimated the cost of the governor's house in Pensacola at ƒ2,500.[13] Thus ƒ1,500 would not have built much of a hospital.

The arrival of Brigadier General Frederick Haldimand in March 1767 brought some improvement in the town and in the soldiers' living conditions. Construction on a new hospital began in May; the work was completed and the hospital ready for use by the end of the month. In addition, the workers widened the walls of the fort to increase circulation, constructed privies, drained the swamp around the town, developed gardens, and improved the water supply. Haldimand believed these changes would reduce illness in Pensacola.[14]

Dr. Lorimer also wrote to General Haldimand with some ideas on maintaining the soldiers' and workers' health. Lorimer recommended the construction of a two-story barracks to foster better circulation. He demanded that greater attention be paid to cleanliness. Drinking water obtained from the nearby swamps should be boiled. Beer should be brewed and, along with rum and grog, made available to the men. Beef, wild fowl, venison, fish, and fresh vegetables should be procured. "Mustard & viniger or sour Crout" ought to be provided to accompany the salt meat in the messes, and "Portable Soup" prepared for the sick. The hospitals should be allowed wine, brown sugar, and lime or orange juice with barley or oatmeal. Lorimer even prescribed a week's menu for one man. He believed extra rations of rum would also be helpful. In practice, Lorimer substituted Madeira wine for rum for the patients. The patients overindulged, however, and Haldimand cut off the supply.[15] Although too early to tell whether Haldimand's improvements and Lorimer's recommendations helped, statistics from July 1765 to July 1767 show a high death rate for Pensacola:

13. Ibid., 345-49; Robert R. Rea and Milo B. Howard Jr., compilers, *The Minutes, Journals, and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida* (Tuscaloosa, 1979), 45-50; Robert Edward Gray, "Elias Durnford, 1739-1794: Engineer, Soldier, Administrator" (master's thesis, Auburn University, 1971), 32-33.
14. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,"' 351.
15. "A Letter from a British Surgeon," in James R. McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1974), 86-87. The letter was dated April 1, 1767. Haldimand switched the sick from wine back to rum. See Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,"' 352.

196 officers and men, 28 women, and 44 children. Although they also blamed other diseases for the high death count, the medical officers believed the principal cause of fatalities came from "malignant and bilious fever."[16]

The medical personnel believed most illnesses to be a type of "fever," and because fevers ran high during the summer months, Dr. Lorimer met with General Haldimand and his staff and recommended that no troops be sent to Pensacola between May and September. The winter months, he believed, would be the best time for new troops to arrive. Whether this recommendation was ever put into effect is unknown.[17]

Eventually, and despite the large number of patients, General Haldimand received orders to reduce the hospital staff. He ordered Dr. Lorimer to Mobile where the sickness rate ran higher than in Pensacola. He further instructed Dr. Lorimer to keep a journal and report on how the soldiers and newly arrived settlers could improve their health. Although Dr. Lorimer protested his transfer to higher authority, he did move to Mobile temporarily. While there he came down with a serious attack of fever. After recovering from this sickness, he asked to return to Pensacola. By late August 1769, he again resided there. He wrote his report about his experience in Mobile in December 1769.[18] During the remainder of the British presence in West Florida, the sickness rate did not improve significantly.

Only "military" (and not "civilian") hospitals existed in Pensacola during the British era. As might be anticipated, the available statistics show a much higher death rate for civilian residents than for military personnel.[19]

When the Spaniards captured Pensacola from the British in May of 1781, both sides suffered numerous casualties. The medical staffs of both armies became hard pressed to care adequately for the wounded. Although the figures vary depending upon the

16. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,"' 353.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 356-60. Dr. Lorimer's report on Mobile may be read in Laura D. S. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 41 (November-December, 1967), 545-46. Harrel's article contains a good overview of the medical situation at Mobile. See pp. 539-47.
19. Harrel, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida," 557-58.

sources consulted, the Spaniards suffered 96 killed and 202 wounded, while the British incurred 90 dead and 83 wounded.[20] "Graveyard for Britons," the name given to Mobile by the British, was soon expanded to include all of West Florida. More precisely, the name should have been "Graveyard for Britons and Spaniards."[21] Dr. Lorimer and two assistant surgeons, Jonathan Ogden and John Ramsay, and the assistant surgeon from the British Royal Navy Redoubt, Michael Grant, became prisoners-of-war at the time of the British surrender on May 10, 1781. Even so, they continued their medical work. A reference to an assistant surgeon at the Royal Navy Redoubt, located on or near the site of the old Spanish Fort *San Carlos de Austria,* indicates that the British supplied medical care to persons in that area. At the time of the siege in 1781, 139 persons occupied the Redoubt.[22] What kind of facility they used as the hospital is unknown. It probably consisted of no more than a room, or at most a small building.

A brief record exists of the treatment prescribed for Joseph Molina by Dr. Lorimer and three assistant surgeons. Molina was seriously wounded on May 6, 1781; the date of the treatment is listed as May 30. Although not unusual, it is interesting that Molina, a Spaniard and a lieutenant in the Aragon Regiment, was treated by British surgeons. They moved the patient into a room which, they directed, should be kept clean and cool. The wound should be wiped clean "and dressed with [the] finest dry lint," with a warm poultice consisting of "oatmeal softened with olive oil" applied twice daily. They ordered that every twenty-four hours he should receive a warm bath in which he should remain for ten minutes "if his strength will admit." He should also receive opium and an equal quantity of wine. Every half hour, or as often as he could take it, he

20. William S. and Hazel P. Coker, *Siege of Pensacola, 1781, in Maps with Data on Troop Strength, Military Units, Ships, Casualties, and Related Statistics* (Pensacola, 1981), 120-21.

21. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,"' 345-64. Rea states that the British gave the term "Graveyard for Britons" to West Florida because "it shared with the West Indies a host of fevers, agues, and complaints for which the eighteenth century had no effective remedies." See Robert R. Rea, "Pensacola Under the British (1763-1781)" in McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola,* 75. For diseases in East and West Florida during the British period see Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775; reprint, New Orleans, 1961), 151-72. Romans visited Pensacola in 1771. For diseases affecting slaves in West Florida such as yaws, leprosy, and elephantiasis see Robin F. A. Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), 45.

22. Coker and Coker, *Siege of Pensacola,* 118-19,123.

should be given a pint of "Peruvian Bark" *[cinchona]*. They further directed that he be fed "light Broths," a generous glass of wine three or four times a day, and his body "kept open with Emollient clysters [enemas]." "The Patient should be frequently shifted with clean linen, which should first be well air'd."[23] From this example, it is obvious that the British surgeons showed concern for their patients whether friend or foe. Available information does not indicate whether Lt. Molina survived.

Along with the other prisoners, Dr. Lorimer and the medical officers soon received parole and left Pensacola for New York in early June 1781.[24] Although the British did not officially give Pensacola back to Spain until 1783, the Spaniards occupied it from May 10, 1781, until July 17, 1821.

Where did the British build their hospitals in Pensacola? The so-called Elias Durnford maps of 1763, 1765, 1767, and 1778 show four different sites for the British hospitals. Since Durnford, the engineer and surveyor for British West Florida, did not arrive until 1764, he could not have drawn the 1763 map, which is credited to him. The hospitals were either located within the walls of the fort or nearby. All, however, existed in today's downtown historic district. One investigator concluded: "From this picture of changing location, it is evident that the hospital was not a specialized structure but was whatever convenient unused building was available for the purpose."[25]

23. "1781 Doctors' Orders," in McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola*, 118. The "opinion" was signed by J. Lorimer, chief surgeon, W. Grant, assistant, John Ramsay, and Park Maxwell. For the identification of the patient as a Spaniard see. Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish Medical Care in the Mobile District: Advance or Retarded," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 71 (July 1984), 467; and Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," unpublished manuscript (1970), 72, copy in Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola. See this manuscript, pp. 71-79, for some of the medical officers at the siege of Pensacola and for those who served at Pensacola, 1781-1821. Holmes spent much time and effort recording the medical history of Spain on the Gulf Coast. In addition to the manuscripts already mentioned, see "Medical Practice in Louisiana, 1769-1806," paper delivered at the Louisiana Historical Association Meeting, Thibodaux, Louisiana, in March 1984. Copy in possession of William M. Straight, Miami.
24. For casualty and prisoner figures see Coker and Coker, *Siege of Pensacola*, 88, 120-23; J. Barton Starr, *Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida* (Gainesville, 1976), 212.
25. James B. Shaeffer, *Historical District Archaeology Survey*, Historic Preservation Planning Study (CPA-P122) (Pensacola, 1971), 10.

The Spaniards called the first Spanish hospital in Pensacola in 1781 a "makeshift campaign hospital," which they soon made into a permanent building. The Spaniards then named it the "Royal Hospital of Our Lady of Carmen." But like similar hospitals on the Spanish frontier, it proved to be primitive at best. The Spaniards occupied Pensacola in mid-May, a typically unhealthy season. Victims of the constant epidemics quickly filled the hospital. In desperation, nearby buildings such as a blockhouse and the lower floors of the barracks soon filled with patients.[26]

As might be anticipated, money for hospitals and medical staff remained scarce, and Pensacola never seemed to have enough of either. Early hospital staff included a comptroller, director of admissions, surgeon-general, chief medic, two surgical medics, an apothecary with an assistant, two orderlies, two male nurses, and a cook. The monthly payroll of $5,040 was paid from Spain. That disbursement did not include the cost of food and medicine, which the government also covered.[27]

By 1799, the Pensacola hospital remained in dire circumstances, and the governor expressed displeasure with the head surgeon. In that year, Governor Vicente Folch y Juan requested $3,000 for repairs to the building. If the work remained undone, he reported, "the patients would continue to lie in muddy puddles when it rained and be exposed to being buried alive should a hurricane's breath touch the dilapidated hospital." He also recommended that the head surgeon be replaced. The governor complained that the surgeon was too old and refused to see patients at night. Folch wrote: "[T]o have no doctor is less harmful than to acquire an ignoramus, and since the salary is a good one, and since the town has no other doctor, we ought to be able to bestow the position on a person well-known for his ability."[28] Finally, in 1804, Folch received word from his superiors that they recognized the need to build a new hospital and pharmacy in Pensacola, and that they planned to submit the request to do so to the king.[29]

26. Jack D. L. Holmes, "Medical Highlights and Personalities," unpublished manuscript (n.d.) 1-2, Pensacola Historic Preservation Board.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 1. On Folch's very unhappy report about the medical facilities, the surgeon, etc., see Jack D. L. Holmes "Hospital Conditions in Pensacola, 1799," 1-4. See also Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," 72-73. All of these are unpublished manuscripts on file at the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board.
29. Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," 72-73.

Details are not available about the construction of the Spanish hospital in Pensacola. Two hospitals existed in the Pensacola area during the latter years of the Spanish occupation, one in the town of *Panzacola,* and a second near the new Fort *San Carlos de Barrancas* on the grounds of the present-day Naval Air Station. The United States Navy built its first hospital on the Pensacola Navy Yard during the years 1832 to 1834. One author, Edmund P. Halley, notes that a hospital on the hill at Barrancas was in too poor a condition to warrant repair.[30] This obviously refers to the Spanish military hospital. The Spanish hospital in Pensacola was named "Royal Hospital of Our Lady of Carmen," but no name has been discovered for the hospital near the fort.[31]

It is unclear how the Spaniards obtained their medicine. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Scottish merchants of John Forbes and Company, among them James Innerarity, supplied the medicine for the Mobile hospital and probably for Pensacola, too.[32] Prior to that, its predecessor, Panton, Leslie and Company, also a Scottish firm, may have acquired the medicine for the Spanish hospitals in West Florida.[33] Medicines known to have been used include "Glover's [Glauber's] salt, powdered quinine, cream of tartar, LaMar, Storax, digestive unguents, Epsom salts, mercury and vitriol." They used two medicines, tincture of mercury and Olvenza's powder, to treat syphilitic herpes.[34]

By 1815, Desiderio Quina, of Genoa, Italy, at one time an employee of John Forbes and Company, served as Pensacola's apothecary. He used his home on South Alcaniz Street as his pharmacy.

30. Edmund P. Halley, *The U.S. Naval Hospital, Pensacola, Florida, and Its Historical Heritage* (Pensacola, 1946), n.p.
31. That two hospitals existed can be noted by references to Dr. Fernando Moreno moving back and forth between them. See Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell, *Our Family, Facts and Fancies: The Moreno and Related Families* (Pensacola, 1988). See also Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," 75-76.
32. James Innerarity was in charge of John Forbes and Company in Mobile for many years. See William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes* & Company, 1783-1847 (Gainesville, 1986), 276, 279, 312.
33. Holmes, "Spanish Medical Care in the Mobile District," 466. John Forbes and Company, the successor firm to Panton, Leslie and Company, controlled much of the Mobile and Pensacola trade during the second Spanish period, 1801-1821. Coker and Watson, *Indian Trade of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands,* 235-349.
34. William M. Straight to author, January 6, 1996. Mary Catherine Smith, "Hospitals and the Practice of Medicine in Spanish Pensacola," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 56 (August 1969), 631.

There persons could purchase a variety of herbs and medicines, and it became one of the busiest places in town.[35]

Pensacolans also suffered from a constant shortage of trained medical personnel which, in part, may be attributed to the strict licensing regulations. The law required that all physicians, surgeons, and pharmacists pass an examination. In fact, in 1795, King Carlos IV of Spain issued a decree requiring all surgeons to have a bachelor's degree and to be examined by a medical board.[36]

Regulations also required the doctors to make regular visits to see their patients: during the summer they were to call at 5 A.M. and 3 P.M., and in the winter at 6 A.M. and 2 P.M. The regulations also set the standards for beds, mattresses, sheets, and pillows. The beds had to be changed whenever the sheets became soiled and the wool mattresses removed if the weather got too warm.[37]

There is little doubt that fevers created the most serious medical problems, especially *vómito negro*, or yellow fever, and malaria. A noted Cuban physician, Dr. Tomás Romay, in 1804, blamed yellow fever upon "the internal and diabolical essence in the atmosphere of the Americas."[38] Not until 1900 did researchers identify the mosquito as the carrier of this dreaded disease. But Pensacola did not lack for visitors who expressed their opinions about the town's unhealthy conditions.

Colonel John Pope, a Revolutionary War veteran, made an extensive tour of Indian and Spanish territory in 1790-1791. He stopped at Pensacola in May 1791. He noted that while the governor, Colonel Arturo O'Neill, had not been sick in nearly eleven years at Pensacola, the same could not be said for the troops. The soldiers, Pope wrote, "whose Mode of Living, will, at all times and in all Places, be productive of complicated Diseases. Inordinate Use of Ardent Spirits and bad Wine, superadded to high seasoned Meats and promiscuous Intercourse with lewd women will disorder any but the most robust Habit of Body."[39]

35. See foreword, "Medical Receipts of Yesteryear," pamphlet, n.d., in Medical File, Pensacola Historical Society.
36. Holmes, "Spanish Medical Care in the Mobile District," 466.
37. Ibid.
38. William S. Coker and John R. McNeill, "Dr. Tomás Romay's unpublished manuscript on yellow fever, June 27, 1804," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 71 (July 1984), 459.
39. John Pope, *A Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of America.* A facsimile reproduction of the 1792 edition with an introduction and indexes by J. Barton Starr (Gainesville, 1979), XVIII, 44.

Another visitor, C. C. Robin, arrived in Pensacola in 1803, one of the few years when Pensacola stayed relatively free of fevers. He noted that the pure air there attracted sick persons from as far away as Louisiana to recuperate. He also singled out "Madame d'Alva, a Frenchwoman originally from Louisiana, married to a Spaniard, who is director of the hospital. One could scarcely carry the virtues of nursing further. Her generous benevolence extends to everyone in the settlement who needs her."[40] Robin was referring to Victoria Lesassier, wife of Pedro de Alba.

The names of seventeen of those so employed are recorded, but there were probably others.[41] One source states that the Pensacola census of 1820 lists only one *médico* (doctor), Dr. Juan Brosnaham. However, that census also includes Eugenio Sierra, a surgeon. In addition, Pedro de Alba may still have been hospital director, and his wife, Victoria, a nurse; both are listed as "civil servant" in the 1820 census.[42]

One person, Dr. Fernando Moreno (1771-1830), served at Pensacola as a medical officer on several occasions between 1790 and 1819. Fernando's great-grandson, Dr. Stephen Russell Mallory Kennedy (1878-1923), also served as a medical officer at Pensacola.[43] Born in Malaga, Spain, in 1771, Fernando's family came to New Orleans when he was quite young. Although the details are thin, he came to Pensacola as a "medical intern" about 1790.[44] He then left Pensacola and served in hospitals in Louisiana for several years. In 1809, Dr. Moreno replaced Dr. Juan Gallegos as surgeon at the Hospital of Our Lady of Carmen in Pensacola. Three years later, he moved to the hospital at Fort *San Carlos de Barrancas* as surgeon with a salary of thirty-five pesos per month plus rations. They transferred him to the *Hospital de Sangre* [Hospital of Blood] at Mobile as interim surgeon, again replacing Dr. Gallegos, on April 4, 1813. However, General James Wilkinson of the U.S. Army took

40. C. C. Robin, *Voyage to Louisiana, 1803-1805,* trans. by Stuart O. Landry Jr. (New Orleans, 1966), 3-4.
41. See Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," 71-79, for biographical sketches of these seventeen.
42. Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish Dominion, 1781-1821," in McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola,* 96; William S. Coker and G. Douglas Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820: A Genealogical Guide to Spanish Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1980), 102, 107, 122.
43. Biographical data on both Dr. Fernando Moreno and Dr. S. R. Mallory Kennedy may be found in Mandrell, *Our Family, Facts and Fancies.*
44. Medical training and terminology for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries differed from that used in the twentieth century.

Mobile from Spain on April 13, and Dr. Moreno returned to *San Carlos de Barrancas* on April 22.[45] In 1817, he became surgeon at the Pensacola hospital, replacing Dr. Juan Alech, who had moved to the *San Carlos de Barrancas* hospital. On April 30, 1817, Dr. Moreno applied for retirement. As of that date, he had served as medical trainee, intern, and surgeon in Louisiana and West Florida for a total of thirty-four years, five months.

But Spanish officials denied Dr. Moreno's request for retirement. Two years later, in 1819, he asked to be appointed Chief Pharmacist of the Royal Hospital of Our Lady of Carmen. Apparently, that request, too, was denied, because two months later, on June 23, 1819, Dr. Moreno appeared in Havana. He spent his last years there and died in Havana in 1830.[46]

The Spanish and British medical situation in Pensacola suffered from a shortage of funds, facilities, personnel, and the prevalent fevers. In spite of these problems, the medical staff worked hard to care for the sick and wounded. Unfortunately, they faced a "no win" situation.

45. See H. Wesley Odom, "Cayetano Pérez and the Fall of Mobile," (master's thesis, University of West Florida, 1977), 58-61, for the name of the Mobile hospital and Wilkinson's stop there.
46. Mandrell, *Our Family, Facts* and *Fancies*, 2-30.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine: The People and Their Homes. By Albert Manucy. (University Press of Florida, 1997. xv, 160 pp. List of figures, maps and table, preface, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

The late Albert Manucy had a lifelong fascination with the architecture of his native city. From that came *The Houses of St. Augustine, 1565 to 1821* (1962), several years of field research in Spain studying folk architecture at a time (1962, 1973) when such studies were just beginning, and now this book. The work combines what little documentary and graphic information we have about housing in the sixteenth-century town with equally scant archaeological data and the abundant information gleaned from Manucy's studies in Spain. Superbly written, illustrated, and produced, it is a pleasure to read.

After an introduction that recalls the history of interest in historical reconstruction in St. Augustine (a tale easily worth the price of the book), Manucy reviews archaeological research and the earliest days of the town in the 1560s. Somewhat longer chapters follow on the nine wooden forts, on what is known of daily life, and on locally available building materials. The heart of the book are the discussions of how structures and wells and other features were laid out on the town's lots and of three classes of homes that reflect the three different socioeconomic levels into which St. Augustine's society can be divided. In these chapters, Manucy adopted the device of linking actual historical persons with particular socio-economic levels and housing types. This makes the book interesting and appealing to the non-specialist, but the fact is that we have only one clear linkage of status and building type: that of the governor in *circa* 1595, whose two-story board-covered house (of which he complained) is shown on the fort and town plan of that year.

Each chapter is lavishly illustrated with Manucy's own careful drawings of house and lot plans, elevations, and details of construction techniques (as found in Spanish examples). The result is a manual that could be used to reconstruct an imagined sixteenth-century village. And indeed, much of the impetus for this book

arose from just such a project during the 1970s a project that was abandoned by the St. Augustine Restoration Foundation as uneconomical after a great deal of research had been done. The film, *Dream of Empire,* a host of unpublished studies (many cited in this book's bibliography), and this book are among the lasting results. Manucy was a key member of that research team.

This otherwise superb work has two minor flaws. The reconstruction drawings for the fourth and fifth forts (1571-85) (Figures 4.4 and 4.5) are incorrectly captioned as the eighth fort, and the Spanish word *alcalde* is mistranslated as "mayor" rather than its closest English equivalent: "justice of the peace" (110-112).

In sum, this is a beautifully written, illustrated, and produced book, the summation of a life of study and thought. I only regret that Al is not with us to enjoy the pleasure it will give to all who read it. Having been present at its beginnings as sketches in the 1970s, I am glad that my friend and teacher lived to complete it.

Louisiana State University PAUL E. HOFFMAN

Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms. By Charles Hudson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997. xxii, 561 pp. List of illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, afterword, notes, index. $34.95 hardcover.)

Hudson's exemplary interdisciplinary study identifies the route followed by Hernando de Soto's entrada and matches the native peoples the expedition encountered to Native American cultures known to exist in the mid-sixteenth century wherever that was possible. It is the fruit of almost two decades of extensive research by Hudson and by many prominent archaeologists over the last quarter of a century. Several of them collaborated with him as students. Hudson is co-author of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida,* published four years ago, which provided, along with other topics, an in-depth study of de Soto's route through the state of Florida. John R. Swanton's *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission,* published in 1939, was the last work on this topic that has the scope of Hudson's volume. But Swanton did not have access to the detailed archaeological knowledge about native sites in the Southeast that is available today.

In two opening chapters Hudson discusses the nature of the separate worlds of early-sixteenth-century Spain and of the Native

American Southeast and de Soto's preparations for the expedition in Spain and Cuba. In the subsequent fifteen chapters he follows the expedition's progress from its Tampa Bay landing site to East Texas, its return to the Mississippi River, and the flight down to the mouth of that river after spending a winter at the as yet unidentified site of Aminoya while building the vessels that would carry the survivors to Mexico. Four of those chapters portray the expedition's experiences and the people among whom they lived during the four winters de Soto's men spent in the Southeast. These encampments were in the Apalachee village of Anhayca, the Chickasaw settlement of Chicaza, at Utiangue on the Arkansas River, probably a few miles downstream from present-day Little Rock, and at Aminoya. In those chapters Hudson skillfully weaves together an account of the expedition's experiences, the native cultures the Spaniards encountered, and the natural environment in the sixteenth-century geographic districts through which they moved.

Two final chapters successively describe the trip onward to Mexico City and events involving the expedition's survivors after it ended, a legal struggle over money between de Soto's wife and his partner, Hernán Ponce de Leon, and the decline of the chiefdoms with which the expedition had come into contact.

Hudson uses the chapter-length afterword to assess the value of the distinct documentary sources for the expedition and translations of them and to discuss the history of research on the route and controversies to which the results of the research have given rise. It includes an effective refutation of Patricia Galloway's arguments that the Gentleman of Elvas's account "is cribbed from Rangel."

The author has substantially kept a pledge made in the preface to present his account in a swiftly moving narrative form by relegating many matters of scholarly interpretation, the discussion of inconsistencies in the sources, and the differing views of other scholars on particular points to the endnotes and the afterword. In dealing with alternative interpretations and people with an avocational interest in the expedition, Hudson has wisely avoided the vituperative tone that marred a few of the articles written by critics of his proposed route.

Although the author states that one of the principal objectives of his book is to delimit de Soto's route "close to the one that the expedition actually followed," he recognizes that future archaeological discoveries of sites at which the expedition stopped may change a few of his conclusions or suggestions. Unless and until

that happens, his work will remain the authoritative one and few will differ substantially with most of his conclusions.

The book's ninety-one illustrations and ten maps greatly enhance its attractiveness and usefulness. On the negative side, while Hudson warns his readers frequently about the need for caution in taking Garcilaso de la Vega's statements at face value, this reader felt that, on occasion, Hudson himself placed too much confidence in the reliability of Garcilaso's account and in the Varner and Varner translation of the same. The index is not as comprehensive as some readers might wish, but those minor shortcomings will not diminish the book's importance as the major source of information on all aspects of this topic for the foreseeable future.

San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site JOHN H. HANN

The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast. Edited by Patricia Galloway. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. xvi, 457 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, acknowledgments, introduction, index. $60.00 cloth.)

Patricia Galloway, author of *Choctaw Genesis 1500-1700* (1995) and the editor of previous volumes in the fields of archaeology, ethnohistory, and historiography, has collected nineteen essays about the Hernando de Soto expedition, four of them written or coauthored by herself. With a strong background in languages and comparative literature, Galloway is well known to southeastern scholars as an advocate of modern critical editions and a voice for stricter standards in the use of historical texts. This volume, supported by the Mississippi Historical Society and the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain and the United States, is evidence of the growing sophistication of southeastern research surrounding the 450th anniversary of the Soto expedition as compared to the methodological naivete at the time of the 400th, when ethnologist John R. Swanton was commissioned to map the route.

No brief review can do justice to the breadth of interpretation and the variety of data and approaches in the volume, some appearing for the first time and some reprising monographs. Curt Lamar described Soto's meteoric rise in the conquests of Tierra Firme and Peru, where, Lawrence J. Goodman and John R.

Wunder remind us, he left a *mestiza* daughter. In 1537 Charles V named Soto governor of Cuba and *adelantado* of Florida, free to conquer from New Spain to Newfoundland. Ignacio Avellaneda, focusing on logistics and personnel, finds that Soto spent eleven months at Santiago putting together his army of 650 before embarking for Florida in 1539. Over a third of the expedition's 258 survivors signed on in Cuba. As Robert S. Weddle shows, the chronicles of the expedition lack the kind of geographical data that would enable scholars to determine the landing site and reconstruct the route, for good reason: none of the men with Soto was capable of instrument navigation on land. Soon losing touch with his ships, unable to orient himself geographically, mistrustful of guides, he traveled from chiefdom to chiefdom in the southeastern interior, extorting food and service. At the Mississippi River the *adelantado* died, and Luis de Moscoso Alvarado assumed command of the dwindling army. After marching westward as far as Texas, they returned to the Mississippi, built boats, and followed the coast to Pánuco, which they reached in 1543.

Scholars are still assessing the impact of the invasion upon southeastern chiefdoms. Ann F. Ramenofsky and Patricia Galloway conclude that the expedition introduced at least ten new diseases, only three of which required direct contact; five of them were carried by swine and two by insects. Jay K. Johnson, on the other hand, cautions against holding Europeans accountable for all southeastern sociopolitical devolution. He finds that the Chickasaw shift from river bottoms and mound construction to dispersed settlements on the prairie predated Soto's arrival.

The expedition left little direct documentation. Only one holographic manuscript survives, a brief report by the expedition's royal factor, Luis Hernández de Biedma, who, Ida Altman cautions, had his own point of view and objective. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés incorporated into his *Historia general de las Indias* much of a diary kept by Soto's secretary Rodrigo de Ranjel. Juan Bautista de Avalle-Arce positions the *Historia* within Oviedo's *ouevres,* José Rabasa reveals how thoroughly the chronicler disliked the conqueror, and Ralph H. Vigil uses Oviedo to situate Soto in relation to the Spanish struggle for justice in the New World.

In the two other secondary sources, Patricia Galloway finds evidence of intertextuality. The "Fidalgo de Elvas" account published by André de Burgos borrowed from Ranjel, and the highly literary *Florida* by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega borrowed from Elvas and,

on the principle of "Indian uniformitarianism," from Inca ethnography (28). Lee Dowling examines Garcilaso's literary models and his choice of a *mestizo* authorial voice. Martin Malcolm Elbl and Ivana Elbl, uncovering the context of sixteenth-century publishing, identify the Gentlemen of Elvas as André de Vasconcelos and suggest that another hand doctored his soldierly account for the Estremaduran market with speeches and other literary motifs in imitation of García de Resende. As the contributors repeatedly point out, although English translations of the Soto narratives have recently been published in *The De Soto Chronicles* (2 vols., 1993), not one of them has yet been published in a modern critical edition.

The endeavor to reconstruct the Soto route draws fire from all sides. Ross Hassig, in a discussion of the league, concludes that sixteenth-century distance was a function of time and that the only unit that mattered was a full day's journey. Jack D. Elliott Jr. challenges the practice of projecting nineteenth-century roads three centuries into the past. David Henige, placing Garcilaso's rhetoric in context, attacks scholars who use "data bytes" from the Inca's nonfactual text to construct "a composite 'super-text'" of the expedition's itinerary and on its basis reconstruct a route otherwise unretrievable (167). The principal object of their fire, Charles Hudson, author of a map of the most probable Soto route, responds that critical standards can be set unrealistically high and that the evidence of intertextuality among the Soto narratives is weak. He and his colleagues used every scrap of information available, including the Juan de la Bandera relation of Juan Pardo's expeditions of 1566-68, and drew on the expertise of archaeologists in every Soto state.

Taking a historiographical approach to the problem of ethnohistorical methodology, Galloway shows how Swanton's Direct Historical Approach, which consisted of putting together "a narrative reconstruction of the events of the expedition without specific source citation" (285), has been largely replaced by the *Annales* model, which renounces narrative in favor of tabular facts. Neither one, she declares, is appropriate for the analysis of sixteenth-century sources, adamantly narrative and non-tabular. What is needed is a model flexible enough to admit the catalytic event. Clearly, for southeastern Indians in the mid-sixteenth century that event was Soto's marauding army, moving at the pace of pigs.

College of Charleston AMY TURNER BUSHNELL

From Pensacola to Belize: An American's Odyssey Through Mexico in 1903. By F. F. Bingham. (Bagdad: Patagonia Press, 1997. xviii, 93 pp. List of maps and illustrations, introduction, acknowledgments, dedication, bibliography, index. $8.95 paper plus tax, plus $2.00 shipping.)

Frasier Franklin Bingham (1872-1953) came to Pensacola at age eighteen in 1890. He worked as a stenographer and clerk with a local lumber company and eventually became assistant general manager until the company closed in 1930. He then became interested in real estate and developed a reputation as an expert in that field. But Bingham also enjoyed writing.

In 1913 Bingham published *Ashore at Maiden's Walk*, a novel about blockade runners in West Florida during the Civil War. He also wrote an interesting and enjoyable account of his family's summer vacations in a small cabin cruiser entitled *Log of the Peep O'Day: Summer Cruises in West Florida Waters, 1912-1915*. Bryan R. Rucker and Nathan F. Woolsey edited and published this "log" in 1991.

From Pensacola to Belize consists of a number of accounts written by Bingham in the summer of 1903 regarding his experiences and travels in Mexico that year. He went to Frontera, Mexico, that summer to recover his ship, the *Richard A. Bingham*, which had been carrying lumber from Pensacola to Belize. Bad weather, however, damaged the ship and forced the captain to take refuge in Frontera. Bingham made the trip from Pensacola to Mexico City, and then to Veracruz by rail. From Veracruz to Frontera he traveled by boat.

Bingham's account is interesting and humorous. He describes the terrain, the cities, the people (both Mexicans and foreigners), a bullfight, the yellow fever epidemic and the hordes of mosquitoes encountered, and gives a brief insight into Mexican politics of that day. Bingham discusses some of the local officials in the towns he visited. Eleven years later, in 1914, as a result of the Mexican Revolution, Bingham edited his 1903 essays. The *Pensacola Journal* published them in twelve consecutive Sunday editions, May 10 to July 26, 1914.

Dr. Rucker wrote an introduction which places Bingham's account in its proper historical context. He includes some footnotes to help clarify and properly identify some of the people and places. Also included are pictures of the Bingham family, some illustrations, and maps.

This is an interesting account– sometimes humorous and sometimes serious– of Bingham's travels in the summer of 1903. You can read it in an evening before or after your favorite sporting event. I believe you will enjoy it.

University of West Florida WILLIAM S. COKER

Edison in Florida: The Green Laboratory. By Olav Thulesius. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997. xii, 150 pp. Introduction, chronology, photographs, illustrations, notes, index. $29.95.)

Thomas Edison, whom contemporaries called the Wizard of Menlo Park and whom biographer Neil Baldwin recently described as "the Inventor of the Twentieth Century," wintered in Florida during the years between his first visit in 1885 and his death in the fall of 1931. During this span of five decades, Edison and his family interacted with their Florida neighbors and the environment, making a significant impact on both the "snowbirds" and the region. Sadly, little scholarly work has attempted to document Edison's tenure on the rough frontier of Florida's west coast. Olav Thulesius seeks to fill the gap with a narrative that describes Edison's life in Florida while placing specific emphasis on his research in the "Green Laboratory." His premise is that the foresighted Edison demonstrated "green" research that seeks to protect and promote ecology and the environment. Regrettably the author's success in this ambitious endeavor is limited. The book is timely but does not successfully acquaint the reader with Edison's life in Florida. It also fails to clearly demonstrate that Edison's research was indeed "green." Further, so many of his assumptions and conclusions are based on secondary material and non-contemporary reports that the accuracy of his work is called into question.

From the title, it would be logical to assume *Edison in Florida* deals predominantly with the inventor's experiences. The first four chapters detail life in Florida prior to the turn of the century. The author provides few details of Edison's visits to the state. The same is true for the remaining chapters which comment upon the changes to southwest Florida's landscape, but not upon Edison's role in the larger community.

The subtitle, *The Green Laboratory*, seeks to promote Edison as a "green" inventor, one who advocated the protection and promo-

tion of the environment in his personal life and experimentation. This argument is flawed from the onset. First, Edison's original electrical laboratory was not literally green and there is no cited evidence that its purpose was even marginally environmental. Second, the book fails to prove that Edison was personally environmentally minded. Many references are based on Edison's wife's and son Theodore's interest in nature and conservation, rather than his own. Third, there is a complete failure to demonstrate that Edison's rubber research, a search for a domestic source of natural rubber conducted in the second laboratory, the rubber laboratory, was motivated by environmental sensitivity. Finally, the inventor's decades of experimentation with dangerous toxic sub stances such as radium is completely ignored.

Thulesius, a professor and vice dean for research in medicine, presents Edison best within his own fields of expertise. Although some would disagree with his portrayal of the inventor as a shaman-type "medicine man," the chapter containing information on the inventor's experiments with x-rays and electric shock therapy is generally better documented and the author seems more comfortable with the material. The same cannot be said for the "The Nobel Prize," a chapter dedicated to a prize that Edison never received.

The greatest disappointment is Thulesius' documentation. Although the author uses a variety of sources, few are primary. He relies instead on secondary materials, many written years or often decades later by persons with limited contact with the inventor. He virtually ignores plentiful contemporary newspaper accounts, personal correspondence, and the few personal interviews with the inventor. Many of the secondary sources are improperly documented. Frequently the titles are incorrectly cited and quotations are paraphrased without proper documentation. In a few cases the footnotes reflect information not contained in the original source. This is especially disconcerting in the cases where Thulesius has provided what appears to be original scholarship. Without readers being able to acquire and evaluate the sources, the information cannot be considered credible. *Edison in Florida: The Green Laboratory* succeeds in bringing an important subject to the fore; however, it fails to accomplish its premise.

Fort Myers MICHELE WEHRWEIN ALBION

Al Burt's Florida. By Al Burt. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997. xi, 182 pp. Foreword, preface, prelude, illustrations, bibliography, index. $24.95 cloth.)

The prophet Isaiah cried in the wilderness: "Woe to those who join house to house, who add field to field, until there is no more room, and you are made to dwell alone in the midst of the land" (Isaiah 5:8).

Al Burt is a modern-day prophet, crying out from the wilderness– the Big Scrub country east of Gainesville, just north of the "Tropic of Cracker." Burt's latest book is half celebration and half lament. His love is Florida, and his grief is the wanton path his love has followed.

This book is based on essays Burt wrote and speeches he gave between 1973 and 1995 when he was roving columnist for the *Miami Herald.* Those who have read his 1984 book *Becalmed in the Mullet Latitudes* will recognize familiar names and places. Most of the places are small and out of the way. Most of the people are ordinary, extraordinary folk. His heroes are people like Nat Reed, John Pennekamp, and Marjory Stoneman Douglas who loved Florida enough to save parts of it. He also admires men like landscape artist James Hutchinson and folklorist Gamble Rogers, who also preserved aspects of Florida.

The book consists of ten chapters, but these are subdivided into loosely connected vignettes of one to six pages that can be consumed in one bite.

Burt's prose is a pleasure to read. He strings together simple words to tell stories and paint word pictures that end up as superlative reading. He has an exquisite feel for the land, and he carries his reader from the limestone depths of the peninsula, up through the marl and the sand, into the land of gopher tortoises, rat snakes, and sand pines, and finally into an atmosphere spiked with bugs and stirred by hurricanes.

The evils that bedevil Florida, in Burt's eyes, are the rapacious chasing after empty riches, the desecration of the earth, and the never-ending pursuit of "progress." The result has been an impoverishment of the land– loss of beauty, loss of the warmth of community, loss of soul. Floridians have swapped their birthright for a giant get-rich-quick scheme.

Burt's perspective is that of an old-time Floridian who was here when the post-World War II avalanche of population growth broke loose. He reminds us that alienation is not confined just to Yankees

who have moved to Florida and have never felt at home because it isn't what they left behind "up North." Today Florida isn't "home" to native Floridians either because it isn't what it used to be "back then." The Florida of six-lane interstates, condo canyons, and Disney World is a far different land from the Florida of the Dixie Highway, clap-board beach cottages, and the Alligator Farm. Today many native Floridians find themselves homesick exiles in the land where they were born.

Al Burt's Florida is Old Florida– the Florida that once was and now is rapidly passing away. Perhaps the greatest loss, thinks Burt, is the sense of "place." Today's Florida is too homogenized, sanitized, standardized, modernized: could be anyplace, might as well be no place. Burt observes that Floridians once bought land by the section, then by the acre, and then by the lot. Now we buy shares of time in a condominium. It's a measure of our alienation from the land.

Burt fancies the Florida of sandspurs, tin roofs, screen porches– rather than the Florida of well-manicured lawns and air conditioned interiors. Burt's Floridians eat fried mullet, not quiche. Yet he readily admits the "stumped-toe" reality that Old Florida was often a place of loneliness, ignorance, poverty, and prejudice. But, he adds, "I never felt Florida should have to give up its sense of place and identity to have paved roads and indoor plumbing."

There are no villains in Burt's book, only faceless forces like "development." There is no rancor towards newcomers– "snowbirds" are just another exotic species of Floridian.

Al Burt is a melancholy prophet, worried about the future of his homeland. He wants converts, and invites his readers to get out and travel Florida's byways to experience the magical places. Maybe even to do something like the heroes of his book to save Florida– before it is all gone.

Flagler College THOMAS GRAHAM

Across Fortune's Tracks: A Biography of *William Rand Kenan Jr.* By Walter E. Campbell. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. xvi, 417 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, figures, map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 hardcover.)

While the towering achievements of Henry Flagler have been chronicled in books, articles, and symposia, relatively little is

known about the family of his third wife, Mary Lilly Kenan Flagler. This fact is somewhat surprising since William Rand Kenan Jr., a younger brother of Mary Flagler, was critical to the successful operation of the vast Flagler empire. Scientist, inventor, hotel builder, business tycoon, and philanthropist, Kenan was a man of lifelong achievement, as chronicled in this new biography by historian Walter Campbell.

William Kenan was the scion of an old North Carolina family. Born in 1872 in Wilmington, Kenan entered the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1890 as a science major and also took an active role in athletics and student government. While Kenan's contributions to the university as a student were manifold, nothing compared with his achievements in the area of science. A precocious student, Kenan worked with Professor Francis Preston Venable, one of the South's leading scientists, on a series of seminal experiments involving calcium carbide and acetylene for illumination. The pair discovered a relatively cheap and easy method of producing acetylene with a flame more brilliant than that produced by coal gas, heretofore the major source of illumination. Soon after leaving Chapel Hill, young Kenan served as one of the superintendents of a plant that manufactured calcium carbide commercially for the first time in America. Still in his mid-twenties, Kenan was already on his way to a life of accomplishment, wealth, and travel.

After a brief period of employment with the newly formed Union Carbide company, Kenan took a position with the Flagler organization at a time when Henry Flagler and Mary Lilly Kenan, thirty-seven years his junior, were planning to marry. Soon after their union in 1901, Kenan created a power plant for Flagler's posh Breakers Hotel in exclusive Palm Beach. Next, he designed and equipped new water and power facilities at several other Flagler hostelries. Impressed by Kenan's intelligence and work ethic, Flagler remarked that "there are very few men of his age who have had as much experience and who are as competent as he." Soon after these accomplishments, Kenan joined the board of directors of Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway.

Before his death in 1913, Flagler appointed Kenan trustee of his estate. The great industrialist left his widow an estate valued at more than $100 million. But this wealth did not elevate Mary's spirits. Instead, the loss of beloved family members, along with her own deep insecurities and loneliness, exacerbated her dependency on alcohol. In 1916, the troubled heiress married Judge Robert Worth

Bingham, a longtime acquaintance; a year later she was dead. The author persuasively debunks the familiar claim that Mary Lilly was poisoned by the Binghams. Instead, he argues that her death came from heart problems and an overall deterioration of her body assisted by alcoholic binges. William Kenan and Mary's two surviving sisters received between $50 and $60 million from her estate. By then, Kenan had become head of most of the Flagler enterprises.

As the great Florida land boom swept the Sunshine State in the mid-1920s the Kenan-led Flagler system flexed its muscles, double-tracking the Florida East Coast Railway, upgrading other existing facilities, and building such new structures as the stunning Breakers Hotel. The boom's collapse in 1926 and the ensuing economic downturn brought severe problems for Kenan and his companies. Many of the old Flagler hotels closed; the FEC Railway fell into receivership, and the Overseas Railroad, which linked the Florida Keys to the mainland, was destroyed by the devastating hurricane of 1935. Subsequent decades also proved problematic for the Flagler system, especially the long, bitter, and ultimately unsuccessful struggle with Ed Ball, a trustee for the powerful DuPont interests, for control of the railroad.

On the other hand, Kenan oversaw the impressive development of his Randleigh Farm, a 350-acre dairy farm near Lockport, New York, where he conducted scientific experiments on his prize cattle. The financier's wealth and philanthropy, especially toward his alma mater, grew. At his death in 1965, William Rand Kenan Jr. left an estate valued at $160 million, with $95 million of this sum earmarked for the University of North Carolina. The Kenan name graces the football stadium, many buildings, and academic programs on the verdant campus in Chapel Hill. Indeed, as Walter Campbell notes, the beneficence of the Kenan family, beginning with Mary Lilly's munificent bequests, helped transform the university into a first-rate research institution.

For a person of such accomplishment, Kenan was also insecure and frustrated. Above all else, Kenan wanted to be taken seriously as a scientist. Additionally, the wealthy North Carolinian wished to remove himself from the giant shadow cast by Henry Flagler. Toward these ends, Kenan embarked on a series of ambitious writing projects. In 1938, Kenan began writing *The Discovery and Identification of Calcium in the United States.* He also authored nine editions of the *History of Randleigh Farm* and five editions of *Incidents by the Way,* his autobiography. Each of these works was privately printed.

Exhaustively researched and richly detailed, Walter Campbell's *Across Fortune's Tracks: A Biography of William Rand Kenan Jr.* represents a superb study of an individual who quietly helped to shape the economic history of Florida in the twentieth century. Additionally, Campbell is to be commended for his deftness in explaining the many arcane aspects of Kenan's financial dealings and the empire over which he ruled.

Historical Association of Southern Florida PAUL S. GEORGE

Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800-1821. By Frank Lawrence Owsley Jr. and Gene A Smith. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997. xi, 241 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.)

Filibusters and Expansionists concerns American penetration into Spanish North America during the Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe administrations, when the United States acquired in piecemeal fashion the Spanish provinces of West and East Florida– an area including coastal and adjacent reaches in today's Mississippi, Alabama, and eastern Louisiana in addition to all of the present Florida. As part of this expansionist pressure against Spanish holdings, American settlers infiltrated Texan borderlands as well as the Floridas and participated in uprisings against Spanish authorities. Additionally, United States adventurers ("filibusters") conducted illegal military expeditions– sometimes as affiliates of Mexican revolutionaries– into Spanish domains, and American military units seized Spanish territory, quashed Native Americans and runaway slaves resisting United States hegemony in the Gulf region, and intermittently collaborated with filibusters.

Owsley and Smith provide balanced treatments of the West Florida insurrection of 1810; the 1812-13 Magee-Gutiérrez expedition into Texas; General James Wilkinson's takeover of the Mobile district as well as Andrew Jackson's temporary occupation of Pensacola and Indian affairs during the War of 1812; George Mathew's 1812-13 "Patriot Revolution" in East Florida ("The First Spanish-American War"); the United States Army's reduction of a maroon, free black, and Choctaw bastion ("Negro Fort") at a former British post on the Apalachicola River (1816); the successive occupations of Amelia Island by Gregor MacGregor and Luis-Michel Aury that

led to the Monroe administration's decision in 1818 to seize the place; Jackson's infamous invasion of Florida that same year; and post-War of 1812 American filibustering escapades in Texas. In the process, they interject the intrigues of a kaleidoscopic cast of colorful if sometimes minor characters operating in a remarkably fluid international situation, such as former French Napoleonic generals Jean Joseph Amable Humbert and Ironée Amélot de Lacroix, U.S. State Department agent William Shaler, and the Baratarian privateer Jean Laffitte. The authors illuminate the Northeast's sectional resistance to Gulf coast expansionism, clarify boundary disputes and settlements (such as the never ratified "Treaty of the Neutral Ground" of 1806 regarding Texas's borderlands), and contextualize their account in terms of American-British-Spanish policy and diplomacy, highlighting the significance of Britain's refusal after the War of 1812 to support Spanish or Native American resistance to United States extension. United States authorities never enforced Article Nine of the Treaty of Ghent, which would have restored lands to Indians allied with Britain during the conflict.

Owsley and Smith emphasize that the need of American interior farmers for unrestricted river outlets to the Gulf of Mexico east of the Mississippi River impelled United States expansion, explaining how the Mobile Act of 1804 reflected this concern. They argue that although Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe sought United States extension without war, they were so ruthless in their means that we should discard residual "pristine" (2) stereotypes of them. Madison, especially, and Monroe while serving as Madison's secretary of state, supported filibustering into and subversion within Spanish domains if it was convenient, but disavowed their own agents when the linkages became disadvantageous. The authors contend that the 1840s expansionist ideology of Manifest Destiny surfaced in embryonic form in the Jeffersonian years, and apply the kind of safety-valve explanation to Jeffersonian expansionism that Thomas R. Hietala attached to later expansionism in *Manifest Design* (1985): thus, Madison's concept of the pursuit of happiness envisioned postponing industrialization by means of territorial growth.

Much of *Filibusters and Expansionists* rings familiar. Early- twentieth-century historians especially, such as Isaac J. Cox, Julius W. Pratt and Harris Gaylord Warren, but recent authors too (e.g., Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire* [1977]), have plowed the ground of early-nineteenth-century United States adventurism in the Spanish borderlands. Warren's

The Sword Was Their Passport (1943) certainly exposed Madison's complicity in filibustering. Richard W. Van Alstyne *(The Rising American Empire,* [1960]) and other scholars have previously highlighted the expansionist vision of America's Founding Fathers. However, *Filibusters and Expansionists* benefits from fresh research in Spanish and British (as well as American) archives. It represents a reliable, concise synthesis, assisted by six maps, that pulls together the strands of prior scholarship and clarifies a complex chapter in United States history that is unfortunately glossed over in our textbooks. Given that half of the book illuminates Florida's history, *Filibusters and Expansionists* should meet an especial welcome from readers of this journal.

Purdue University ROBERT E. MAY

A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy. Edited by Edward D. C. Campbell Jr. and Kym S. Rice. (Richmond and Charlottesville: The Museum of the Confederacy and the University Press of Virginia, 1997. xvi, 264 pp. A centennial note, foreword, notes, suggestions for further reading, suggestions for further research, index, notes of contributors, acknowledgments. $24.95 paper.)

The purpose of this book is to present, on three levels, information about Southern women's experiences in the American Civil War. First, the premier historians of women and the era have presented essays from their own primary research about Southern women, black and white, in the war. Second, historians of the post-Reconstruction South show how elite white women constructed a history that was in line with their dedication to the Lost Cause. Further, they explore how the understanding of that history informed political debate on seemingly unrelated issues, such as the question of woman's suffrage. Third, the book accompanied an exhibit on Southern women in the Civil War at the Museum of the Confederacy in its centennial year. Almost every page contains photographs or illustrations of museum artifacts, including a relic made from the hair of Robert E. Lee and other Confederate officers, secession cockades, battle flags, clothing, monuments, letters, and books. In addition, the museum's collections are annotated in the section entitled "Suggestions for Further Research." One chapter is devoted

to the presentation of letters, diaries, petitions, and memoirs of Southern women from this and other institutions' collections.

Drew Gilpin Faust, Thavolia Glymph, and George C. Rable wrote the first essay, which refutes the picture of Confederate women who "stood like heroines, firm, steadfast, and constant" (ix). Rather, they show that women wavered in their support of the Confederacy depending on the region from which they hailed, their socioeconomic status, their race, and the progress of the war. Poorer women felt the burdens of absent spouses and siblings more than did wealthier women. African American women faced the same physical dangers but viewed the war differently than did their mistresses.

In the second chapter, "Into the Trackless Wilderness," Joan Cashin examines the refugee experience for white women. She details how the social structure of the antebellum South limited the movement of unescorted white women, whether on a trip to church or to visit her relatives in another state. Dr. Cashin also describes the attachment of Southern white women to home and material possessions, which wartime conditions forced them to leave. She examines differences among women, depending on socio-economic status, location, and duration of flight and exile from home. She portrays the women's emotional state as they faced physical trauma and deprivation and concludes that after the war, rather than put energy into reforms, as was the case in the North, Southern women focused on reconstructing their households destroyed by war.

In the third chapter, "'This Species of Property,"' Thavolia Glymph looks more closely at the experience of female slave contrabands. She finds that African American women refugees, by choice or conditions, faced hardship and hostility as much as freedom. Resentment from former owners, as well as from Yankee soldiers, translated into acts of violence against slave women who aided the enemies of their masters or flocked to the blue army to escape from slavery. Dr. Glymph shows how slave women understood the war ultimately as one of liberation.

In "Voices from the Tempest: Southern Women's Wartime Experience," the editors present primary documents pertaining to black and white women from Alabama, Louisiana, Virginia, Mississippi, and Georgia, taken from the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and several museums and historical societies throughout the South. Especially riveting are the claim applica-

tions from former female slaves trying to recover property taken from them by Yankees or Confederates during the war.

John M. Coski and Amy R. Feely, in "A Monument to Southern Womanhood: The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," trace the origins of the institution one hundred years ago. After the struggles of Yankee occupation and Richmond's use of the building as a school following Reconstruction, a group of elite white women formed the Confederate Memorial Literary Society. They did this to legally secure the building to preserve the history they feared was eluding generations of children and young people born after the war. Coski and Feely chronicle the women's fundraising activities and political struggles with the rival United Daughters of the Confederacy and Confederate veterans groups for primacy as preservers of the Lost Cause. They also show how the ladies consciously constructed the "true" history by accepting for the museum's collections only those materials that reflected a united Confederacy and wartime loyalty. The women adamantly refuse to memorialize themselves, insisting that their purpose was to honor the men who fought and died for the Cause.

"Divided Legacy: The Civil War Traditions and 'the Woman Question,' 1870-1920" by Marjorie Spruill Wheeler examines how both southern suffragists and anti-suffragists adopted the rhetoric of the Lost Cause to promote their goals. As the national suffrage amendment came closer to ratification, southerners found themselves seemingly engaged in another battle over states' rights with both sides losing. Southern suffragists were unhappy because it was not their men who gave them the vote as they had wished. Anti-suffragists were angry because, as in the case of the fifteenth amendment, the national law superceded their individual state laws.

Reflecting the most recent scholarship in the field of southern women's history from the Civil War through the Progressive Era, this book can serve as an introduction to the field for the novice, as well as for the seasoned historian. The vast amount of research yet to be done is highlighted by the authors and this volume points readers in the direction of very valuable material for research. As every state that joined or supported the Confederacy was represented with a room in the museum when it first opened, there are materials available for the researcher in Florida history among the museum's collections.

St. Cloud State University MARY ELIZABETH GLADE

Tokens of Affection: The Letters of a Planter's Daughter in the Old South. Edited by Carol Bleser. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996. xxxiv, 403 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, editorial practices, introduction, family members and other principals, map, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth.)

Historians are fascinated by the women of the Old South. Each year, more studies, letters, and diaries appear, providing glimpses into their intimate worlds. *Tokens of Affection: The Letters of a Planter's Daughter in the Old South* continues this trend.

Born in 1808, Maria Bryan was the daughter of a planter in Hancock County, Georgia. She remained at home after her sister Julia's marriage, helping her ailing mother care for younger siblings. Maria's sudden marriage to an army engineer took her to New Orleans, but she was soon widowed. Grieving, she returned to take up her duties on the family estate. She traveled for her health but remained plagued by loneliness. A second marriage was loveless, and Maria devoted most of her time to caring for her father and educating Julia's many offspring. A lively correspondent, Maria penned numerous letters to Julia, of which 155 remain. Maria left behind no children or estate at her sudden death in 1844, but she did bequeath a splendid legacy of her thoughts, written in strictest confidence. Fortunately for historians, Julia failed to heed Maria's request to burn her letters.

Carol Bleser, who also serves as the general editor of the *Southern Voices from the Past* series, to which this volume belongs, brings a deft touch to her work. Her opening chapters, which include the history of the collection, a brief explanation of her editing techniques, and a general introduction to the time period and major characters, are well written and provide necessary information. Short notes between various letters point out important moments and help make connections between Maria and her relations. Bleser clears up confusion, yet allows Maria to speak for herself and does not impose irrelevant digressions from her tale.

The letters are mainly concerned with the domestic world of Maria and her kin. Remarkably well read, Maria sprinkles her witty messages with quotes, poetry, and biblical allusions. Readers can learn much about the social scene in antebellum Georgia by sharing in Maria's gossipy accounts of vivacious belles and gallant gentlemen. They can also be amazed at the persistence of illness in the Bryan family, a theme that is touched upon in almost every epistle.

Generational conflicts involving rebellious children and greedy kinfolk are discussed, and it may be somewhat reassuring to modern readers to learn that dysfunctional families are not necessarily a product of the twentieth century. Maria's letters also provide insight into attitudes about class, crime, religion, and the hazards of travel. Bleser's observation that Maria's letters remind her of novels by Jane Austen is certainly an astute one. Readers seeking a parallel in America to Austen's England would do well to look here.

Maria's world was private rather than public, an important consideration to remember. Though she comments on the events taking place in Sparta, Augusta, and her home at Mt. Zion, she rarely mentions larger areas or issues. A trip to the North reveals more about her brother's flirtations than about the famous Americans she met at the spas. Slaves are mentioned, sometimes with great fondness, but there is little reflection on Maria's part about the morality of the institution. Though she was a young bride in New Orleans, Maria does not thoroughly sketch the city. Of course, Maria did not plan on having her letters dissected more than a hundred years after her death, and the things she wrote about were the things her sister was interested in: births, illness, deaths, marriages, who went to church, and who went to jail.

As a social history of a small place in time, *Tokens of Affection* is a worthwhile book, a rare and often poignant glimpse into the life of a privileged southern woman. Though not as far reaching or thoughtful as some of the more famous diaries, such as Mary Chesnut's, this work is carefully edited and is a notable selection. It does not mention Florida, except as a destination for some of Maria's friends, but it is an interesting comparison to some of the memoirs written by Florida women, such as Ellen Call Long's *Florida Breezes* or Susan Bradford Eppes' *Through Some Eventful Years.*

Wofford College TRACY JEAN REVELS

For Cause& Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War. By James M. McPherson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. xviii, 237 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, appendix, a note on sources, notes, index. $25.00 hardcover.)

For students of the American Civil War, the name of James M. McPherson, the George Henry Davis '86 Professor of American History at Princeton University, is a familiar one. The author of

eleven books on Civil War-related topics, McPherson won the 1989 Pulitzer Prize for his now-classic *Battle Cry of Freedom*. Given such credentials, any new work by this renowned historian almost certainly will offer a substantive contribution to scholarship. That is the case with his current book, *For Cause & Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*.

What McPherson attempts here is to reach into the minds of the men most fiercely engaged in Civil War fighting to determine what motivated them. As the author puts it, "'Why did so many of them fight like bulldogs?" (10). To accomplish his purpose McPherson delved deeply into Civil War archives and family collections, reading 25,000 personal letters and 249 diaries. He believes that, roughly speaking, they represent a cross section of sentiment on both sides of the lines.

While the study provides much relevant and even poignant detail, the conclusions offer few surprises. McPherson notes that modern readers may have difficulty understanding the mindsets of Civil War fighters, and he often compares and contrasts his discoveries with those of researchers of World Wars I and II and the Korean and Vietnamese Wars to furnish common ground for comprehension. In the end, he finds that "convictions of duty, honor, patriotism, and ideology functioned as the principal sustaining motivations of Civil War soldiers, while the impulses of courage, self-respect, and group cohesion were the main sources of combat motivation." Nonetheless, morale rested on "a firm base of support in the homes and communities from which these citizen soldiers came" (131).

Complications abounded. Morale and motivation waxed and waned. *Rage militaire* (17) dominated the conflict's opening months but soon cooled. Morale for winners ran high; morale for losers ebbed. Draftees and bonus men may have served, but they did so with far less vigor than early volunteers. Defending their home ground and way of life charged up Confederates, while emancipation and the example of courageous African American soldiers inspired northerners. McPherson examines each of these elements and more in detail.

That McPherson has restricted his focus so narrowly may trouble some readers. His interest centers on the soldiers most motivated to fight, but his text implies that the real story is how many desired not to do so. He quotes evidence that skulkers and stragglers depleted many combat units to shadows of their former

selves. He observes that both sides soon felt little compunction about herding men back into the lines at bayonet point. Some angered comrades simply killed reluctant warriors.

The author also appears to undercount persons involuntarily in service. He insists, for example, that "most Union and Confederate soldiers were neither long-term regulars nor draftees" (5). Yet, the Confederacy adopted its conscription law as early as April 1862. If Florida serves as any example, after April 1862 draft law enforcement served as the primary motivating force for Confederate military service, as conscription agents combed the state to herd reluctant men into the ranks. Changes in 1864 intensified the situation.

To keep such men from deserting, commanding officers held formal executions intended to warn others. Sometimes the results were disastrous. Perhaps the most famous Florida example came after Columbia County's William Keen failed to return from a furlough. He met death at the hands of an Army of Tennessee firing squad. The execution prompted numerous of Keen's relations to desert and caused deep resentments among fellow Florida draftees.

The men who fought valiantly on both sides of the Civil War deserve to have their heroism, sacrifice, and devotion recognized and honored for what it was. James McPherson has accomplished that with this book. Perhaps, though, we now should focus on those who did not want to fight but who, with their families, paid a supreme price when compelled to do so.

Tampa Bay History Center CANTER BROWN JR.

The Wilderness Campaign. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. Volume IV of the *Military Campaigns of the Civil War* Series. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xv, 283 pp. Introduction, bibliographic essay, list of contributors, index. $29.95 hardcover.)

In the hours between May 5-6, 1864, Generals Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee met in battle for the first time. It occurred in the Virginia woods near the Rapidan and Rappahanock Rivers. For Grant, not withdrawing after a battle, as had all of his predecessors, became the primary goal. At the same time, Lee sought desperately to avoid a crushing defeat similar to that of the previous July. More importantly, however, the Wilderness Campaign demonstrated to

both Union and Confederate leaders the futility of trying to win the war in a single decisive battle.

In *The Wilderness Campaign,* the latest volume in the *Military Campaigns of the Civil War* Series, readers are treated to the scholarship of some of today's foremost Civil War historians. Under the editorial direction of Gary W. Gallagher, these authors contribute eight essays on various topics including battle preparation and the battle itself, as well as penetrating accounts of the men who led the battles and a provoking essay explaining the importance of the Northern press. By examining such diverse topics, these historians ensure readers the opportunity to understand one of the most confusing and often debated events in the Civil War.

Brooks D. Simpson begins this insightful study by examining the importance of the Northern press and the role it played in the battle. The press, Simpson asserts, excited Northerners and caused them to believe that the Wilderness could bring the war to a close. Northerners who embraced this deal were, therefore, disappointed to learn otherwise as the war continued for nearly another year. While readers are certain to enjoy Simpson's essay, they are also likely to desire an account concerning the importance of the Southern press.

Illuminating battle preparations, Gary W. Gallagher describes the extraordinary belief Lee's men had in their leader despite severe food shortages and other dilemmas. John J. Hennessy, meanwhile, disputes Grant's alleged role as the Union's genius and restores Meade as the true architect of the Union Army. Hennessy's questioning of Grant's and Sherman's significance, combined with his assertion that Meade is the more important of the three because he reorganized the Union Army, is likely to stir much debate. Such a contention, moreover, will draw readers back to Simpson's essay in which he portrays the selection of Grant as head of the Union Army as Lincoln's best chance for re-election.

Examining some of the men who led troops into the Wilderness, Gordon C. Rhea, Peter S. Carmichael, and Carol Reardon each offer a fresh interpretation of leaders such as Philip H. Sheridan, James H. Wilson, Richard S. Ewell, A. P. Hill, and the lesser-known Lewis A. Grant. In a convincing manner, Rhea explains that Grant failed to defeat Lee in their first encounter not because of his own doing but because of the inexperience, disobedience, and carelessness of Sheridan and Wilson. Carmichael, meanwhile, vindicates Ewell's and Hill's actions at Gettysburg and portrays them

as competent leaders at the Wilderness. Perhaps the most interesting of the three essays, however, is Carol Reardon's interpretation of the often overlooked Vermonter Lewis A. Grant. Her depiction of Grant reminds readers of the importance of those who have not yet found the spotlight.

Robert K. Krick and Robert E. L. Krick have each written splendid essays that achieve the seemingly impossible task of clearly explaining a complex battle. Their articles are written so well that even readers who profess not to enjoy battle accounts will find themselves fascinated.

Overall this book achieves success in many areas. It is well researched and equally important, it is readable. Although one can find little to criticize, at least one additional suggestion merits offering, in particular for those reading this journal. While seemingly every regiment is mentioned in the eight essays, the authors have apparently forgotten that Floridians also fought in the Wilderness Campaign. Although Gallagher mentions the battle of Olustee as a Confederate morale booster, he and his fellow writers neglect to mention that Florida soldiers, facing the end of their enlistment contracts, signed a petition in the snowy woods of Virginia in January 1864 agreeing to remain in the war until the Confederacy won its independence or suffered the final defeat. Many of those soldiers, having fallen at the Wilderness, never saw either event transpire.

Such minor weaknesses, however, do not detract from the value of the book. *The Wilderness Campaign,* undebatably, deserves careful reading by any serious student of the Civil War.

University of Central Florida ANTHONY IACONO

The Cause Lost: Myths and Realities of the Confederacy. By William C. Davis. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996. xii, 224 pp. List of illustrations, introduction, notes, index. $24.95 cloth.)

William C. Davis is one of the most prolific Civil War historians working in the field today. He has treated readers with biographies of John C. Breckinridge and Jefferson Davis, and monographs on a variety of Civil War topics. His latest book, *The Cause Lost: Myths and Realities of the Confederacy* is a compilation of essays written over the course of the last twenty years. The results are valuable, as they give insight into Davis's own perspective on the Confederacy, as well as illuminate certain neglected aspects of the Confederate experience.

Davis divides the book into four parts. The first section examines the relationship between Jefferson Davis and senior Confederate generals. According to Davis, the Confederate president was an idealistic, hard-working man who was fully aware that he was in a position beyond his capabilities. Davis brought insecurity, indecisiveness, and stubbornness to his office, which led to conflicts with congressional leaders, state governors, and military officials. These personality traits led to poor relations with senior military commanders. The Confederate president was "too patient with [Joseph E.] Johnson for far too long and probably not patient for long enough with [Pierre Gustav Toutant] Beauregard" (34). Still, he was able to find one commander he trusted absolutely. Robert E. Lee was not only a brilliant leader, but, argues historian Davis, knew how to deal with and compensate for his commander-in-chief's inadequacies. As a result, "Davis and Lee formed a model civil-military team surpassing any other of the war" (50).

In Part Two, Davis focuses on segments of the Confederate war effort he believes have been neglected by other historians. His essay on the siege of Charleston is informative but fails to place the battle in larger context. The remaining two essays on fighting in the Trans-Mississippi theater are interesting but fail to acknowledge important recent work on the subject. Still, Davis is correct in stating that the Trans-Mississippi needs further scholarly attention.

Part Three is more interpretative. One provocative essay examines waning Southern support of the war effort as the pressures of the conflict came increasingly to bear on the civilian population. Students of this controversial topic will be interested in, but not in complete agreement with, Davis's idea that Southerners had lost the will to fight by the end of 1863, and that this loss of will foreordained Confederate defeat. In another essay, Davis argues that John C. Breckinridge was the most effective Confederate Secretary of War to ever hold the office but came to the post too late to alter the outcome of the war.

The final section deals with the historical memory of the Confederacy. Davis's examination of the legend of Stonewall Jackson is informative and serves to christen James I. Roberson's recent biography. The essay on myths and realities of the Confederate experience is disappointing, as it merely echoes arguments made much earlier by Gaines Foster, Charles Reagan Wilson, Thomas L. Connelly, and others. The final contribution on the Confederacy in film is informative, interpretive, and will be the starting point for

much needed further study on this interdisciplinary topic. This essay is easily the volume's most important contribution.

Davis's book is highly readable, and some of his interpretations are provocative. Unfortunately, due to the fact that these essays were written over such a long period of time, Davis's work does not make use of the expanding literature on topics such as Confederate nationalism, the motivation of common soldiers, and life on the Confederate homefront. This collection does bring attention to some neglected aspects of the Confederate experience but more often simply echoes ideas available in Davis's earlier works. A reader searching for the current trends in Confederate historiography is advised to look elsewhere.

Western Carolina University RICHARD D. STARNES

Raphael Semmes: The Philosophical Mariner. By Warren F. Spencer. (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1997. x, 250 pp. List of illustrations, preface, introduction, notes, bibliographical essay, bibliography, index. $37.95 cloth.)

Raphael Semmes will be forever linked to the CSS *Alabama* as the most successful commerce raider in maritime history. Indeed, historians often present the two as inseparable. This latest installment is among the growing number of histories to appear in recent years concerning Semmes and the *Alabama.* The ship's sea adventures are well documented, but what do we know about its remarkable commander? Warren F. Spencer provides a closer examination of Semmes' life and colorful career as revealed through previously overlooked manuscripts. Unlike earlier biographers, he examines more thoroughly Semmes' personality, his intellect, and his compassion for his family.

Spencer introduces the reader to Semmes' genealogy and some maritime influences in young Raphael's life. Semmes' thirty-nine-year naval career began in 1826 as a midshipman. His on-the-job training as an officer candidate was earned aboard a warship before the establishment of a U.S. naval academy. In peacetime, advancement was slow and most assignments were uninteresting. Despite the routine and often menial nature of his duties, the young officer enriched his off-duty hours by studying naval regulations, natural science, history, mathematics, astronomy, tides and

currents, navigation and artillery. What he lacked in formal education he gained from a natural affinity toward learning and through extensive reading. Spencer explains that Semmes fundamentally considered himself to be a "philosophical mariner," that is, a seaman who studied and understood the science of the seas. The writings of Matthew Fontaine Maury, U.S. naval officer and oceanographer, greatly influenced Semmes' thinking. Maury's published studies of the world's ocean currents and navigation were landmark contributions to the improvement of international commerce. During the Civil War, Semmes relied upon Maury's charts of these ocean currents which provided natural highways for his pursuit of U.S. merchant vessels.

To supplement an inconsistent navy income, Semmes studied law and was admitted to the Maryland bar in 1835. His meticulous nature was reinforced by a desire to study maritime and constitutional law. During long periods of forced unpaid leave, he supported his growing family from income generated by his law practice. He was nicknamed the "Sea-lawyer." Later, his thorough understanding of international law enabled him to successfully argue the belligerent rights of the Confederacy in neutral ports.

An acute observer, Semmes often recorded extensive notes of his surroundings and experiences. According to Spencer, these notes reflect his varied interests in nature, social customs, architecture, history politics and religion. The young naval officer was not a "scientific" historian. He did not derive his descriptions from scientific research. He simply "sketched persons and things" as he saw them. Such personal observations, however, serve as a wonderful tool for the historian. Semmes assembled his notes as the basis for a more detailed journal. Spencer cites, for the first time in any Semmes biography, the unpublished journal composed by Semmes while aboard the USS *Porpoise*, just prior to the Mexican War. As the warship cruised the Caribbean Sea, frequent visits to the islands provided many opportunities for expression. Approaching Cuba he wrote, "Havana, lay in hazy indistinc-tiveness . . . all robed in the azure tints of distance . . . the sea lay in placid beauty, spread out like a sheet of molten silver." He also commented on Cuba's strategic importance as a naval base for control of the entrances into the Gulf of Mexico. Semmes revealed his nationalistic support of Manifest Destiny by suggesting the United States should purchase the island from Spain to obtain control of the region.

Like most officers of his generation, Semmes' first real combat experience was obtained during the Mexican War. But without an opposing fleet to fight, there was little for the U.S. Navy to do except endure the boredom of blockading Mexican ports. Semmes' atypical military encounters occurred on both land and sea and included the tragic loss of the brig USS *Somers*, Semmes' first wartime command, when the vessel capsized during a squall. He also participated in the first amphibious operation by U.S. forces and as a naval volunteer attached to Winfield Scott's army during the final assault and capture of Mexico City. In 1851, Semmes published his Mexican War journal, *Service Afloat and Ashore During the Mexican War*, which earned financial success as a bestseller in 1852. Modern historians frequently cite this work as an accurate primary source.

In addition to being the most popular and successful Confederate naval officer during the Civil War, Raphael Semmes' complex nature is a challenge to biographers. Warren F. Spencer has produced an excellent study of the blue water commander's life in order that the reader may "get as close as possible to an understanding of the man's mind and spirit." He accomplishes this not only through his own intuitive skills but also through the liberal use of Semmes' own words. Spencer provides detailed insight into Semmes' formative pre-Civil War life and career. Consequently, he does not overemphasize every encounter on the high seas. Nor does the author challenge any controversies.

The presentation of some contemporary opposing viewpoints to Semmes' success would have been interesting. James D. Bulloch, Confederate naval agent in Europe, was not particularly impressed by Semmes when he wrote, "I have not felt at all impelled . . . to eulogize him. His defeat did not change the estimate I had formed of his capacity. . . . As a mere sea-officer under the ordinary requirements of the naval profession, he was not especially distinguished." The ever poignant Mary Boykin Chesnut also remarked in her diary just after Semmes' fateful battle with the USS *Kearsarge*, "Admiral Semmes, of whom we have been so proud, is a fool after all. He risked the *Alabama* in a sort of duel of ships. . . . Forgive who may, I cannot!"

Spencer, however, remains true to his purpose to produce a balanced biography explaining more of Semmes' humanity rather than just recounting high-seas adventures of the hard-bitten Confederate "pirate."

Library of Virginia R. THOMAS CREW JR.

Memoirs of Service Afloat During the War Between the States. By Admiral Raphael Semmes, CSN, Captain of the CSS Alabama. With a New Introduction and Notes by John M. Taylor. (1868; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. xv, 888 pp. Halftones, drawings, map, preface, introduction, notes, index. $19.95 paper.)

Civil War historians often neglect the important naval aspects of America's most tragic conflict. Ironclads, blockade-runners and commerce raiding cruisers were employed in a combined Southern strategy to break the Union naval blockade. One of the principle methods by which the Confederacy hoped to gain its independence was through the destruction of the North's merchant shipping. British-built Confederate cruisers were commissioned to inflict a heavy blow upon the merchant fleet and to terrorize the northeastern seaboard. Confederate strategists hoped these attacks would divert ships from the Federal blockade and loosen the naval grip upon Southern ports.

Unquestionably, Raphael Semmes is the best known of the Confederate naval officers and considered "the most successful practitioner of the naval strategy of commerce raiding." In command of two vessels over three years, he captured eighty-two prizes. Although lionized in the South as a hero, Semmes' wanton destruction of unarmed merchant ships was considered piracy by the United States. Perhaps feeling compelled to defend himself against this charge and in response to other unauthorized histories of his exploits, Semmes wrote a personal account of his high seas adventures. Originally published in 1868, *Memoirs of Service Afloat* emerged as the first postwar memoir of a former high-ranking Confederate. This epic narrative recounts the author's voyages as commander of the CSS *Sumter* and CSS *Alabama* as well as his political, social and scientific opinions about the war and nature. Instead of writing an apology, Semmes defends the right of secession and blames the causes for the war upon political and economic aggression initiated by a Northern faction "arrayed in a solid phalanx of hostility to the South." Semmes' bitterness toward "Yankees" is liberally expressed throughout the text. Although he claimed to have written without malice, he defended the book's tone as "occasionally plain-spoken . . . which calls a rogue a rogue, notwithstanding his disguises."

Yet, despite his unreconstructed viewpoint, the historical facts seem accurately presented by the blue-water commander. John M.

Taylor has ably edited Semmes' work, providing explanation and insight into this complex naval officer. *Memoirs of Service Afloat* serves as the logical sequel to Taylor's superb biography of Semmes published in 1994. According to Taylor, pride and arrogance were Semmes' strongest character traits. His pride enabled him to resign his commission in order to join the Confederacy, but his arrogance resulted in the disastrous combat with the USS *Kearsarge.* The *Alabama* was ordered to destroy enemy commerce and to avoid engagements with warships. Semmes instead took advantage of two opportunities to fight. The first was a Confederate victory over the USS *Hatteras,* but the second ended with the *Alabama's* destruction. Why did Semmes risk his vessel? His memoirs do not explain his decision. Pride and arrogance perhaps? Several of Alabama's officers professed to Semmes' intention to fight in order "to show the world what they were made of." Taylor does make an unfortunate factual error when he credits the *Alabama's* victory over the *Hatteras* as "the only occasion in the war when a Confederate ship defeated a Federal vessel in single combat." Captain Franklin Buchanan and the CSS *Virginia* destroyed two Union warships in Hampton Roads, Virginia, on March 8, 1862.

To its credit, this reprint edition is offset from the original and greatly enhanced with valuable endnotes and a long awaited index. Despite any advantage implied by maintaining the historical integrity of the original, the awkward placement of notes at the back of the book without key numbers in the text inconveniences the reader's use and appreciation of Taylor's commentaries. Hopefully this will be improved in future editions. Seven gray halftone illustrations are often murky and provide little graphic enhancement to the text.

Library of Virginia R. THOMAS CREW JR.

Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925. By Paul Harvey. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. x, 330 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. $49.95 cloth, $17.95 paper.)

No issue is more central to southern studies than the complex relationship of black and white influences that created southern culture. In regional music, folklore, crafts, and cuisine, what is of African origin and what of European? When did the mixing begin, and how did it change both cultures? Whether in George Pullen

Jackson's classic work on white spirituals of the southern uplands or in Dori Sanders' novel about a white woman trying to raise a black adolescent in South Carolina without knowing how to cook grits, the mix of races is a central theme of southern writers in both fiction and nonfiction.

Paul Harvey has significantly enlarged our knowledge of southern religion by integrating the history of black and white Baptists between 1865 and 1925. Many historians have written perceptively about black Christianity. Others have done equally well by white Christianity. But in every case where they have attempted to merge the two streams, the water downstream has become murky and stained. Clarity in the understanding of one religious tradition often led to stereotypes in perceiving the other. By weaving black and white Baptists together in a series of alternating chapters, Harvey provides the most complete comparative history of racial religion. In this story, white religion is not normative and black religion an aberrant strain. Both are the logical outgrowth of a religious vision shaped by separate and conflicting historical realities.

Harvey provides additional evidence that southern evangelicalism often operates as a counterculture rather than as a culture. Black Baptists often functioned as an alternative and conflicted minority. But even within the white church, alternative visions often flourished, as between Populistic and elite white Baptists:

In fact, Harvey devotes much of his book to the contradictions within southern evangelicalism. Black Baptists included "Uncle Tom" accommodationists and fiercely independent Afrocentrists. Among white Baptists, some of the more theologically enlightened leaders were also the most racist. Although black Baptists often solicited aid from their reluctant, paternalistic white companions, they always understood that they could never stray beyond the wishes of their black congregants. Nor was much aid forthcoming, despite the pious assurances from white Baptists that they were the black Baptists' best friends.

In many ways the two Baptist groups moved through history along parallel but separate routes. Both contained progressive factions that sought formal education, proper theological credentials, urban pastorates, and acceptance from New South elites. Both spawned vigorous prohibitionist movements that led to more sweeping reforms. Rural, bivocational, uneducated Baptists of both races often resisted such modernization and sustained viable religious communities in the South's hinterland. Class conflicts oc-

curred in both. Both were spectacularly successful by their own measurements: by 1906 some sixty percent of black churchgoers in the United States were Baptists. And whites carved out an empire in the South nearly as extensive.

By taking black and white Baptists equally seriously and rejecting stereotypes of both, Harvey has contributed to our better understanding. Although historians of both groups will learn little that is new or earth-shattering, it is the comparative nature of this story that well serves the reader. Specialists will protest the absence of a bibliography which reduces the scholarly usefulness of the book, but that presumably is the fault of the press and not the author.

Auburn University WAYNE FLYNT

A Cautious Patriotism: The American Churches and the Second World War. By Gerald L. Sittser. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. x, 317 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth.)

In his acclaimed work *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (1994), Gerhard Weinberg noticed that on the eve of America's entry into war, President Franklin Roosevelt became "especially concerned" (243) about the religious situation in the United States and the ramifications of domestic religious opinion as it related to the impending national crisis. What Weinberg has globalized and treated as the particular connected to the general, Gerald L. Sittser has broadened and analyzed in an eminently readable fashion. By offering the religious perspective, Sittser breaks new ground in discussing World War II, the only one of America's wars that has not been treated from the religious angle. Sittser has made a significant contribution not only to American religious history but to American social history in general.

Taken plainly, Sittser argues that while the American churches– Protestant, Catholic and Jewish– were patriotic during World War II, they were only cautiously so. While FDR and the State Department urged the churches to hop to attention under the colors, America's religious congregations fell into ranks only after considerable introspection, circumspection, and deep soul-searching. The reason for this clerical caution, Sittser maintains, was the theological problem of "theodicy," that is to say, the reconciliation of "the goodness of God with the badness of war" (77).

Theodicy, a concept which has confounded thinkers from the Neo-Platonists to Nietzsche, asked American church leaders and their flocks to, in some way, justify an American "theology of war." Would World War II be a "holy war" or merely another manifestation of the immanence of evil in a fallen world? The American churches, deeply influenced by theological pacifism as well as political isolationism, refused to declare a "crusade" against Germany and Japan but rallied instead to the openhanded notion of "American democracy" as being the best hope and model for the survival of world Christianity. If this attenuated brand of patriotism was not exactly what FDR had hoped for, at least it was a way of reconciling the gun belt strapped around the combat GI's waist with the religious medallion which clinked against his dog tags.

For Sittser, the problem of theodicy was amplified and expressed most poignantly in the American church by neo-orthodox Protestant theologian and social critic Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr looms large in Sittser's analysis because the apex of his lifelong theological investigation of the notion of sin coincided perfectly with the outbreak of World War II. Niebuhr's so-called "doctrine of the depravity of man," expressed in his *Gifford Lectures* of 1941-1943, acknowledged that evil did exist in the world, and, fortunately for the planners at Foggy Bottom, a tyrant such as Hitler could be cast as just that. While far from hawkish, Niebuhr's theology acknowledging the "sinful corruption" of mankind served to subdue the sometimes utopian peace claims of certain experiential theologians who protested military involvement. With Niebuhr stating that war was a product of mankind's weakness before God, a guilt-free America could stop philosophizing and get on with the business of winning the war.

Sittser's book is engaging primarily because his exposition of religious and theological concepts is done clearly and precisely. While it is evident that Sittser knows his theology well, he humbly refrains from interjecting esoteric theological conversation into the text. His aim is to explain the influences of various theological strains at the functional level. Writing from this perspective, Sittser uses the candelabrum of American religion to illuminate such diverse secular niches as the propaganda war, Japanese internment, the Holocaust, and civil rights.

Sittser's discussion of how the war revolutionized, or rather excoriated, the church-related college should prove of interest to many professors of history. On the regional level, Florida historians

may wish to examine the vigorous anti-Nazi national radio campaign of Florida's Catholic bishop, Joseph P. Hurley, as a prophetic voice crying out amidst the tempered caution of America's religious leaders. Hurley's State Department-sponsored speeches at Gainesville in June of 1941 and Washington, D.C., in July of 1941 offer an interesting yet isolated contrast to Sittser's thesis.

Diocese of Saint Augustine CHARLES R. GALLAGHER

Daybreak of Freedom: The Montgomery Bus Boycott. Edited by Stewart Burns. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xix, 359 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, overview, chronology, editorial practices, abbreviations for collections and archives, selected bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth, $17.95 paper.)

Daybreak of Freedom is a valuable resource for scholars interested in the Montgomery Bus Boycott as a signal moment in the modern civil rights movement. Editor Stewart Burns has done an admirable job bringing together a host of diverse research materials on the boycott. Burns was able to gather the documents during his five years spent co-editing the third volume of the Martin Luther King Jr. Papers at Stanford University; he carefully arranged and edited the materials over two additional years.

The product is a rich documentary history of a crucial episode during the civil rights movement and the coming of age and leadership of Martin Luther King Jr. The reader is given the opportunity, through over a hundred original documents, to view the boycott through the eyes of key figures such as King, E. D. Nixon, Fred Gray, Ralph D. Abernathy, Rosa Parks, Clifford and Virginia Durr, Bayard Rustin, Lillian Smith, and others, as well as besieged city officials, defensive white supremacists and their leaders, such as Sam Englehardt, and the cooks, domestics, bus drivers, and more ordinary participants in the boycott itself.

This reviewer's primary complaint with this book is one that could be lodged just as easily against much of the civil rights literature that has been produced in the recent past. While the best examples of literature on the movement have been quite strong in terms of research, documentation, analysis, organization, and most of the conventual measures of quality historical scholarship, civil

rights history is still written in a manner unlike virtually any other kind of history today. Much of its tone is so celebratory that it fails to ask, let alone answer, hard questions that eventually will have to be posed by historians of any subject. It is not so much the fact that civil rights historiography (the present volume included) is wrongly celebratory. On the contrary, the movement's accomplishments– moving America closer to her democratic ideals; providing an example for other countries and other freedom movements to follow; increasing both the quality and quantity of democracy, freedom, and equality for citizens of both colors in America– are all worthy topics of honor and praise. But at some point, more of the historical writing on the subject will have to move past kudos. This is a predicament, especially, for the history of movements (organized labor and women's rights, for example) that harbor an innately ennobling quality and a clearly beneficial cumulative effect on society as a whole.

Currently, much attention is being given to the most politically correct aspects of the civil rights movement: the participation of women and ordinary people. Burns writes that the working-class women "foot-soldiers" of the bus boycott were its "driving force" (xii), yet demonstrates elsewhere that the young Martin Luther King Jr. is more deserving of this laurel. Which is it? While attention to traditionally under-appreciated minorities within social movements has produced some of the best scholarship currently available on the civil rights movement, we have not seen a corresponding proclivity to ask hard questions about the self-interest and pragmatism of the movement's leadership and participants. No doubt the *product* of the movement, as so ably demonstrated by Stewart Burns in this book, generally ennobled mankind. But was it the *intent* of its participants to accomplish something that grand or only to better their own lives, circumstances, and particular conditions? Historians must explore more deeply to what degree the actions of the civil rights movement's leadership and rank-and-file (in fact, the leadership and rank-and-file of any social, economic, or political movement) acted out of self-interest and pragmatism as well as a concern for the betterment of mankind.

University of Alabama at Birmingham GLENN FELDMAN

Black Women in the Academy: Promises and Perils. Edited by Lois Benjamin. (University of Florida Press, 1997, xxi, 360 pp. Preface, introduction, contributors, index. $49.95 cloth.)

This anthology is a frank, critical, and uncompromising examination of black women in higher education. With precision and clarity, contributors chronicle the remarkable achievements black women have made since entering the profession more than a century ago. They also document issues that confront black women in the academy, with tenure and promotion dominating the list of concerns. The thirty chapters are divided into seven thematic parts, each introduced by editor Lois Benjamin.

Part I examines the academic climate in which black women faculty and administrators work. Nellie McKay (who published a short working paper on the subject in 1982) here argues that despite their increased presence in predominantly white institutions, these women occupy "contested space." McKay finds little hope that the academic community will find solutions to the problems of race, class, and gender (15-17). Focusing on "Issues and Strategies," college president Yolanda T. Moses examines how race and gender affect the academic climate on both predominantly black and white campuses.

In Part II, authors challenge those who would exclude the academic contributions of black women (and men). Shelby Lewis explores alternatives to the "hegemonic paradigms" that "support and protect the interests and concerns of rich white males, except on questions of gender, where white females constitute the dominant class" (41-42).

Part III contains research findings, pedagogical strategies, and personal essays from faculty and administrators in biology, music, African-American studies, English, philosophy and religious studies. In her introduction Benjamin maintains that "the Euro-male-centered knowledge base, which generates and disseminates information, discounts and devalues black women's pedagogical styles and strategies and their research paradigms" (65). Anyone looking for new ways to integrate literature and life would appreciate Beverly Guy-Sheftall's description of her approach to teaching an Introduction to Women's Studies course at Spelman College. Her requirement that students work or volunteer at "a site where gender, race, and class issues" are played out (118) not only informs the students' readings but enriches their life experiences.

Six chapters dealing with black women administrators make up Part IV. Elnora D. Daniel's well-written article on the emergence of the nursing profession also provides strategies to "facilitate breaking the glass ceiling in academe" (176). Julia R. Miller and Gladys Gary Vaughn use their own "informal national study of forty professionals in higher education, business, law and medicine," to create a model for analyzing the working environment of African-American female executives (184). M. Colleen Jones's examination of the leadership styles of successful black women college presidents is fascinating reading.

The five chapters of Part V focus on a variety of issues. Jacqueline Pope and Janice Joseph bring to the forefront a seldom-addressed aspect of sexual harassment in their chapter on student harassment of female faculty of African descent. Vernellia R. Randall and Vincene Verdun's chapter on the processes of promotion, retention, and tenure takes the form of a stylized dialogue between the two. Their discussion, centered on Randall's promotion review, presents a personal view of a process that can be intimidating, humiliating, and demoralizing.

Part VI offers a collection of personal experiences. Delo Washington details her ongoing career journey in the California State University System, while Josie R. Johnson describes the complex and sometimes contradictory dilemmas she faces as a senior-level administrator in a major university. In Monica Philips's chapter, three female faculty at Spelman "share their understanding of their own work experiences within the tradition of teaching for survival and change" (303). An interesting note is Philips's finding that "most of the women who were interviewed spoke of that special energy in the classroom that can exist because no one, student or professor, has to justify her presence on campus." Many of the concerns voiced in Philips's chapter are found throughout the book, namely, the attempt to balance teaching and the demands of research and professional development (313-14). In her chapter subtitled "Gender and Racial Crimes of Commission and Omission in Academia," Saliwe M. Kawewe looks at problems of affirmative action, tenure, and retention.

In Part VII, Darlene Clark Hine and Mamie E. Locke offer personal reflections on their careers and assess the challenges and opportunities open to black female academicians. Hine reflects on the pioneering work of black women historians who "argued that simply to add black women and stir was an unacceptable and inad-

equate response and that all of American history must be rewritten and reinterpreted from multiple perspectives" (333-34). Despite persistent problems and ongoing challenges that confront black women in the academy, Hine believes that their future "is full of promise and exciting possibilities" (339).

These contributors offer valuable insights on research, teaching, service, tenure, promotion, service, retention, and many other critical issues facing black women. Besides addressing the many barriers that black women encounter daily on both predominantly black and white campuses, this book documents their many contributions. However, even though the chapter titles suggest otherwise, many contributors examine the same issues, and reading can become tedious.

Black Women in the Academy is a book of reflection, reevaluation, celebration, and determination, and the contributors represent those "black women professors who have effectively demonstrated the possibilities of achieving respect, recognition, and reward for their work" (337). Their unique perspectives will influence current and future research on a subject of great importance.

Florida A & M University MARY B. DIALLO

Southern Parties and Elections: Studies in Regional Political Change. Edited by Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. xiii, 234 pp. Figures, tables, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, select bibliography, contributors, index. $34.95 cloth.)

The last quarter century has witnessed a transformation in southern politics. After almost a century of single-party Democratic dominance, the Republican party is now competitive at all political levels in the southern states and has become predominant in presidential and congressional elections. In no state is this more apparent than Florida, which currently has a Republican majority in its congressional delegation as well as in both houses of the state legislature.

The new two-party politics in the South is the subject of this edited volume spawned by the biannual *Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics.* Each one of the ten chapters, authored by noted scholars of southern politics, is concerned with an aspect of the southern electoral realignment. Together they convincingly demonstrate that

two-party competition has arrived in the South, although there is no consensus on future partisan developments. In their concluding summary, the editors reiterate that the old Solid Democratic South is gone for good, but despite spectacular electoral advances they do not envisage that the Republicans will establish anything resembling that degree of dominance.

The opening essay (also the strongest in the collection) by Richard Scher, Jon Mills, and John Hotaling provides an excellent analysis of the historical/legal background to recent controversies over the creation of "majority-minority" districts in the southern states. On the same subject, the following chapter by Keith Gaddie and Charles Bullock notes that the creation of overwhelmingly black districts in the South following the 1990 census did *not* succeed in increasing black voter turnout. Another of the stronger chapters, by Thomas Eamon, convincingly challenges the arguments of Earl and Merle Black in *The Vital South* (1992), that the South would remain the pivotal region in presidential politics and argues instead that the non-southern megastates (and especially California) have become more decisive.

Four chapters deal with various aspects of the rise of the southern Republicans. Jay Barth argues that the slow pace of Republican advance below the presidential level has been partly due to the "decoupling" of southern state elections from presidential election years. David Sturrock examines Republican primary turnout, and discovers that despite the common association of Republican growth with middle-class status in the South, population growth is, in fact, the best predictor of rising Republican primary turnout. Clifton McCleskey's chapter examines the "inexorable" (164) rise in the Republican ranks in the Virginia General Assembly, although he does not envisage the Republicans establishing a "permanent governing majority" (164) in the Old Dominion. Finally, R. Bruce Anderson notes the rise in electoral competition and contested seats in southern state legislative elections generally, although the mere fact of contesting elections has not necessarily benefitted the Republicans in terms of winning seats.

By contrast the Democratic party gets relatively little attention, except for Layne Hoppe's chapter on the increasing liberalism of southern Democratic members of Congress, which is attributed to the southern Democratic committee chairs feeling pressure from liberal political action committees and the party leadership. While this may have been a factor, it appears more likely that the chang-

ing nature of the national Democratic coalition and the need to appeal to the Democrats' new southern electoral base of African American voters have been more important.

Overall this is a fine collection of essays which illuminates many aspects of electoral and partisan realignment in the South. The volume concentrates rather narrowly on partisan change rather than the broader historical and socioeconomic context in which that change has taken place and as such will be of greater interest to political scientists than historians. The changing role of the South in national political institutions– particularly the region's expanded influence in the congressional Republican party and Republican presidential politics– receives little attention, as does the impact of the current southern Democratic president on his party's prospects in his native region. Nevertheless as far as the overall story of partisan change in the South is concerned, observers of southern party politics and elections will find much to interest them in this worthy collection.

Florida International University NICOL C. RAE

BOOK NOTES

New Titles

The unraveling of a myth is a difficult business, especially if the subject of the myth also happens to be the mythmaker. It has been said of Ernest Hemingway that the author spent much of his life cultivating his own legend– an allegation seemingly borne out by his famous quote, "After all there is the career, the career." How then does a sincere biographer go about separating fact from fiction? In recounting the life of Odet Philippe– a Frenchman thought to be the first European to settle in the Pinellas Peninsula– J. Allison DeFoor faced a difficult task requiring a substantial amount of historical "detective work." The resulting volume, *Odet Philippe: Peninsular Pioneer* (1997) is a small biographical gem. Working closely with the Safety Harbor Museum of Regional History, DeFoor– a lawyer by profession– has produced a soundly documented, highly accessible work. *Odet Philippe: Peninsular Pioneer* is available in hardback from The Safety Harbor Museum of Regional History for $19.21 plus tax and $3.00 S&H.

In the book jacket photo for *Louisiana Journey,* photographer Neil Johnson looks every bit the wearied soldier– pensive, slouched, and gear-laden– the expression on his face suggests that he has marched over every inch of the state and if his brilliant lenswork is any indication– he has. True to its title, Johnson's book takes readers on a journey throughout all of Louisiana not simply its more recognized hot spots. Avoiding the sort of "tourist brochure" photographs which often render such books artificial, *Louisiana Journey* does a splendid job of capturing scenes from everyday life. In fact, some of the book's most striking photographs are also its most "ordinary." These include: a decaying Victorian home, a woman skinning a still-grinning alligator, and a green-decked freighter floating down the Mississippi like a pool table adrift. *Louisiana Journey* (1997) is available in hardback from Louisiana State University Press for $39.95.

The last time a genuine snowfall touched the ground in Florida was on January 19, 1977. The day was likely a memorable one for most state residents, but for Florida's citrus growers it was an

ominous harbinger of the decade to come. The brutal citrus freezes of the 1980's would result in a swath of skeletal groves and industry-wide losses estimated at a staggering 1.5 billion dollars. John Attaway's *A History* of *Florida Citrus Freezes,* examines the impact of freezes on one of the state's oldest industries and chronicles their effect on the ever-resilient men and women who, for more than a century, have derived their livelihood from Florida's groves. Attaway, a citrus grower with a doctorate in chemistry, does a fine job combining the book's numerical tables with a well-ordered narrative that includes many personal observations from Florida growers both past and present. Thoroughly researched with a wealth of heretofore unpublished material, Attaway's book will no doubt serve scholars and growers for many years to come. *A History of Florida Citrus Freezes* (1997) is available in hardcover from Florida Science Sources, Inc. for $48.00.

Roadside History of Florida, by Douglas Waitley, is a book for visitors who wish to see the architectural gems of by-gone days of some of Florida's cities and to learn more of the personal histories of those who lay behind the construction of the structures. The first section of the book deals with Orlando, Miami, Tampa and St. Petersburg, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee, particularly those parts that formed the core of the present communities. This is also a book for residents who wish to know a little more of Florida's history by travelling the highways and byways of the state. The roads referenced include the turnpike, I-75, U.S. 41, I-95, U.S. 1, I-4, U.S. 98, and I-10. Available from Mountain Press of Missoula, Montana, for $18.00, *Roadside History of Florida* can serve as the basis for city stays and weekend excursions. Its value is enhanced by many pictures.

While most competent United States history textbooks justly highlight the importance of the 1857 *Dred Scott v. Sanford* Supreme Court case, too often the case is described in a manner suggesting that the logic behind the court's decision was unprecedented. In Mark Brandon's *Free in the World: American Slavery and Constitutional Failure* (1998), the author, paraphrasing a speech by the noted abolitionist Wendell Phillips, writes "Dred Scott came out of the past; its foundations were laid far back." (109) Brandon's book points out that the United States Constitution– a document so often hailed for its revolutionary egalitarianism– failed a significant percentage of the nation's population (African Americans) both be-

fore and after Emancipation. In the earlier instance, it denied all blacks (free and slave) access to the political process. In the later instance, the Constitution's inability to mediate between northern and southern cultures resulted in its reversion to a tool of division (separating blacks from whites). *Free in the World* scrutinizes the work of the Founding Fathers in a lucid and thought-provoking manner and causes readers to consider how the nation's history might have evolved under an alternately worded Constitution. *Free in the World: American Slavery and Constitutional Failure* is available in cloth from Princeton University Press for $39.50.

Benjamin Disraeli, England's oft-quoted-nineteenth century Prime Minister, once wrote "Read no history: nothing but biography, for that is life without theory." Considering the penchant most statesmen have for commissioning vainglorious personal biographies, Disraeli's words seem especially self-serving. Very often, however, the recollections of political leaders serve as invaluable material for historians seeking to establish a sense of "place." *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines: Pioneer and Statesman of Early Alabama and Mississippi, 1805-1843* (1998) provides scholars and lay readers alike with a genuine historical backdrop of early nineteenth-century Alabama. Gaines, who served in various governmental posts from 1805 to 1843, was deeply involved in the state's dealings with its Native American population and as superintendent for the Choctaw removal he oversaw one of the most infamous events in Alabama's history. *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines* is available in paperback from University of Alabama Press for $19.95.

On rare occasions a photograph collection can transcend its two-dimensional boundaries and virtually recreate its subjects around a viewer. *Memories of Cuba* (1998) is just such a collection. Photographer Olivier Beytout and journalist Francois Missen have created a magical work capable of transporting even the most casual bookstore browser to a sun-streaked Havana street corner. In photograph after photograph, faces– the book's principal subject– await the opportunity to share a secret, a laugh, or a simple hello. The book's text– composed of interviews with lifelong island residents– reads like a series of treasured letters. Like any time spent reminiscing it is easy to lose track of the minutes while leafing through the book, but the richness of the experience is certain

to result in– if nothing else– a productive flight of fancy. *Memories of Cuba* is available in paperback from Thunder's Mouth Press for $22.95.

Second Editions

Long considered one of America's most culturally diverse cities– combining French, Spanish, and African influences– New Orleans has also fashioned a reputation as one of the nation's more enigmatic metropolises. When the late Joy Jackson's *New Orleans in the Gilded Age* was first published in 1969 it provided readers with a revealing portrait of the late-nineteenth century Crescent City (so named for its location on a concave Mississippi River bend). Recently, the Louisiana Historical Association issued a second edition (1997) of Jackson's seminal book. *New Orleans in the Gilded Age* is a sprawling work which nonetheless moves effortlessly from politics to public health and from crime to the mythology of Mardi Gras. The byzantine complexity (and corruption) of nineteenth-century New Orleans politics is legendary, and Jackson does a superb job of diagraming the various machinations of the city's "bosses and businessmen." The second edition features a new chapter entitled "Black Society in Transition" as well as an epilogue and updated bibliography. *New Orleans in the Gilded Age* (1997) is available in hardcover from the Louisiana Historical Association.

During the Revolutionary War, American and Loyalist supporters often found themselves evenly divided in cities and towns throughout the colonies. Conversely, during the Civil War, a clear geographical line separated Union and Confederate interests. The Appalachian region, however, was a notable exception. First published in 1978, Gordon B. McKinney's *Southern Mountain Republicans, 1865-1900: Politics and the Appalachian Community* revealed that not only did a majority of Appalachian communities resist secession but that after the war they defied the concept of a "solid" Democratic South and consistently voted Republican. McKinney's book - reissued this year as part of the "Appalachian Echoes" series - reasons that Appalachia's alternative politics were a result of the upheavals caused by the Civil War and the absence of an African American presence in the region. Party leaders exploited these circumstances and used them to create a Republi-

can political machine unique to the South. *Southern Mountain Republicans, 1865-1900: Politics and the Appalachian Community* (1998) is available in paperback from The University of Tennessee Press for $19.00.

New in Paperback

Brenda E. Stevenson's *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* is at once an insightful examination of antebellum southern race relations and a scrupulously researched regional history. The residents of Loudoun County, Virginia, were a colorful combination of plantation aristocrats, small farmers, abolitionist Quakers, and black families both slave and free. Largely because of its diverse population the county was viewed as a sort of barometer of regional sentiment. As a result, local opinions on the subject of slavery were disseminated throughout the South. In her introduction, Stevenson writes: "In a slave society. . . one's race virtually defined one's status as slave or free, family and community differed profoundly for black and white people." (x) Building upon the concept of alternative slave family structures, Stevenson makes the provocative argument that extended kin networks– developed by slaves in the face of an inhuman system which reduced nuclear families to saleable "parts"– emerged as the principal unit of the black family. *Life in Black and White* is available in paperback from Oxford University Press for $16.95.

Augustine St. Clare, the model southern gentleman/slave owner of Harriet Beecher Stowe's monumentally influential novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* was long thought to exemplify the antebellum southern aristocrat. Well educated, affluent, and always patient with his servants, St. Clare represented the slave owner with deep misgivings about slavery. However, as James Oakes's *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* points out, most slave owners never questioned the system responsible for their livelihood. Originally published in 1982, Oakes's book underscored the fact that the majority of southern slave holders owned five slaves or fewer. These individuals did not live in opulent mansions or own grandiose "Tara-like" plantations. In fact, perhaps the most shocking revelation about southern slave owners is that most of them were middle-class entrepreneurs. *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* is available in paperback from W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. for $14.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Call for Papers/Conferences

1998 FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

"Planters in Paradise:
Florida's Plantation Economy"

April 29-May 1, 1999
Sunspree Resort
Daytona Beach Holiday Inn

Please send a 500-word paper proposal, any audio-visual requirements, and the preferred date for your presentation to:

Dr. Robert A. Taylor
1015 Martinique Avenue
Ft. Pierce, Florida 34982
Rtaylor234@aol.com
(561) 461-5522

The annual National Oral History Association Conference will be held in Anchorage, Alaska, October 7-10, 1999. The conference's theme is "Giving Voice: Oral Historians and the Shaping of Narrative." For further details send a virtual letter to Susan Armitage: armitage@wsu.edu or William Schneider: ffwss@aurora.alaska.edu.

Applicants must submit four copies of the following: for full session proposals, a one-page description of the issues and questions the session will address and abstracts of each presentation; the name of the convener; suggested commentator(s); and one-page vitae for each presenter. Submit to Susan Armitage, Women's Studies Programs, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, 99164-4007.

The Southern Humanities Council Fifty-Second Anniversary Conference, "Exploring the Roots and Branches of Southern Tra-

ditions," will be held March 19-21, 1999, at Thomas Nelson Community College in Hampton, Virginia. Papers, panels, and readings are invited from all the humanities and social science disciplines. We are interested in presentations that examine the role of the South in politics, literature, art, history, horticulture, architecture, history, theater, religion, etc. Submit proposals to Pamel Monaco, Thomas Nelson Community College, 99 Thomas Nelson Drive, Hampton, Virginia, 23670. Deadline for submissions is November 15, 1999.

The Sixteenth Annual International Country Music Conference will be held at Belmont University in Nashville, Tennessee, June 4-5, 1999. The conference seeks proposals in all disciplines related to the history and contemporary status of all forms of country music. Proposals should include: a paper title, a 75-100 word abstract, name of presenter(s), institutional affiliation(s), complete address(es), phone and fax numbers, and e-mail address(es). Proposals may be submitted via the ether to: JAkenson@tntech.edu or sent via the post to: James E. Akenson, Box 5042, Tennessee Technological University, Cookville, Tennessee. For online information contact: http://www.tntech.edu/www/acad/ci/icmc.html.

The Institute for Southern Studies at the University of South Carolina will host a conference entitled "Slavery in Early South Carolina" on February 12-13, 1999. For online information visit: http://www.cla.sc.edu/ISS. Queries requiring a human response should be directed to Thomas Brown at: browntj@garnet.cla.sc.edu.

The Fourth Annual Graduate Student Conference in Southern History will be held at the University of Mississippi, in Oxford, Mississippi, March 19-20, 1999. The conference welcomes submissions from graduate students working in all fields of southern history from the colonial to the modern era. A one-page abstract must be submitted by January 10, 1999. Completed papers (10-12 pages in length) must be turned in no later than February 15, 1999. All submissions should be mailed to: Graduate Student Conference in Southern History, Department of History, Bishop, Room 310, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi, 38677. Information regarding lodging and travel arrangements is available at: www.olemiss.edu/depts/history.

Awards and Honors

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three prizes for original work in Florida history. Those for 1997-98 were announced at the annual meeting in Tampa, May 28-30, 1998. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for the best article in the *Quarterly* was awarded to Eric Tscheschlok for "'So Goes the Negro': Race and Labor in Miami, 1940-1963," which appeared in the Summer 1997 issue. The prize memorializes Professor Thompson, a long-time member of the history faculty at the University of Florida. His family established an endowment which supports the annual grant.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was given to Jeffrey A. Drobney, formerly of Youngstown State University, for *Lumbermen and Log Sawyers: Life, Labor, and Culture in the North Florida Timber Industry, 1830-1930,* published by Mercer University Press. Rembert Patrick was secretary of the Society and long-time editor of the *Quarterly.* He was also chairman of the history department at the University of Florida and past president of the Southern Historical Association.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award went to Olav Thulesius for *Edison in Florida: The Green Laboratory* published by the University Press of Florida. Dr. Tebeau is professor emeritus of history at the University of Miami.

The Patrick D. Smith Literary Award went to Al Burt for his book, *Al Burt's Florida,* published by the University Press of Florida. The award was presented by well-known Florida author Patrick D. Smith.

The Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Award for the best book in social and ethnographic history of Florida was awarded to Marvin Dunn for his book, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* published by the University Press of Florida.

In recognition of his service to the Florida Historical Society and to the academic community nationwide, the Society presented the Dorothy Dodd Lifetime Achievement Award to Samuel Proctor. Dr. Proctor was the long-time editor of the *Quarterly* and is Dis-

tinguished Service Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Florida.

The Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by students. The 1997-98 Leroy Collins Prize for the best essay by a graduate student went to Sheila Cohen of the University of South Florida for "The Marianna Fiesta: Race, Class, Gender and Lynching in a Florida Town."

The Carolyn Mays Brevard Prize for the best essay by an undergraduate student was awarded to Jennifer Walker Chucran of the University of South Florida for her essay, "Home Town Heroes: Plant City Women and World War II." The Frederick Cubberly Prize for the best essay by a middle/high school student was awarded to Larry Omar Rivers of Leon High School, Tallahassee, for his essay, "'Every Advancement Comes by Way of Sacrifice': Harry T. Moore and the Early Civil Rights Movement in Florida."

The Florida Historical Society is currently accepting nominees for book and essay prizes to be awarded at the 1999 Annual Meeting. The Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize is awarded by the Society to the author of the best scholarly book in Florida history. The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award is given to the author of the best book in Florida history for young readers. The Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Award is awarded to the author of the best book in social and ethnographic history. Books published during 1998 are eligible for the award. Those interested in submitting nominees should send six (6) copies of the book by January 1, 1999, to Dr. Nick Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, Florida, 32935. Please indicate for which award you are applying.

The Leroy Collins Graduate Essay competition is open to all graduate students in all universities. Eligible are papers written on Florida history topics which are the result of in-class assignments. The papers must be properly footnoted, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed in the calendar year prior to the submission date. The award for this category is $200 and a plaque.

The Carolyn Mays Brevard Undergraduate Essay competition is open to all undergraduate students in all universities, colleges,

and community colleges. Papers are to be written on Florida history topics, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed within the calendar year prior to the submission date. The prize consists of a $200 stipend and a plaque.

The Frederick Cubberly High School Essay competition is open to all high school students in Florida in grades 8-12. The papers are to be written on Florida history topics, be the result of in-class assignments, be properly footnoted, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed within the calendar year prior to the submission date. The Cubberly award carries a $250 stipend and a plaque.

The procedures for submitting papers for consideration are the same in all three above categories. Applicants should send five (5) copies of their paper, along with a cover letter detailing the class for which it was written, and a resume. A valid telephone number and address should be included. The awards will be made at the Society's annual banquet in April 1999 in Daytona Beach and the winner is expected to attend. Entries should be mailed to: The Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, Florida, 32935, and must be received by 5:00 p.m. on April 15, 1999.

FAU's Harry Kersey Receives Second National History Award

Florida Atlantic University Professor of History Harry A. Kersey Jr., one of the foremost authorities on the Seminole Indians, is the recipient of an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History (AASLH). The award is given for contributions to the understanding of Florida history.

Earlier this year, Dr. Kersey received a prestigious national award from the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). The DAR medal honors an individual whose study and promotion of some aspect of American history on the local, regional or national levels has significantly advanced the understanding of our nation's past.

Dr. Kersey, who has been an FAU faculty member for more than thirty years, has written a number of books on the Seminoles including a trilogy completed in 1996. The concluding volume, *An Assumption of Sovereignty,* highlights the defining eras of Florida Seminole history, with a focus on the effects of shifting governmen-

tal attitudes and policies toward Native Americans in Florida during the past quarter-century.

The Jay I. Kislak Foundation, a non-profit research institution devoted to the history and archaeology of the Caribbean region, Florida, Mexico, and Central America, has been awarded a grant in the amount of $18,100 through the Historical Museums Grants-in-Aid Program provided by the Bureau of Historical Museums, Florida Department of State. The grant will be used to help fund a millennial exhibition entitled *Diversity and Progress.*

New Publications

Contours, a new, multidisciplinary journal exploring the experiences of people of African descent all over the world, invites submissions for its premier issues. *Contours* will publish refereed scholarly articles, fiction, poetry, and societal and cultural commentaries. The journal will publish articles from a diverse field of disciplines including: sociology, political science, history, anthropology, and psychology; art, film, music, literary, and cultural criticism; and medicine and the health sciences. *Contours* will be published three times a year by Indiana University Press and is supported by the African and African-American Studies program and the Department of History at Duke University. For further details contact Lynda Horn online at: LLHORN@ACPUB.DUKE.EDU.

Events

The Miami Book Fair International will be held November 15-22, 1998, on the grounds of Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus, and surrounding streets in downtown Miami. The eight-day program includes presentations by authors of international acclaim, book-signing sessions, educational programs for children, a lively street fair, book exhibits and sales, rare book appraisals, and other book-related displays to create a unique literary happening. The street fair will be held during the final three days– November 20, 21, 22, 1998.

Obituary

There are no other Marjorys in the world.

She was, she had always been, one of the unique people in this region of the earth, a legend, never wholly at rest. Few people any-

where else were like Marjory Stoneman Douglas: her shrewd crusadership in protecting our glittering backyard, one of America's most endangered wilderness areas, was the only cause equal to her powers of the written word. She was unique also in her steely conviction, in fighting for what was right, against what was wrong, and never wasting a breath to explain why she felt so strongly about the Everglades of Florida. The same miracle of light that "pours over the green and brown expanse of saw grass and of water" is what attracted Ms. Douglas to Florida. It was Marjory who brought the Everglades to our attention. More importantly, she shed light on the unfortunate reality that the "central fact of the Everglades of Florida" was that they were dying. The same "river of grass" that she helped to define would ultimately define the movement she led for nearly half a century.

In the early morning hours of May 14, 1998, the undisputed matriarch of the Florida Everglades passed away. In a sad coincidence, the same year that the Everglades National Park is celebrating its 50th anniversary, the one person who fought harder than anyone else to save this imperiled ecosystem left this world. Her 108 years on Earth were a testament to what a person could do in her second 50 years of life, for it was Ms. Douglas who at age 57 wrote her landmark book *The Everglades: River of Grass.*

Less widely known is the story of how Marjory came to write the Bible of Everglades understanding. Born on April 7, 1890, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the future Mother of the Everglades caught the Florida bug early, at age four, while on a steamer trip with her parents to Tampa. Years later, after a failed marriage, she moved to Miami in 1915 to start a new life with her father, Frank Stoneman, founder and editor of the *News Record,* predecessor to the *Miami Herald.* Stoneman's controversial editorials denouncing the drainage of the Everglades first influenced Marjory, then a cub reporter.

After World War II, Hervey Allen, editor of Rinehart and Co.'s "Rivers of America" series, asked Marjory to write a book about the Miami River. Marjory found that although the Miami River was too insignificant to warrant a book, it was a part of a larger, wider, slower-moving "river" that she would make famous. "All right," Allen said, "write about the Everglades!"– setting her off on a lifelong journey.

Much has been said about her book, the formation of her organization, The Friends of the Everglades, and even her legendary diatribes against complacent members of the Florida power struc-

ture, but her true lifetime achievement was that she turned the tide of public opinion from ignoring the destruction of the Everglades to the desire to save the fragile ecosystem. Ahead of us is the world's largest restoration effort. If we can "save the Everglades," as Marjory once said, "we may get to keep the planet." The most crucial time is now. And we have arrived at this juncture because of one remarkable woman's efforts. We must proceed into battle without our leader. The future of the Everglades is in all our hands.

CESAR A. BECERRA AND MAUD M. DILLINGHAM,
The Everglade Magazine

1998 ANNUAL MEETING
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May 28-30, 1998
Tampa Holiday Inn Select
Tampa, Florida

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR: A CENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE

Thursday, May 28, 1998

8:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.	REGISTRATION
8:45 a.m.-9:00 a.m.	COFFEE AND CONVERSATION
	SESSION I
9:15-l0:15 a.m.	"Scan Do!"– The Boca Grande Historical Society Enters the Computer Age Chair: Robert A. Taylor, *Florida Institute of Technology* Presenter: Theodore VanItallie, *Boca Grande Historical Society*
	SESSION II
10:30-11:00 a.m.	"Making Do!"– The Tebeau Library of Florida History and Community Resources Nick Wynne, Executive Director, *Florida Historical Society*
	SESSION III
11:15-11:45 a.m.	"Must Do!"– State Resources and Local Historical Societies Frederick Gaske, *Bureau of Historic Preservation*
12:00-1:30 p.m.	CONFEDERATION LUNCHEON AND AWARDS PRESENTATION
2:00 p.m.	ANNUAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING FOR THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

2:00 p.m. Walking Tour of the Tampa Theater
Film: *Precious Memories*

3:15-4:15 p.m. Tour of Oaklawn Cemetery– St. Louis Cemetery
Oaklawn Tour by Julius J. Gordon
St. Louis Tour by Arsenio Sanchez

5:30-7:30 p.m. Tampa Historical Society Reception
Henry B. Plant Museum
University of Tampa

8:00 p.m. Walking Tour of Ybor City
Gary Mormino, *University of South Florida*

Friday, May 29, 1998

8:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. REGISTRATION

8:00 a.m.-8:30 a.m. COFFEE AND CONVERSATION

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

SESSION I

8:30-l0:30 a.m. NATIVE-AMERICAN IDENTITY IN FLORIDA AND THE SOUTH
Chair: John Belohlavek, *University of South Florida*
"Rejecting the Other: Seminole Nativism, Circa 1835"
Richard Blackman, *University of South Florida*
"As Dark as Midnight: Class, Gender and Cherokee Removal"
Carolyn Johnston, *Eckerd College*
"Inventing the Seminoles: Native People and the Media, 1732-1842"
Patrick Riordan, *University of South Florida*

SESSION II

8:30-10:30 a.m. SPIES AND SPYGLASSES: THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR ON LAND AND SEA
Chair: Paul Dosal, *University of South Florida*
"A Canadian Connection: The Spanish Spy Network in Montreal and Canada During the Spanish-American War"

Eric Jarvis, *King's College (London,* Ontario)
"Richmond Pearson Hobson and the Naval War of 1898"
Harvey Rosenfeld, *City University of New York*
"Jacky Fisher's Ships and the Spanish-American War"
Riccardo Busetto, *University of Padua*
"The Sinking of the *Merrimac,* June 3, 1898"
Walter E. Pittman, *University of West Alabama*

SESSION III

8:30-l0:30 a.m. MISSILES, MEGABYTES AND MEMOREX: TECHNOLOGY AND THE PRESENTATION OF FLORIDA HISTORY
Chair: Irvin D. Solomon, *Florida Gulf Coast University*
Panelists: Julian Pleasants, *University of Florida*
James Schnur, *University of South Florida*
Robin Sellers, *Florida State University*
Eric Strahorn, *Florida Gulf Coast University*
Jacquelyn Kent, *Florida Gulf Coast University*
Gordon Patterson, *Florida Institute of Technology*

SESSION IV

l0:45 a.m.-12:00 p.m. SOLDIERING IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
Chair: Kathleen Paul, *University of South Florida*
"General Henry Clark Corbin and the American Army, 1896-1906"
John K. Mahon, *University of Florida*
"Bullets Could Not Kill Him: First Sergeant Henry A. Dobson in the Spanish-American War"
Alicia Addeo, *University of South Florida*
"I Am Entitled to the Medal of Honor and I Want It: Theodore Roosevelt and His Quest for Glory"
Mitchell Yockelson, *National Archives*

SESSION V

10:45 a.m.-12:30 p.m. VOICES OF THE RIVER NATURE AND HUMANITY IN THE EVERGLADES
Chair: Rebecca Johns, *University of South Florida*
"The Plume Wars of South Florida"
Barry Reese, *University of South Florida*
"Ten Acres and An Alligator: The Everglades, 1916-1924"
David McCally, *University of Florida*
"Seminole Cattle Women in Modern Florida"
Louise Gopher, *Seminole Nation of Florida*
Susan Stans, *Florida Gulf Coast University*

SESSION VI

10:45 a.m.-12:30 p.m. BASEBALL IN FLORIDA
Chair: Ellen Babb, *Heritage Village and Historical Museum*
"Short Season, Long Tradition: Major League Baseball in Central Florida, 1908-1998"
Raymond Arsenault, *University of South Florida*
"Clowning Around: Cultural Conflict in Black Baseball"
Ray Mohl, *University of Alabama-Birmingham*
"From Boosterism to Big Business: Spring Training in St. Petersburg"
Jack E. Davis, *University of Alabama-Birmingham*

SESSION VII

2:00-4:00 p.m. POLITICS, POPULAR CULTURE AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
Chair: Alejandro de la Fuente, *University of South Florida*
"Aftermath of War: Florida's Reaction to America's Policy Toward Revolutionary Cuba, 1898-1998"
William Marina, *Florida Atlantic University*

"Dime Novels and the Spanish-American War: Interpretations and Iconography"
Paul Camp, *University of South Florida*
"'When Santiago Fell': Race, Racial Superiority and Empire Building in Novels of the Spanish-American, 1898-1905"
Jim Walsh, *University of Southern Mississippi*

SESSION VIII

2:00-4:00 p.m. VIOLENCE, RACISM AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN FLORIDA, 1840-1998
Chair: Alan Petigny, *Brown University*
"Florida Law Enforcement Officers Killed In the Line of Duty, 1840-1925"
William Wilbanks, *Florida International University*
"'Not a Single Battle But Rather a War': The NAACP and the Fight to Equalize Teachers' Pay In Florida"
Caroline Emmons, *Florida State University*
"Desegregation of the Florida National Guard"
Thomas Honsa, *Manatee Community College*
"The Political Economy of White Supremacist Violence in Florida, 1890-1998"
Joe Knetsch, *Florida Department of Survey and Mapping*
Pam Gibson, *Manatee County Library*

SESSION IX

2:00-4:00 p.m. FLORIDA'S COASTAL COMMUNITIES AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
Chair: Charles Arnade, *University of South Florida*
"The Spanish-American War in Manatee County and Sarasota"
Pam Gibson, *Manatee County Library*
Ann Shank, *Sarasota Department of Historical Resources*
"Miami and the Spanish-American War"
Paul George, *Miami-Dade Community College*

"Key West and the Spanish-American War"
Wright and Joan Langley, *Langley Press, Key West*

TOUR

4:30-6:00 p.m. Tour of the Restored Tampa Union Station
Jim Shepherd, *Tampa Union Station*

7:15-10:00 p.m. ANNUAL BANQUET AND AWARDS PRESENTATION

Saturday, May 30, 1998

8:15-8:45 a.m. Annual Society Business Meeting

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

SESSION X

8:50-l0:20 a.m. GOING TO POT?: THE FIBER INDUSTRY AND THE ECONOMY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
Chair: Greg Padgett, *Eckerd College*
"The Florida East Coast Canal"
William G. Crawford Jr., *Broward County Historical Commission*
"The Florida Fiber Company, Duncan U. Fletcher and the Middle River Enterprise"
Rodney Dillon, *Broward County Historical Commission*
"The Myth of Victor Licata: Florida's Contribution to Marijuana Prohibition in the 1930s"
Keith Halderman, *American University*
"Their New Jerusalem: The Koreshan Unity's Commercial Plans for Southwest Florida"
Irvin D. Solomon, *Florida Gulf Coast University*

SESSION XI

8:50-l0:20 a.m. THE ATLANTIC CONNECTION: FILIBUSTERING, THE YELLOW PRESS AND REVOLUTIONARY CUBA, 1895-1898

Chair: Susan Fernandez, *University of South Florida*

"Fernandina Filibuster Fiasco: Jose Marti's 1895 Cuban Expedition"
Antonio R. de la Cova, *Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology*

"Georgia's Coastal Defenses During the Spanish-American War"
Hans Neuhauser, *Georgia Environmental Policy Institute*

"Evangelina Cisneros and the Yellow Press"
Teresa Prados Torreira, *Columbia College-Chicago*

SESSION XII

8:50-l0:20 a.m. CITY STREETS AND COUNTRY ROADS: FLORIDA COMMUNITIES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Chair: James B. Crooks, *University of North Florida*

"Starke and the Coming of I-75 and I-10"
Evan Bennett, *University of South Florida*

"The Girls Recreation Center of Orlando and the Creation of a Social Service Network in the 1920s"
Kari Frederickson, *University of Central Florida*

"Tampa in 1955"
Ernest Jernigan, *Central Florida Community College*

"Race, Planning and the Contradictions of a Consumer City: St. Petersburg in the 1920s"
Bruce Stephenson, *Rollins College*

l0:45 a.m. Circulo Cubano in Ybor City
Special Presentation on the Spanish-American War
Narrated by E. J. Salcines

12:00 p.m. Annual Meeting Picnic
Ybor State Museum Garden

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING
May 28, 1998

The Board of the Florida Historical Society met in Cocoa on May 28, 1998. In attendance were: Nancy Buckalew, Mary Ann Cleveland, Lindsey Williams, Sandy Johnson, Niles Shuh, J. Allison DeFoor III, William S. Coker, Pam Hall, Clyde Field, Louise Gopher, Ada Williams, Tom Graham, Marinus Latour, George Franchere, Robert Taylor, Ted Van Itallie, Kari Frederickson, Patti Bartlett, Milton Jones, and Nick Wynne. Dick Powell was visiting.

The meeting was called to order at 2:05 p.m. by President Bill Coker. Minutes of the January 23, 1998 meeting were approved as circulated and seconded. Motion carried.

NEW BUSINESS

Status Report on the Library

Nick Wynne discussed the Library. The building has been purchased from the City of Cocoa for $537,850; part of the financing was a long-term $200,000 loan from Mrs. Clyde Fields. There are 380 members of the Florida Library Foundation (FLF). The FLF is considering publication of a semi-annual popular history magazine which will allow us to expand the exhibits displayed in the library building, the topics dealt with in *Journeys* publication, and will enable us to reach a broader market than the FHS *Quarterly* now reaches. A call for articles will be issued in the *Quarterly,* in the newsletter, and other historically oriented sites. This would also put us on a par with most other state historical societies, with an academic and a popular publication. A series of changing exhibits has been set up in the Library. Since June 2, 1997, 14,000 visitors have visited the Library.

The book store in the library building has opened. Called The Print Shop, it generates about $1000 a month in sales. The FHS also has its own web site, which may be reached at www.florida-historical-soc.org and a service entitled "Today in Florida History" will begin in the fall of 1998. There will be no charge for newspapers, etc., to use this service, as long as the FHS is credited. The volun-

teer staff for the society is six people who work about 30 hours a week. The Saturday lecture series has proven to be popular. The Pioneer Days Festival, held in late March, brought another 1,000-2,000 people through the Society's doors. An endowment has been created for the Library, and contributions are beginning to come in for it; Board members are asked to join the FLF. Next year's Pioneer Days Festival will be March 27 and 28; all FHS Board members are encouraged to attend and to talk to those attending. Historical re-enactors are being sought.

Renovations to the Library building will begin on September 1, 1998. Grants from the Bureau of Historic Preservation of $215,000 and $60,000 will pay for the renovations and the roof repair.

Fund raisers for the Society and for the FLF will begin in the summer with the Annual Appeals for both organizations. In November, Clyde Fields will host a Florida BBQ fundraiser at her house, probably the first weekend of that month.

A catalog of acquisitions is underway; two typical recent acquisitions are 50 maps of 19th century Florida and a photographic collection of tin can tourist camps. A grant is being written to digitize the documents.

Doug Milne will pursue our connection with the DuPont Foundation regarding funding. We need to prove that Mrs. DuPont gave us funding prior to her death to be eligible for DuPont funding.

Membership Report

Our membership currently is about 2,400. *Journeys for the Junior Historian* is doing well, with roughly 375 members, although recruiting essentially a completely new membership every two years has proven to be a time-intensive task. Cynthia Trefelner has resigned as editor of the publication, and a new editor is being sought. Ted Van Itallie commented that corporate sponsorship could be sought, to result in enough funding to hire a really first-rate editor.

Nominations for New Board Members

Robert Taylor passed out copies of the nomination committee's recommendations for the new board member positions. Don Gaby has been nominated for district 1; Ernest Dibble for District 2, and Robert Taylor for District 3. All three nominees are active in Florida history and have published in the field. After discussion, it

was moved and seconded (Field, Van Itallie) that these nominations be presented to the membership for election. Motion carried.

Nick Wynne commented that new board nominations will be needed to fill five upcoming slots next year. Members were requested to think of who they would like to see added to the Board.

OLD BUSINESS

Kari Frederickson announced that Marilyn Babb of the University Press of Florida asked her about out plans to start a series of monographs on Florida history, culled from the *Quarterly.* Dr. Wynne said in the past the Society Board thought that any available funding would be better spent on direct Society expense, the last index cost about $20,000. Ted Van Itallie asked about whether the University Press of Florida or we should do these anthologies; Dr. Wynne commented that it would be much easier for the University Press of Florida to do this. It would behoove us to find a committee to select the articles for inclusion. Dr. Coker asked that information be brought to the January 1999 Board meeting.

Dr. Frederickson was asked if she was pleased with her role with the *Quarterly.* She said that she was pleased with her staff, the editorial board and the progress shown. Those articles sent back to the authors with questions from the reviewing board were sent back by the authors within a month. Submission are up and the next four issue have been planned, the thematic issue on NASA was scuttled, due to poor response. Those articles which were submitted will appear in future issues of the *Quarterly.* Two special issues are planned, one on the Civil War in Florida and the second on Women in Florida History. If response merits it, these themes will be used for future anthologies. She is now asking her authors to abstract their articles for placement on our website. She would like more history news from area societies and museums, and book notes reviewing Florida history books which might not receive much publicity.

Ted Van Itallie suggested the Board consider adding binders for the *Quarterly* as a membership benefit for the higher membership levels.

The Board entered into an executive session for a report from Milton Jones.

There being no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned at 3:45 p.m.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

January 1, 1997-December 31, 1997

Current Assets	
Checking Account-Society	$ 3,709
Dean Witter Investments	12,570
Mid-South Investment	180
Accounts Receivable	7,247
Inventory	25,438
Total Current Assets	49,144
Fixed Assets	
Office Equipment	14,140
Furniture & Fixtures	4,290
Accumulated Depreciation	(16,199)
Total Fixed Assets	2,231
TOTAL ASSETS	51,375
Current Liabilities	
Accounts Payable	16,451
Total Current Liabilities	16,451
TOTAL LIABILITIES	16,451
Fund Balance	
Fund Balances	37,591
Excess (deficit) for year	(2,667)
Total Fund Balance	34,924
TOTAL LIABILITIES & FUND BALANCE	51,375
Revenues	
Membership Income	48,550
Donation Sales Income	1,500
Quarterly Income	317
Journeys Income	129
AnnuaI Meeting Income	10,685
Annual Appeal Income	7,275
Dividend Income	606
Florida Portrait Sales	327
Florida Portrait Royalties	977
Ciudad de Cigars Sales	1,192
Florida Decade Sales	190
Divided We Fall Sales	164
Florida At War Sales	14
History of Brevard County Sales	361
Income-Research	5
Income-Label Sales	80
Income-Misc. Donations	13,215
Miscellaneous Income	332
TOTAL REVENUES	85,949

Expenses

Memb. Recr. & Retent. Printing Expense	$ 1,746
Memb. Recr. & Retent. Postage Expense	2,281
Quarterly Expense	15,878
Journeys Expense	1,641
Society Report Expense	1,929
Annual Meeting Expense	6,540
Award Expense	2,498
Annual Appeal Expense	143
Roesch House-Utilities Expense	4,246
Roesch House-Maintenance Expense	685
Roesch House-Security Expense	337
Roesch House-Insurance Expense	1,932
Roesch House-Miscellaneous Expense	252
Editorial Expense	750
Legal & Accounting Expense	115
Office Exp.-Salary-Exec. Dir	17,769
Office Exp.-Salary-Admin. Asst	7,949
Office Exp.-Payroll Taxes	4,499
Office Exp.-Unempl. Taxes	549
Office Exp.-Medical Insurance	7,738
Office Exp.-Other	7,852
Depreciation Expense	1,287
TOTAL EXPENSES	88,616
NET INCOME/DEFICIT	(2,667)

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BUSINESS MEETING OF THE GENERAL MEMBERSHIP
May 30, 1998

Nick Wynne called the meeting to order at 8:15 a.m. He recognized Ray Arsenault, Gary Mormino, Paul Camp and the local arrangements committee for their assistance in putting together a very successful and enjoyable historical society meeting. Bill Coker was then introduced.

President Bill Coker thanked everyone for attending the meeting. Next year's meeting will be at Daytona Beach. The theme will probably be East Coast Plantations and Cultures or possibly Exotic Florida, Fantasy and Reality.

Sites for future meetings were given. Key West is the site for the meeting in 2000, Pensacola in 2001, and Ft. Myers in 2002 (with special emphasis on Estero and the Koreshan Unity). No site has yet put in a bid for the meeting in 2003.

The election of the new board members was the next item on the agenda. Pam Hall of the nominating committee read the list of members proposed to serve on the board. They are Don Gaby, District 1; Ernest Dibble, District 2, and Robert Taylor, District 3. Ted Van Itallie moved that the nominations be closed. Bob Dabney seconded the motion. Those nominated to serve on the board were elected unanimously.

Under New Business, John Mahon stated that the Seminole War Foundation, Inc., has saved the Ft. Izzard site. The site is now under the control of the Seminole Foundation, Inc. The University of Miami Press is publishing Prince's diary. Dr. Mahon added that more must be done to save historic Indian sites in Florida; the Ft. King site is threatened with development and asked the members of the society for their assistance in supporting the work done by the Seminole War Foundation.

Ray Arsenault asked the Society about our efforts for minority representation on the Society Board. Bob Taylor stated that the search for minority board members was widespread and proactive. Nick Wynne said that our commitment to minority representation stands firm; the Society Board has, for the first time, a Native American representative on the board.

Nick Wynne gave the membership report. Our membership is currently about 2,400. He asked Society members to give subscriptions to the *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, and added that *Journeys* is currently looking for an editor. The Florida Historical Library Foundation will begin publishing a popular history magazine, tentatively called *Historical Horizons.* Article submissions of 500-1500 words are requested. He also encouraged Society members to join the Florida Historical Library Foundation.

There being no further business to come before the membership, the meeting was adjourned at 8:45 a.m.

A GIFT OF HISTORY

A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

A one-year membership costs only $35, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the executive director of the Society will notify the recipient of your generosity and consideration.

Send to: Florida Historical Society
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Eau Gallie-Melbourne, FL 32935

Please send as a special gift:

- Annual membership– $35
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- Library membership– $45
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- Corporate membership– $100
- Student membership– $25
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TO _____

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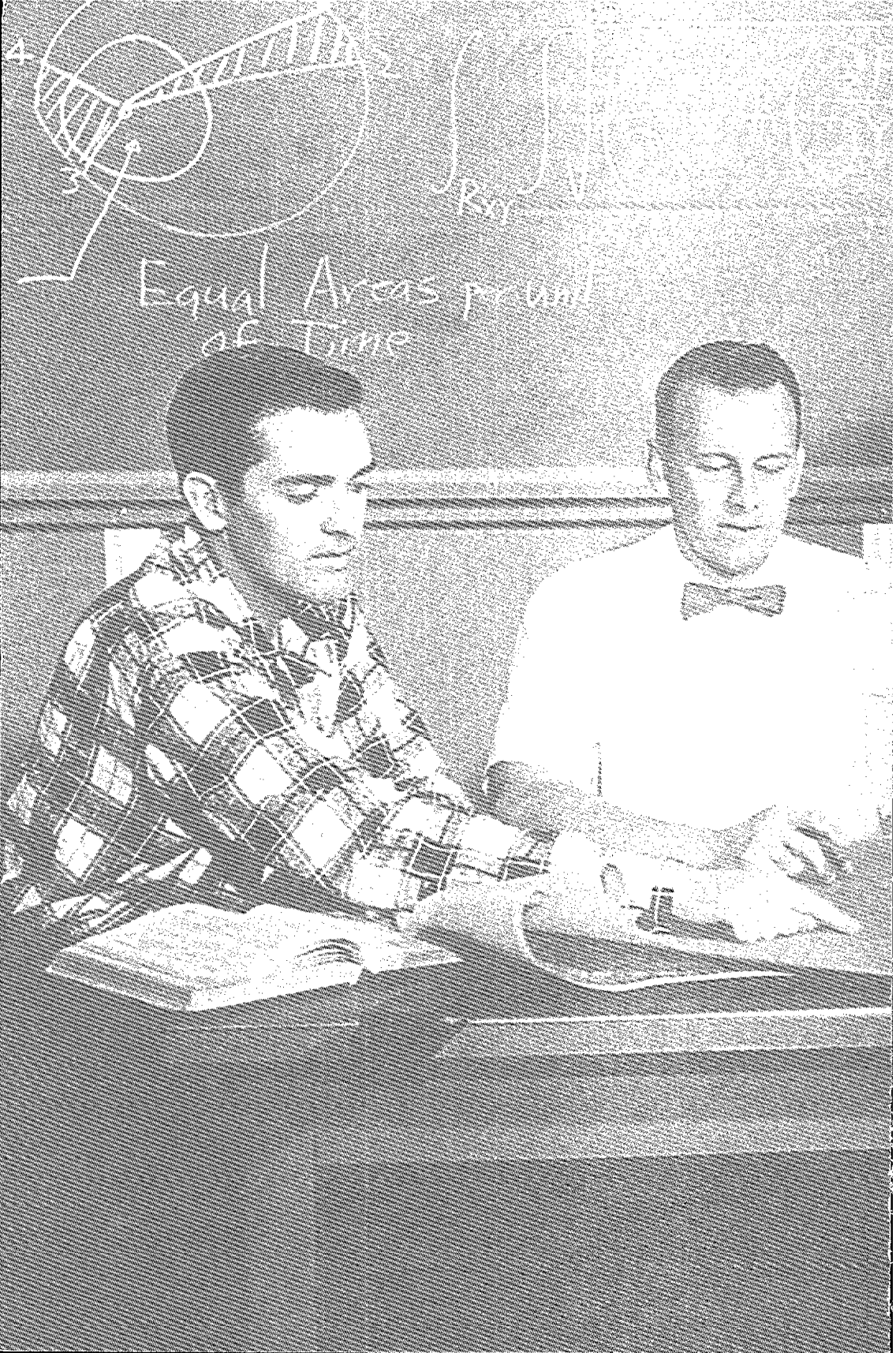
The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $35; family membership is $40; library membership is $45; a contributing membership is $50 and above; and a corporate membership is $100. In addition, a student membership is $25, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935. Telephone: 407-259-0511 or 239-0694; Fax: 407-259-0847. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.


Equal Areas
at Time