

# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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# *The Florida Historical Quarterly*

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THE

# FLORIDA

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Community, History, and Urban Development  
in Central Florida**

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Cover Illustration: Martha Tyler Jernigan, daughter of original pioneer Aaron Jernigan, at the 1924 Daughters of the American Revolution dedication ceremony marking the site of Fort Gatlin. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Central Florida, Orlando.*

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## Editor's Preface

In 2002, the Florida Historical Society marks its centenary. Organized on 26 November 1902 and chartered three years later, the Society was the successor to the Historical Society of Florida, formed in 1856. According to its charter, the Society's mission was twofold: "the collection, arrangement and preservation of all material pertaining to the history of, or in any manner illustrative of Florida, . . . [and to] prepare, edit and publish articles, sketches, biographies, pamphlets, books and documents, descriptive or illustrative of Florida."<sup>1</sup> To fulfill the second objective, the Society initiated the *Publications of the Florida Historical Society* in April 1908, the predecessor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Of course, both the collections and the publication depended on whether "our members and friends will sustain us with such financial aid as may be necessary." At the time, annual dues were five dollars, but Society officers still had trouble collecting. "Don't make it necessary for those who are devoting their time and labor in the interest of the Society, without financial compensation, to have to send a second notification to delinquent members," admonished President F.P. Fleming in 1908!

Today, the Florida Historical Society is thriving, and its immediate future is exciting. From its early days in a "commodius" room in the Jacksonville Public Library to its current homes at the Roesch House in Melbourne and the Alma Field Library in Cocoa, the Society has evolved in its mission. Today, the Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through collection and archival

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1. All quotes are from "Prospectus," *Publications of the Florida Historical Society* 1 (April 1908): 3-4.

maintenance, through scholarly research and publication, and through public history, historic preservation, and youth education.

As part of the commemoration of the Florida Historical Society's centennial, this special issue returns to one of the Society's original objectives: to publish articles illustrative of Florida. In particular, as the state has become urbanized and as more people move into its burgeoning towns and cities, community has become a major concern of many Floridians, and appeals to history in order to construct community identities have become more common. Inspired by "History and Community in Florida: A Regional Conference," held in 2001 on the campus of the University of Central Florida, the authors in this issue were charged to explore the meaning of "community," the relationships between community and history, and the development of community identities. In his introductory article, Gary R. Mormino presents the larger transformation of Florida that frames this historical problem. Through their respective articles, on a history museum, urban planning, and historic preservation, Bob Beatty, Hugh E. Bartling, and Scott Eidson explore how the historical problem of community has evolved in Orlando and Central Florida. Each illuminates predicaments faced by Central Floridians in uniting their region's past with a sense of community, illustrating Florida's larger historical problem of community as well.

My desire is that all readers will approach the articles objectively, seeking in the contributors' ideas and conclusions opportunities to consider the shaping of Florida, the South, and the United States. In sending forth this issue, I invite readers to share thoughts on its contents, on the themes addressed, and on the ways that "The Best Laid Plans: Community, History, and Urban Development in Central Florida" illustrates an expanding vision for the study of our collective histories and cultures.

Craig Thompson Friend



## **Sunbelt Dreams and Altered States: A Social and Cultural History of Florida, 1950-2000**

*by* Gary R. Mormino

**F**lorida's Big Bang represents an astonishing and complex story, a state swelling from 2.7 million inhabitants in 1950 to 16 million only fifty years later. Demographically, Florida's transformation is nothing short of revolutionary. On the eve of World War II, Florida's population of 1.9 million ranked twenty-seventh nationally and last in the South, trailing even lowly South Carolina and Arkansas. America's twentieth most populous state in 1950, Florida has vaulted to America's fourth largest in 2000, and stands poised to overtake New York. Like shifting tectonic plates, the post-World War II decades witnessed one of the great population shifts in history. Millions of Americans residing in the North and Midwest migrated to the South and West. Millions of emigrants from the Caribbean, Latin America, and Asia flocked to California, Texas, and Florida. Between 1970 and 1990, as America's population grew by 21 percent, the South surged by 40 percent, while Florida soared by 76 percent. In the

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Gary R. Mormino is the Frank E. Duckwall Professor of History at the University of South Florida, Tampa. The author would like to thank the *Orlando Sentinel* for permission to quote from his article, "Florida's Big Bang," 11 January 2001. Permission was also granted to republish brief excerpts from "The Big Bang: Tampa Bay, 1950-2000," in *Florida's Megacities in the New Millennium* (Tallahassee, Fla., 2000).

last half century, while California and Texas tripled their populations, Florida advanced six-fold.<sup>1</sup>

Even more astonishing than Florida's demographic explosion was its sudden accessibility. Since the 1920s, Florida's image as an American Mediterranean and winter vacationland had been ingrained, yet few Americans dared move to the southernmost state. But World War II and post-war affluence functioned as a giant watershed, opening the Sunshine State to millions of Americans. When George Gallup asked Americans in 1945, "If you could live in any state in the nation, in which state would you like to live?" California and Florida polled first and second.<sup>2</sup>

The decades following 1950 changed Florida more than the previous four centuries, altering boundaries, reconfiguring landscapes, and casting new relationships. The march to and across Florida was irresistible and irrepressible, as orange groves became gated communities, small towns were transformed into cities, and big cities morphed into metropolises and megalopolises. Demographers and wordsmiths coined new terms to incorporate paradigm shifts and change: space age, climate control, growth management, retirement community, theme park, urban renewal, mobile home park, strip mall, unincorporated sprawl, wetlands, and Sunbelt.

From its founding as an imperial outpost to its modern identity as a tourist empire, Florida has evoked contrasting and compelling images of the sacred and profane: a Fountain of Youth and Garden of Earthly Delights, a miasmic hell hole and tacky wasteland. Florida's post-World War II dreamscape stirred the imagination of Walt Disney and Dick Pope, Morris Lapidus and Philip Johnson, Elmore Leonard and John D. MacDonald. A powerful symbol of renewal and regeneration, Florida's dreamscape constantly shifts. Where once the land and climate were sufficiently inspiring to bewitch artists and travelers, now gated condomini-

1. T. Stanton Dietrich, *The Urbanization of Florida's Population: An Historical Perspective of County Growth, 1830-1970* (Gainesville, Fla., 1978), 1-11; Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook, 1989-90* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1989), 562-63; Kevin P. Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (Garden City, N.Y., 1970); Kirkpatrick Sales, *Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment* (New York, 1975); Jack T. Kirby, "The Southern Exodus, 1910-1960," *Journal of Southern History* 49 (November 1983): 587-97.
2. *St. Petersburg Times*, 20 January 1945.



ums, retirement communities, and theme parks constitute that firmament.<sup>3</sup>

Florida remains a state of enchanted reality and shattered dreams, of second chances and the trifecta at Gulfstream. It was here that Elias Disney lost his orange grove, voted for the socialist Eugene Debs, and uprooted his family to the Midwest. His son Walt redeemed the family name, transforming central Florida groves and ranches into a capitalist paradise.

Florida held no monopoly on American dreamstates, but compared to sunny rivals Hawaii and California, fantasies could be validated on the cheap. The developers of Port Charlotte, Spring Hill, and Lehigh Acres marketed Florida dreams not to the fabulously rich, but to veterans, retirees, and middling folk. The strategy worked: every single day since 1950, about seven hundred new persons have become new Florida residents. Here, the line between realities and illusions is easily blurred. A state of lottery sweepstakes and tropical resorts, Florida has attracted more than its timeshare of developers who sold land by the gallon and dreams for ten dollars down, ten dollars a month. In Florida, quipped Will Rogers, a lie told at breakfast could become the truth by lunch. A state of enchanted Februarys and cursed Septembers, Florida brokered the fantasies of Americans who lived vicariously through the exploits of the Brooklyn Dodgers, Philadelphia Athletics, and St. Louis Cardinals. Each spring, the playing fields of St. Petersburg, Fort Myers, and West Palm Beach beckoned baseball teams and loyalists. In crackerjack parks and wooden grandstands, fans shared a collective past and waited for a better future. Spring training encouraged "the stuff of dreams"; major league baseball packaged those dreams into profits and associations.

Spring training and fresh starts coincide with old age and second chances in the Sunshine State. In lyrical song and celluloid memory, the reconcilable idea of Florida as a place of death and renewal persists as a powerful metaphor. Fittingly, Florida's state song is "Old Folks at Home."

3. Kevin Starr's writings remain the most influential in the field of "dream-states"; *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York, 1973); idem, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through The 1920s* (New York, 1990). Raymond O. Arsenault has explored this theme in *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Norfolk, Va., 1988); idem, "Is There a Florida Dream?" *Forum: The Magazine of the Florida Humanities Council* 17 (summer 1994): 22-27; Alvin Tofler, *Future Shock* (New York, 1970).



Florida's vaunted climate, embellished by public relations, provided a siren's song. Like forward scouts, clusters of senior citizens first appeared in St. Petersburg, Lake Worth, and Miami Beach in the 1940s. Few contemporaries realized the portents. Never in human history would so many people live so long in places so far removed from their birth. The figures numbered even the boldest soothsayer. In 1940, about one in fifteen Floridians had celebrated a sixty-fifth birthday; by the end of the century, the proportion had grown to one in five. Floridians aged seventy and older now outnumber the total inhabitants of the Sunshine State on the eve of World War II. As late as 1950, Floridians' median age (28.8) was still younger than the rest of America. By 2000, Florida's median age (39.3) is four years older than the average American.<sup>4</sup>

Before Florida became the setting for the 1980s sit-com *Golden Girls* and the retirement home for the neurotic parents of *Seinfeld*, there first had to be a seismic mindshift in the way Americans thought about aging. In an older world steeped in the Protestant Work Ethic, the likelihood of "retirement" in Florida was as socially unimaginable as it was morally abhorrent. In the decades after World War II, Americans reaped the rewards of medical research and technological wizardry, shattering demographic barriers and redefining old age. Revolutions in health care and geriatrics, the promise of pension plans and Social Security, and the affordability of air conditioning and ranch houses made retirement possible in Florida. In hues of silver and gray, retirees poured into the state in the 1950s, reinventing Miami Beach and St. Petersburg and inventing Cape Coral and Century Village. Retirement now meant more than simply quitting work. By the 1990s, one could expect to live seven thousand days between age sixty-five and death.<sup>5</sup>

4. Raymond Arsenault and Gary R. Mormino, "From Dixie to Dreamland: Demographic and Cultural Change in Florida, 1880-1980," in *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South*, ed. Randall Miller and George Pozzetta (Westport, Conn., 1988), 168-169; 2000 Census; *Census of Population: 1950*, II, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 10, Florida (Washington, D.C., 1952), 27-29; *Florida Statistical Abstract*, 1999 (Gainesville, Fla., 1999), 18.
5. The literature on aging in America is rich and growing. See especially Thomas R. Cole, *The Journey of Life: A Cultural History of Aging in America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992); David Hackett Fischer, *Growing Old in America* (New York, 1978); W. Andrew Achenbaum, *New Land: The American Experience Since 1790* (Baltimore, Md., 1978); William Graebner, *A History of Retirement* (New Haven, Conn., 1980); Deborah Dash Moore, *To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Dream in Miami and L.A.* (New York, 1994).

Growing old in Florida depended largely upon being sold on Florida. Selling Florida became a big business. The names Del Webb and H. Irvin Levy may lack the cachet of the Levitt brothers, but they helped popularize Sun City and Century Village, immensely successful retirement communities. In Sunday newspaper supplements, on the concourse of New York's Grand Central Station, and on "free" excursions to Golden Gate Estates, Americans learned about Florida on the installment plan.<sup>6</sup>

The presence of so many elderly in Florida has inspired pundits to ponder the meaning of it all. Political parties, universities, and corporations devote vast resources attempting to divine the behavior of senior citizens. The elderly vote early and often, making senior clout even more intimidating than their numbers. Predicting the future of old age in Florida is as daunting as interpreting a Palm Beach County ballot. Florida serves as a bellwether, a sort of gray dawn. The Florida of today is the America of tomorrow. But contemporary America, a multicultural nation with a large bulge of baby boomers who have brashly announced that they do not intend to age quietly, will shape tomorrow's Florida.

In Walt Disney's *Fantasia* (1940), the sorcerer's apprentice lacked the power to halt the legions of bucket-toting brooms and the castle is flooded with water. Yen Sid (Disney spelled backward!), the wise but stern sorcerer, restores the calm. No one in Florida has figured out how to similarly master growth or decide whether it should slow down.

Growth and development have exacted a grievous toll upon Florida's wildlife and natural habitat. Reconciling that growth with environmental responsibility poses a daunting challenge to Floridians, who have witnessed the straightening of rivers, decline of the manatee, and near extinction of the panther and Key deer. The demise of the Everglades has resulted in one of America's most glaring environmental tragedies.

Like medieval King Canute, who ordered his throne carried to the edge of the sea and commanded the waters to retreat, Floridians wanted to "improve" Florida. In its natural state, Florida

6. David E. Dodrill, *Selling the Dream: The Gulf American Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral Florida* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1993); Christopher Linsin, "More than Amenity Alone: A Social History of the Century Villages, 1968-1992" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1997), 3-4, 95-99; Frances Fitzgerald, *City on a Hill: A Journey Through Contemporary American Cultures* (New York, 1986), 203-43.



may appear poorly designed: meandering rivers, shifting coastlines, and shore-hugging mangroves. Malleable, accessible, and seemingly inexhaustible, the Florida landscape can become anything that humans want it to be. Hot was made cool, and wet became dry. What private enterprise would not finance or could not fathom, the federal government audaciously attempted. Monuments of futility, the “new” Kissimmee River and the abandoned cross-state barge canal were born of Florida fantasies and Washington realities.

In King Canute’s Florida, land and water retreated before ax, machete, plow, steam shovel, and construction crane. Wildly confident of their capacity to tame the land and drain the wetlands, farmers, homesteaders, and developers left their imprint upon the state. Like an avenging angel, however, nature has exacted a cruel price for human hubris. Hurricanes Donna and Andrew and devastating freezes, wildfires, and droughts have cost Floridians billions, while also exposing human flaws and arrogance. Such natural calamities, however, have been complicated and magnified by their insistence on developing barrier islands, the compulsion to build on beaches and flood-prone coastal areas, and the practice of suppressing wildfire. Beach “renourishment” programs and generous flood insurance policies subsidized at taxpayer expense for some of Florida’s wealthiest citizens pose further challenges to the fragile ecosystems.<sup>7</sup>

Twentieth-century Florida witnessed a firestorm of change, much of it technologically driven. The automobile helped to conquer “the tyranny of distance” and to “democratize” tourism. Technology made possible the straightening of the Kissimmee River, the drainage of the Everglades, and the very existence of

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7. Scholars have written extensively on Florida’s environmental follies and history. See Luther J. Carter, *The Florida Experience: Land and Water Policy in the Growth State* (Baltimore, Md., 1974); Nelson M. Blake, *Land Into Water – Water Into Land* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1980); John M. DeGrove, *Land Growth and Politics* (Washington, D.C., 1984); Tom Ankersen, “Coping With Growth: The Emergence of Environmental Policy in Florida” (M.A. thesis, University of South Florida, 1983); Marjory Stoneman Douglas, *Voice of the River: An Autobiography with John Rothchild* (Sarasota, Fla., 1987). For comparative perspectives and models of the new urban-environmental history, see Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York, 1998); idem, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future of Los Angeles* (New York, 1990); Ted Steinberg, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disaster in America* (New York, 2000).



Deltona. Liberal application of the pesticide DDT and the introduction of air conditioning allowed Floridians to domesticate nature—at a price. The Interstate Highway System brought intended consequences (nonstop travel and new jobs) but also unintended results (urban sprawl and the decline of the downtown). Ironically, the rage against nature has produced climate-controlled malls and housing developments with dissociated names like Eagle Lake, Sawgrass Mills, and Cypress Pointe.<sup>8</sup>

Civic, mechanical, and social engineers perfected an imperfect Florida. Air conditioning lowered the temperature, DDT banished the mosquito, and the bulldozer eliminated the mangrove. Floridians, more than most Americans, are hooked on technology. In a state where distances isolated people socially and physically, the automobile and truck, the airport and interstate highway provided critical transportation links. In the case of instant cities, the shopping mall made people forget the missing downtown link.

Reinventing Florida is an enduring cottage industry. Shifting images and associations cast and recast Florida as a haven for the elderly, the fruit and winter vegetable basket for North America, a citadel and arsenal, and the crossroads for the Americas. No identity, however, conveys Florida's meaning to Americans and citizens of the world more than its association as a vacation paradise.

Florida's persona as a tourist center was well established by 1950. The names Cypress Gardens, Weeki Wachee, and Miami Beach conjured up magical allusions and illusions. But there was nothing inevitable about marshland in Winter Haven, a natural spring on the Gulf Coast, and a barrier island on Biscayne Bay becoming vacation destinations. Tourism is not destiny. Beach resorts and alligator farms, no less than paper mills and power plants, involve human decisions. Investors in Winter Haven might just as easily have drained Lake Eloise and planted sweet corn, as happened at Lake Apopka and Zellwood. Instead, Dick Pope converted wetlands and hammocks into Cypress Gardens.

The process of reinventing Florida was complex. No single individual, no solitary corporation, possessed a blueprint to sell

8. Raymond Arsenault, "The End of the Long Hot Summer: The Air Conditioner and Southern Culture," *Journal of Southern History* 50 (November 1984): 597-628; Pete Daniel, *Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 64-87; Evan P. Bennett, "Highways to Heaven or Roads to Ruin? The Interstate Highway System and the Fate of Starke, Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 78 (spring 2000): 451-67.

Florida as a vacationland. Travel writers, chambers of commerce, advertising agencies, gasoline stations, poets, businesses, state and local governments all promoted Florida's image. The net effect was irresistible.

Between 1950 and 2000, one billion tourists (give or take a few hundred million) have visited the Sunshine State. Such a stunning accomplishment was made possible because of the convergence of myriad cultural, political, and economic developments. America's postwar affluence lifted millions of families into the middle classes and generated vast new sums of disposable income. The two-week paid vacation and the Ford station wagon symbolized the American way of life. Air conditioning allowed Floridians to have its sunshine and cool it, too, transforming a seasonal business into a 365 days-a-year enterprise. Millions of travel agents, car rental personnel, post card manufacturers, bellhops, maids, cooks, fast food workers, gardeners, concierges, motel owners, gas stations attendants, theme park employees, and corporate executives depend upon the health of Florida's tourist economy. Any business that generates over 650,000 jobs, that boasts five of America's top ten mega-theme parks, that annually lures forty million tourists to Orlando alone, deserves its companion noun—industry.<sup>9</sup>

Every tourist knows the way to Florida: when you hit the east coast, turn south. Imagine a map of the continental United States without the Florida peninsula. The mainland assumes the shape of a rough-edged box. But imagine again a map of the Caribbean basin and the southeastern United States. It becomes incomplete without the flying foot of peninsular Florida. Just where *does* Florida belong?

Florida represents both the southernmost outcropping of North America and the northernmost edge of the Caribbean. Culturally and geographically, Miami and Key West share closer ties with Havana and Nassau than with Tallahassee and Pensacola.

9. While the history of American tourism has generated spirited debate and books, the subject in Florida has received surprisingly light treatment. See Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York, 1999); Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1995); Susan G. Davis, *Spectacular Nature: Corporate Culture and the Sea World Experience* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Patsy West, *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Eco-Tourism* (Gainesville, Fla., 1998); Gary R. Mormino, "Eden to Empire: Florida's Shifting Dreamscape," *Forum* 24 (spring 2001): 6-12; idem, "Trouble in Tourist Heaven," *Forum* 17 (summer 1994): 11-13.



The peninsula has served as a bridge since Hernando de Soto, setting out from Cuba in 1539, declared Spanish dominion over *La Florida*. The Florida-Caribbean connection has ebbed and flowed, sending trade goods and travelers in times of peace, warriors and refugees in times of turmoil. As historian Michael Gannon reminds us, not until 2055 will the flag of the United States have flown over Florida as long as did the Spanish banner.<sup>10</sup>

Florida's Caribbean connection did not end when Spain withdrew in 1821 nor begin anew in 1959. Fidel Castro frequently lectures Cubans and hectors Americans that "the republic of Cuba is the daughter of the cigarmakers of Florida." A reading of Florida's past suggests that the present-day embargo of Cuba represents a historical aberration. Florida's ever-growing social and economic connections to the Caribbean and the Americas have resulted in a multicultural, fabulously diverse state.<sup>11</sup>

Streams of Hispanic immigrants have dramatically altered the demographic complexion of Florida. In 1950, the state's reputation as a haven for immigrants was valid only when compared to the rest of the South. Only one in twenty Floridians was foreign-born; modest numbers of elderly Russian Jews, Germans, Canadians, and Britons clustered in Miami and St. Petersburg. Ybor City was in decline, its Cuban cigarmakers retired, unemployed, and more likely residing outside the fading Latin enclave.<sup>12</sup>

Florida's ethnic pressure center shifted to Miami in the 1960s. An exile culture had been established decades earlier, as Cuban officials sought security and safety in troubled times. Throughout

10. Michael V. Gannon, "The Columbus Quincentenary: What Will We Celebrate?" in *Spanish Pathways in Florida, 1492-1992*, ed. Ann Henderson and Gary Mormino (Sarasota, Fla., 1991), 331-32; Gary R. Mormino, "Peninsular Florida," in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, 3 vols. (New York, 1993); 1050-60.

11. Gerald E. Poyo, "With All and for the Good of All: The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898" (Durham, N.C., 1989); Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors, 1885-1985* (Urbana, Ill., 1987); María Cristina García, *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996); Louis A. Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999); Castro quoted in *Tampa Times*, 30 November 1955.

12. Arsenault and Mormino, "From Dixie to Dreamland," 166; *Census of the Population: 1950*, II, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 10, Florida, 39, Table 24.



the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Cubans dominated the immigration debate, flooding south Florida in unprecedented numbers. Cuban cafés appeared at street corners, but Cuban banks, construction companies, and television stations also emerged. Beginning in the 1970s, large numbers of non-Cuban Hispanics and Caribbeans began to make homes in Florida. During the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, Florida's Hispanic population soared, increasing 83 percent and 63 percent respectively. The 2000 census confirmed the stunning changes wrought by four decades of intense immigration. Non-Cuban Hispanics (chiefly Puerto Ricans and Mexicans) now outnumber Cubans. Florida's immigrant pulse is no longer confined to Dade County; rather, Hispanics and Asian immigrants can be found across the state. Osceola County, for instance, now has *twice* as many Hispanics (50,727) as it had total residents in 1970. The number of Hispanics residing in Florida (2.7 million) has surpassed the state's African-American population (2.3 million). Today, nearly one in five Floridians is foreign-born. Florida's fastest growing immigrant group is not Hispanic, however, but Asian. The number of Asians residing in Florida tripled in the 1960s, tripled again in the 1970s, and doubled in the 1980s. Census takers identified over 200,000 Asians (principally Filipinos, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Koreans) in 2000.<sup>13</sup>

From colonial St. Augustine to modern Jacksonville to post-modern Miami, Florida's cities have displayed a remarkable vitality, creating new visions of urban life on the edge. Since World War II, the process of urbanization and suburbanization has relentlessly covered the state. Cities in Florida have attracted an amazing diversity of migrants. When anthropologist Franz Boas asked Zora Neale Hurston where she wanted to study, she looked homeward. "Florida is a place that draws people," she explained simply.<sup>14</sup>

In Florida, urban influences have been disproportionate to their numbers. Two cities, however, have captivated students of American urban life: Orlando and Miami. Not long ago a citrus

13. "Many Lands Give Florida Its Latin Flavor," *Miami Herald*, 28 July 2001; "Hispanics in South Florida," *Miami Herald*, 28 July 2001; "Census Sees Latin Quilt," *Orlando Sentinel*, 26 July 2001; "Florida Sees Huge Influx of Hispanics," (Fort Lauderdale) *Sun-Sentinel*, 28 March 2001; "Hispanics Change Image of Osceola," *Orlando Sentinel*, 19 October 2000; "Domestic Diversity Reshaping South Florida," *Miami Herald*, 29 July 2001; "Asian Numbers Surge in Florida," (Fort Lauderdale) *Sun-Sentinel*, 24 May 2001.

14. Zora Neal Hurston, *Mules and Men* (Bloomington, Ind., 1963), 1.

hub and central Florida crossroads, Orlando exploded with the coming of Walt Disney World in 1971. The opening of the Magic Kingdom, a seminal event in the history of popular culture, transformed American tourism and turned Orlando into one of America's most intriguing cities of the late twentieth century. Annually, over forty million tourists gravitate to the Orlando area, now a synergistic collection of theme parks, urban sprawl, and economic growth. The intellectual Arnold Toynbee called Miami not so much a creation as an eruption. "Miami," observed Joan Didion, "seemed not a city at all but a tale, a romance of the tropics, a kind of waking dream in which any possibility could and would be accommodated." Compelling and contrasting, Miami is Florida's City of Light and Darkness, evoking images of gaiety and spontaneity, Coconut Grove and Liberty City. Alternatingly irresistible and repugnant, Miami has utterly captivated the American public as few cities have. It remains the nation's playground, a city of spectacle and grandeur, but also a place of ghastly violence and social dislocation. Miami and Orlando both are claimed as home for the world's *glitteratti*: Madonna, Versace, Sylvester Stallone, O.J. Simpson, Rosie O'Donnell, Gloria Estefan, Shaquille O'Neal, Wesley Snipes, Tiger Woods, and Ricky Martin.<sup>15</sup>

If geography is destiny, Miami's fortune was well placed. Situated near the end of a subtropical peninsula, Miami was buffered from destructive freezes and extreme heat by Key Biscayne, the Gulf Stream, and the Atlantic Ocean. The Everglades, Dade County pine, and oolitic limestone provided room to grow and natural resources. Human agency enhanced Miami's natural advantages. Arthur Godfrey, Jackie Gleason, Carl Fisher, and the Mackle brothers sold Miami dreams.

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15. The multidisciplinary and popular literature dealing with Miami is stunning. See Helen Muir, *Miami U.S.A.* (Gainesville, Fla., 2000); David Rieff, *Going to Miami* (New York, 1987); Joan Didion, *Miami* (New York, 1987), 33; T.D. Allman, *Miami: City of the Future* (New York, 1987); Marvin Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville, Fla., 1997); Sheila L. Croucher, *Imagining Miami: Ethnic Politics in a Postmodern World* (Charlottesville, Va., 1997); Raymond A. Mohl, "Miami: The Ethnic Cauldron," in *Sunbelt Cities*, ed. Richard Bernard and Bradley Rice (Austin Tex., 1983), 59-99; idem, "Changing Economic Patterns in the Miami Metropolitan Area, 1940-1980," *Tequesta* 42 (1982): 63-74. Orlando lacks the historical scrutiny that Miami has attracted. See Jerrell H. Shofner, *Orlando: The City Beautiful* (Tulsa, Okla., 1984); Eve Bacon, *Orlando: A Centennial History*, 2 vols. (Chulota, Fla., 1977).



By 1950, Miami had already cultivated a special relationship as a winter playground for New Yorkers and a summer escape for Cubans. When the boys of summer played for the Brooklyn Dodgers and Fidel Castro was plotting a revolution in Oriente province, Miami had already established ties with Jewish retirees and Cuban vacationers. A mixture of the Catskills and Casablanca, Miami's early relationships with New York, retirees, and Cubans channeled millions of future residents, refugees, and tourists into south Florida.<sup>16</sup>

By 1950, Dade County reveled in its reputation as Florida's most recognizable, most exotic, and most alluring city. Dade County was home to the Orange Bowl and Parrot Jungle, the Latin Quarter and Hialeah Race Track, Key Biscayne and Brickell Avenue. Miami attracted more tourists than any other place in Florida. In 1950, the Magic City claimed 250,000 inhabitants, the largest city in the state. While Miami was fascinating in the 1950s, few regarded it as a leading American center. The future changed Miami's image and reputation. A speeded-up newsreel concentrates the energy and fury of Miami and Miami Beach's four decades of change: Little Havana, Calle Ocho, Cocowalk, boat people, race riots, Liberty City, *Miami Vice*, Arquitectonica, hip-hop, the Dolphins, Floribbean culture, South Beach. Miami has emerged as one of America's great cities, a hemispheric center of immigrants, banking, and capital. Today, Miami's significance is as unquestioned as it is compelling. The magnitude and speed of change strain the word metropolis. Miami is the capital of Florida's first megalopolis. A frantic energy dazzles and confounds. A place of contrasts, Miami precariously balances Third World poverty and First World luxury.

No public relations director was prepared for what followed New Year's Eve 1958. In staccato bursts, the Bay of Pigs, the Cuban missile crisis, freedom flights, and Operation Peter Pan marked not only new chapters in the Cold War but in Miami's and Florida's histories. The year 1980 fundamentally changed Miami and Florida, neatly cleaving a distinct before and after chasm.

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16. Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban*, 432-44; Frank Sicius, "The Miami-Havana Connection: The First Seventy-Five Years," *Tequesta* 58 (1998): 5-46; Moore, *To the Golden Cities*, 1-52; 117-19; Stephen Whitfield, "Blood and Sand," *American Jewish History* 82 (1994): 73-96; Howard Kleinberg, *Miami Beach* (Miami, Fla., 1996), 52, 69-76, 117-19.



Once again, the impulse for change came from abroad. In April, Castro confounded Cubans and foreign policy experts by announcing that *gusanos* (critics of Castro or worms) could leave. The Cuban port city of Mariel became the focal point and name-sake of the proceeding events. The Marielitos, in contrast to the previous emigrants, were blacker, poorer, and younger. Mariel set in motion a tumbleweed chain of reactions. Miamians anguished over the city's "decline" (the crime rate rose 66 percent in 1980), while "cocaine cowboys," *balseros* (boat people), a race riot, and drug money stigmatized south Florida as a society in chaos.<sup>17</sup>

Miami, Los Angeles, and New York are great American cities, but are also *the* great immigrant cities. Of the three, Miami has the highest percentage of its region's residents (60 percent) born abroad or the children of immigrants. More than half of the population of Miami speaks a language other than English at home. More than half of all the Cubans residing in the United States live within commuting distance of Miami. But Miami is no longer exclusively a Cuban immigrant city. Miami is the capital of Latin America. Revolutions in Nicaragua and Haiti, crises in Honduras and El Salvador, and instability everywhere brought new masses of Caribbeans, South and Central Americans, and Asians to Florida.<sup>18</sup>

If Miami is one of the world's most important cities, an international crossroads of travel, finance, and intrigue, Orlando is Florida's most influential city. Miami and Orlando are perfect opposites. Miami functions as Florida's Ellis Island and Queens, a gateway city. Orlando cannot escape Walt Disney's shadow. In a 1991 cover story in *Time* magazine, Priscilla Painton observed, "Orlando, the boomtown of the South is growing at a staggering pace on the model of Disney World; it is a community that imitates an imitation of a community."<sup>19</sup>

Orlando, too, is a product of its geography. Nature endowed central Florida with the world's most perfect combination of sandy

17. A superb study of Miami in 1980 is Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). The finest study of Miami from the perspective of Cuban Americans is García, *Havana U.S.A.*

18. "Cuban Presence To Grow Stronger," *Miami Herald*, 2 January 2000; "Census 2000: Florida Sees Huge Influx of Hispanics," (Fort Lauderdale) *Sun-Sentinel*, 28 March 2001; "U.S. Now More Diverse, Ethnically and Racially," *New York Times*, 1 April 2001; "Census Calls South Florida Most Diverse U.S. Region," *Miami Herald*, 16 October 1999.

19. Priscilla Painton, "Fantasy's Reality," *Time*, 27 May 1991, 52-59.

soil, eternal sunshine, and spring-fed lakes for the cultivation of oranges. "Our number one crop is now Yankees," quipped Orange County's agricultural extension agent; "They're easier to zero in on and they don't freeze." Orlando's status as capital of the citrus belt, like its reputation as a tourist center, had less to do with wind and water than with will and capital. Sanford, Winter Garden, and Leesburg rivaled Orlando, but far-sighted leaders in that city ensured that all roads, a turnpike, an interstate highway funneled into Orlando. A city of 50,000 in 1950, Orlando expanded its economic base and boundaries substantially before Disney World opened, but the words metropolitan and Orlando were rarely used together. The population had doubled to 100,000 by 1970. More remarkably, Orange County's population trebled between 1950 and 1970, rising to 345,000. Aggressive recruitment of industry and corporations placed Orlando in the ranks of Florida's most dynamic places. Orlando's promise was lockset in 1970. The city prospered amidst a flourishing agricultural empire; new industries and businesses generated a diverse economic base; Interstate 4 and Orlando International Airport made the city accessible to travelers.<sup>20</sup>

Events of singular power and intensity altered the trajectories of Orlando and Miami, transforming cities, a state, and lifestyles. Castro's revolutionary triumph in 1959 and the opening of Walt Disney World in 1971 signify Genesis chapters for chroniclers of Miami and Orlando. Historical causation is almost always complex and multilayered, but in the cases of Miami and Orlando, Cuban exiles and Walt Disney World lend a certain birth myth quality to their histories. When Mayor Carl T. Langford of Orlando exclaimed that the coming of Disney World was "the greatest thing that's happened since the city got its charter," he did not exaggerate. The impact of the Magic Kingdom has been so forceful, so profound, one is tempted to write the year 1971 followed by A.D.

20. Ibid.; Shofner, *Orlando*, 122-23, 138, 149, 152, 155, 165, 166-67; Dietrich, *The Urbanization of Florida's Population*, 146-47, 172-75, 194-95; "Spreading From Disney World: A Spectacular Boom," *U.S. News & World Report* 72 (12 June 1972): 60-63; Jim Robinson and Mark Andrews, *Flashbacks: The Story of Central Florida's Past* (Orlando: Fla., 1995); Henry Swanson, *Countdown for Agriculture* (Orlando, Fla.); H. Bailey Thomson, "Orlando's Martin Andersen: The Power Behind the Boom," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79 (spring 2001): 492-516; agricultural extension agent quoted in "Nature and Humanity Conspire," *Washington Post*, 15 February 1985; Richard Fogelson, *Married to the Mouse: Walt Disney World and Orlando* (New Haven, Conn., 2001), 14-33.



(After Disney). Since its opening, Disney World has become the world's most successful commercial attraction. As a tourist shrine, the Magic Kingdom is rivaled only by Kyoto, Mecca, and the Vatican. More tourists have made pilgrimages to Orlando and Anaheim than there are Chinese. Both the presence of a Cuban exile community and the establishment of an extraordinarily successful amusement park triggered new explosions: the arrival of succeeding waves of expatriates, right-wing politics, and ethnic and racial tensions; land speculation and investment, the construction of new theme parks and hotels, and massive urban sprawl. Cubans in Miami and Disney World in Orlando transcended reality and became the icons of their respective cities. If Miami's kinetic energy and too-close-to-the-edge ethnic velocity frightened many Americans, Orlando's theme parks energized and dazed visitors with antiseptic, simulated fright and over-the-edge illusions.<sup>21</sup>

The Magic Kingdom may specialize in illusion and fantasy, but central Florida has had to confront the real urban consequences of hosting millions of tourists. In 1950, Metro Orlando (Orange, Seminole, Osceola, and Lake Counties) comprised a population of 185,579. On the eve of the opening of Disney World in 1971, the metro population had grown to 522,575. By 2000, Metro Orlando had surpassed 1.6 million inhabitants, ranking as the nation's twenty-eighth largest metro area, surpassing New Orleans, San Antonio, and Indianapolis. Since the 1980s, these four counties have added over 150 new residents every day. The area once teemed with orange groves, cattle ranches, and truck farms. The census skips over the forty million tourists who come annually, but their impact—strip malls, congested highways, and hotels—can be seen everywhere. Kissimmee once proclaimed itself the "Cow Capital of Florida"; today, it might be the motel and fast food capital of the world. In 1970, Metro Orlando had about 5,000 motel and hotel rooms, a number that grew to 24,000 by 1973, and over 80,000 today. Mayor Carl Langford, who welcomed Walt Disney, has retired and moved to North Carolina: "I spent 30 years of my

21. Langford quoted in "Spreading From Disney World," 63; "Orlando Chalks Up Best Tourist Year in Decade," *Orlando Sentinel*, 6 February 1950; "Disney Creates a Magic Kingdom in Orlando" *Florida Trend* 25 (June 1983): 75-77; "The Invasion Continues," *Florida Trend* 35 (March 1993): 74-78; Davis, *Spectacular Nature*, 2; Steven Watts, *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life* (New York, 1998).



life trying to get people to move down there [Orlando], and then they all did." Langford was not alone. "In a nation on the move, in a state of transplants," writes Jeff Kunerth, "Orlando is the capital of mobility. For every 100 residents in metropolitan Orlando, 59.7 have moved during the last five years." Many choose not to stay.<sup>22</sup>

Modern Florida is simply irresistible to writers and cultural critics. "In the 60's and 70's if you were listening to the national tuning fork, there was a sense that California was the state that was defining America," writes Michael Paterniti. "Right now the tuning fork points to Florida." From race riots in St. Petersburg to alien exotics in the Everglades, from Elián to ballot-chasing lawyers, Florida is a trendsetter. Cultural styles and bizarre sightings that once rolled to or began on the West Coast now slide southward to Florida. Florida combines Margaritaville and Future Shock. In his novel *Continental Drift*, Russell Banks explores this theme as readers follow the migration of Robert and Elaine Dubois from placid New England to central Florida to Miami. "We're not dead," Elaine insists, "It's this place [Catamount, New Hampshire] that's dead." Oleander Park, Florida, is anything but dead, having attracted an odd collection of gun nuts, racial bigots, and sex-starved migrants.<sup>23</sup>

Florida's excesses and surreal synchronicities have inspired a distinctive literary genre. What does late twentieth-century literature suggest about the nature of Florida? Typically, modern novelists depict Florida as a lost Utopia, a dystopian, overdeveloped land overrun by corporate theme parks, rapacious developers, and crazed drug lords. To save Old Florida, New Florida must be destroyed.

John D. MacDonald pioneered the modern Florida novel. A war veteran and a graduate of the Harvard School of Business, MacDonald moved to Florida in the late 1940s, eventually settling in Sarasota. *Condominium* was his sixty-sixth book. Many devoted

22. Dietrich, *The Urbanization of Florida's Population*, 146-47, 172-75, 194-95; *Florida Statistical Abstract* (1999) (Gainesville, Fla., 1899), 6-8, 14-17; "Ranches Vanish Fast," *Orlando Sentinel*, 17 March 2002; Jeff Kunerth, "Few Stay Long in Central Florida," *Orlando Sentinel*, 20 March 2002; "Census Puts Orlando 28<sup>th</sup>," *Orlando Sentinel*, 2 April 2001.

23. Robert Paterniti, "America in Extremis," *New York Times Magazine*, 21 April 2002, 6; Russell Banks, *Continental Drift* (New York, 1994), 29; for comparisons with California, see Stephen J. Whitfield, "Florida's Fudged Identity," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71 (April 1993): 413-35.

readers think that it, among all his works, best exemplified the author's codes of ethics (and Florida's shortcomings). The novel connects all of the dots: compliant county commissioners bent upon growth at all costs; Golden Sands, a doomed high rise on Fiddler Key, an imaginary cay between Venice and Fort Myers; shady contractors peddling shoddy work; innocent dwellers anxious to enjoy the good life on the water; and a killer hurricane taking vengeance upon the innocent and guilty.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, a new generation of writers has found in Florida a perfect subject, blending vivid imaginations with real-life themes. *Miami Herald* columnist Carl Hiaasen has achieved notoriety and fame as a novelist. In *Tourist Season*, his protagonist Skip Wiley masterminds a series of sensational murders in order to begin "the Fourth Great Seminole War." South Florida has become in the words of Wiley, a hard-charging journalist, "Newark with palm trees." To restore sanity, Wiley feeds a tourist to the crocodiles and kills a vacationing Shriner by stuffing a toy gator down his throat. His fez is found on the beach. "We're gonna empty out this entire state," he announces. "All the morons who thundered into Florida the past thirty years and made such a mess are gonna thunder right out again . . . the ones who don't die in the stampede." Wiley philosophizes: "What is Florida anyway? . . . An immense sunny toilet where millions of tourists flush their money and save the moment on Kodak film." The recipe for redemption is simple: "Scare away the tourists and pretty soon you scare away the developers. No more developers, no more bankers. No more bankers, no more lawyers . . . Now, tell me I'm crazy." Tim Dorsey shares journalistic credentials with Carl Hiaasen (the former with the *Tampa Tribune*) and an affection for the wackiness of Florida. His first novel, *Florida Roadkill*, drew upon the author's impressions of a Florida on and sometimes over the edge of reality. Whereas Hiaasen lampoons Miami, Dorsey targets Tampa and its quest for big city status. In the works of Edna Buchanan, the line between reality and fantasy is blurred in large part because the writer worked for decades as a crime reporter for the *Miami Herald*. "I love this place!" gurgles Buchanan. "We have it all: drug smuggling, money laundering, mass murder, the Mafia, deposed dictators, foreign fugitives, cocaine cowboys, street people, terrorists,

24. John D. MacDonald, *Condominium* (New York, 1977).



bombings, grave robbers, exotic diseases, bizarre sects, bizarre sex, vast wealth, utter poverty, crazy politics, racial tensions, refugees and riots." Florida *Noir* has introduced some of literature's most interesting characters: In James Hall's *Buzz Cut*, a serial killer, Butler Jack, hijacks a luxury cruise ship in Biscayne Bay; in *Mile Zero*, Thomas Sánchez imagines a contract murder atop Key West's tallest landmark—the city dump! "Florida is powerfully attractive," writes Susan Orlean in her best seller, *The Orchid Thief*. Florida, she observes, "is less like a state than a sponge."<sup>25</sup>

The history of modern Florida compresses massive social change in an astonishingly brief span of time. In 1950, Florida's 2.7 million inhabitants were predominantly white, Protestant, and Southern-born. Florida's scant number of immigrants more likely came from Great Britain and Canada than Cuba and Mexico. The portrait of Florida emerging from the 2000 census reveals a more ethnically, racially, and religiously diverse state than the South and the nation. Florida has joined Texas and California as the melting pot states of the Sunbelt. For at least a generation, Florida has grappled with the complexities of multiculturalism, immigration, aging, and developmental issues, issues facing all Americans in the next century. The Florida of today is the America of tomorrow. If so, believes Carl Hiaasen, the future will be "almost Toffleresque in its chaos." To paraphrase John Locke, "In the end, all the world will be Florida."<sup>26</sup>

Astrophysicist Fred Hoyle coined the expression "Big Bang" in the 1950s, ironically, to attack critics who believed that the universe began in an abrupt instant and evolved from that point. Today the debate by leading thinkers like Stephen Hawking involves not the *beginning* but the mass of the universe and questions of its limits. Will the universe expand forever, implode, or remain constant? The answer depends upon how one gauges the matter density of the universe.

25. Tim Dorsey, *Florida Roadkill: A Novel* (New York, 1999); idem, *Triggerfish Twist* (New York, 2002); Thomas Sánchez, *Mile Zero* (New York, 1989); Carl Hiaasen, *Tourist Season* (New York, 1986), 24, 103-166; Susan Orlean, *The Orchid Thief* (New York, 1998), 184; Marilyn Stasio, "Skulking Around in the Swamp," *New York Times*, 31 January 1999; Edna Buchanan, *Miami, It's Murder* (New York, 1994); idem, *Never Let Them See You Cry: More from Miami, America's Hottest Beat* (New York, 1992); idem, "Why I Love Miami," *Publishers Weekly* 240 (3 May 1993): 52; James W. Hall, *Buzz Cut* (New York, 1996).

26. Hiaasen quoted in Paterniti, "America in Extremis," 74.



So it is with modern Florida, a state not so much threatened by gravity, the force drawing objects to the center of the earth, but *gravitas*, the weight of character. Here, too, the debate rages. Can Florida continue to add unlimited numbers of new residents and tourists, condominiums and superhighways? Or will Florida collapse from the demands upon the land and infrastructure? Perhaps the issue for Floridians parallels the astrophysicists' debate. What *is* the proper balance, ratio, and limitations of growth and environment, population and land, freedom and community in the Sunshine State?

## Legacy to the People: The Civic Origins of the Orange County Regional History Center

by Bob Beatty

“On September 29, 2000, history will change forever,” proclaimed the Orange County Historical Society at the grand opening of the \$35 million Orange County Regional History Center.<sup>1</sup> History in Orange County had indeed changed forever. Over a half century, the museum (and the commission and society that shaped it) struggled for legitimacy, particularly in finding an appropriate home. Prior to opening the Regional History Center in the 1927 Orange County Courthouse, the museum hosted exhibits in five different locations. But its current address in the restored Courthouse is particularly appropriate and in a sense represents a closing of a circle: the museum originally opened on the same site in 1942 in a small room of the 1892 Courthouse.<sup>2</sup> Today, the new History Center is a dynamic and interactive museum experience, a resource where Central Floridians connect with Orange County’s heritage and begin to develop a better sense of the origins of their community.

Three key factors shaped the institution’s journey from a small historical museum similar to many small county museums throughout the United States to a regional history center. First,

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1. In 2000, the Orange County Historical Society changed its name to the Historical Society of Central Florida, Inc.
2. The site is currently Heritage Square, the park south of the History Center property.

two visionaries led the movement for a historical museum: Judge Donald A. Cheney, the first director of the former Orange County Historical Commission, and Sara Van Arsdel, current Executive Director of the Historical Museum and History Center.<sup>3</sup> Second, the Society's Board of Directors, a group initially founded to raise funds to build the History Center a permanent home at Loch Haven Park, evolved from a loose-knit group of Orlando natives into a corps of business leaders and activists committed to raising the museum's profile. Finally, the History Center would never have opened without the support of Orange County Chairman Linda Chapin and the Orange County government, which funded the majority of the History Center project.

The original historical museum opened in the 1940s, well after the great museum-building era of American history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. American museums were created around a belief that objects could and would tell stories to the untrained observer. The museum builders of this era thought that objects, at least as much as books and other texts, were sufficient sources of meaning and knowledge. As William Wilson, director and founder of Philadelphia's Commercial Museum, explained, "All museum material should speak for itself upon sight. It should be an open book which tells a better story than any description will do."<sup>4</sup>

The belief that objects told stories, coincided with the rise of industrial America and the accompanying expansion of the middle class. Americans had more disposable income than before, and they spent it on material goods such as furniture, photographs, and curios.<sup>5</sup> Given the new importance placed on material objects, it is not surprising that these Americans were the great museum

3. The Orange County Regional History Center is a public-private partnership between Orange County government and the Historical Society of Central Florida, Inc. Throughout its history, the Regional History Center has been known as the Orange County Museum, the Orange County Historical Museum, and the Orange County Regional History Center. It is important to note that the History Center staff and Historical Society board of directors specifically rejected the name "museum" because a museum is often seen as boring. In the interest of space, all use of the terms "museum," "Historical Museum," "center," and "History Center" refer to the organization now operating as the Orange County Regional History Center.

4. Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago, Ill., 1998), 4.

5. For more information on Victorian ideals see Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (New Haven, Conn., 1957).



builders. But museums became important for yet another reason: they gave Americans a sense of control. As advances in science and technology and the growing importance of the disruptive theory of evolution made the outside world increasingly chaotic and incomprehensible, order and rationality could be and were neatly maintained within the museum.<sup>6</sup>

What resulted was the creation of static museum displays of collections, endless exhibit halls of artifacts and specimens presented with little labeling and even less interpretation. In room after room, museum directors and curators presented their artifacts in glass cases that contained specimens, a dull and dreary visitor experience by twentieth-century standards. Still, even though museum designers encouraged visitors to observe these objects free from distracting text or context, and thus initially on their own terms and later in relation to neighboring objects, they arranged materials in ways that conveyed a narrative.<sup>7</sup> This model continued to influence American museums, including Orange County's history museum, throughout the twentieth century. At the same time it moved the museum field far from what many considered its primary mission—educating the public through its exhibitions and inspiring citizens to feel a greater sense of involvement in the history and accomplishments of their respective communities, regions, and states.

As with many American community museums, Orange County's history museum began with a group of local women (mainly second- and third-generation Orlando natives) who founded the Antiquarian Society on April 1, 1932.<sup>8</sup> Focusing on preserving American antiques (and not necessarily artifacts related solely to Central Florida), the Society pledged

to cultivate a better knowledge and understanding of American Antiques and to encourage the preservation thereof, especially in Florida, for the benefit of future generations; to establish and promote proper ethical stan-

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6. *Ibid.*, 15.

7. In other words, objects should be displayed without any interpretation; *ibid.*, 7-8.

8. In 1937 and 1938, the Collectors and the Questors, two other local antiques organizations were formed under the Antiquarian umbrella. In the interest of space, all three organizations will be called the Antiquarian Society; Sara Van Arsdel to author, 29 November 2001.

dards among collectors and dealers in antiques; to encourage and cultivate the study of Early American History with particular reference to the Homes, Domestic Life and Customs of those times; and to promote generally an interest in the study of Antiquarian subjects.<sup>9</sup>

Members held meetings twice a month, with each member responsible for a program and "entertaining the society."<sup>10</sup> Active membership was limited to fourteen women and restricted to residents of Orlando. Programs for the first year covered topics such as antique chests, sideboards, and chairs, as well as Staffordshire China ornaments. Members heard guest speakers and visited private collections, museums, and historic sites. There were smaller luncheons, an annual Christmas party, and various other gatherings for its members.

In 1934, the Antiquarian Society held its first public exhibit to benefit a Girl Scouts building fund. The first history exhibit held in Orange County, the display remained open in the Washington Arcade for three days and "was a brilliant success," according to the Antiquarians.<sup>11</sup> A year later, the Society formed a museum committee in hopes of opening a permanent history display.

Towards that effort, in 1941, the Society turned its attentions to local government plans to demolish the 1892 Orange County Courthouse. The Antiquarians worked to preserve it as a museum. On August 4, fifty women representing the Antiquarian Society begged the Orange County Board of Commissioners to make the 1892 Courthouse property available as a historical museum and cultural center. Governor of the Society, Lois Harold, noted that the courthouse "offered a perfect site to house the relics that would and do come to the [Society]," comparing its potential attraction to the drawing power of the St. Augustine Museum, the Ringling Art Gallery in Sarasota, and the Plant Museum in Tampa.<sup>12</sup>

9. "By-Laws of the Antiquarian Society of Orlando," Antiquarian Scrapbook 1952-1959, Orange County Regional History Center Archives, Orlando, Fla.; "History of the Antiquarian Society of Orlando, Florida," Antiquarian Society Scrapbook, 1939-1942, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

10. Ibid.

11. "By-Laws of the Antiquarian Society of Orlando"; "History of the Antiquarian Society of Orlando, Florida."

12. "Make Old Court House Into Museum is Plea Of Orlando Women," n.p. (believed to be *Orlando Morning Sentinel*), 5 August 1941, Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

The Orange County Board agreed and the first Society meeting of 1941-1942 was a tour of the 1892 Courthouse in preparation for the opening of a new museum.<sup>13</sup>

To commemorate Orange County's centennial, the new museum opened its first exhibit on April 15, 1942. The Antiquarian Society sponsored the opening, with three members acting as "hostesses."<sup>14</sup> The display reproduced a Central Florida pioneer kitchen, including "many unusual items pertaining to the early days [of Central Florida:] . . . early lighting fixtures, cooking utensils, old Spanish land grants and deeds."<sup>15</sup> Some of the items were loaned to the museum, and some were gifts. By fall 1942, the Society opened the museum for three hours each Friday, with a staff of volunteer hostesses. Besides the permanent pioneer kitchen exhibit, rotating exhibits included special displays of antique toys, old spurs, early banks, English and American silver articles, and other collectibles.<sup>16</sup> Local residents also contributed, lending private collections, especially collections of pattern glass, buttons, old programs, samplers, and silver.<sup>17</sup> On March 19, 1943, the museum celebrated a year of operation. A gala event paid tribute to the women who had initiated the museum's success. Soon thereafter, the Society began planning a second exhibit room.<sup>18</sup>

One exhibit during the second year of operation included items from America's military past such as "guns, muskets and rifles, medals, swords, civil war bullets and bullet molds, [and] canteens."<sup>19</sup> Although the display appealed mostly to men, members

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13. "History of the Antiquarian Society of Orlando, Florida."

14. "Museum to Have Formal Opening This Afternoon," n.p., 22 May 1942, Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

15. "Pioneer Kitchen To Be Opened on April 15," n.p., n.d., Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives. "Orange County Museum Has Many Early Days Exhibits," n.p., 28 May 1942, Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

16. Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

17. "Tea Table Chatter," n.p., n.d., Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

18. "County Museum Celebrates First Year of Operation," n.p., 19 March 1943, Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

19. Jane Maguire, "Antiquarian Show Features Momentos of Former Wars," n.p., 22 January 1943, Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.



expected that to change as future displays would incorporate “feminine relics.”<sup>20</sup> Exhibits on glass and china, buttons, figurines, and paper weights followed.<sup>21</sup>

Like many American museums governed by volunteer historical societies, the Orange County Museum’s artifact collection was more a hodgepodge of items with little or no interpretation than a cohesive collection. As the museum grew, its permanent collection expanded until it consisted of “unrelated portions of collections, individual items of local lore, old photographs, old costumes, old toys, old everything.”<sup>22</sup> The museum rotated exhibits, mainly private collections, on a regular basis. An average of thirty people visited the museum each week, except during the summer when it closed.

By 1954, after twelve years as a seasonal museum, the community became more interested in building a larger and more permanent historical museum. In a letter to the editor of the *Orlando Sentinel*, E. H. Gore, author of an early history of Orlando, praised the virtues of the existing Orange County Museum. Noting a surprisingly large number of visitors on the Friday after Thanksgiving, he implored the community to give more support to the endeavor. “What we need is a larger place for the Museum,” Gore wrote, “and new show cases in which to display the many valuable articles that have been donated from time to time.”<sup>23</sup>

Popularity aside, other circumstances forced the museum to relocate in 1957. The 1892 Courthouse had fallen into a state of disrepair. After bricks and concrete slabs fell from the building, City of Orlando building inspector Ralph Jones condemned it.<sup>24</sup> The Orange County Museum packed up its collections for storage and closed its doors for the next five years.

In the meantime, on June 10, 1957, the Orange County Board of Commissioners formed the Orange County Historical

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20. Ibid.

21. Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

22. “Orlando’s Little Known Museum,” *The New Orlando Pictorial Post*, 7, 19 May 1950, Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

23. E. H. Gore, “Interest Grows In Orlando Museum,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 6 December 1954, Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

24. Frank Murphy, “Old County Courthouse Condemned,” n.p., n.d., Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

Commission, appointing Judge Donald A. Cheney as its chairman. As a native of Orlando, he was a logical choice for the Commission's first chairmanship. Not only did he come from a family that had already contributed greatly to Orange County, but his father, Judge John M. Cheney, had been an important civic booster. In 1901, John Cheney had founded Orlando City, Water, and Light. He had also been instrumental in the building of the Cheney Highway, the first road to connect Orlando to Titusville.<sup>25</sup>

Like his father, Donald A. Cheney was also active in community civic affairs. In 1917, he served as Orange County's first Boy Scout scoutmaster; he founded the Rotary Club of Orlando in 1920; and he organized the Central Florida Boy Scout Council two years later. Professionally, Cheney set up the first juvenile court in Orange County in 1919 and served as its judge from 1921 to 1923. He was instrumental in creating a county-run "parental home," the first of its kind in Florida. He also served as president of the Florida Conference of Social Work and the Florida Probation Association.<sup>26</sup>

Until his retirement in 1980, Cheney was a tireless promoter of Orange County history as well, and with his prodding, the county founded a Historical Commission specifically to take over the Antiquarian Society's Orange County Museum. The Antiquarian Society was no longer able to care for either the museum or its collections.<sup>27</sup> Cheney maintained that the Historical Commission would assume the responsibilities for "collecting, arranging, recording and preserving historical material including books, pamphlets, maps, manuscripts, family histories and similar papers relating to the history of Orange County."<sup>28</sup> With an annual budget of \$1,500, the Commission targeted artifacts related to Orange County history, including the cornerstone of the 1892 courthouse.<sup>29</sup> But the Commission was also charged "to procure and preserve narratives of the early pioneers, their exploits, perils, pri-

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25. State of Florida Highway 50 now follows the general direction of the Cheney Highway.

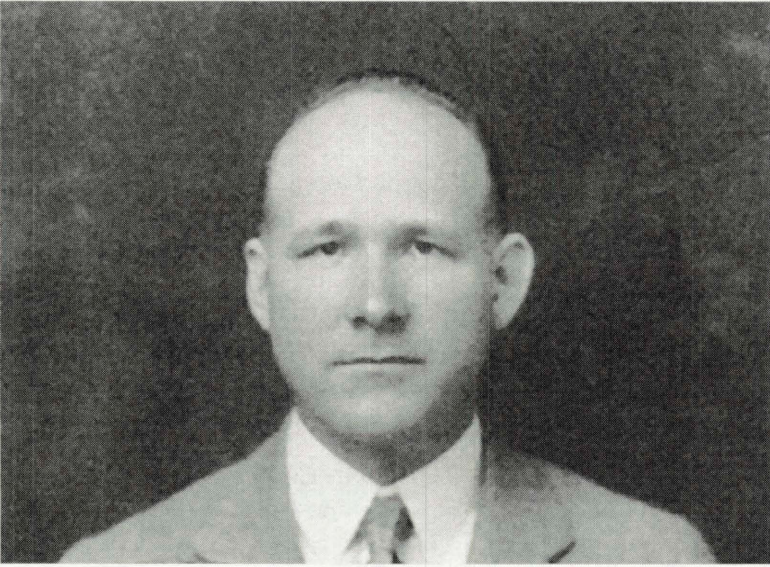
26. Jean Yothers, "Donald A. Cheney Gives Up Gavel," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 23 (March 1981): 1, 4.

27. Judge Donald A. Cheney, interview by Jane Quinn, 12 June 1980, transcript, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

28. Donald A. Cheney, "Historical Commission Launches Program," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 1 (September 1959): 1.

29. "D. A. Cheney Historical Chairman," *Orlando Sentinel*, 3 October 1957, 5-A, Antiquarian Society Scrapbook 33a, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.





Judge Donald A. Cheney actively promoted regional history through the Historical Commission and the History Museum until his retirement in 1980. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Central Florida.*

vations and achievements, and to collect material of every description relative to the history of Florida's Indian tribes, wars, soldiers, schools and churches."<sup>30</sup> And the commission was "authorized to mark by proper monuments or tablets the location of forts, Indian mounds, or other places where historical events have occurred."<sup>31</sup>

Even while the museum was closed, the Historical Commission continued to pursue its mission by publishing the *Orange County Historical Quarterly* and adding to its collections. Early issues of the *Quarterly* contained articles on Central Florida communities, the South Florida Railroad, churches, and banks, but Cheney's vision for a home for the Historical Museum remained a constant theme. At the commission's first meeting, Cheney was charged to ask Orange County commissioners for space in the new courthouse annex. Specifically, the commission wanted permission to reopen

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30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.



the former Orange County Museum on the same site.<sup>32</sup> The December 1959 *Quarterly* celebrated the laying of the cornerstone of the new courthouse annex, where the Historical Commission received space for offices and a museum.<sup>33</sup>

The Historical Commission spent 1962 refurbishing exhibit cases and decorating the "exhibition room" in anticipation of a November opening. Artifacts exceeded exhibit space, however, postponing the museum's opening until exhibit space was expanded in 1963. Finally, on June 18, the museum formally reopened as the Orange County Historical Museum.<sup>34</sup> By September 1964, the organization had an annual budget of \$2,550, \$1,200 of which paid for a part-time secretary to "catalog and file historical books and records, artifacts and memorabilia and other historic exhibits for use by the general public."<sup>35</sup>

By May 1965, the Board of County Commissioners granted the museum additional exhibit space in the Courthouse Annex.<sup>36</sup> Under Cheney's leadership, the museum's collections continually grew, stretching the commission's physical resources, and making it difficult to exhibit the latest additions.<sup>37</sup> Orange County's need for courthouse space also grew and by late 1970, the museum was forced into the Christ Building on East Central Boulevard. Although, by late April 1971, the museum had resumed regular operating hours, relocation spurred Cheney and the Historical Commission to action. He lambasted the new facility as

not only utterly inadequate for ordinary purposes but lacks proper space for offices, meeting rooms, a sales counter, storage room, and repair shop. There is no relat-

32. Cheney, "Historical Commission Launches Program." The annex was built on the same site as the 1892 Courthouse and attached at the south end of the 1927 Courthouse.

33. The *Orange County Historical Quarterly* was never an historical journal but rather a self-published document distributed to members via mail. In the 1980s, the Historical Society began to have the *Orange County Historical Quarterly* professionally printed. The cornerstone is presently in the lobby of the Orange County Regional History Center.

34. Donald A. Cheney, "Historical Museum to Reopen," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 5 (June 1963): 1.

35. Idem, "Annual Budget Approved," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 6 (September 1964): 1.

36. Idem, "Museum," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 7 (June 1965): 1.

37. Idem, "January Commission Meeting," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 9 (March 1967): 1.

ed parking at this crowded downtown location and for many the long stair-way to the second floor is a real problem. The old building is a veritable fire-trap destined to be demolished ere long. The situation cries aloud for concern and action.<sup>38</sup>

To raise funds for a permanent Orange County Historical Museum, the commission formed the Orange County Historical Society in April 1971.<sup>39</sup> The City of Orlando had agreed to donate a site in Loch Haven Park if the Historical Society could raise enough funds to construct a building "commensurate with the current plans for the park and big enough to house the present historical collection."<sup>40</sup> The museum would be jointly managed through a partnership between the Historical Commission, the new Historical Society, Orange County government, and the City of Orlando (which owned Loch Haven Park and leased the land to the museum).<sup>41</sup> Cheney thought the new museum would be worth the cost, finally providing "an adequate and permanent Historical Center and cultural program to preserve the unique heritage of Orlando, Orange County, and Central Florida."<sup>42</sup>

Still, there remained concern that the society and museum retain their historical missions. When the Historical Society accepted the invitation of the John Young Museum (the original Orlando Science Center) to build the museum adjacent to its complex, Cheney emphasized that "This will not be a merger, but an arrangement under which each organization will retain its identity and separate program but use certain facilities and services in common, . . . effecting considerable savings."<sup>43</sup>

Cheney attempted to rally the community behind the project, emphasizing how a new building would provide "a base of operations for service of related activities to the people of Orange County."<sup>44</sup> The Christ Building location and situation "are a dis-

38. Idem, "Building Project," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 15 (June 1973): 3.

39. The Historical Society was formally incorporated on June 30, 1971, as a non-profit 501 (c)(3) corporation.

40. Cheney, "Building Project," 3; idem, "April Commission Meeting," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 13 (June 1971): 1.

41. Idem, "April Commission Meeting," 1.

42. Idem, "A Goal, The Time, An Invitation," 2.

43. Idem, "Historical Museum Seeking A Home," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 15 (September 1973): 2.

44. Idem, "Annual Meeting," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 15 (March 1973): 2.

grace to an enlightened and progressive community and cries aloud for concern and action,"<sup>45</sup> Cheney complained; furthermore "too few people have been concerned enough to give their time, influence and encouragement to a project worthy of the background and culture of this area."<sup>46</sup>

Additionally, Cheney enunciated his own vision for the museum, a vision that remains central to the History Center's mission today. Typical of historic missions of American museums, the new Historical Museum would develop "a broad program of research and education and publication and related services which flow out into the community and *enrich its life and culture*."<sup>47</sup> To Cheney, an appreciation of local history was indicative of a strong community. Pleading for public support, he wrote, "As heirs of the past we inherit, not only the fruits of yesteryear, but also the obligation and privilege of preserving the record of the past and making it available in its various forms to those who shall follow after us."<sup>48</sup> The Historical Museum would "be a *living center* of historical information, of research and study, of the collection and preservation of records, of publications, of classes, of group meetings, a veritable educational and cultural institution with a *mission of service to the people of Orange County and Central Florida*."<sup>49</sup>

Such a mission was particularly important given the dramatic population and economic expansion of Orange County since World War II. "In so short a period of time," Cheney wrote, "Orange County and Central Florida have become a metropolitan center of population, of industry, of entertainment, and of social life. People have been busy planning, developing, building and . . . making money. Lest we 'gain the whole world but lose our own soul' . . . should we not also build for the cultural welfare and spiritual growth of our community?"<sup>50</sup> He aspired to make the Historical Museum an important player in Orange County, a "living center of historical information," which would "open up a wider field of service to the community."<sup>51</sup>

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45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Idem, "Historical Museum Progress Report," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 16 (March 1974): 1; emphasis added.

48. Idem, "Looking Forward," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 16 (Museum Extra, May 1974): 2.

49. Idem, untitled article, *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 16 (June 1974): 1; emphasis added.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.



By September 1975, the Historical Society had raised enough funds to begin construction on the Historical Museum at Loch Haven Park. In order for the museum to "develop an enriched program of public service and a satisfying personal experience for all involved," however, Cheney pushed for the employment of a museum professional: "a full-time qualified and experienced Curator/Director . . . to tell us what to do . . . according to accepted museum standards of procedure."<sup>52</sup> In January 1976, the Historical Commission hired Dr. Frederick J. Shaw Jr. as its first Curator. Shaw came to the Historical Society from the University of Florida with "a broad knowledge of American Cultural History."<sup>53</sup> Shaw's reign as director of the Historical Museum was brief. Although Cheney praised Shaw for his work with the move to the museum at Loch Haven Park, Orange County terminated his employment effective July 31, 1976, ostensibly due to financial considerations. His termination may also have been due to difference of opinion with Cheney.<sup>54</sup>

The Historical Commission shifted its emphasis away from hiring a museum professional when it hired Jean Yothers as curator in August 1976. An Orlando native and the granddaughter of Orlando pioneer Joseph Bumby, Yothers was a former *Orlando Sentinel-Star* columnist, a history buff, and had been working at the Historical Museum as an assistant since January 1975. She was not a museum professional; instead her interest in local history had impressed Cheney and the Historical Commission.<sup>55</sup>

Two months later, the Orange County Historical Museum officially opened in Loch Haven Park. Over five hundred attended the grand opening, and community support proved so strong over the first year that the museum began planning for expansion.<sup>56</sup> In spring 1977, the Historical Society Board of Directors approved a \$75,000 fund-raising campaign to finance a four-thousand-square-foot wing at the south end of the new

52. Ibid.

53. Idem, "Introducing Dr. Frederick J. Shaw, Jr., Curator/Director," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 18 (March 1976): 1.

54. Orange County Historical Commission Minute Book 1, OCRHC Archives, 120.

55. Idem, "Presenting Our New Curator," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 18 (September 1976): 3.

56. Jean Yothers, "Progress Report," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 18 (December 1976): 1.

building. Completed the following year, the addition held a workshop for exhibit development as well as more storage for the museum's collections.<sup>57</sup>

In June 1979, another addition was proposed for the west side of the museum to double its exhibit space. Richard B. Rogers, architect of the original Historical Museum, designed a two-story wing to include exhibit space, offices, and meeting rooms.<sup>58</sup> The Cheney Wing opened in 1982.<sup>59</sup>

Yet, despite its mission and community support, the museum did not truly serve the community. While the museum did translate self-guided tours into Spanish, the contributions of minorities to Orange County's history were absent from the exhibits.<sup>60</sup> Most glaring was the lack of exhibits on African-American history. In many ways it is unrealistic to expect that the museum under Yothers's direction would include black history in its exhibits. In this regard, it was similar to its sister institutions. Museums across the country, and in the South in particular, were not yet addressing the subject. And Yothers, a former member of the Antiquarian Society and granddaughter of an Orange County pioneer, was of a generation more concerned with preserving its own history than celebrating the accomplishments and history of peoples racially and culturally different.<sup>61</sup>

Possibly in response to pressure from the African-American community, the Historical Museum finally broached the topic of black history in 1983, accepting an apparently authentic slave cabin to serve as a focal point of an exhibit on African-American history. Even though the Historical Society appointed a committee for the slave cabin project, no exhibit materialized.<sup>62</sup> By the time Yothers retired as executive director in 1986, the cabin had

57. Idem, "Building Project Announced," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 19 (June 1977): 1.

58. Donald A. Cheney, "Presenting Our Plan For More Space," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 21 (June 1979): 1, 4.

59. "Historical Society Elects Officers," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 25 (March 1983): n.p.

60. Jean Yothers, "Museum Musings," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 20 (September 1978): 2.

61. For information on the roots and founding of American history museums, see Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia, 1996), 4-32.

62. "Historical Society Elects Officers," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 25 (March 1983): n.p.; Van Arsdel to author, 29 November, 2001.



deteriorated into a pile of rotting wood, and no full exhibit on African-American history had been produced.<sup>63</sup>

In Yother's place, the Historical Society hired Sara Van Arsdel, Historical Sites Supervisor and Curator of the Fort Christmas Museum. Under Van Arsdel's leadership, along with a change in the membership and focus of the Historical Society's Board of Directors, the Historical Museum began its transformation from a small, volunteer county museum to a 67,000 square-foot regional history center managed and curated by museum professionals.

Van Arsdel's vision for the museum was similar to that of its founder, Donald Cheney. In fact, she carefully studied Cheney's writings, which inspired her to steer the Historical Museum towards better way to communicate Orange County and Central Florida's history.<sup>64</sup> She believed that "It is of the utmost importance that [children] understand and are aware of the lessons and the delights that their past can teach them."<sup>65</sup> Noting the special place history has in a region and imploring the community's assistance in preserving it, Van Arsdel continued, "Central Florida is growing too fast, and much of the heritage here is being lost or is already gone. Each of us must make an effort to preserve that which makes this area such a special, unique, and wonderful place to live."<sup>66</sup>

An initial problem that Van Arsdel faced was the quality of the museum's exhibits. They told no stories: one consisted of vignettes collected by the Antiquarian Society; another reproduced an *Orlando Sentinel* hot type press room; there was an exhibit on the recently demolished San Juan Hotel; and some cases contained scrapbooks. Despite the relatively static exhibits, Van Arsdel immediately recognized the potential for the Historical Museum's collections. Very few of the exhibits reflected twentieth-century history, so some of Van Arsdel's early exhibits included the history of Martin-Marietta, Florida Hospital, and the citrus industry.

63. Brian Kimsey-Hickman, "Including Blacks in the History of Central Florida," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 29 (September 1987): 2.

64. Van Arsdel to author, 29 November 2001.

65. Sara Van Arsdel, "New Curator Says Hello," *Orange County Historical Quarterly* 28 (December 1986): 1-2.

66. Ibid.



Accompanying this shift in administration and a reassertion of Cheney's original goals, the Historical Society's Board of Directors underwent a tremendous transformation. When past Historical Society president John Blexrud joined the board in the mid-1980s, "it was not particularly that exciting of an environment because there really wasn't much to do. . . . I think probably the most exciting thing we would vote on . . . [was] where to hold the Christmas parties."<sup>67</sup> Blexrud and others "were fairly embarrassed by the kind of visitor experience . . . [at the] museum in Loch Haven Park. . . . There wasn't much to do there. If you'd been once, there was certainly no reason to go again."<sup>68</sup> The Historical Museum did not have a strong identity. Community support, in terms of funding from Orange County, membership in the Historical Society, and museum attendance was abysmal. In the eyes of more than a few board members, the Historical Museum was a second-class institution in the cultural landscape of Orange County.<sup>69</sup>

By the late 1980s, Van Arsdel and the Board of Directors determined to make a significant change. For some, it was a matter of institutional survival as the existing Historical Museum in Loch Haven Park appealed to a narrow segment of the community, primarily Orlando natives. As Board President Andy Serros recognized,

The natives . . . loved the museum. As soon as you walked in there, it was ours. . . . We'd have cracker barbecues, we had covered dishes. Our Christmas party was mostly people that we knew from Orlando High School, [though] it was not an exclusive society of old-timers, the nucleus was the natives and the locals.<sup>70</sup>

Consequently, the museum did not necessarily appeal to anyone beyond that market segment. A majority of society members fit the "old Orlando" demographic, and many were senior citizens.

67. John Blexrud, interview by author, Orlando, Fla., 9 November 2001, Orange County Regional History Center Archives, tape recording.

68. Ibid.

69. Blexrud interview, 9 November 2001; Andy Serros, interview by author, Orlando, Fla., 15 November 2001, Orange County Regional History Center Archives, tape recording.

70. Serros interview, 15 November 2001.

The board realized that the museum “probably wouldn’t exist very long without something that a) brought in more membership and b) broadened our appeal to more families and younger people.”<sup>71</sup>

Van Arsdel and the Board of Directors faced an additional dilemma in the late 1980s when the Orlando Science Center planned to vacate Loch Haven Park and build a state-of-the-art science center. The Historical Museum shared a building with the Science Center, and a majority of its visitors came as a result of this arrangement. The Historical Society Board had to decide whether to remain in Loch Haven Park or to reinvent the institution.

Fate intervened when Orange County lawmakers decided that the downtown courthouse complex at the corner of Central Boulevard and Magnolia Street was too small. Plans were made to build a new courthouse further uptown.<sup>72</sup> Due to Orange County’s spotty historic preservation record, the fate of the courthouse was in doubt.<sup>73</sup> Past disregard for these buildings had resulted in the loss of several notable downtown buildings, most notably the 1892 Courthouse and the 1880s San Juan Hotel.<sup>74</sup>

To study possible reuses of the 1927 Courthouse, the Orange County Board of County Commissioners appointed a task force in September 1989.<sup>75</sup> According to Chairman Linda Chapin, the impetus behind the task force was a desire to save the building and not necessarily to build a new museum.<sup>76</sup> Commissioner Bill Donegan’s Courthouse Re-Use Task Force investigated the feasibility of reusing the Courthouse as a museum or museum-related attraction. Evident of the complexity of such a decision, guidelines required that in any reuse plan, the Courthouse had to become a

71. Blexrud interview, 9 November 2001.

72. Craig Crawford, “Solving Courthouse Crowding Grows In Priority,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 2 January 1986.

73. Janita Poe, “Picking Sides in Battle for City’s History Many Do Not Appreciate Value of Older Buildings,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 3 September 1989.

74. Van Arsdel interview, 11 November 2000. The loss of the San Juan particularly stirred community outrage and led indirectly to the strengthening of Orlando’s Historic Preservation Office and Ordinance in the mid-1980s; Lianne Renner, “Two Grand Dames That Met With Different Fates,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 29 June 1986.

75. “Group To Debate Fate Of Courthouse,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 30 July 1989, 13; Chuck Twardy, “Courthouse Could Become A Museum,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 23 August 1989.

76. Linda Chapin, interview by author, Orlando, Fla., 29 November 2001, private collection, tape recording.

popular entertainment destination for downtown, serve local residents primarily, remain under control of Orange County government, be compatible with existing museums and attractions, have public support, preserve the historic character of the building, and house dynamic and changing activities.<sup>77</sup> In March 1991, after eighteen months of study, the Courthouse Re-Use Taskforce concluded that relocating the Historical Museum to the 1927 Courthouse was the best plan for its reuse.

The Historical Society Board of Directors initially was not interested in the Courthouse. At the time of its decommission, the building was in poor condition. A concrete and turquoise-tiled annex, attached to the building in the 1960s, posed an additional reuse problem.<sup>78</sup> The Historical Society and Museum also had a large investment in the Loch Haven Park location. Another issue was the historic lack of financial support from Orange County government. "At one time," Serros commented, "I was thinking they'll move out [of the courthouse], give us the key, we move in with dust cloths and vacuum cleaners."<sup>79</sup> From Serros's perspective, the idea that Orange County would support the project with \$21 million to renovate the structure and build a history center was historically beyond the realm of possibility.<sup>80</sup>

Orange County government's support of the project, under the leadership of Chairman Chapin, was the essential element in the decision to renovate the 1927 Courthouse for use as a history center. Board member Randy Rush recalled how Chapin "was a tireless supporter of the project . . . and it's fair to say that it might have

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77. Courthouse Museum Task Force, Orange County Courthouse Reuse Study, Phase I Final Report, October 1990, 1927 Orange County Courthouse Conversion Project to a Regional History Center Cultural Facilities Application, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.

78. The annex, the original home to Cheney's Historical Museum, would need to be razed since the reuse design conflicted with the neoclassic architecture of the original courthouse.

79. Serros interview, 15 November 2001; Van Arsdel interview, 11 November 2000; Linda Shrieves, "Historian on the Move. Sara Van Arsdel, Director of the Orange County Historical Museum, is an Administrator with a Mission: Move the Museum out of Loch Haven Park and into more Spacious Quarters." *Orlando Sentinel*, 12 June, 1991.

80. Serros interview, 15 November 2001. After seeing the outpouring of support for the project from Orange County, the City of Orlando and the Downtown Development Board, Serros changed his view to support the new History Center.



happened without her, but it wouldn't be what it is [today]."<sup>81</sup> Chapin saw the project as a key component in helping Orange County develop a better sense of community, and with her encouragement and support, Orange County provided additional funds to the Historical Museum to expand its staff to over thirty employees. In addition, it funded \$21 million of the \$35.7 million project.<sup>82</sup>

With the county's commitment of funds, and the city's commitment to build an urban plaza on the site of the annex, the Historical Society's Board of Directors saw a tremendous opportunity to move to a historic building.<sup>83</sup> In turn, they also realized that to successfully draw visitors from Central Florida, the new museum would have to redesign its exhibit concept and incorporate more interactive and dynamic exhibits. "When anybody lives in Central Florida," Blexrud stated, "they're exposed to the very best of entertainment from Disney . . . [and] the other theme parks." Van Arsdel and the Board believed that to successfully raise the profile of their institution to the Central Florida community, the new museum, its exhibits, and its programs would have to meet similar standards, as the entertainment found in the theme parks.<sup>84</sup>

To accomplish the redesign, the historical Society hired American History Workshop as their exhibit design firm. Yet, neither Van Arsdel nor her staff was comfortable with the firm's exhibit plans. In Van Arsdel's view, the designers seemed more interested in highlighting conflicts in the community rather than attempting to build a sense of community. While conflict certain-

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81. Randy Rush, interview by author, Winter Park, Fla., 16 November 2001, Orange County Regional History Center Archives, tape recording; John Daughtridge, interview by author, Orlando, Fla., 13 November 2001, Orange County Regional History Center Archives, tape recording. See also Blexrud and Serros interviews.

82. Total funding breakdown was as follows: Orange County Government—\$21.7 million, the Orange County Historical Society—\$4 million, the Downtown Development Board and City of Orlando—\$6.5 million, the State of Florida—\$3 million in grants, and \$500,000 from various grant sources for feasibility studies and preliminary design work.

83. Blexrud interview, 9 November 2001; Rush interview, 16 November 2001.

84. Blexrud interview, 9 November 2001; Daughtridge interview, 16 November 2001. Each board member also noted that the institution would need to rename itself when it opened at the 1927 Courthouse. All agreed that the term "History Center" was much more active and engaging than "Historical Museum." In addition, the word "Regional" was added to expand the audience served by the new facility.

ly was part of the region's history, Van Arsdel believed that exhibits focusing solely on conflicts simply were not a successful way to showcase Central Florida's history. As a result, Orange County did not renew the design firm's contract in 1995; it was "one of the uglier moments of the project."<sup>85</sup>

In September 1995, Van Arsdel, Historical Society Board members, and Orange County staff toured national historical museums in Washington, D.C., Minneapolis, and Cincinnati. At the Minnesota History Center's "What is a Community?" exhibit, Van Arsdel was reminded that community building was exactly what Central Florida needed. It was an ideal which Van Arsdel had adopted as her own vision for the museum.<sup>86</sup> It also fit directly with the theme of Orange County Chairman Chapin's administration: Chapin believed that the region had grown so quickly and had so many newcomers that its residents "lacked an awareness of and a commitment to its past." She saw history as a way to engage the community, to encourage its members to put down roots, and emphasize that Orlando is "not the town that Disney built."<sup>87</sup> Following her visits to these museums, Van Arsdel refocused the exhibit creation process, situating the theme of community building as the guiding principle of the History Center's exhibit plan.

The museum hired Gerard Hilferty and Associates to develop the new center's interpretive concept focusing on community building. Hilferty assisted in developing a new mission statement: "To serve and educate the community through the preservation and interpretation of the rich cultural heritage of Central Florida and its relation to the world."<sup>88</sup> In addition, they helped enunciate the History Center's role in the community. For the first time in its existence, the museum would focus specifically on the values of the American museum culture by focusing on community service. The Center would serve as "the repository of material culture, the disseminator of knowledge, a place of wonder, contemplation, and discovery, a place of civic identity, and a place to gather."<sup>89</sup>

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85. Van Arsdel interview 11 November 2000.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Chapin interview, 29 November 2001.

88. Van Arsdel interview, 11 November 2000; Perkins interview, 14 November 2000.

89. Van Arsdel interview, 11 November 2000; Perkins interview, 14 November 2000; Gerard Hilferty & Associates, "Findings from Schematic Design Workshop 1." 14 August 1996, *Hilferty/Orange County Historical Museum Message Wkshp* notebook, Orange County Regional History Center Archives.



Hilferty added a final role: as “a forum for discussion of cultural issues.”<sup>90</sup>

At one workshop, Hilferty asked the museum staff, “What does ‘community’ mean?” and “What does it mean specifically in Central Florida?” One answer defined for staff and exhibit designers the challenge of using the center to create community in Central Florida:

I don’t know if Central Florida really has a true community yet. Too many people have “loyalties” to other areas of the country and world. I do believe there are isolated areas of “community” but I haven’t sensed those connections generally here. I hope the new museum will help to tie everyone—newcomer and native alike—together in some way. Until Central Floridians can feel “us” on some level, we will be at the mercy of every politician, developer and corporation that chooses to come down.<sup>91</sup>

After fifty-eight years of operation in five homes, and eleven years of planning and developing its new home, the Orange County Regional History Center opened on September 29, 2000. That event included a marching band, historic actors, and dignitaries such as Orange County Chairman Mel Martinez, Mayor Glenda Hood, Commissioner Mary I. Johnson, and Linda Chapin. Following the ceremony, the History Center opened its doors to over sixteen hundred visitors who toured permanent exhibits on Florida’s Natural Environment, First People, European Contact, the Seminoles, the Pioneers, Cattle, Citrus, Transportation, Tourism, the Land Boom, Aviation, and Disney. A final exhibit, called “Communities,” was the culmination of the visitor experience, designed to show some of Central Florida’s most diverse and changing communities and to gather input from visitors as to their impression of Central Florida community.<sup>92</sup>

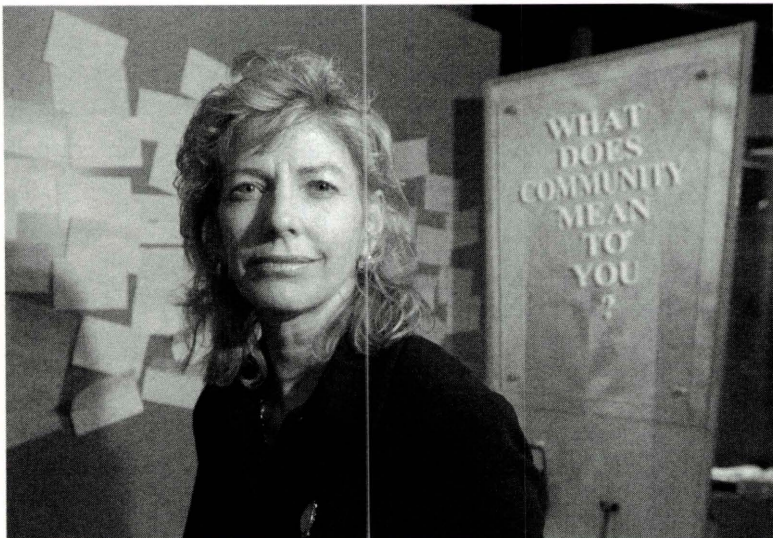
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90. Ibid.

91. Van Arsdel interview, 11 November 2000.

92. Perkins interview, 14 November 2000; Currently the History Center is working with members of the Central Florida African-American community to revise the Communities gallery to open a large-scale exhibit on local African-American history called *How Distant Seems Our Starting Place: The Triumphs and Tragedies of the African-American Community of Central Florida*.





Sara Van Arsdel, director of the Orange Country Regional History Center, seated in front of the museum's exhibit on Central Florida communities. *Photograph by Julie Fletcher. Courtesy of the Orlando Sentinel.*

The Historical Center's exhibits tell a much more complete story of Central Florida's past than the museum has ever done previously. The exhibits contain artifacts, but they display them in context rather than in static cases, thereby allowing the audience to become more engaged interactively. The exhibits are enhanced with interpretive programs that focus on a more inclusive story of the region's history, including its minority communities. The History Center occupies a central location in Central Florida's cultural landscape, balancing its community service with the explicit expectations of professional museum organizations such as the American Association of Museums.

In staff meetings, Van Arsdel occasionally quoted from a letter from Forrest Clark, a long-time Historical Society member. Clark told of his feelings about the opening of the History Center.

The opening program and the magnificent history center were highpoints of my life, especially [*sic*] my later life. In one very important way they connected me to my past and in a good way provided a link that tied my life all together. Merely to see the old building again, even in its new

incarnation, was an enchanting and life affirming experience. I shall never forget it . . . What a legacy to the people. What a legacy to the region.<sup>93</sup>

Clark's words echo the mission of the History Center. But it was decades of visionary activism that brought the mission to life. First under the guidance of Donald Cheney, and later under the leadership of Sara Van Arsdel, the little historical museum that opened in 1942 evolved into an institution of preservation, education, and community identity.

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93. Forrest Clark to Sara Van Arsdel, September 2000, privately held.

## Disney's Celebration, the Promise of New Urbanism, and the Portents of Homogeneity

by Hugh E. Bartling

Perhaps the most important demographic and social transformation that has occurred in the United States in the past fifty years has been mass suburbanization. As some of the more astute commentators on suburban development have argued, these shifts in population have been accompanied by political and social changes, utterly reconfiguring the nature of civic interaction in the country. Government subsidized loans for white middle-class home buyers transformed the suburban landscape and provided the impetus for the construction of a very different lived environment than had heretofore existed.<sup>1</sup> The post-World War II suburb was arranged around the single-family home, transportation by private automobile, a paradigm of mixed zoning that separated residential, occupational, and consumptive spaces, and a general ethos of expansion that has been translated into the derisive moniker of suburban "sprawl."

Many students of urban development have commented on the social and political consequences stemming from these changes to the built environment. As early as 1956, Paul Goodman critiqued the social vacuity that accompanied the ascendancy of suburbia. The predilection of modern planning practitioners to think of sub-

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1. Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985).



urban development primarily from a technical standpoint debased the importance of vibrant public spaces for facilitating engaged social interaction. The new communities privileged a narrow notion of function that failed to comprehend the lived habitat as a space where a variety of complex human interactions are performed: for example, work, leisure, commerce. For Goodman, this results in a "creeping defeatism and surrender by default to the organized system of the state and semimonopolies" that contribute to social malaise.<sup>2</sup>

A similar sentiment was developed by one of the twentieth century's most prolific critics of urban development, Lewis Mumford. In his tome, *The City in History*, Mumford described contemporary suburbia as arising out of the homogenizing tendencies of a mechanistic apparatus of mass production. An unabashed proponent of the vitality that emerges in a heterogeneous urban environment, Mumford feared the consequences of a lived environment structured on the monotonous model of the machine. Characterizing the post-World War II population flight from the industrial cities to the new suburbs as an exercise in "escape," Mumford contended that "the ultimate effect of the suburban escape in our time is, ironically, a low-grade uniform environment from which escape is impossible."<sup>3</sup>

It is this uniformity of the suburban social, architectural, and political landscape that the innovative New Urbanism planning paradigm has sought to confront. Not since Daniel Burnham's City Beautiful movement has the design profession sought, in such explicit terms, to effect civic engagement through the construction of "humane" structures and cities. With its initial incarnation in the United States in the early 1980s, manifest at the new town of Seaside, Florida, the New Urbanism movement gained considerable currency in design circles as a way to reclaim the importance of vibrant public spaces in urban and suburban areas.<sup>4</sup>

The most prominent of New Urbanist developments to date is Celebration, Florida, where building civic engagement and its

2. Paul Goodman, *Growing Up Absurd* (New York, 1956), 228.

3. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York, 1961), 486.

4. Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, "The Second Coming of the American Small Town," *The Wilson Quarterly* 16 (1992): 19-48; Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation* (New York, 2000); Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick, eds., *Charter of the New Urbanism* (New York, 1999).

ever-elusive relative, "community," dominated the planning paradigm. Celebration has garnered a considerable amount of publicity since its incarnation in 1994 because of its size and the unique prominence of its developer, the Disney Company.<sup>5</sup> As a global media behemoth that purveys in the realm of cultural commodities, Disney has long been the subject of critical academic studies for the way it has portrayed history and identity in its movies, television shows, and theme parks.<sup>6</sup> Often thought of as the standard-bearer for an Americanized middlebrow class, any attempt by Disney to construct a suburban town (the apotheosis of the middlebrow landscape) was undoubtedly going to be closely scrutinized.<sup>7</sup> Two recent books written by participant-observers in Celebration have presented insightful and indispensable observations about life in the town and its residents' quest for civic engagement.<sup>8</sup>

This article seeks to further contribute to understanding Celebration by presenting findings garnered from a survey of the town's residents conducted in the summer of 1999. The survey was designed to anonymously gauge resident opinion on corporate governance, community satisfaction, civic engagement, and controversial issues affecting the town. While it is difficult to authoritatively claim relations of causality, a central goal of the survey was to ascertain the importance of the physical environment in facilitating meaningful community interaction. To this end, the survey results contribute to an understanding of New Urbanist claims that changes in the way urban spaces are designed will have a positive impact on community building. In the case of Celebration, however, New Urbanist claims about community-building, while seemingly appealing on the surface, are strongly based on a sense of exclusion and social withdrawal that many social and political theorists have claimed contribute to a weakening of democratic structures.<sup>9</sup>

5. Russ Rymer, "Back to The Future: Disney Reinvents the Company Town," *Harpers* 293 (1996): 65-78.
6. Stephen Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney World and America* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); Mike Wallace, "Mickey Mouse History: Portraying the Past at Disney World," *Radical History Review* 32 (1985): 33-57.
7. Jean Baudrillard, *America* (London, Eng., 1989).
8. Andrew Ross, *The Celebration Chronicles* (New York, 1999); Douglas Frantz and Catherine Collins, *Celebration USA: Living in Disney's Brave New Town* (New York, 1999).
9. Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (New York, 1978); Robert Reich, *Work of Nations* (New York, 1991).



The tradition of looking towards design and the manipulation of the built environment to facilitate explicit forms of social and political interaction is long and distinctive. From the paternalistic attempt on the part of George Pullman in the 1880s to design a town to elicit worker obedience, sobriety, and salubriousness to the Regional Planning Association of America's pre-Depression construction of a "Garden City for America," there has been no paucity of efforts to employ spatial means to encourage social ends. Thus, to a certain extent the New Urbanist movement represents a current variant of a visionary search for translating normative notions about the arrangement of space into a positive environment in which to live.

As its name suggests, the New Urbanism is of a genus peculiar to the contemporary age whereby uncertainty about the future is mollified through a selected appeal to the past. For New Urbanists, the suburban environment emerging in the United States after World War II was disastrous, if the measure of success is the freedom to "live well." Emerging first as a negative critique, proponents of the New Urbanism have looked to preexisting urban forms for their inspiration and guidance in developing new design projects.<sup>10</sup>

Like any "utopian" vision, the New Urbanism embodies a critique of dominant urban and suburban forms. It is in this critique that the design imperative ultimately finds its appeal. A review of the major tenets of New Urbanism as articulated by the charter of its primary professional organization, the Congress for the New Urbanism, and in the writings of its most vocal practitioners demonstrate the saliency of its vision and provide the foundation for assessing Celebration's success as a "community."

Miami architects and town planners Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk have been among the most visible theorists and proponents of the New Urbanism. Referring to the growth-at-all-costs mentality that has characterized post-World War II suburban development as "cancerous...and destr[uctive] of our civic life," Duany and Plater-Zyberk described the suburb as "less a community than agglomeration of houses, shops, and offices connected to one another by cars, not by the fabric of human life."<sup>11</sup>

10. Duany and Plater-Zyberk, "The Second Coming of the American Small Town," 19-48.

11. *Ibid.*, 20-21.



This situation emerged not because of any socio-economic factors but because of poor planning and a lack of foresight on the part of governmental officials at various levels. Duany and Plater-Zyberk offered a different way of looking at land, buildings, and development, presenting a visionary response for eventual emulation. Thus, we are asked to look at the traditional small town of pre-World War II America as a model for re-appropriating habitable communities.

Although re-appropriation of a singular historical image for emulation is problematic in a society as diverse as the United States, given its inevitable distortions, exclusions, and reworkings of the past, the main thrust of the New Urbanist paradigm is to encourage high-density, pedestrian-friendly, environmentally-specific design.<sup>12</sup> In one sense it is fair to say that New Urbanists see Old Suburbia, in the spirit of Mumford, as a machine.<sup>13</sup> Restrictive zoning separates the functions of daily life into discrete units designed for maximum efficiency. Office parks replete with solid buildings and adorned with mirrored glass serve as repositories for the functionaries of the information economy. Industrial parks have row after row of single story warehouses with generous loading docks and wide streets to accommodate delivery truck traffic. Malls allow the concentration of shopping. And their "strip" cousins provide discounts and the mass presentation of vast numbers of commodities to the consuming public. Living districts employ cul-de-sacs to provide privacy and a safe place for children to play.

Each function is relegated to its separate sphere where specialized tasks can be honed, re-evaluated, and streamlined. Streets, highways, and connector roads serve as the linking mechanisms of the machine, operating in a modified assembly-line fashion by transporting suburban inhabitants on multiple journeys of identity transition, from family provider to employee to shopper. Like any good machine developed in a society that places a premium on efficiency, the various pods of human experience have been studied and their parts standardized to insure their alacrity functioning. Efficiency's comrade, interchangeability, insures the sustenance of this process and contributes to a "geography of

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12. Nina Veregge, "Traditional Environments and the New Urbanism: A Regional and Historical Critique," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 8 (1997): 49-62.

13. Lewis Mumford, *Art and Technics* (New York, 1952).

nowhere" where the process of landscape production is intent on destroying diverse, unique parts that do not fit the machine.<sup>14</sup>

New Urbanists try to salvage these parts and employ them in what they see as a process of humanization rather than mechanization. This archaeological project unveils forms from the past as potential saviors of the present. The homogeneity that accompanies a dominant suburban development characterized by corporate retail stores, "cinder-block architecture," and expansive shopping malls finds its antithesis in a mode of commerce and social interaction easily observable in older landscapes where the scale of development was more intensive. Thus, in their appeal to the "second coming of the American small town," Duany and Plater-Zyberk presented the small town as an example for inspiration in planning rather than a blueprint for adoption.

While the charter of the Congress for the New Urbanism is not so presumptuous as to explicitly insist on a type of design determinism, it nonetheless offers suggestions as to how planners and architects can construct a lived environment that abandons the auto-centric and socially atomizing tendencies of dominant suburban planning. These suggestions are grouped around three major principles: communities must exhibit diversity in land use; they must be scaled for pedestrians; and they must have a "well-defined public realm supported by an architecture reflecting on the ecology and culture of the region."<sup>15</sup>

Guided by these principles, the charter essentially calls for a reconfiguration of the suburban zoning patterns developed over the past fifty years. Instead of having restrictive zoning whereby the major functions of everyday life (habitation, commerce, and employment) are dispersed, making travel by private automobile virtually a necessity, the charter recommends that "concentrations of civic, institutional and commercial activity should be embedded into neighborhoods and districts not isolated in remote, single-use complexes." Instead of making the private automobile the primary method of moving throughout suburbia, the charter calls for "a framework of transportation alternatives . . . [including] transit, pedestrian, and bicycle systems."<sup>16</sup>

14. James Howard Knustler, *The Geography of Nowhere* (New York, 1994).

15. Dhuru Thadani and Peter Hetzel, "The Congress for the New Urbanism," *Indian Architect and Builder* 10 (1996): 42.

16. *Ibid.*, 48.





The design of Celebration encourages multiple forms of transportation. Bicycles, electronic vehicles, and automobiles all are accommodated, without any one mode dominating. *Photograph by Hugh G. Barling.*

Through a physical reconstruction of the suburban landscape along these lines, the hope of New Urbanism is that human-scale building (as opposed to machine-scale) will provide spatial opportunities for random social interaction, engender empathy amongst



inhabitants of a particular locale, and facilitate the development of a sense of "community" whose concomitant is civic engagement. These design changes have the effect of "the making of space that draws people out from their private realms to stroll and loiter with their neighbors," making the neighborhood more "intimate" rather than anonymous.<sup>17</sup>

While the design imperatives of New Urbanist development have been, when built and inhabited, quite novel and distinct from much of post-World War II suburbia, claims that the changes in design translate into positive community engagement are a bit more difficult to establish. Because the number of New Urbanist developments is relatively small and—until the construction of Celebration by the prominent Disney Company—relatively obscure, studies of the design/community nexus have not offered authoritative pronouncements about New Urbanism in practice.

Many interesting studies have been done on the cultural meanings and ideological underpinnings of the New Urbanism. Geographer Karen Falconer Al-Hindi and Caedmon Staddon, for example, argued that New Urbanism "functions as an expression of new and complex articulations between currently hegemonic class fractions and a rather chiliastic habitus of urban social practices."<sup>18</sup> For these authors, the New Urbanist town of Seaside lost any pretense to "authenticity" because of its prefabricated nature and its genesis as a completely planned, corporate space. While the New Urbanist credo holds that dominant suburban patterns restrict meaningful social interaction, the prefabrication inherent in a town like Seaside fails to provide the antidote. Structural dictates coupled with class-exclusive developments inhibit spontaneous, unplanned interaction. Thus the New Urbanism, rather than facilitating vibrant public spaces, "seek[s] to foreclose or displace . . . heterotopic possibilities."<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, geographer K. Till analyzed the New Urbanist development of Rancho Santa Margarita in Orange County, California. In an effort to demonstrate the town's connection with an

17. Duany and Plater-Zyberk, "The Second Coming of the American Small Town," 39.

18. Karen Falconer Al-Hindi and Caedmon Staddon, "The Hidden Histories and Geographies of Neotraditional Town Planning: the Case of Seaside, Florida," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15 (1997): 350.

19. Falconer and Staddon, "The Hidden Histories and Geographies," 369.

"authentic Old West" past, Till described how the developers claimed they were continuing a design heritage dating back to the days of post-Spanish European settlement. Employing the codes and history of a privileged, white, capitalist class insured the community's exclusiveness in an increasingly heterogeneous Southern California. In this example Rancho Santa Margarita's developers produced a New Urbanist appeal to an idealized past. Building upon the pioneer story of one of the developer's distant relatives, Rancho Santa Maria was presented as the reassertion of nineteenth-century homesteader Richard O'Neil's vision of the rugged individualist "life on the frontier" of the Old West. The history presented was one of relative simplicity where the unattractive realities of ethnic conflict and environmental degradation were shrouded under an appeal to reclaim the "traditional" landscape of Southern California. That "tradition" is associated with a "pioneer" like O'Neil, Till argued, must be understood in the context of the contemporary political contexts of Orange County. In a climate of English Only initiatives and minority discontent in nearby inner city Los Angeles, Till claimed that the New Urbanist penchant for reversion implicates the design imperative in a politics of exclusion.<sup>20</sup>

Recently, attempts to understand how changes in physical space affect the potential for community have emerged in theoretical and interpretive discussions of the New Urbanism's efforts at social design. Ivonne Audirac and Anne H. Shermeyen questioned the effectiveness of privileging pedestrian mobility and the propinquity of workplace, home, and commercial space in affecting a sense of community. Looking at conditions in Seaside they found that, in a New Urbanist community replete with pedestrian pathways between houses, small lot sizes, and open access to public spaces, residents actively reconfigured spaces in the town in attempts to decrease perceived private invasiveness that accompanies public-based architecture. In yards that were contiguous to pedestrian paths, for example, residents planted dense shrubbery to restrict views of their property. Similarly, like many planned developments, Seaside erected flocks of "private road" signs, hired private security forces to patrol the town, and residents had been

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20. K. Till, "Neotraditional Towns and Urban Villages: The Cultural Production of a Geography of 'Otherness,'" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11 (1993): 709-732.



informally contemplating the erection of entry-gates.<sup>21</sup> While Seaside may indeed be a place where New Urbanist enthusiast Philip Langdon contends that "the streets are the scene of leisurely promenades," occupied by the vacationing dandy who strolls past quaint restaurants and gourmet grocery stores that are the required accoutrements for the New Urbanist class, the spatial refigurement revealed a tint of noir beneath the gilding.<sup>22</sup>

The nature of Seaside as a tourist destination and a town composed primarily of vacation homes may not make it the best example from which to tender an evaluation of New Urbanism. There have been calls for more empirical work on New Urbanism. In a recent article, Emily Talen brought the eye of an admiring skeptic to the claims of New Urbanism. Talen argued that the major claim of New Urbanism—that the physical design of space, if done in a particular way, will promote a sense of community—has been well scrutinized by a number of scholars who have been unable to authoritatively validate it. Intervening variables such as the degree of ethnic, racial, and class homogeneity and the importance of psychological disposition towards attaining "community" have contributed to social cohesion in ways that are not dependent upon a certain type of design. Talen also took particular issue with the fuzzy and insouciant ways in which the term "community" is employed by planners without providing a specific definition, making it difficult to assess whether or not the New Urbanist goals are met.<sup>23</sup>

In response to Talen's call for social science research on New Urbanist communities and in an effort to contribute to the larger body of work on space, design, and community life, the data gathered for this study was compiled through a survey and in-depth interviews with Celebration residents.<sup>24</sup> Residents were asked questions regarding their decision to move to Celebration, their

21. Ivonne Audriac and Anne H. Shermeyen, "An Evaluation of Neotraditional Design's Social Prescription: Postmodern Placebo or Remedy for Suburban Malaise?" *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 13 (1994): 161-173.

22. Philip Langdon, *A Better Place to Live* (Amherst, Mass., 1994), 110.

23. Emily Talen, "Sense of Community and Neighbourhood Form: An Assessment of the Social Doctrine of New Urbanism," *Urban Studies* 36 (1999): 1361-1379.

24. The survey was mailed to every residential address in Celebration as of May 1999 (725 addresses). A total of 264 surveys were returned, eliciting a 36 percent response rate.



satisfaction with corporate governance, their desire to have more input in making decisions affecting the town, their political ideologies and party affiliations, and general demographic characteristics. Finally, the respondents were asked open-ended questions regarding whether Celebration met their expectations as a community. This combination of quantifiable data and qualitative responses (garnered both through the open-ended questions on the survey and through the prior interviews) provides a rich resource from which to analyze the relationship between community, urban design, and corporate governance in Celebration.

Celebration can best be understood as a commodity rather than a city. Redolent of trends in contemporary political economy whereby capitalist enterprises realize profit through the manipulation of symbols to encourage the consumption of their products, Disney's translation of the dictates of New Urbanism into practice seems to be guided more by marketing than enlightened planning. In Celebration as a marketed commodity, signs and codes manipulated by Disney often refer to abstract concepts not very often "themed."<sup>25</sup> Disney World, for instance, employs meaningful and prevalent signs from popular culture to connote feelings of fantasy, escape, and adventure. Frontierland employs architecture and rides simulating an idealized version of the Wild West as a theme of adventure. Similarly, Space Mountain connotes the excitement of exploring the last frontier of space travel. In these cases, the signifiers of rocket ships and swinging door saloons are grounded in real and popularly imagined instances of the Wild West or space exploration.<sup>26</sup> In the case of Celebration, much of what is presented as a theme (and a desirable commodity) is the association with certain abstract conditions. Celebration's themed elements are less concrete than the Wild West, safaris, or space. Because of the inherently subjective nature of Disney's selling points of "community," "place," and "education," residents' material interpretation of these marketing tools have, in the seven short years the town has been inhabited, predicated the spaces of controversy and contestation regarding corporate policies.

Perhaps the most prevalent word one hears when talking with residents and Celebration Company employees and reading journalistic accounts of the town and Celebration Company promo-

25. Mark Gottdiener, *The Theming of America* (Boulder, 1997).

26. Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves*.

tional literature is "community."<sup>27</sup> "Community" as a feeling of civic engagement and inclusion is particularly difficult to define, let alone symbolize. Through constant reiteration by Disney it has become an oft-used term by residents themselves to describe the town.<sup>28</sup> Explicitly presented as a major building block of the town, "community" in Disney's promotional literature seems more to stand for the celebrity team of town planners, architects, and corporate partners involved in Celebration's design. Under the heading, "The building of a community," the corporation elaborated that

Celebration is a collaborative effort of leading architects and community planners with a vision of building an American town. They include architects and town planners Robert A. M. Stern and Jaquelin Robertson; renowned golf course architects Robert Trent Jones Sr. and Robert Trent Jones Jr.; as well as leaders in education, health, and technology from Harvard Graduate School of Education, Johnson and Johnson, GE, AT&T, and other institutions.<sup>29</sup>

Celebration residents were asked to place their faith in the expertise of master architect Stern, well-known golf course designers, and multinational corporations like General Electric to define and implement "community." While the term may be vacuous when appearing on Disney's brochures and billboards, "community," however one wants to define it, certainly had a strong appeal for many people choosing to live in Celebration. When residents named the top two motivating factors that contributed to their decision to move to Celebration, "Community" was selected by far more than any other (see Table 1). Curiously, the next two highest responses were Disney's involvement and the innovative and much-hyped neighborhood school. Responses focusing on the built environment such as "Town Design," "Architecture," and "Quality of homes" did not elicit as many adherents, making it

27. The Celebration Company is Disney's wholly owned subsidiary that manages the town.

28. Susan G. Strother, *Rockwell Versus Orwell: The Quest for Community and Disney's Celebration Development* (Winter Park, Fla., 1997).

29. Disney, *Celebration: An American Town* (Celebration, Fla., n.d.), 2.

seem that New Urbanists' design imperative was less important in facilitating community than a psychological disposition.

Table 1. Motivations for Moving to Celebration

Stated Reason	Number of Responses
Community	130
Disney	74
School	69
Town Design	53
Architecture	31
Proximity to Work	23
Location	19
Wellness	13
Technology	4
Golf Course	2
Quality of Homes	1

Whether respondents were simply regurgitating Disney's ubiquitous marketing strategy is difficult to ascertain. However, "Community" is just one of several points company officials and literature emphasized. Others, such as "Place," emphasized the design component of the town—parks, golf course, architecture—yet, in this survey, choices indicative of these design features were not picked by respondents with as high a frequency as other motivating factors.

If "community" is an important factor motivating people to move to Celebration, then, given its nature as a hierarchically operated space, it would not be unreasonable to assume that tensions may emerge between residents and the corporation. "Community" means different things to different people. A common and perhaps uncontroversial definition (and one with which many Celebration residents identified given the nature of comments garnered from the open-ended questions) includes a nod towards the organic development of a civic voice. For example, when controversy arose surrounding the school, there developed a vocal faction that expressed criticism towards Disney's subsidiary, the Celebration Company. The genesis of this faction can best be described as a classic *Gemeinschaft*—personal, autonomous, and



based on strong communal concerns.<sup>30</sup> Six months after the survey was sent there emerged a literal alternative civic voice for the community in the form of the *Celebration Independent* newspaper. The *Celebration Independent*, published and staffed by local residents, prides itself on a muckraking style seeking to dispel conventional corporate wisdom.

Still, the corporate control that accompanies Disney's definition of community does not seem to disturb most residents of Celebration who enthusiastically purchased a house and a "community." Continued growth and home sales in Celebration occur notwithstanding one of the earliest criticisms of the town as corporate planned and governed: it boasted a "town hall" without a municipal government and had a multitude of restrictions on house and property appearances including limits on political signs and garage sales.<sup>31</sup> Yet, these restrictions and their enforcement seem to be of little concern to residents. One Celebration resident who ran unsuccessfully for the Osceola County School Board claimed that the lack of civic government has been seriously overblown: "I can go walk right into the office of the [Celebration Company's] Vice President, he's my neighbor and will listen to my concerns."<sup>32</sup> This type of informal contact, he argued, provides much more "government" responsiveness than in a traditional democratically-elected city where the levels of bureaucracy militate against access. According to survey responses, this sentiment seems to be widespread with over 60 percent of the respondents expressing satisfaction with covenant enforcement. Only 16 percent expressed negative feelings towards the corporation's performance suggesting that the covenant and its enforcement are relatively uncontroversial.

Certainly the covenant that each homeowner signs when occupying property in Celebration is restrictive. But it is certainly not unique. The privatization of urban spaces and restrictions on land use through voluntary covenants has been commonly prevalent in "exclusive communities."<sup>33</sup> The relative parity of household incomes and social homogeneity in Celebration has led to a gen-

30. Frantz and Collins, *Celebration USA*; Ross, *The Celebration Chronicles*.

31. Rymer, "Back to the Future"; Jack Snyder, "The Rules are a Little Different at Celebration," *Orlando Sentinel*, 23 June 1996.

32. Interview, Jackson Mumey, 2 June 1998.

33. Evan McKenzie, *Privatopia* (New Haven, Conn., 1994).

eral acceptance, even embrace, of aesthetic restrictions. Many residents actively praise the general "look" of the town and are willing to accept the aesthetic wisdom of Disney, believing that the imposed architectural themes will help to increase property value in the town.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps the most contentious issue for many residents of Celebration is education. Dissatisfied outnumber satisfied, but the lack of a clear majority of responses either way is a testament to the controversial nature of the school. Disney presented education as one of the major foci of town development and used the uniqueness of the Celebration School as a major selling point for potential residents. The school, built and financed primarily by Disney, is actually a public school governed by the Osceola County School Board. Yet, it has clearly been a Disney enterprise. Originally designed to accommodate kindergarten through twelfth grade, the school was built in tandem with the Celebration Teaching Academy, a center intended to foster research into the latest pedagogical techniques. The Teaching Academy was pushed by Disney as a positive reason for moving to Celebration. It was designed to be a partnership between Disney, Stetson University, and the Osceola County School Board to train teachers, administrators, and educational researchers. As of June 1998, the academy had not materialized as a training base and was sitting empty and unused. By the end of the summer of 1998, Stetson University had in fact taken residence in the building. But the focus seemed to have changed from one envisioned as providing Osceola County teachers a dedicated laboratory for learning and implementing new pedagogical techniques to a facility for the exclusive use of Stetson as an extension campus for continuing training for teachers, reflected in its new name: the Stetson University Center.

The privatized Teaching Academy is just one example of Celebration's educational malaise. The main pedagogical disposition of the Celebration School has been the target of scorn for many disgruntled residents. The school emphasizes an "innovative" curriculum integrating traditional subjects of study with advanced technological gadgetry. Grade levels were supplanted by multi-aged "neighborhoods" with as many as one hundred students and four teachers operating as a team. Students were not

34. Anonymous open-ended survey responses overwhelmingly expressed this view.



Central to the New Urbanist planning paradigm is mixed use development. In downtown Celebration, a variety of shops occupy ground floor space while apartments are situated immediately above. *Photograph by Hugh G. Bartling.*

taught the technical skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic as separate functions, but rather the integration of skills were employed to address particular substantive problems. Traditional research papers were not assigned, replaced by hypertextual, multimedia projects employing what the school's Instructional Technology Specialist called "Jetson's technology."<sup>35</sup>

The "neighborhood" system of grouping students and teachers made the classroom somewhat chaotic and much less hierarchical than one would encounter in other schools. A "neighborhood" could have students ranging in age from five to eleven, resulting in older students helping to teach the younger ones. For much of the day, students worked in groups autonomously relying on teachers for periodic consultation. Frequent "kivas" (school officials define the term as an "American Indian word for 'discussion'") were instituted at each neighborhood's "hearth," or central gathering point, to make decisions

35. Interview, Scott Muri, 3 June 1998.



communally on matters of interest to the class. Teachers maintained that this method of sustained collaboration resulted in more self-disciplined and involved students. The integrative strategy of learning through encountering multidisciplinary projects, according to teachers, makes students more prepared for the multi-dimensionality they will encounter in the "real world."<sup>36</sup>

While some parents provided substantial, passionate support for different pedagogical techniques employed at the Celebration School, many were disappointed with its chaotic environment and technophilia. One resident described the school as a "zoo." His son had been diagnosed with Attention Deficit Disorder prior to enrolling at Celebration School, and the lack of structure allowed his penchant for distraction to flourish. Another parent had different concerns. His daughter had been placed in "gifted" programs prior to their moving to Celebration. In the "neighborhood" setting of Celebration School, however, she found herself unchallenged with substantive material that had to be presented to students of various ages and capabilities. Because of her advanced skills, she was often called upon to tutor the younger kids. While she was an invaluable asset to the learning processes of the children she helped, her father thought that she was not given the opportunity to advance her own knowledge base and critical thinking skills. Both parents eventually sent their children to schools outside Celebration; in the case of the former, he felt incumbent to send his son to a private boarding school as the greater Osceola County schools are not ranked amongst the state's highest in many subject areas.<sup>37</sup>

The insularity of Celebration and the school's propensity, even amidst the chaos, to reinforce that sense of community, makes the chances that children could possibly be transferred to a different school in the Osceola County school system a major concern for parents. The school initially accommodated all of Celebration's children plus a sizable number of students from areas in Osceola County outside of Celebration. But because the school is part of the county school system and ultimately not under the control of Disney, it is governed by an outside elected body which, hypothet-

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36. Interview, Scott Muri, June 3, 1998 and other teachers who wished to remain anonymous, in May and June, 1998.

37. Interviews with Celebration residents, May and June 1998. Names are withheld at the request of the interviewees.

ically, could turn Celebration School into a magnet school whereby each child residing in Osceola County, regardless of whether or not he or she were a Celebration resident, would have to apply and be granted admission by the school board.

In the summer of 1998, a crowd of concerned parents and recent home-buyers expressed fear and, in some cases, petulance that Disney did not make this clear before they had decided to purchase a home in Celebration. Future residents wondered why Disney had not managed the school as well as the town.<sup>38</sup> Education is one of the top draws for potential homebuyers, and access to the school is certainly a valid concern for parents who purchased homes in Celebration particularly because the innovative structure of the school is highly touted and the portents for it being a public school potentially outside of corporate control were never breached by the company.

The Celebration School situation suggests a general disgruntlement with the "broken promises" of Disney. One resident reported that his family was

promised a world class school that practiced inclusion, best practices, and technology but have not received it. Was promised a K-12 neighborhood school that my child could walk to, now Celebration Company is changing it to K-7 and creating a mega H.S. for Celebration and Western Osceola County Residents.<sup>39</sup>

Parents committed to the school's pedagogical vision and ensuring the children of Celebration guaranteed access to the school have sought recourse in the public sphere. Jackson Mumei, a Celebration resident who has been identified as the school's "information officer" by *Disney Magazine* and as an owner of a test preparation service in his campaign literature, ran for an at-large seat in the November 1998 Osceola County school board election.<sup>40</sup> Running as an independent, he enjoyed the support of many residents. While the thrust of his campaign was based on the type of "issues" common to contemporary political discourse—"letting teachers teach, making administrators accountable, set higher stan-

38. Interviews with Celebration residents and new home buyers, 3 June 1998.

39. Anonymous open-ended survey response, August 1999.

40. Pippin Ross, "Celebrating Education," *Disney Magazine*, fall 1997, 82-88.

dards for the schools," he certainly had the active support of individuals closely associated with the school.<sup>41</sup> This has not been lost on citizens of greater Osceola County. Ed Thurman, resident of the working-class city of St. Cloud, considered the amount of money raised by Mumey excessive for a school board election, particularly since, running as an independent, he did not have to contend with a primary race.<sup>42</sup> Mumey's unabashed Celebration ties may have hurt him, however, as he lost the general election decisively.

While the perceived success of the school has been the major point of civic discontent or tension, it has not served to unravel the community. Residents who were early vocal critics of the school and the corporation were unceremoniously ostracized by other members of the community.<sup>43</sup> Some felt they were forced to even sell their homes and leave Celebration. Perhaps the most visible case was that of Michael and Luba Bilentschuk who were asked by Disney to not talk with the press after they moved out of the town.<sup>44</sup> When they refused, Disney still allowed them to leave, not enforcing the covenant they signed which would have penalized them for selling before July 1, 1999.

Two recent ethnographies written by transient residents in 1998 demonstrated how school detractors transformed from a silent to a vocal minority.<sup>45</sup> After a group of residents rented a meeting room at the Shoney's across U.S. 192 from Celebration to hold a "town meeting" (outside of the town) and discussed problems and strategies for changing policies at the school, various formal and informal groups emerged as voices for these school detractors. After it was disclosed in June of 1999 that a new high school was to be built, a group of parents utilizing the acronym C.A.R.E. circulated a petition asking for, among other things, the Celebration Company to include residents in formulating major decisions affecting the town.<sup>46</sup> The school controversy provides an example of a viable, functioning public sphere characterized by "free, active, self-governing citizens [acting] in the creation of

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41. Jackson Mumey For School Board. "Jackson's Five," unpublished flyer.

42. *Osceola News Gazette*, 28 September 1998, 4.

43. Strother, *Rockwell Versus Orwell*.

44. Jerry Jackson, "Ex-Celebration Owners Asked to Keep Quiet," *Orlando Sentinel*, 14 February 1997.

45. Ross, *Celebration Chronicles*; Frantz and Collins, *Celebration USA*.

46. C.A.R.E., "Celebration Petition," 28 June 1999.



their common future."<sup>47</sup> Contrarily, it also represents the petty intra-class conflict of a suburban elite equating their individual aspirations with the greater public good.

However elusive the term remains and however much one can cynically relegate it to nothing more than a corporate marketing strategy to sell houses, "community" is something that Celebration residents continuously and consciously strive to realize. The myriad of civic groups that emerged in the nascent development attest to an underlying communal will to develop a public sphere. The Rotary Club, a garden club, a community theater group, a club for residents over sixty, the school's parent support group called the Dream Team, Boy Scout and Girl Scout chapters are all active participants in a vibrant civil society within a town developed and fundamentally governed by a corporation seeking to maximize profits. Like the mythic small-town America that Disney seeks to replicate in Celebration, civic groups and the public sphere have shaped a town where everyone really does seem to know everyone else.

New Urbanists contend that the manipulation of space in a particular way will inform the nature of social relations, but that paradigm becomes difficult to accept when exploring Celebration. Community and civic engagement have coalesced around emotive issues rather than physical ones, suggesting that the relationship between space and society should be viewed from an integrative standpoint rather than an oppositional one. This became quite clear in a survey of Celebration's residents. There seemed to be a keen awareness that community building is a difficult, personalized process. One response attributed a sense of community identity to "the God fearing people here that make the difference." Others were sober in their assessments of what "community" can do and whether the expectations that drew residents to Celebration were somewhat utopian. Some argued for the "departure of persons who moved to Celebration with unrealistic expectations—the Magic Kingdom Syndrome." Others thought "that some of our residents [should] be more realistic about what is really possible." The responses reflect residents' tendency to define community in exclusionary terms, in this case by encouraging skeptics to leave. Occasionally, this bordered on the petulant: "we

47. Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 217.

have a small group of complainers that keep unrest for all of us, if you don't like it here move out, no gates to hold you in."<sup>48</sup>

Such expressions are more in line with critical understandings of how "community" functions as an exclusionary process, supported by the construction of literal and metaphorical borders. In this sense, Celebration is a conceptual unity that is contingent on the construction of a "constitutive outside" for its relevance. The town's "community" is based on unifying and defining a series of characteristics and requirements that serve to set up boundaries for admission. The requirements are necessarily exclusive for they serve to define Celebration's particular community from other communities, making it only meaningful to say that one is a member of a community because it differentiates the individual from others.<sup>49</sup> The process of creating communities of exclusion in this fashion often results in the emergence of an "oppressive social form."<sup>50</sup>

Certainly, in Celebration a sense of the politics of exclusion is evident. A perceived threat from the "outside" is the Osceola County School Board who has made decisions not altogether consistent with the interests of many Celebration residents. The politics of exclusion are turned inwards also through a general feeling that those who do not like living in Celebration should leave.

At this juncture it would be impossible and unjust to overlook Celebration's situation in greater local and global relations. Celebration is an upper middle-class development dependent upon a historical context of corporate dominance over local and state governing bodies in Central Florida. Disney, since its earliest days, demanded from public authorities autonomy in developing its property in return for the promise of regional economic prosperity.<sup>51</sup> As a result of unadulterated growth in the intervening years, the landscape of Osceola and Orange counties changed from one characterized by small farming communities with vibrant small-town city centers—such as the Osceola County seat of Kissimmee—to an undifferentiated sub-

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48. Anonymous open-ended survey response, August 1999.

49. Iris Marion Young, "The Ideal of Community and the Politics of Difference," in Linda Nicholson, ed., *Feminism/Postmodernism* (New York, 1990).

50. David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford, Eng., 1996), 437.

51. Richard Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse* (New Haven, Conn., 2001).

urban sprawl marked by chain hotels and restaurants and tourist strip malls. This, of course, is not a trend limited to Central Florida. In fact, economic growth coupled with little regard for planning and the abandonment of the traditional urban center has caused similar sprawl-like conditions to emerge in locales across the country.<sup>52</sup>

The unplanned growth of the suburban form has been concomitant with a large degree of social atomization and uprootedness that results in the alienation of people from place. Lewis Mumford, for example, saw the problem of the suburban form as manifest in the uncritical embrace of the automobile. Recalcitrant emphasis on building highways has resulted in the decrease of vibrant public spaces causing the "living tissue of the city" to suffer.<sup>53</sup> Suburbia's malaise, a blind faith in technological progress, and a general social dislocation contributes to the prevalence of the "culture of narcissism" that Christopher Lasch maintained supports "hostility and rejection" in American society.<sup>54</sup>

Ironically, relief from this narcissistic, hostile, and rejection-prone world is the desire of Celebration's residents. Even as Disney enabled dominant forms of suburban sprawl that contributed to this condition, it created a development like Celebration—a place for those who can afford to partake in Disney's commodified vision of a world lost to the chaos and impersonality of the present. Had Disney not actively attained its own municipal governing structure, ignored the regional implications of its development, and evaded subjection to critical oversight from public officials and citizens, perhaps Celebration's neighbor Kissimmee would be a quaint "Main Street" community unplagued by high crime rates and free from shouldering the debt for road projects designed to carry tourists unimpeded into the Disney compound.

Celebration, therefore, represents fundamentally a further extension of the early impetus for suburbanization which, as Lewis Mumford put it, amounts to an "effort to find a private solution for the depression and disorder of the befouled metropolis: an effusion of romantic taste but an evasion of civic responsibility and

52. Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (New York, 1991); Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York, 1987).

53. Mumford, *The City in History*, 510.

54. Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism*, xviii.



municipal oversight.”<sup>55</sup> Since Celebration is not “gated” it has received a good deal of press; but certain subtle borders still exist which serve the purpose of the gate.<sup>56</sup> The price to buy into Celebration automatically discriminates against the majority of working-class people—particularly those who work in the tourist industry of Osceola and Orange Counties where affordable housing is scarce. The high-income character of Celebration’s residents gives substance to the class-based nature of the town and manifests as well in two other subtle indicators of the town’s homogeneous ideological terrain—party affiliation and political disposition (see Tables 2 and 3). Even the highly touted and technologically advanced “networked” infrastructure that links Celebration’s homes and apartments with fiber optic wiring to an electronic bulletin-board and web site is protected by a firewall making it impossible for computers not originating in the “celebration.fl.us” domain to view the town intranet.

Community and public engagement is important to Celebration residents on the micro-level, but this sentiment becomes less apparent when discussing relations with the “outside” world. Residents have critiqued the school for such things as “not [being] managed locally” or excoriated Disney for “bringing in many students from the outside.”<sup>57</sup> What is defined as “local” or “outside” is of importance, for the use of these terms is indicative of a greater trend towards atomism and divestiture from the public sphere.

Yet, in this postmodern age of global capitalism, no community is isolated from the vagaries of the larger political economy.<sup>58</sup> The arrest of undocumented Mexican construction workers in Celebration in February 1998 attested to the town’s inability to truly divest itself from the world. The development, construction, and continued operation of the town’s nicely manicured public spaces, trendy restaurants, and recreational facilities are dependent upon workers coming from outside the community, even as far as Mexico.<sup>59</sup>

55. Mumford, *The City in History*, 492.

56. Carol Lawson, “Disney’s Newest Show is a Town,” *The New York Times*, 16 November 1995; Craig Wilson, “The Town that Disney Built,” *USA Today*, 30 June 1997.

57. Anonymous open-ended survey response, August 1999.

58. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (New York, 1989).

59. Lenny Savino, “Border Patrol Arrests 16 Illegal Immigrants at Celebration Construction Site,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 14 February 1998.

Table 2. Reported Income of Residents

Income Range	Number of Responses
\$10,000-\$30,000	3
\$30,001-\$55,000	30
\$55,001-\$70,000	25
\$70,001-\$95,000	60
\$95,001-\$110,000	23
\$110,001-\$135,000	26
\$135,001 & above	35
unreported	15

Table 3. Party Identification of Residents

Party	Number of Responses
Republican	65
Democrat	25
Libertarian	5
Taxpayers	3
Reform	2
Green	0

It is certainly too early to judge Celebration as a success or failure on its own terms or even to identify what such evaluations might mean. But the town's genesis and development appears a disturbing instance of a growing trend towards reliance on private corporations to provide solutions to public problems. Celebration may be a space of communal tranquility in a sea of unbridled megalopolistic development, but it cannot serve as an example for urban planning without understanding the greater socio-economic relations that shaped it. The relationship between insularity and connectedness that is evident in Celebration is representative of a dynamic process whose contradictions will percolate in ways unforeseen by Disney's imagineers.

## **In Search of Community: Historic Preservation and the Quest to Recover Fort Gatlin**

*by* Scott Eidson

In a city dominated by large numbers of transplant residents, very few citizens of Orlando know or care about the area's rich and colorful history or its historical figures. Local history is not taught in the Orange County schools "unless a teacher has a particular interest in the subject and makes a special effort."<sup>1</sup> Recently, efforts have been made to curb this trend. In 1997, a small organization known as the Fort Gatlin Historical Group sought to trace Orlando's origins through a community-wide effort to preserve the presumed site of Fort Gatlin, a United States Army fort of the Second Seminole War. In doing so, the group promoted a sense of community by uniting Orlandoans with their history and sparking general interest not only in Orlando's past but in its present and, more importantly, its future.

During the Second Seminole War, the United States Army constructed a string of military outposts that collectively challenged the authority of Osceola and the Seminoles. One was built in November 1838 on the high ground between Lake Jennie Jewel, Lake Gem Mary, and Lake Gatlin, roughly two miles south of what

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1. Mark Andrews, "Orlando's Pioneer is Often Neglected by History Books," *Orlando Sentinel*, 9 April 2000.



is today downtown Orlando.<sup>2</sup> The fort was named after Dr. John S. Gatlin, a captain in the U.S. Army during the Florida wars.<sup>3</sup> Gatlin fought and died in the Dade Massacre on December 28, 1835, when Seminoles wiped out Major Dade's entire command, save a handful of soldiers. Among the survivors was Rawson Clarke who later gave accounts of the massacre. Clarke spoke of Gatlin as a brave man who "after being severely wounded, cried out, 'I can give you no more orders my lads, do your best!'"<sup>4</sup>

Its strategic impregnability and central location made Fort Gatlin key to the American war effort. The site could only be approached from three directions meaning that surprise attacks could easily be repulsed.<sup>5</sup> Fort Gatlin also situated the Federal Army close to Fort Mellon (Sanford) and Fort Brooke (Tampa) and Seminole encampments near the Council Oak.<sup>6</sup>

A small civilian population concentrated around Fort Gatlin as a result of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842, when the United States decided to force the tribes to migrate farther south by encouraging white settlement.<sup>7</sup> The Act offered 160 acres to anyone who stayed five years, built a cabin, cultivated five acres of their land, and helped defend against Seminole attack.<sup>8</sup> Among the many homesteaders were brothers Aaron and Isaac Jernigan who moved their families and seven hundred head of cattle to the area in 1844. By 1845, Aaron Jernigan became a captain in the volunteer army at Fort Gatlin and in 1845 served as Mosquito County's first representative when Florida entered the Union.<sup>9</sup>

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2. "Narrative Statement of Significance," in Linda Stewart, comp., *Collection of Important Documents That Outline the Efforts of the Fort Gatlin Historical Group in Establishing Fort Gatlin and the Underwater Sound Reference Division of the Naval Research Laboratory as Historical Landmarks of the City of Orlando* (hereafter referred to as *CID*).

3. Eve Bacon, *A Centennial History* (Chulouta, Fla., 1975), 1; William Fremont Blackman, *History of Orange County, Florida* (Deland, Fla., 1927), 83.

4. Frank Laumer, *Dade's Last Command* (Gainesville, Fla., 1995), 239.

5. Bacon, *Orlando*, 2.

6. *Ibid.*, 2; Blackman, *Orange County*, 83. The Council Oak stood near present-day South Fern Creek Avenue. The tree is no longer alive, but a marker designates its original position. Cynthia A. Hill, "Central Florida Forts" (Individual Study Paper, Florida Technological University, 1974), 10, in *CID*.

7. Mark Andrews, "Site's Key to Orlando History: Fort Gatlin," *Orlando Sentinel*, 7 May 2000.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Kena Fries, *Orlando in the Long, Long Ago . . . and Now* (Orlando, Fla., 1938), 3-9; Stewart, *CID*.

The settlement around Fort Gatlin initially became known as Jernigan to honor Aaron Jernigan, but in 1857, citizens permanently changed the name to Orlando.<sup>10</sup> Cotton and cattle quickly became the regional staples.<sup>11</sup> Cattle rustling was widespread, and Central Florida paralleled more western territories with its gunfights and general lawlessness. Emancipation of slaves during the Civil War and a hurricane in 1871 destroyed the area's cotton industry, leading to the "orange fever" that seized residents in the 1870s. People began planting more and more citrus trees to meet the nation's demand for grapefruit, tangerines, and oranges.<sup>12</sup> The Great Freeze of 1894-1895, however, threatened the citrus industry.<sup>13</sup> Numerous orange growers, like John B. Steinmentz, sought other means of economic survival. Steinmentz converted a portion of his property into a skating rink and bathhouse, added picnic facilities and built a toboggan slide for the nearby springs. Orlando's history as a tourist destination had begun.<sup>14</sup>

In 1926, Aaron Jernigan's daughter, Martha Jernigan Tyler, died. Tyler had seen the development of Orlando into a prosperous city with electricity, telephones, cars, and even an airport.<sup>15</sup> As the last survivor of the Fort Gatlin days, Tyler had provided a living bridge to Orlando's history. As one of her last public actions, on March 27, 1924, Tyler joined fellow Daughters of the American Revolution in unveiling a marker on the site of Fort Gatlin.<sup>16</sup>

In the seventy years after Tyler's death, little was done to commemorate Fort Gatlin. Instead, the federal government built a naval research laboratory on the site in 1951 to serve as the sonar testing ground for atomic submarines. The lab remained active

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10. There is an ongoing debate as to the origins of the name Orlando. Research shows that an Orlando Rees fought in the Third Seminole War, 1855-58; Mark Andrews, "Lore about naming of Orlando makes for some fine storytelling," *Orlando Sentinel*, 11 January 1998.

11. "Orlando: You Never Outgrow It," <[http://www.orlandoinfo.com/cvb/pr/pr\\_kits/english/history2000.htm](http://www.orlandoinfo.com/cvb/pr/pr_kits/english/history2000.htm)>, 5 December 2000.

12. Bacon, *Orlando*, 74.

13. *Ibid.*, 75.

14. "Orlando: You Never Outgrow It"

15. *Ibid.*

16. "Historical Resume of Fort Gatlin," in *CID*. The marker is located on Gatlin Avenue on the southwest corner of the Underwater Sound Reference Division of the Naval Research Laboratory, which is built partially on the presumed site of old Fort Gatlin.



In 1924, Martha Tyler Jernigan and her fellow Daughters of the American Revolution commemorated the site of Fort Gatlin with a stone marker that still stands today at the corner of Gatlin Ave. and Summerlin St. in Orlando. *Courtesy of the Historical Society of Central Florida.*

throughout the Cold War. It finally closed in the 1990s, a victim of the base closings of the Clinton administration.<sup>17</sup>

When, in 1997, the Naval Research Laboratory closing was announced, preservation of the site as a historical landmark sparked a community-wide effort to fund an archeological dig and preserve Fort Gatlin and the research laboratory. Based upon the findings of Gainesville archeologist Anne Stokes, who suggested that Fort Gatlin had probably stood within or near the naval compound, area residents founded the Fort Gatlin Historical Group “to locate, assess and investigate the possibility that the U. S. Navy’s Underwater Sound Reference Laboratory contains empirical archaeological evidence of historical Fort Gatlin.”<sup>18</sup> Preservationists wished to investigate “the architectural signifi-

17. Mary Shanklin, “Pollution, fumes, asbestos plague new school offices,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 23 March 2000.

18. Kevin Spear, “Group: Halt plans while we look for historic fort,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 25 March 1997; Mark Andrews, “Old buttons, maps point way to Orlando’s origins,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 14 May 2000; “Fort Gatlin Historical Group Purpose,” in *CID*.



cance of the Navy Sound Lab main building” and “advocate for appropriate action following the investigation.”<sup>19</sup>

The group sent letters to Orange County officials requesting sufficient time to search for the fort prior to redevelopment of the Navy property.<sup>20</sup> Orange County, serving as the Local Redevelopment Authority, was charged with disposing of the research lab. Several options were being considered for reuse of the property: eight single-family homes, fifteen to twenty condos, or a park. Another possibility involved incorporating the area into the nearby city of Edgewood and moving its City Hall and Police department into the buildings of the Naval Sound Lab.<sup>21</sup> The Fort Gatlin Historical Group feared officials would lean towards the condo plan since it was the least expensive alternative.<sup>22</sup> Local opposition curbed any private building projects, however, and the presence of chemical pollutants in the lab forced the Navy to perform massive cleanups that slowed conversion of the property, affording the Fort Gatlin Historical Group more time to gather support.<sup>23</sup>

One way to guarantee preservation was to place the site on the National Register. Established under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and expanded by the National Preservation Act of 1966, the National Register promoted a mission that “historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people.”<sup>24</sup> Cosponsored by the University of Central Florida history department and the Orange County Historical Society, the application emphasized the site’s historical significance. Yet, National Register coordinator Barbara E. Mattick rejected the application because of the lack of “physical

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19. Ibid.

20. Spear, “Group: Halt plans while we look for historic fort.”

21. Sandra Mathers, “Concrete may be hiding fort where a city was born,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 2 October 1997. In 1998, another option was considered when the Orange County Sheriff’s Office expressed interest in the lab; Sandra Mathers, “Sheriff eyes old Navy lab,” *Orlando Sentinel*, 26 March 1998.

22. Mathers, “Concrete may be hiding fort where a city was born.”

23. Mathers, “Sheriff eyes old Navy lab.”

24. Julie Zagars, ed., *Preservation Yellow Pages: The Complete Information source for Homeowners, Communities, and Professionals, Revised Edition* (New York, 1997), 36; Antoinette J. Lee, ed., *Past Meets Future: Saving America’s Historic Environments* (Washington D.C., 1992), 37.

integrity and a definite and justifiable boundary."<sup>25</sup> She encouraged "further archaeological testing on the private lands in the area, perhaps with grant funding," and suggested potential sources for a grant, including the Florida Department of State.<sup>26</sup>

The proposal, *Survey Excavation and Designation of Second Seminole War Site*, was submitted to the Department of State's Bureau of Historic Preservation on December 15, 1998. The group requested \$35,000 to help maintain a budget for the excavation and survey of the Fort Gatlin site, which was targeted to begin in July 1999. Formal efforts to preserve Fort Gatlin fell short, however, when the grant was denied<sup>27</sup>

When the Fort Gatlin Historical Group sought to find out why the grant had been rejected, they discovered that the State Department would not fund both an archaeological survey and excavation within a single grant.<sup>28</sup> According to the founder of the Fort Gatlin Historical Group, Linda Stewart, the State wanted to fund several smaller projects instead of focusing available funds on one or two larger projects. In order to receive funding, the group would have to submit separate grant applications.

Meanwhile, use of the lab property remained in question. In the early months of 1998, Edgewood City Council members voted to ask the county for two of the smaller buildings in order to move the City Hall and Police Department out of their shared building on Larue Street. This option for the property had been considered since 1997, but Edgewood's hesitation had only confused the issue. By the time that the city finally requested the property, too many other options had become available.<sup>29</sup>

The Fort Gatlin Historical Group continued the search for a suitable occupant who would both secure the property and preserve the site for public use. Group members and local residents such as Linda Stewart and Lowrie Brown wanted the lab turned over to a government agency or converted into a county storage facility, thereby stalling redevelopment and assisting in the preser-

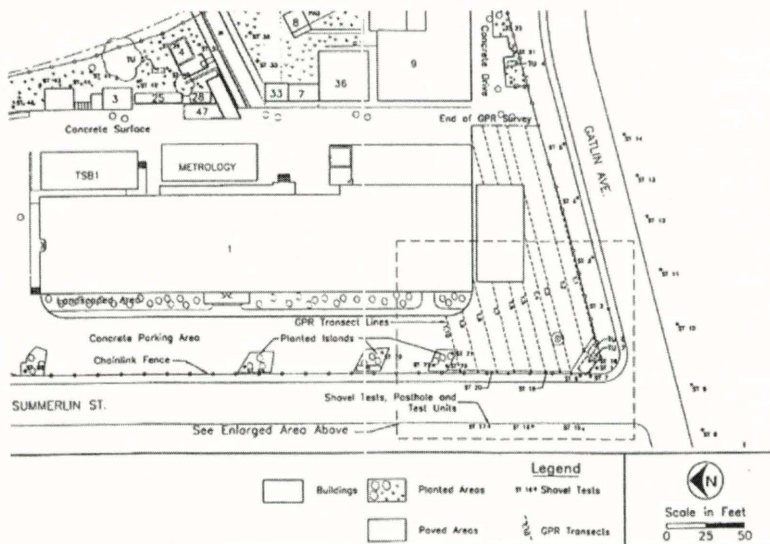
25. Barbara E. Mattick to Linda Stewart, 1997, in *CID*.

26. *Ibid*.

27. "Survey Excavation and Designation of Second Seminole War Site Grant Proposal," in *CID*.

28. Linda Stewart, telephone interview by author, Orlando, Fla., 29 October 2000.

29. Sandra Mathers, "Edgewood wants sound lab for City Hall," *Orlando Sentinel*, 8 February 1998.



Survey map of the Naval Research Laboratory. The dotted outline represents the area believed to have been the site of Fort Gatlin. From Anne V. Stokes, *An Archaeological Resource Assessment Survey of Naval Research Laboratory Underwater Sound Reference Detachment, Orlando, Orange County, Florida* (n.p., 1997), 28.

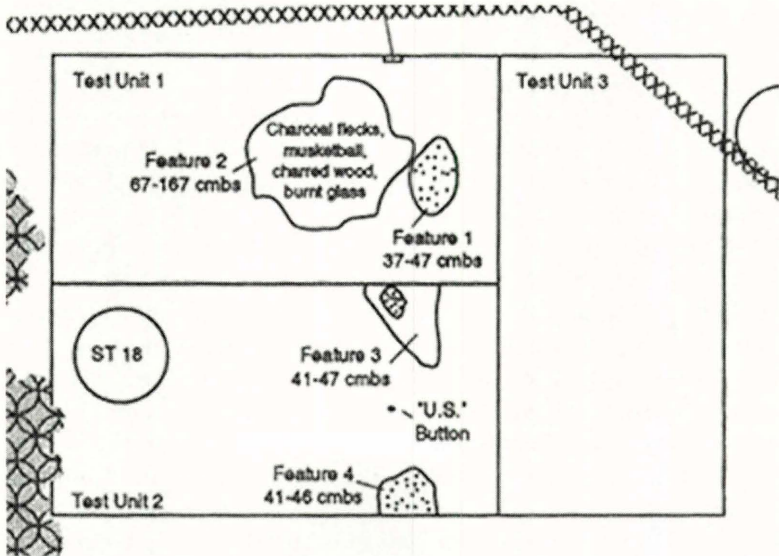
vation of the site.<sup>30</sup> Stewart promoted what some scholars of preservation have referred to as “adaptive use,” the idea that support for preservation can often be obtained when one can show that the property will remain useful for and within the community.<sup>31</sup> Edgewood had demonstrated such adaptive use with its proposal to convert the buildings for civic use and transform some of the land into a park. But Edgewood City Council members were unwilling to pay the costs.

One year later, while the Fort Gatlin Historical Group awaited word concerning the grant application, the Orange County School Board secured a deal with the county for sole possession of the

30. Ibid.

31. Arthur P. Ziegler Jr. and Walter C. Kidney, *Historic Preservation in Small Towns: A Manual of Practice* (Nashville, 1980), 49; Diane Barthel, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick: N.J., 1996), 110; Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia, 1996), 189-190.





Detailed findings of the 1997 archaeological survey at the presumed site of Fort Gatlin. Note discoveries of a musketball and a "U.S." button. From Anne V. Stokes, *An Archaeological Resource Assessment Survey of Naval Research Laboratory Underwater Sound Reference Detachment, Orlando, Orange County, Florida* (n.p., 1997), 56.

Navy Research Laboratory.<sup>32</sup> The property would be handed over free of cost along with an additional \$300,000 to defray renovation costs.<sup>33</sup> The Fort Gatlin Historical Group and local residents applauded the decision. School officials supported promoting and preserving the historical and educational significance of the site.<sup>34</sup> The School Board pledged cooperation to assist the Fort Gatlin Historical Group, the University of Central Florida, and the Orange County Historical Society in reapplying for necessary state grants to allow more thorough excavations.<sup>35</sup>

The School Board's decision represented both an actual and a moral victory for the Fort Gatlin Historical Group. Preservation is

32. Kevin Spear, "Navy lab in Orlando may resurface as school offices," *Orlando Sentinel*, 25 March 1999; idem, "Orange schools get navy's ex-sonar lab," *Orlando Sentinel*, 14 April 1999.

33. Idem, "Orange schools get navy's ex-sonar lab."

34. Idem, "Navy lab in Orlando may resurface as school offices."

35. Mark Andrews, "Old buttons, maps point way to Orlando's origins," *Orlando Sentinel*, 14 May 2000.

often sparked through fear of the immediate danger and loss of a particular part of history, although this criterion alone is not sufficient to sustain actual efforts. "Patriotic education" through visitation to preserved sites promotes preservation and justifies the efforts of the preservationist.<sup>36</sup> Converting the site into part of the country's educational system would provide direct access into Orlando's past by way of field trips and projects.

Transformation of the site from the Naval Research Laboratory into the offices of the Orange County School Board remains delayed, however, by the massive chemical cleanup. School Board District officials maintain that the property will be safe by the end of the summer of 2002. Even clean up efforts have become complicated. The State Historic Preservation Office has deemed the asbestos tiles in the lab corridors and lobbies and the creosote wood-block floor of the main building to be historic.<sup>37</sup>

As adaptive use and preservation have been delayed, concerns have heightened over the ultimate fate of the Fort Gatlin site. Several residents who favor the project are quite elderly, and Linda Stewart fears that if they should pass away, far less sympathetic owners might purchase the land and further stall plans to secure physical boundaries for the National Register. Still, there are promising circumstances as well. The site is very much the same as it was in 1997; the Naval Sound Lab and the concrete parking lot were not demolished or disturbed. Stewart and the Fort Gatlin Historical Group are thankful for this, especially the intact nature of the parking lot which they believe is covering precious artifacts that lie about two feet below the surface.<sup>38</sup> The prospect of determining boundaries based upon the presence of archeological remains, and the Orange County School Board's willingness to assist in recovering them, have kept the group optimistic.

What then can be said of the community effort to preserve part of Orlando's past? Preservation, some scholars have noted, promotes solidarity through the recognition of a collective past and integrates societies by providing a positive example of valued

36. Charles B. Hosmer Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York, 1965), 264-66.

37. Mary Shanklin, "Pollution, fumes, asbestos plague new school offices," *Orlando Sentinel*, 23 March 2002.

38. Stewart interview.

life-styles.<sup>39</sup> A 1998 survey conducted by the Fort Gatlin Historical Group revealed that an "overwhelming" majority of three hundred responses by "our neighbors" supported efforts to create a historical park. As Linda Stewart phrased it, the Fort Gatlin project had become "a serious, community based effort to see this property converted into a park with all of its unique historical, architectural and archaeological characteristics brought to life for all the citizens of Orange County."<sup>40</sup> And many of those "neighbors" would "accept reuse of the main structure for public benefit to make it financially feasible."<sup>41</sup>

In early 1998, an *Orlando Sentinel* article about the Fort Gatlin Group and its efforts was republished in *Timucuan Trails*, a newsletter for the Central Florida Anthropological Society. Accompanying it was a call for volunteers to assist in the anticipated survey of 1998.<sup>42</sup> Author, Sandra Mathers explained the group's desire "to pursue this [historic] designation on the grounds the site is broader than just the Navy Property" and stressed the importance of the area as a historical landmark for Orlando.<sup>43</sup>

When archaeologist Anne Stokes, principal investigator for Southeastern Archaeological Research Inc., began uncovering artifacts from the era of the Second Seminole War on the lab property, the "neighbors weren't surprised. They've been turning up everything from cannonballs to belt buckles and bones in their yards for years."<sup>44</sup> Stewart bragged of "200 artifacts from the fort's era unearthed by the archaeologist in a 15-square foot landscaped area at the corner of the lab property as ample evidence of historical value."<sup>45</sup> When Stokes discovered "a post hole containing some wood and charcoal" that appeared to date to the period of the 1830s, excitement abounded. Unfortunately, Stokes's final

39. Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 154; Nathan Wenberg, *Preservation in American Towns and Cities* (Boulder, Colo., 1979), 217.

40. "Edgewood Position on the Reuse of the Naval Sound Lab," in *CID*.

41. "A Presentation Given By the Fort Gatlin Historical Group," in *CID*.

42. Mary Antinozzi, ed., "Timucuan Trails: News From the Central Florida Anthropological Society, Fort Gatlin Update," January 1998 in *CID*.

43. Sandra Mathers, "History buffs remain determined to find fort," *Orlando Sentinel*, 22 December 1997.

44. Andrews, "Site's key to Orlando History: Fort Gatlin."

45. "Timucuan Trails: News From the Central Florida Anthropological Society, Fort Gatlin Update," in *CID*.



report on the lab site, released in September of 1998, proved inconclusive as to the post hole's historic value.

The mild successes of 1998 did not dampen enthusiasm. Local residents, such as Shaw Craig, agreed to allow excavation of their properties.<sup>46</sup> Cyrus H. Sharp Jr. wrote Stewart that "we support your intentions wholeheartedly and will gladly cooperate with your plans for excavation and recovery of artifacts on our property."<sup>47</sup>

The Fort Gatlin Historical Group also solicited political endorsement of the grant application. All six District County Commissioners sent letters of recommendation to the Division of Historic Resources, as did Bill McCollum and John L Mica, Florida members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Daniel Webster, Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives.<sup>48</sup>

As time passes and the status of Fort Gatlin remains unresolved, the Fort Gatlin Historical Group's demographics will become increasingly important.<sup>49</sup> At its peak, the group consisted of twenty active members, with an average age of sixty-five. At several community meetings, which exceeded two hundred people, the youngest attendees were at least thirty years old. This, Stewart hopes, will quickly change as young people from the Orange County School system become involved.<sup>50</sup> Stewart and the group think this will breathe new life into preservation efforts and help teach Central Florida's youth that their past is not only important but attainable.<sup>51</sup>

The fruition of their efforts is close at hand, but the Fort Gatlin Historical Group and the community it has come to represent must acquire the necessary funding to begin the survey and excavation of the presumed site of Fort Gatlin. Preservationists know that for their efforts to be successful, they must make their projects popular to inspire public officials' support, attract like-minded individuals or organizations, and raise morale in the community and "enliven its spirits."<sup>52</sup> To date, this has been the achievement of the Fort Gatlin Historical Group.

46. Shaw Craig to Linda Stewart, in *CID*.

47. Cyrus H. Sharp to Linda Stewart, in *CID*.

48. "Survey Excavation and Designation of Second Seminole War Site Grant Proposal," in *CID*.

49. Stewart interview.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. Ziegler, *Historic Preservation in Small Towns*, 60-61.

## Exhibition Review

### **“Opening the Door to a New World: Mark Catesby’s Travels in La Florida, 1722-1726.”**

Traveling exhibit: Florida Atlantic University, 9 November 2001-19 January 2002; Tallahassee Museum of History and Natural Science, 6 February-12 April 2002; Tampa Museum of Art, 5 May-31 August 2002; Museum of Arts and Sciences, Daytona Beach, 21 September-24 November 2002; Thomas Center Gallery, Gainesville, March 29 - May 11, 2003.

In 1994 the original watercolors of Mark Catesby, housed in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, were cleaned and conserved. At the same time, facsimiles of the 263 original watercolors were prepared using a process called *stochastic lithography*, resulting in copies almost indistinguishable from the originals. Fifty sets were produced before the plates were destroyed. One set belongs to the Special and Area Studies Collection of the George A. Smathers Libraries at the University of Florida. Forty of those prints make up the current exhibition traveling through Florida.

Mark Catesby (1682-1749), an English naturalist and artist, made two trips to North America. In 1712, he traveled to Williamsburg, Virginia, to stay with his sister. During his seven-year visit, he studied the native flora and fauna of Virginia and became well acquainted with many of the region’s planters who were interested in the natural history of the colony. He also made a short trip to Jamaica to study the natural resources of the island.

Catesby returned to America between 1722 to 1726 on a trip sponsored by wealthy, scientifically-minded patrons, including Sir Hans Sloane, founder of the British Museum. Most had large gardens and were interested in collecting specimens of plants from

the colonies. Catesby was to conduct a natural history study of Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and the Bahamas. During his travels, he collected plants, seeds, and animal specimens. He visited the highlands and wetlands of the coastal zone and islands, making sketches of plant and animal life.

*Natural History*, Catesby's publication of his research, contained eleven parts, each with twenty hand-colored etched plates and descriptions of the history, climate, resources, and peoples. Each part began with a watercolor painting, generally combining a bird and plant, a fish and water plants, animals or insects and plants. Some of the etchings for *Natural History* were direct copies of the paintings; others were edited for publication. Ultimately the original paintings became the property of King George III of England.

"Opening the Door to a New World: Mark Catesby's Travels in La Florida, 1722-1726" invites the viewer to look closer at Mark Catesby. In a very well-conceived exhibit plan, five aspects of Catesby's life and achievements are presented: the man and context in which he worked; the route of his travels; his audience and friends, mentors and assistants; the techniques he used; and his legacy. Each section begins with a panel of texts, maps, and drawings, followed by more maps and portraits, and by the all-important watercolors. The layout, as presented at Florida Atlantic University, was logical, entertaining, informative, and colorful. It carefully drew the visitor on to the next section, never overloading the senses, always allowing the watercolors to speak for themselves.

The selection of watercolors in the exhibit highlights Catesby's skills and interests. By using only forty paintings, the visitor is not overwhelmed. Accompanying texts encourage the visitor to explore the detail, and careful hanging allows for easy comparison of style and technique.

A small but excellent catalog for the show contains essays that elaborate the five elements of the exhibit. It also contains copies of all the watercolors used in the exhibit. At the Florida Atlantic University exhibition, reprint copies of *Natural History* were also available, which was valuable since the exhibit and catalog elaborate the differences between the original watercolors and the etched plates for *Natural History*. It would have been so much more helpful and interesting to have had some examples mounted side by side for comparison.



The exhibit traveling throughout Florida during the next year was conceived by Assistant Professor of Anthropology Arlene Fradkin from Florida Atlantic University and Mallory McCane O'Connor, and funded in part by the Florida Humanities Council and the National Endowment for the Humanities. They have designed a very complementary exhibit, catalog, and poster.

This is an extremely nice, small exhibit which deserves a large audience. Most people know little about Mark Catesby. They should know more, and this exhibit is a great introduction.

Sandra L. Norman

*Florida Atlantic University*

## Book Reviews

*Sinking Columbus: Contested History, Cultural Politics, and Mythmaking during the Quincentenary.* By Stephen J. Summerhill and John Alexander Williams. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xii, 219 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Summerhill and Williams, both academicians, were involved in the 500th anniversary celebration of Christopher Columbus in 1992. They tell a fascinating tale of the evolution of this recent commemoration from awe of the great admiral to the wish that he had never darkened the American shores. The celebration, they say, was upgraded from “an innocuous ethnic celebration” to a “battleground for our entire view of Western culture.” They sketch the characters who shaped the commemorative activities, spelling out institutional rivalries, generational conflicts, ethnic pride, and hostilities.

The authors describe several commemorative plans, both in the United States and abroad, in considerable detail. Spain spent lavishly; Italy had a traditional celebration; the Dominican Republic, where Columbus actually landed, was enthusiastic, but underfunded; Mexico was subdued. In the United States, John Alexander Williams served as director of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission for two years. The commission was troubled by ethnic struggles, sparse funding, and serious conflicts of interest. For example, its plans for the 1992 Chicago World’s Fair, which planners had hoped would equal the Columbian Exposition of 1893, became a victim of ethnic and party tension and conflict between the old guard and the ethnic neighborhood.

Celebrations of Columbus, most old-fashioned and ineffectual, failed. Traditional commemorative events did not ignite public interest. Still, the celebration was not so much disregarded as redirected. "Truths" about Columbus were reinterpreted in new frameworks that recognized the imperialist ethnocentrism and oppression of native peoples during European colonization. As the planners discovered, traditional Columbian programs, insensitive to indigenous people, were shipwrecked on populist shores.

How could poor heroic Columbus be so demonized? For the previous two hundred years, he had benefited from selective memory. Every bad thing he ever did, long a part of the public record, had been forgotten. In 1992, he was newly blamed and condemned for his rediscovered faults. Earlier Columbus had been forgiven much because he was gallant and brave, a poor boy who succeeded, a devout Christian, and most importantly, because he was needed to begin the American story. Now our story has other first chapters. We no longer need Columbus to begin the Western Hemisphere and the United States, and he has consequently fallen from grace.

Columbus's discovery has been redefined as an encounter, as the exchange of people, plants, and diseases. Whether Columbus was the first European to arrive in the western hemisphere is now beside the point. Someone else would have opened the "new world" soon enough. Columbus, however, achieved a public relations coup. As the book notes, he returned to Europe, held a press conference, and got government funding to return.

According to Summerhill and Williams, some successful activities did take place in his name. The "Honeymoon Project" was a symbolic "wedding of worlds" of the Statue of Liberty and Columbus; Miss Liberty's immense trousseau was displayed in Las Vegas in commemoration. Two Washington exhibitions, "Circa 1492" at the National Gallery and "Seeds of Change" at the Smithsonian, got high marks, but neither had much to say about the Admiral of the Ocean Seas. "Expo 92" in Seville was a success. The tour of reproduction caravels was admired, though only one proved seaworthy. The authors celebrate the opening of the New York branch of the Museum of the American Indian in the neo-classical Custom House, with its imperialist sculpture and stained-glass Columbus.

While the official Quincentenary may have failed, the authors argue that it succeeded because it failed. It became a celebration



of the other. Columbus is now in disgrace, but he provided the context for debating diversity and tolerance, myth and history. In the mirror of Columbus we reevaluated the meaning of the past five hundred years. From this experience, we can expect that Columbus will continue to reemerge reinterpreted, enhanced, and diminished as the world debates the future meaning of the past. Our present disgust is another phase of his enduring myth, the great admiral led home in chains. Despite the criticism in 1992, he was surely celebrated even by those who wrote negative books and poured blood on his statues.

Meanwhile, this detailed retrospection should be required reading by anyone planning a celebration. There are many lessons here.

Claudia L. Bushman

Columbia University

*The Wreck of the Belle, The Ruin of La Salle.* By Robert S. Weddle. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001. xvii, 327 pp. List of illustrations, foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

As a historian I should know better than to say that any book is the last word on the subject, but I find it difficult to imagine anyone revisiting the complete story of La Salle's effort to establish a French colony on the Texas coast any time soon. *The Wreck of the Belle, The Ruin of La Salle* is as authoritative and detailed a study as we are likely to get, barring the discovery of new documentary sources that might have eluded the author. That seems unlikely, given that Weddle has been on La Salle's trail for over thirty years. In 1973, he published *Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle*, and since then he has produced a series of works discussing the Gulf of Mexico and various aspects of the La Salle odyssey that have shed considerable light on the early European colonization of the northern Gulf of Mexico region. With this latest entry, the author comes full circle, tying up all the various threads of research and conjecture while telling the French side of the story.

The title of the book refers to the author's muse, for during the 1990s, archeologists working for the Texas Historical Commission excavated the *Belle*, one of two La Salle ships to wreck

along the Texas coast. Archeological work at the site of La Salle's post near Matagorda Bay has added detail on the doomed French colony. (The archeological evidence backs Weddle's contention that the post on Garcitas Creek was never called "Fort Saint Louis," as historians have come to call it, because it was never substantial enough to merit the designation). Recent documentary investigations and re-translations of existing documents have also shed new light on La Salle's project and on the man himself. Weddle has taken all the new information and rethought what was previously known, believed, and speculated about the subject, and presented us with a reinterpretation of characters, motives, and events.

To begin with, La Salle is no longer the great explorer but bumbling surveyor of past interpretations. He is a deeply flawed and unsympathetic individual: paranoid, egotistical and selfish, and abusive of the people under his command. Weddle's portrait of La Salle is unflattering enough to make his murder at the hands of his own men, if not justifiable, at least understandable. It turns out, however, that La Salle was not only manipulative himself (for instance, hiding the fact that he wanted to sail west of the Mississippi in order to be closer to the silver mines of Mexico) but himself manipulated by his partners and promoters. These, including Louis XIV, hoped to profit in various ways from his scheme to wrest Spain's richest colony from the imbecilic Charles II. Perhaps La Salle's most unpardonable decision was his initial order to shoot Indians on sight (so much for the myth of universally friendly French-Indian relations). By the time the colonists realized the consequences of treating native people as hostile, the Karankawan bands were so incensed that reconciliation was impossible. They killed off the colony as soon as they got their chance.

If La Salle comes out the worse for Weddle's close examination of his previous career and decision-making during the Texas expedition, most of those with him do not fare much better. Recruitment practices that included deception and turning a blind eye to serious character flaws left the expedition handicapped with large numbers of men who were incompetent to establish any sort of viable French presence on the Gulf coast. The clergy that accompanied the expedition consisted of men generally more interested in acquiring rich dioceses for themselves in Mexico than in tending to the spiritual needs of their fellow expeditionaries. At least the young engineer who signed up for the project had sense enough to foresee its failure and return to France on the *Jolly*, a

French naval vessel whose captain had been at odds with La Salle from the beginning. As the extensive primary and secondary sources are analyzed and interpreted by Weddle, it is impossible to find the slightest ray of hope for success in the venture.

*The Wreck of the Belle, the Ruin of La Salle* is not light reading, but it is rewarding. The author's meticulous analysis and narrative approach has produced a very detailed work, perhaps overly detailed for all but the most diehard fans of exploration history. For historians of North American colonial history, particularly exploration history, it is an indispensable addition to their libraries.

Jesús F. de la Teja

*Southwest Texas State University*

***Assessing Site Significance: A Guide for Archaeologists and Historians.***

By Donald L. Hardesty and Barbara Little. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press, 2000. xi, 184 pp. Foreword, preface, glossary, index, about the authors. \$23.95 paper. \$62.00 cloth.)

Historic archaeological sites are important parts of the archaeological record, and significant sites should be nominated to and listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The older the historic archaeological site, the more apparent is its potential significance. For instance, most researchers would agree that a well-preserved early eighteenth-century frontier site that was occupied for only twenty years would be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. However, among archaeologists and cultural resource managers, there is a great deal of debate about the potential significance of more recent historic archaeological sites, such as late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century farmsteads.

In this book, the authors provide a framework for evaluating the significance of all types of historic archaeological sites and for nominating both early and more recent historic archaeological resources to the National Register of Historic Places. It should be noted, however, that the title of this book is somewhat misleading, for it gives the impression that the book is about assessing the significance of all archaeological sites, prehistoric as well as historic. The book only deals with historic archaeological sites. This book would have been applicable to, and used by, a broader segment of



the archaeological community and cultural resource managers if the authors had had included chapters on prehistoric archaeological sites as well.

The book is organized in two parts. The first part provides an overview of the National Register nomination process. The authors outline a five-step process for determining if a property is eligible for listing in the National Register. The first is to assign the archaeological site to a property type. Once a site has been assigned a property type, one must determine (step two) the historic contexts that are applicable to the property. The third step in the nomination process is to evaluate the site with respect to National Register Criteria A-D, and the fourth step is to determine if the property type qualifies for listing in the National Register. The final step in the nomination process involves an evaluation of the property to determine if it retains sufficient integrity (how well is it preserved) to convey its significance.

Archaeological sites can be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A (important in national, state, or local history), B (association with an important person), and/or C (architectural qualities), and/or D (scientific data content). The authors provide examples of historic archaeological sites that qualify for listing in the National Register under one or several of these four categories. Most archaeological sites qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion D.

Part One concludes with a discussion of how to evaluate the significance of an historic archaeological site. Data sources are reviewed, and it is noted that a site must be evaluated with respect to the quality of the information available both in historic documents and in the archaeological record. In evaluating a site, occupation span, the site's uniqueness, and its visibility in the archaeological record are other factors that need to be considered.

Most historic archaeological resources can be assigned to one of the following property groups: linear sites, such as roads, trails, and canals; industrial sites, such as iron furnaces and grist mills; domestic sites, such as farmsteads and rural villages; and large scale sites, such as plantations, mining districts, and military sites. As such, the second part of the book is broken down by these different groups of historic archaeological sites; for each group, the authors identify research domains and case studies. The book also contains a glossary of terms for the non-archaeologist.

This book would be useful for archaeologists, historians, and cultural resource managers. It is an excellent reference tool for anyone interested in nominating historic archaeological sites to the National Register of Historic Places and could be used as a textbook in a cultural resource management class, providing a framework for evaluating historic archaeological sites and identifying a broad range of research questions that can be addressed at historic archaeological sites.

David Pollack

*Kentucky Archaeological Survey*

***Paynes Prairie: A History of the Great Savanna.*** By Lars Andersen. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, Inc., 2001. x, 156 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$14.95 cloth.)

For the last twelve thousand years or so, the wide expanse of freshwater marsh and grassy plain presently known as Paynes Prairie has provided the fertile resources necessary for human habitation. Located between Gainesville to the north and the small town of Micanopy to the south, the twenty-thousand-acre wilderness area is now a wildlife refuge and state park. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the prairie, along with its nearby lakes and hardwood hammocks, was in close proximity to Paynes Town, the former head village of Seminole chief "King" Payne. The earliest pioneer settlements in the interior of East Florida were located in the region as well. Unfortunately, Paynes Prairie's unique historical heritage has not often been explored. For this reason I was particularly hopeful that Lars Andersen's history of what naturalist William Bartram once dubbed the "great Alachua savanna" would be a useful addition to a very sparse body of work.

Andersen, who operates an outdoor tour guide business in Alachua County, states that his primary intention was to supplement the knowledge of tourists who visit the Paynes Prairie State Preserve. Tourist guide books, of course, are limited in scope, and it was a disappointment to discover that the author did not rise above the genre. The absence of endnotes and an uninspired bibliography further limits its usefulness. A puzzling omission is the lack of any map that shows the prairie's location. The title itself is something of a misnomer since the author spends most of his time

dealing with surrounding towns and settlements—many of which are some distance from the prairie itself.

Andersen briefly touches upon most of the key historical events: De Soto's expedition, the establishment of the largest Spanish cattle ranch in Florida—*Rancho de la Chua*, the Patriot Rebellion, the founding of Micanopy and Gainesville, as well as the onset of the Second Seminole War. Clearly, these are subjects that warrant serious analysis and at least a modicum of contextual background. Andersen's brusque style, essentially a distillation of secondary sources, contributes very little and, in many instances, contains distortions and factual errors.

While it is beyond the scope of this review to go into great detail, factual errors include Andersen's misidentification of Peliklakaha, which he states as being "Micanopy's Town" rather than "Abraham's Old Town"—a satellite village of Chief Micanopy and the home of the powerful black Seminole leader Abraham. The author's discussion of Moses Elias Levy, one of Florida's most interesting pioneer settlers and the father of Senator David Levy Yulee, is also inaccurate. Among other things, Andersen labels Levy's Pilgrimage Plantation as a distinct "village" and holds the mistaken notion that he operated a second plantation called "Hogmasters Lakes" when in reality they were one and the same. In addition, the author states that settlers Edward Wanton and Horatio Dexter conferred with Chief Micanopy before building the town that was eventually named after him. However, documents contradict this assertion. Furthermore, apparently unaware of new evidence to the contrary, Andersen adheres to the idea that Fort Mitchell—erected in close proximity to the prairie in 1814 during the Patriot Rebellion—was located "east of today's Ocala."

Despite Andersen's claim of exploring "countless documents and historical collections," his bibliography is heavily skewed toward secondary sources. Glaring omissions include such basics as *The Territorial Papers of the United States* as well as any citation from territorial newspapers. He neglects the highly valuable James D. Glunt Papers and the Reuben Charles Papers at the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, both of which include highly pertinent primary sources. The *Crown Collection of Early American Maps*, also at the Yonge Library, would have been a logical addition to the book since it contains some of the earliest maps of Paynes Prairie and delineates the general area known by the Spanish as *Tierras de la Chua*. Glunt's "Plantation and



Frontier Records of East and Middle Florida, 1789-1868" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1930) would have provided excellent background. Finally, my own article, "Fort Mitchell and the Settlement of the Alachua Country," *FHQ* 79 (Summer 2000), not only places Patriot involvement in the area into historical perspective but establishes Fort Mitchell's location at the southern rim of the prairie near the present town of Micanopy.

Chris Monaco

*Micanopy, Fla.*

***Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas.*** By Sally E. Hadden. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. xi, 340 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Professor Sally Hadden has illuminated a subject about which there have been many suppositions and little comprehensive research. Hadden's most important contribution is her cogent analysis of the continuous development that slave patrol systems underwent. She has also shown that the class structure of slave patrol systems was more diverse than historians have previously assumed. Particularly in the Virginia and Carolina colonies, planters were as regularly involved in the actual night patrols as were "poor whites." Later there as a heavier representation of lower-class men, but even then the authorities who oversaw slave patrolling were often planters. The composition of urban slave patrolling could also be somewhat diverse.

Hadden looks closely at the colonial origins of slave patrolling. The more Africans were imported, the more laws and patrols would be needed, first to capture runaways and next to ensure white control over enslaved black people. Occasionally, the need arose to arm slaves to fight foreign soldiers or Indians, but when white men fought the same enemies they left an enforcement gap at home that planters and government officials had to fill. Slave control therefore became paramount. As slavery expanded in the Old Dominion, white Virginians faced fewer threats from Indians in settled areas and therefore concentrated on keeping slaves under control.

Professor Hadden fully describes the duties and behavior of patrollers. Patrolling was regular, not sporadic. The patrollers broke up what they defined as unlawful or suspicious meetings.

Patrollers watched for runaways as well. In some cases, patrollers had been instructed as to their legal authority; in other cases they were not. There were also two potential checks on their behavior. One was masters who refused to allow patrollers on their property or who resented patrollers whipping slaves the planters presumably controlled. Another check was slaves' ingenuity in evading patrollers and their occasional violent resistance or reprisals. As readers of slave narratives know, enslaved victims of patroller brutality had particularly vivid memories of their experiences. Documented patroller reliance on guns, whips, ropes, and other weapons to overawe slaves confirms the formerly enslaved narrators' points of view.

Patrollers had to be especially vigilant when slave plotting was feared or uncovered and during wars. Yet, authorities exercised more control over patrollers during insurrection scares or outbreaks to ensure discovery of any plots' origins. Awareness of white vulnerability during wartime led to even more patrolling to prevent rebellion. The Civil War was obviously a special case because of the direct threat the Union Army presented to slavery. Because of the drain on manpower, white leaders had to rely increasingly on men who would ordinarily have been rejected as patrollers. (At one point, even University of North Carolina preachers and faculty served on patrol.)

Union troops who took over formerly Confederate territory even acted as patrollers while some local police forces maintained control of African Americans, now feared as free and ready to revolt. Hadden is particularly clear about the continuity of slave patrol practices through Reconstruction: there could be no more slave patrols, but patrols still enforced the Black Codes until military rule began. Even then Union officers' and authorities' racism limited their will to protect ex-slaves. With the Black Codes eliminated and military rule established, white men "resumed patrolling, this time as vigilantes." Professor Hadden shows that these vigilantes (including the Ku Klux Klan) used old patrolling techniques, but with a difference. Now there were fewer limits on their behavior than during slavery. One point of disguises and hoods was to limit vigilantes' legal liability. In the final pages, Professor Hadden effectively analyzes connections between slave patrols, post-bellum vigilante groups, and later police behavior.

Sally Hadden's study successfully corrects previous misconceptions about, and considerably improves our knowledge of, slave

patrols in Virginia and the Carolinas. Hadden's concentration on three slave colonies and states has the strength of illuminating the details concerning slave patrols in those places. But by 1860, only about one-third of the South's slave population lived in Virginia and the Carolinas. Hadden only occasionally alludes to slave patrolling in other colonies and states. Hopefully, studies of some of the Gulf States in particular will appear later.

Someone should have written a book like this a long time ago. Hadden's successful study of slave patrols in parts of the Upper South has largely corrected this problem.

Philip Schwarz

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***General William S. Harney: Prince of Dragoons.*** By George Rollie Adams. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. xix, 389 pp. List of illustrations, list of maps, preface, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth.)

Although little remembered today, William Selby Harney was an important and controversial figure in the nineteenth-century regular army. During a career that spanned half a century, he earned a reputation as an effective frontier commander and one of the army's leading experts on Indian relations. He also manifested frequent outbursts of violent temper and brutal behavior and engaged in independent, unauthorized actions that on one occasion threatened to embroil the nation in a foreign war. In the first modern biography of Harney, George Rollie Adams presents a carefully balanced account of the general's career and in the process contributes to our knowledge of the frontier army.

Born in Tennessee in 1800, Harney grew up in the individualistic, violent white male culture of the southern frontier. Appointed a second lieutenant of infantry in 1818, he served throughout the 1820s at army garrisons in the Old Northwest. During a brief stint as a paymaster during the 1830s, he beat a slave woman to death in a fit of rage, for which he demonstrated no remorse and managed to evade conviction for murder. In 1836, Harney was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the Second Dragoon Regiment, and he first won acclaim for his aggressive leadership in the Second Seminole War in Florida. In particular, he pioneered riverine warfare—the use of small detachments in



boats to penetrate the Everglades and root out the Seminole hiding places—and he also acted with ruthless vindictiveness toward resisting Indians, summarily hanging captured warriors. Rash to the point of irresponsibility, Harney violated orders at the outbreak of the Mexican War by launching an independent invasion of Mexican territory, though he later performed ably in Winfield Scott's march to Mexico City. During the 1850s, he served as an administration trouble-shooter, handling a variety of difficult assignments, including the suppression of filibustering on the Rio Grande border and sectional violence in Kansas. On a punitive expedition in 1855, he brutally crushed a band of Brule Sioux, thereby helping to set a pattern for western Indian operations that would continue long after the Civil War.

Harney's most controversial action occurred while commanding in the Pacific Northwest in 1859. On his own authority, he ordered a detachment of regulars to occupy San Juan Island in Puget Sound, part of an archipelago claimed by both the United States and Great Britain. The British dispatched forces to the scene, a war scare resulted, and only forbearance by both governments prevented bloodshed. Although Harney stood by the Union at the outbreak of the Civil War, his southern background caused suspicion, and his failure to take strong action against Confederate sympathizers in Missouri led the Lincoln administration to suspend him from command. In retirement after the Civil War, Harney served as a key member of the Indian Peace Commission, a panel that sought with limited success to end Indian-white violence on the Great Plains by convincing the tribes to settle on reservations.

Since Harney left few personal papers, Adams has painstakingly reconstructed his life through official army records, the papers of other army officers, and a range of local and family sources. He is especially effective in relating the general to the broader context of the nineteenth-century military profession and the army's role in national expansion. In assessing his subject, Adams attempts to strike a scrupulously even balance between Harney's glaring warts and his contributions as an effective frontier campaigner and later supporter of the Indians. By stressing the general's virtues, he may slip at times into the biographer's pitfall of overly identifying with his subject. By any standard of judgment, Harney was a crude and violent bully, and his chronic belligerence and disregard for authority set him increasingly apart

from the professional, West Point trained officers who by mid-century had come to dominate the army's junior and middle grades. His paternalism toward Native Americans resembled attitudes widely held in the officer corps and in any case applied mainly to those tribesmen who had been defeated and were under his control. Nevertheless, Adams has produced an admirable biography of a neglected figure and made a solid contribution to frontier military history.

William B. Skelton

*University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point*

***The Richmond Campaign of 1862: The Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days.*** Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xv, 272 pp. Introduction, bibliographic essay, contributors, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

When asked to cite the major battles in the eastern theater of the American Civil War, most scholars, students, and Civil War "buffs" point to the titanic struggles at Antietam and Gettysburg, the two confrontations at Manassas, and the bloody fights at Chancellorsville and Petersburg. The Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days, however, usually do not rank high on their list as crucial battles. Gary W. Gallagher, the John Nau Professor of History at the University of Virginia, sees this as a serious oversight. He argues that the Union army's failed attempt to seize the Confederate capital in the spring and summer of 1862 and the subsequent Confederate counterattack deserve to be assigned greater importance. In the *Richmond Campaign of 1862*, Gallagher and eight other essayists make a strong case for Gallagher's contention that the Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days constituted a turning point in the Civil War.

Gallagher provides the introduction and opening essay of the book. The other essays belong to William A. Blair, Keith S. Bohannon, Peter S. Carmichael, John T. Hubbell, R.E.L. Krick, Robert K. Krick, James Marten, and William J. Miller. All of the essays are well researched and highly readable. They range in length from twelve to twenty-seven pages, and each one is followed by ample footnotes. Maps detailing the unfolding of the struggle on the Peninsula, Civil War era drawings and photographs of offi-

cers who participated in the fighting, and pictures of significant battle sites taken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries adorn the essays and serve as helpful aids to understanding the pivotal events of the Richmond campaign. Gallagher also includes a short bibliographical essay citing major primary and secondary sources dealing with the fighting on the Peninsula.

In the introduction, Gallagher establishes the campaign's strategic, military, and diplomatic significance. By successfully defending Richmond and driving the Federals off the Peninsula, the Confederate army spoiled Union strategists' hopes of ending the war quickly. In the light of the Federal army's failure to take Richmond, harsher methods of waging war, including emancipation, seemed unavoidable to Union strategists. President Lincoln probably would not have considered such harsh tactics had the Confederate capital fallen to Federal troops. William A. Blair concurs with this point in his essay focusing on the demands of northern radicals to prosecute the war more vigorously after the failure of the Peninsula campaign. Ironically, "rebel" success on the battlefields around Richmond may have been the greatest threat to the Confederates' cherished institution of slavery.

Gallagher also explains that success came at a high price, since in their defense of the capital, the rebels sustained heavier losses than Union forces. For the first time, Robert E. Lee showed the tenacity in combat on which his fame would eventually rest. But, as Gallagher points out, some historians argue that Lee's aggressive style of warfare may have unnecessarily drained the Army of Northern Virginia of manpower, thereby hastening its defeat.

The struggle for Richmond was also noted by foreign observers. The Confederate defense of the city enhanced the rebels reputation among British and French leaders, both of whom were considering recognizing the Confederacy. The Battle of Antietam, generally regarded as a northern victory which dampened support for the Confederacy in European capitals, was still two months away when the Union effort to seize the Confederate capital came to an end.

*The Richmond Campaign of 1862* includes essays that focus on three officers who played major roles in the Peninsula campaign and the Seven Days: George B. McClellan, Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, and John Bankhead Magruder. John Hubbell and William Miller agree with the general view of McClellan as a timid officer, who showed neither the intelligence nor the fortitude to command



an entire army. Robert K. Krick attributes Jackson's poor showing during the fighting to physical exhaustion brought on by sleep deprivation, while Peter Carmichael finds Magruder's lack of emotional control under stress hard to explain. Carmichael points to Magruder's excessive drinking as a possible contributing factor to his bizarre and erratic behavior. Following the end of the fighting on the Peninsula, Confederate officials transferred Magruder to the Trans-Mississippi theater, a move the general welcomed. Magruder's performance was better in the new venue.

These and other essays, such as the ones dealing with the impressive rebel victory at the Battle of Gaines' Mill and the Union triumph at Malvern Hill, make *The Richmond Campaign of 1862* worth reading, although this collection of essays will probably never rank as a major work. The University of North Carolina Press published the book as part of a series titled "Military Campaigns of the Civil War." According to Gallagher, they plan to continue the series with similar examinations of other important battles waged in the eastern theater.

Jim Humphreys

Mississippi State University

***The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print.*** By Harold Honzer, Gabor S. Borritt, and Mark E. Neely Jr. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001. xxi, 234 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Written to accompany an exhibit at Gettysburg College in 1984, this book was originally published as both a catalogue and a hard-bound volume [Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Borritt, and Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print*, (New York: Scribner Press, 1984) and idem, *Changing the Lincoln Image* (Fort Wayne, Ind: Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum, 1985)]. The reprint differs only in its new preface, and must therefore be evaluated as a work not changed in almost two decades, with no reference to more recent works.

The volume offers a well-illustrated work that explains "how a primitive industry shaped its unappreciative subjects for a passionately political audience." The authors deftly emphasize key elements: the technical and commercial aspects of print-making, the

importance of popular politics in nineteenth-century America, and the roles that images played in private and political life. Because of its original link to an exhibit, only free-standing prints are studied, foreclosing comparisons with images in journals or newspapers. The study deals with Lincoln's election, the war, and the period after the president's assassination.

The authors examine the varying qualities of Lincoln images, from paintings seen largely by an elite (unless they were the basis for prints), to amateurish engravings and lithographs cobbled together from photos, portraits, or other prints, in which proportion and perspective played a most limited role. As they note, the prints represented a commercial response to popular demand, but offer the historian an excellent source of material to understand nineteenth-century political and domestic culture. Emphasizing the context in which images of Lincoln must be understood, the authors portray a culture in which political figures were heroes and celebrities, of great interest to the general public, who hung their engravings in the parlor or mounted them in family albums.

Elements of technique and entrepreneurship played a larger role in representations than might have been expected, for innovations in technique and distribution made images widely available in the 1860s. Engravers and lithographers used paintings and photographs to create images of some accuracy and modest price, while quite a few pirated others' works, adding to the market cheap but inaccurate images. Some sly printers added Lincoln's face to existing engravings, such as a mezzotint that originally celebrated the Compromise of 1850, in which Lincoln's face replaced that of the much-shorter Calhoun. Representations of Lincoln evolved in stages, according to the authors. As a dark horse candidate, voters were anxious to get a sense of the candidate, especially as he was reputed to be ugly. Once that need was met and a beard was added, a lull ensued until the Emancipation Proclamation produced a new image of Lincoln as Moses, the Great Emancipator. Popular and widely circulated, images of Lincoln showed him meeting African Americans, deliberating with his cabinet, or signing the Proclamation. As the authors note, the age was one of sentimentalism and separate spheres, and this new view of Lincoln suited well the "civic religion" of patriotic Americans.

If Lincoln had taken on attributes of Moses in his lifetime, his assassination on Good Friday, April 14, 1865, led to his identification with Christ. The authors find this "one of the more remark-

able cultural phenomena of our history”—a lasting myth with elements of “religious fervor, superstition, the retrospective impact of Lincoln’s own last public utterances, and popular art.” A variety of imaginative prints poured forth, showing the act of assassination or its planning (with a devil whispering in Booth’s ear) or deathbed scenes with important political and military leaders who were supposedly present. Too quickly, angels began to appear, as did the figure of George Washington to welcome Lincoln into Heaven. These were followed by prints of the Lincoln family seated together in loving domesticity, by far the most popular scene, despite the fact that son Robert had been away at college or war, while young Willie had died in 1862.

This study is clearly argued and offers thoughtful material for those interested in the period. This reader regrets the brevity of the preface, which does not assess recent scholarship. Studies of visual and material culture have flourished in recent decades, as has gender history, and both offer insights into this volume’s attention to domesticity and popular culture. This book is therefore welcome as a resource, but less useful than it might otherwise have been.

Carole Elizabeth Adams

*University of Central Florida*

***Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia.*** By Jane Dailey. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. ix, 278 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth. \$17.95 paper.)

In the 1870s, a \$40 million debt crippled Virginia governance. State politics became polarized between “Funders,” who insisted that the commonwealth meet its financial obligations, and “Readjusters,” who advocated partial repudiation of the debt. Led by William Mahone, the Readjusters forged an alliance between black Republicans and disaffected whites, mostly small farmers and mountain people, and in 1879 captured control of the state government. Over the next four years, the Readjusters scaled down the debt, lowered taxes, increased school monies, liberalized the suffrage laws, and substantially elevated the role of African Americans in state and local government. Then, in 1883, beset by internecine strife and Democratic race baiting, the Readjusters fell from power and quickly disappeared as a political force.



Jane Dailey's *Before Jim Crow* is not a general history of the Readjuster party. Rather, it is a study of the racial tensions generated by Readjuster reform. Blacks comprised a majority of the Readjuster voting base, and in consequence received substantial patronage from the Readjusters's success. A sizable share of federal, state, and local jobs went to blacks in the Readjuster years. The author believes these black advances generated racial tensions that caused the Readjusters's downfall.

The Readjusters embraced a set of ideas that the author defines as "Readjuster liberalism." In addition to scaling down the debt, Readjuster liberalism included universal male suffrage, free public schools, fair taxes, and in general, governance based on the civil and political equality of all men. White and black Readjuster liberalism, however, contained notable differences. Crucial to white Readjuster liberalism was the separation of "public" and "private" spheres. To white reformers, civil and political equality in the public realm—business and politics—left whites free to discriminate in the private realm of home and family. When conservative Democrats warned, as they invariably did, about the dangers of miscegenation, white Readjusters pointed to Virginia's laws prohibiting interracial sex and marriage. These proscriptive laws, they argued, preserved the authority of white males to protect their wives and children from the intrusion of black men. In other words, public equality did not mean social equality. Black Readjusters, on the other hand, rejected this component of white Readjuster ideology. To blacks, the distinction between public and private was artificial and blatantly discriminatory. The anti-miscegenation statutes, they argued, denied black men the full rights of honor and manhood enjoyed by whites, branding them as inferiors. A man who could not marry whom he chose, by definition, was not master of his private affairs.

The free public schools, a legacy of the Underwood Constitution, brought the conflict between these competing notions of Readjuster liberalism into the open. Black Readjusters accepted racial segregation in the classroom, but not in school administration and governance. They wanted black teachers in black schools and black representatives on local school boards. Under Readjuster governor William E. Cameron, blacks in Petersburg, Richmond, Norfolk, and other Virginia cities gained ground on both issues, even when it meant firing white teachers. These gains, Dailey contends, generated a backlash among

Virginia whites, most of which had hitherto ignored Democratic warnings of "Negro domination." A Richmond newspaper cartoon from the 1883 election graphically shows how the Democrats capitalized on the issue. In the cartoon, the word "Coalition" is written on a blackboard next to a drawing of a donkey (a miscegenation symbol). In the foreground, a black male teacher is preparing to spank a white girl. The cartoon vividly demonstrates the impingement of public and private spheres. Fear of black influence in the schools, in concert with the Danville Riot, Dailey argues, probably cost the Readjusters the 1883 election, a defeat from which the movement never recovered.

While Dailey's delineation of racial nuances in Readjuster-era politics is persuasive, her overall thesis is less so. In essence, she offers race as a mono-causal explanation of the Readjusters's downfall. Not only is her evidence largely anecdotal, her interpretation ignores other obvious sources of Readjuster weakness. Their reforms of state government notwithstanding, the Readjusters came to power as a one-issue party: readjustment of the state debt. And as the author observes, they never truly abandoned their old party allegiances. They remained Republican Readjusters and Democratic Readjusters. With the passage of the 1881 Riddleberger Act, the reformers achieved their main goal and simultaneously eliminated the one issue that gave the party its cohesion. Thereafter, lacking any central program, the Readjusters succumbed to factional infighting, exacerbated by national politics and "Mahoneism." Democratic race baiting was important, but clearly it was not the alpha and omega of the Readjusters's demise. *Before Jim Crow* is a valuable addition to the Readjuster literature, but James T. Moore's *Two Paths to the New South* remains essential reading.

Ted Tunnell

Virginia Commonwealth University

***Making Freedom Pay: North Carolina Freedpeople Working for Themselves, 1865-1900.*** By Sharon Ann Holt. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. xxiii, 188 pp. List of figures and tables, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusions, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth.)

*Making Freedom Pay* celebrates the vision and achievements of the first generation of freedpeople in North Carolina. While

emancipated African Americans could not shape the political, social, and economic terms of post-war race relations in America by themselves, they could claim certain kinds of freedoms through their daily decisions about how they lived lives. Holt argues that freedpeople insisted upon "the right to work for themselves, to save for themselves, to build for themselves, and to define themselves for their communities on their own terms." While past generations of historians have established the oppressive effects of sharecropping and tenant farming upon African Americans, and the equally devastating effects of Jim Crow, Holt moves us beyond this scholarship by carefully detailing the complex ways freedpeople deliberately advanced themselves through their economic lives. Her work is also a fine complement to and expansion on that of Laura Edwards who, in *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction*, argues that whites pressed freedmen into marriage and households to ensure their responsibility for their dependents, whereas African Americans sought households as a means to secure independence.

An elaboration of her award-winning 1994 article in *The Journal of Southern History*, Holt's slim monograph is based on a close analysis of African-American farmers in Granville County, North Carolina. This black majority county in the tobacco-growing piedmont, where blacks made up 5 percent of the land owning population, experienced modest gains in the 1880s as a result of the bright leaf tobacco boom. To reconstruct these freedpeople's financial histories, Holt makes effective use of county records, especially tax lists, land deeds, and lien and mortgage records; she also consulted a wide array of other sources, including manuscript collections, church records, and state documents.

Holt finds that freedpeople designed an economic system based on the household that allowed them to control their own labor outside farm tenancy and accumulate property, often unbeknownst to the landlord. Informal and fluid, household production could be generated by all members of the family, young and old, male and female, wage-working and unemployed. Home-based goods and services could be consumed at home, or traded, bartered, or sold with whites and blacks throughout the community. Freedpeople refused to allow women to labor in the sharecropper's fields, Holt contends, because their labor—whether cultivating vegetables, taking in



sewing, or selling butter and eggs—was essential to the success of the household economy.

In an intriguing chapter on the southern credit system, Holt shows that African Americans used debt to advance their opportunities. Although taking out loans seems counter intuitive to financial success given the history of southern credit, black farmers in Granville County shrewdly juggled their debt responsibilities to maximize their household's interests without taking on undue risk. While even the best of debt strategies could fail, it is clear from Holt's evidence that African Americans made informed decisions about when and how to take on debt, repay it, and build their properties. Their goal, Holt reminds us, was to own a farm, a quest she labels "The New North Star." Holt concludes with a chapter on community-building as the by-product of African American property accumulation that does not fit the tight argument of her previous chapters. The acquisition of land, she wants to argue, was the springboard from which freedpeople in North Carolina could build their own communities through schools and especially churches.

Holt's work as a whole begs bigger questions and more research. How representative of freedpeople's experience in the South was Granville County, since it was predominately black, had experienced modest prosperity as a result of rising tobacco prices, and contained such a high number of rural black property owners? It is unlikely that many other southern counties could duplicate the degree of autonomy Granville County African Americans carved out for themselves as a result of their unique location and economy combined with their work habits and acquisition patterns. But such comparisons, especially in the cotton South, would be well worth pursuing. It also would be significant to contrast the household decision-making and accumulation patterns of Granville County African Americans with those of poor whites in neighboring tobacco counties and even elsewhere in the South. Only through such comparisons can we better understand how other poor southerners, black and white, used their household economy and property-holdings as vehicles for their own emancipation.

In the end, Holt's fine book reminds us that the struggles and successes of these marginal tobacco farmers are not unique to the history of the American South but in fact are characteristic of all people on the margins of society. Whether agricultural laborers or

post-industrial wage-workers, poor people around the globe have always known that household production is integral to their survival, just as we know that their work, in all their variety, is integral to national growth and prosperity.

Michele Gillespie

Wake Forest University

*Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880-1920.* By Michael Dennis. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001. x, 272 pp. Acknowledgements, bibliography. Index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Progressivism involving government and higher education usually brings to mind the great state universities of the Midwest and West. Heretofore it has been the "Wisconsin Idea" of President Van Hise at the University of Wisconsin and Governor Robert LaFollette who showed the exemplary connection between the campus and the capitol. This, along with the "California Plan" of Governor Hiram Johnson and President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California, has dominated accounts of how university presidents joined with reform-minded governors to make the modern American university part of a state's social, political, and economic development. Michael Dennis's *Lessons in Progress* effectively adds new characters and episodes to the historical drama of the modern state university as part of Progressivism. He does so by exhuming the overlooked and underappreciated profiles of presidents and policies at several Southern universities between 1880 and 1920: Charles Dabney at the University of Tennessee; Walter Barnard Hill at the University of Georgia; Samuel Chiles Mitchell at the University of South Carolina; and Edwin Alderman at the University of Virginia.

In bringing attention to these neglected cases, author Dennis avoids compiling a saccharine success story. To the contrary, before immersing into his detailed biographies and institutional profiles, he clearly describes and analyzes how Progressivism in the South rested on a foundation of oversights and compromises. Racial segregation was fused with a curricular and funding formula that locked blacks into a predictably limited institutional arena. This may have been a promising strategy for enhancing economic productivity—but it did so only by conserving the existing social

and legal structure. Second, Michael Dennis deliberately chose states and universities that are important because they are—except for President Edward Alderman at the University of Virginia—outside the obvious foci. Third, the thread that runs through each of the biographies highlighted university presidents is that of educational leaders as state reformers who achieved limited gains—and each of whom had some limits in their perspectives.

The work brings the South into the national arena by connecting the region and its higher education reforms to what Robert Wiebe called the “Search for Order.” Usually the first discussion of a university and state in the South is reserved for the agrarians at Vanderbilt or, to another extreme, North Carolina and its university at Chapel Hill under the leadership of President Frank Porter Graham and then buoyed by the applied research of sociologist Howard Odum. Now we know that the story started in 1880, not 1920—and is interesting and complicated.

On balance one finds that, contrary to convenient stereotypes, the flagship state universities of the South at the turn of the century did not all rest idle as havens for complacent regional elites. Each of the presidents Dennis has studied tended to embrace the gospel and guide book of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching: standards and standardization; utility and accountability; consolidation and coherence in central planning. One finds, for example, not only the professionalization of the academic life but also attempts at connecting the state university to statewide public education development. Also, professional education in such fields as agriculture, education, engineering, and medicine helped enlist public higher education into the New South camp for regional development. The presidents tended to take on the self-imposed role of evangelical booster and had a vision of using the state university to be the nerve center for engineering an industrial and professional economy.

The selection of case studies does not include Florida. However, this nationally significant book has a definite Florida connection: it grows out of a doctoral dissertation that Dennis wrote under the mentorship of Fitzhugh Brundage of the University of Florida history department. As such, it is a promising sign of homegrown research. The most interesting characteristic of the work is that although it focuses on the South, its contribution fleshes out both regional and national history. In sum, by



adding a detailed profile of the South to the generalizations about higher education and state government between 1880 and 1920, it makes Progressivism a truly nationwide phenomenon whose influences and issues were not confined only to the familiar ground of Wisconsin and California.

John R. Thelin

*University of Kentucky*

*Heart of a Wife: The Diary of a Southern Jewish Woman.* By Helen Jacobus Apte. Edited and with essays by Marcus D. Rosenbaum. (Wilmington, Delaware: SR Books, 1998. 223 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, note on editing, epilogue, selected bibliography, appendices. \$17.95 paper.)

*Heart of a Wife: The Diary of a Southern Jewish Woman* is the story of the life and times of Helen Jacobus Apte, her family, and circle of friends and acquaintances through the medium of her diary. Helen Jacobus was born near the end of the nineteenth century in Hawkinsville, Georgia, and spent part of her youth in Richmond and in Atlanta. She married Day Apte, a Floridian and a businessman, in 1909. The Aptes had one child, Alice. The family lived happily in several areas, including Miami and other parts of Florida. Helen Apte died at age sixty in 1946.

Nearly fifty years after Helen's death, Marcus Rosenbaum, her grandson, was cleaning out the home of his mother, Alice, in the aftermath of her death. The diary that he and other family members had often heard about was discovered in a small plastic bag. Rosenbaum, who served National Public Radio in several creative capacities, including a stint as senior editor of "All Things Considered," edited the diary and added several essays to the resulting book. These essays both illuminate and clarify points raised in the entries.

The diary began in 1909 with Helen's wedding to Day in Tallahassee, and ended in 1946, the year of her death in Miami. There are large gaps between entries, some of which extend for several years. Helen's prose is clear and thoughtful, her insights into the human condition profound, her curiosity unsated. While the majority of the entries are of a personal nature, others shed light on the issues and events of the times, both at a local level and in a broader sense. Many of Helen's entries were made while she was outside of Florida on vacation or with her husband on business.

What importance does this diary hold for the Florida historian and general reader? Two things come to mind immediately. First, Apte's entries during her residency in Miami, which stretched from 1925 till her death twenty-one years later, are illuminating for historians working in the history of Miami and southeast Florida. Secondly, her references to activities surrounding her Jewish faith provide morsels of information and insights into what was, at the time, Florida's tiny Jewish population.

This reviewer was especially interested in Apte's entries during her lengthy residency in Miami. The Aptes came to the Magic City in March 1925 when the great Florida real estate boom was in full swing. By late August 1925, the boom had reached it zenith, prompting Apte to observe, descriptively: "The situation is acute. People moving here by the thousands, and no place to live . . . It reminds me of the gold rush to the Klondike—plenty of money, but no comforts . . . Miami is not the pleasant place to live it was last winter—it is like a madhouse, dangerous to cross the street, dangerous to drive a car, almost impossible to get a bite to eat without standing in a line. Men rush madly about, with the lust for money in their eyes. Everyone seems to be snooping around, trying to listen in, and I'm so tired of learning real estate I could scream." The boom was over in the following year; coming on the heels of the bust was the mighty hurricane of September 1926. Apte notes how quickly the Magic City recovered from the debacle, an interesting observation since city officials were criticized for their overly optimistic evaluations of this achievement.

Pearl Harbor caught the Aptes—and almost everyone else—by surprise. Upon hearing on the radio of the Japanese attack, Helen stood rooted to the spot. Day jumped up and "we looked at each other, in stunned silence . . . We thought we were dreaming or as if some strange Orson Welles fantasia was being enacted." Wartime Miami was as active a military camp as virtually any locale in the United States. Apte writes graphically of this era. Her entry for July 22, 1942, notes: "Soldiers everywhere, sentries, guns, drilling. It is so dimmed out that it is almost a blackout, really dangerous to be driving a car. It makes you realize the war is really on. We always pick up boys on the boulevard going back to camps out 79<sup>th</sup> Street. It breaks my heart, those soldiers standing all along the street, hot, tired, bored . . . To anyone who remembers the last war, they will know this was is different. No glamor, no thrills, no singing."

Diaries can be of great assistance to historians. They can serve as the centerpiece around which to weave a narrative history. Or they can be used to embellish, to add depth to a study that draws on other, more important sources. Helen Apte's diary falls into the latter category, although it has served this reviewer in still another way. Whenever I conduct a history and architectural walking tour of Miami's Morningside neighborhood, a wonderfully-gentrified historic district lying five miles north of downtown, I stop in front of the former Apte home with *Heart of a Wife* in hand, and read an entry describing this home and Helen's ambivalence over living in a grand structure while the area was immersed in an economic slump.

Paul S. George

*Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson*

*Women in the United States, 1830-1945.* By S. J. Kleinberg. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999. xii, 368 pp. List of tables, acknowledgments, introduction. \$59.95 cloth.)

The study of women's history has produced many fine examples of research and writing. With this latest historical work, S.J. Kleinberg has managed to combine her analysis of these seminal works into a well-developed and scholarly volume. Her approach is particularly important for drawing individual historical research into a cohesive whole, which strengthens the context for understanding American women during these years. *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* provides a thorough reading of the life and times of women of this period. Kleinberg eloquently describes the development of the United States in these years from the perspective of women's contributions, while acknowledging the restraints still present for women of every class, race, and occupation.

Kleinberg demonstrates meticulous attention to detail by breaking the period under scrutiny into several phases: Antebellum America (1830-1865), Industrial Era (1865-1919), and From the Vote to World War II (1920-1945), concluding with a chapter on the status of women in the 1950s that references ideas from Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. She provides a methodical, clearly defined approach for each period that divides the subject into four primary categories: economic activity, family and migration, education and culture, and reform.



The arrangement of these categories allows the reader to use this work not only as an overview of United States history from 1830 to 1945 but to selectively review parts of the work at will. The index and bibliographic essay also provide practical reference tools.

Kleinberg's work strikes this reviewer as well balanced, a feat not often accomplished when analyzing American women. She includes lengthy segments devoted to the experiences of female groups usually sidelined in larger works such as free African Americans, Native Americans, Japanese, Chinese, and Mexicans, with a smaller portion related to Jewish immigrant women. All kudos aside, however, her work does lack attention to the special circumstances of women in some southern and western states, namely Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, and Arizona, where diverse ethnicity continues to present a challenge to their adequate inclusion in the larger narratives. Some of this oversight is no doubt due to the shortage of original works in these areas yet this reviewer had hoped to find more references to these areas within Kleinberg's work, particularly in discussions of free African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanic women.

The author maintains a smooth narrative that captures the reader's attention while inserting salient examples and appropriate references to other scholars to reinforce her ideas. Unlike some works that vacillate between the time under discussion and references to later events, Kleinberg's narrative remains true to the subject matter at hand and resists sweeping generalizations to the future. While it does not provide new areas of research, it does achieve the often more difficult task of synthesis of the quite diverse research in women's history. In doing so, Kleinberg does not present women as the sideshow to main events but as integral parts of the whole. Thus, it accomplishes the task of informing the reader, whether professional historian or lay person, about the development of American society and the crucial role women have played in its successes and failures.

Overall, this reviewer would recommend *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* as a valuable addition to anyone's library. While most historians of women's history will find much of Kleinberg's work to be familiar, her regard for detail, incorporation of varied subject matter, and examination of the material marks this work as a positive asset in the study of United States history and the rele-

vance of women as part of that history. For the history buff, this work is an authoritative instruction in American women's history during this period.

Amy E. N. Darty

*University of Central Florida*

***Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights.***

Edited by Jane Dailey, Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, and Bryant Simon. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000. xi, 325 pp. Preface, acknowledgements, introduction, afterword, contributors, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

This is a wonderful collection of essays by some of the best new scholars writing Southern history. Contributors construct an expansive view of politics during the Jim Crow era in which contests for power were played out in public and private domains, from kitchens to polling booths, from town squares to country stores, from streetcars to courthouses. The essays are book-ended with a preface by C. Vann Woodward and three afterwords by Edward Ayers, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, and Nell Irvin Painter.

In their hands, not only politics but race and gender become more nuanced. Stephen Kantrowitz, Jane Dailey, and Kari Fredrickson explore the shifting and racialized definitions of manhood and masculinity among Southern white men in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Similarly, while race remains the central theme of Southern history in these essays, the white struggle for domination was neither monolithic nor uncontested, even among white supremacists, as contributions by David Godshalk on Georgia governor William Northern's campaign against lynching and Jane Dailey's discussion of the biracial Virginia Readjusters and the limits of Southern liberalism suggest. The struggle for white elite domination often contained its own contradictions. Thus, post-bellum white club women in Fitzhugh Brundage's essay on historical memory constructed a Southern past that reified a reactionary racial and gender caste hierarchy, while offering liberatory possibilities for white women. Despite the rise of a male-dominated historical profession, white women retained considerable influence, illustrated by the 1911 firing of University of Florida's Enoch Blair after the young history professor questioned the wisdom of secession.

Placing African Americans, especially women, at the center of inquiry offers new light on old debates. Glenda Gilmore's interpretation of blacks' shift from the Party of Lincoln to FDR's New Deal coalition examines the "push" factors within the Republican Party's response to African American women and the nineteenth amendment. Elsa Barkley Brown reveals that African Americans' struggle to define freedom following the Civil War included both women and children, even in the exercise of the male franchise. She refutes the widely-held contention that the rise in black women's political activity at the end of the nineteenth century was simply the result of black male disfranchisement, and calls for greater attention to sexual violence against black women during Reconstruction and its aftermath.

A number of authors give a nod toward post-modernism (the influences of anthropology, cultural studies, and feminist theory are also evident), but with the historian's grounding in material evidence and the insistence that people, power, agency, and change matter, however socially constructed and dependent on language these "real" subjects may be. Thus, several authors challenge binary modes of thought: Laura Edwards collapses the rigid distinctions between public and private domains in her examination of how shifting meanings of marriage, both personal and legal, were utilized by freedmen and women as a wedge for broader claims to citizenship rights. Steve Kantrowitz's essay on manhood, mob violence, and black and white militias in Reconstruction South Carolina, reminds us that Klan violence and upper-class white gentility were not polar opposites in the post-bellum South, but were rooted in a slave system "where paternalism and violence had functioned as carrot and stick." Indeed, these essays underline the notion that violence, as much as race, was the cornerstone of Southern society, a phenomenon that Nell Painter suggests we have yet to fully face. Nor were elite whites safe from its ravages. Tim Tyson's essay illuminates the hypocrisy and moral corruption of a racial caste system predicated on the alleged protection of white womanhood; thus, when a South Carolina "blue-blood" and wife of a prominent physician suggested in 1957 that whites move slowly and carefully toward desegregation, her house was bombed by local Klansmen. In the aftermath, few white voices were raised in protest, either against the bombing or the state's refusal to abide by the *Brown* decision. As Tyson remarks, "The silence was louder than dynamite."



Both Hall and Ayers note that class is largely a subsidiary theme. Grace Elizabeth Hale eschews the traditional focus on labor relations for an investigation of consumption in train stations, streetcars, and department store dressing rooms, and illustrates the fluidity of the color line as the white South sought to impose segregation on a resistant African-American population. Despite the enactment of new legislation, "most Southern spaces," Hale notes, remained "places of racial uncertainty." But class is not totally neglected. Bryant Simon's discussion of white mill workers argues that racial solidarity became a way for workers to make demands on elite whites in post-World War II South Carolina, as liberals' abandonment of economic justice for a new emphasis on race offered little to working-class whites except the chance to compete with blacks for scarce jobs. Nancy McLean's reassessment of the Leo Frank case considers class dynamics but insists that gender has received inadequate attention; she draws attention to the increase in young, white working women, shifting gender relations, and female sexuality as critical components in the case and in the rise of "reactionary populism."

Together, these essays are erudite, provocative, and frequently eloquent, suggesting new directions in what Vann Woodward rightly calls "the most fascinating field of American history, the southern part."

Christina Greene

*University of South Florida*

***War in Paradise: Stories of World War II in Florida.*** By Eliot Kleinberg. (Melbourne: Florida Historical Society Press, 1999. 96 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, sources. \$12.95 paper.)

Eliot Kleinberg, a reporter for the *Palm Beach Post*, wrote a number of articles for his newspaper to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Second World War. He said he was determined to write the real stories about what happened in Florida during the war years, which to him remained untold and would, as he expressed it, "be news." Although most chapters of this book are from the *Post's* series, the author has added a few additional chapters especially for this publication.

"Three Florida Boys at Pearl" shows how the war had an immediate impact in south Florida. Ralph "red" Hollis, a former Palm

Beach policeman Eugene Lish of Fort Pierce and Claude Edward Rich of West Palm Beach were all killed during the Japanese attack that drew the United States into the war. Kleinberg tells us about the lives of these men, how they came to be aboard the *Arizona* and *West Virginia* at the time of the attack, and their families.

From the war in the Pacific, Kleinberg brings it home to Florida in "The War Offshore." Nowhere else in the continental United States did the war come closer than with the German U-boat attacks on shipping off the east Florida coast. The tanker *Pan Massachusetts* with 100,000 barrels of oil on board went down as early as February 1942 with twenty of the thirty-eight crewmen killed. This sinking was followed with gruesome regularity through the spring and summer by additional U-boat attacks. Many of these came at night because before the government ordered blackouts, the bright shore lights silhouetted the ships, giving the U-boats shooting-gallery targets.

According to Kleinberg, the submarines off Florida's beaches sparked a series of "urban legends" about their crews coming ashore to buy groceries or attend a movie. One of these claimed a Palm Beach socialite and her Nazi butler hid a German submarine in an inlet off Lake Worth behind her estate. One wonders how it got into Lake Worth without being seen. Kleinberg says there is no evidence that any German sailors came ashore in south Florida to shop for bread or to find entertainment. Once a U-boat dropped off German saboteurs it was in north Florida near Ponte Vedra Beach. Another U-boat had dropped other saboteurs on eastern Long Island. All eight men had lived in the United States and spoke excellent English. They brought explosives and planned to blow up department stores and bus and rail terminals and in general to terrorize the American public. Fortunately, one of the German agents almost immediately went to the FBI with his story, and all of the saboteurs were quickly captured.

Other chapters deal with the building of the air and army bases in the Palm Beach area British cadets who trained as pilots in schools near Arcadia and Clewiston, the Palm Beach School Board's decision to close black schools in the winter (making their students available to harvest the county's vegetable crop and how this may have helped spark the later civil rights movement in the county); German prisoners of war camp in the Clewiston area and the suicide of a young German prisoner, and the story of the meeting between Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt at Cap's

Place, the Lighthouse Point restaurant. In researching the "meeting," Kleinberg found a *Miami Herald* columnist wrote about it in 1961, calling it Broward County's biggest unreported story. Kleinberg discovered that while Churchill might have been in Hillsboro Beach in the period immediately before the United States entered the war, Roosevelt was not. In fact, Kleinberg discovered that Roosevelt gave an address to Congress the day of the reputed Cap's Place dinner. As someone who has dined regularly at Cap's Place over the last four decades and believed the Churchill/Roosevelt legend, I'm very disappointed.

Yet *War in Paradise* is not disappointing. Although much has been written about Florida and the war years, Kleinberg has accomplished his goal and "brought the war home" by dealing with real people and real places in southeast Florida.

Donald W. Curl

*Florida Atlantic University*

***Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power.*** By Timothy B. Tyson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. 402 pp. Introduction, notes bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$16.95 paper.)

*Radio Free Dixie* is a welcome addition to the rapidly growing scholarship on the African-American struggle for equality. It will serve as a window into which professionals and lay people alike can look and discover how the Civil Rights Movement truly unfolded. Tyson adeptly describes and analyzes how and why Robert Williams joined the Marines (and left with an "undesirable discharge"), the NAACP (later removed for insisting on the right of self-defense), started a newspaper called *The Crusader*, and eventually became the embodiment of the Black Power Movement, although it flourished and reached its apex too late for him to join. While providing a meticulous study on grass-roots organizing, the author argues that the elements of Black Power (armed "self-reliance," cultural pride, economic self-sufficiency, and independent black politics) existed long before Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure) or the Black Panther Party became shining symbols of the phrase. He clearly demonstrates that a powerful global media worked to make Cold War politics almost inseparable from the black liberation movements of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.



This biography of Robert Williams explains the centrality of violence in the lives of black Americans. Tyson adeptly describes how racist white violence against blacks has historically (at least since the 1940s) been met with defensive violence. Williams's childhood in Monroe, N.C., was fraught with such acts. Because of family stories of resistance told by his grandmother and the occasional experience where close relatives defended themselves with arms, Williams came to believe that the only way to solve this portion of the race problem was through collective self-defense. Tyson argues that what ensured Williams did not deviate from this "solution" was the protagonist's participation in World War II.

This particular war, waged to save the world for democracy, led Williams and thousands like him to insist even more vehemently on full freedom in the U.S. Returning black soldiers entered their communities demanding the right to vote and a host of other human rights. In the process, they picked up their guns, joined others already involved in the struggle (mainly women who wondered what had taken them so long), and set out to make the U.S. practice what it preached; mainly that "all men are created equal."

The passage of *Brown*, sit-ins, marches, freedom rides, and other protests helped intensify and expand a wave of violence against blacks not seen since the days of Reconstruction. Even so, Williams's willingness to meet violence with violence made Monroe one of the safest places a civil rights activist could operate. His ability (and especially his connections with northern radicals and white leftists) made Williams and the causes he supported a lightning rod for local, state, and national media attention. Though vigilantes and various state and federal police agencies forced him and his family to flee to Cuba (and later China), Williams continued railing against segregation and other injustices via a radio station in Havana; hence, the title of the book. In the meantime, there are glimpses of Williams's relationship with personalities like Malcolm X, Ella Baker, Roy Wilkins, and Martin Luther King Jr. In the end, the reader comes to understand that armed self-defense is just as ingrained in African-American history and culture as gospel music, the blues, and soul food; a revelation certain to improve the direction that civil rights scholarship is taking. Tyson clearly shows that southern blacks saw nonviolence "as a tactical opportunity rather than a philosophical imperative."

While his arguments are persuasive, one cannot help but see flaws. For example, in an attempt to provide context for Williams'

actions, the author often leaves the main character out of the picture for long stretches; sometimes making the reader wonder how everything is connected. The description of North Carolina Governor Luther Hodges's political maneuvering is an example. Then too, one wishes for a more in-depth analysis of what Tyson calls the NAACP's conservative values, a central issue in many of Williams's public policy troubles. The occasional sentence fragment appears, but that is what editors are for.

Despite these minor flaws, this book is an excellent read. The writing flows nicely and the material is well organized. The author's use of newspapers, archival materials, government documents, as well as oral histories, pamphlets, and other movement material enhances the book's authenticity. Analyses are well thought out and the author's conclusions will be important for the next generation of civil rights scholars. This book should not only be read by college students and their professors, but by all who seek to understand the struggle for black equality. Readers of this journal will finally have a story that can be juxtaposed with the exciting life of Florida NAACP leader Harry Moore.

Curtis Austin

*University of Southern Mississippi*

***Miami, U.S.A.*** By Helen Muir. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2000. xxii, 355 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

This updated edition of Helen Muir's classic is a welcome addition to the University Press of Florida's series on Florida History and Culture. First published in 1953, covering the years from 1875 to 1952, then republished in 1990 with a new chapter covering 1953 to 1990, this expanded edition now takes the story to the end of the century. Still, the problems with the book make a bad first impression. It is difficult to understand why the editors of this series chose not to provide the reader with an Index to the last chapter. The editing is so sloppy (almost non-existent) that citations such as Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick's *City on the Edge* (1993), mentioned by Mrs. Muir, are not included in the supposedly expanded bibliography.

The two most recent chapters, covering since 1952, continue the wonderful stories of life in Miami that made the reputation of

the original volume. Yet, while offering some interesting information about the Cuban influx after 1959, Muir demonstrates scant awareness of some of the differences among these groups, and there is virtually nothing about the drug trade or the corruption and fiscal problems that have faced Miami during the last several decades. There is not even a mention of Robert King High, the liberal Democrat from Miami who ran for governor in 1966, and whose candidacy caused conservatives to vote for Claude Kirk, thus electing the first Republican to the governorship since Reconstruction and beginning the resurgence of that party statewide.

She discusses Fidel Castro's visit to the United Nations in New York City, in which he talked of his "democratic leanings," but notes that he was soon receiving economic and military aid from the Soviet Union. What she omits is that when Castro asked for American help, American policymakers decided in the words of one of them, to put Castro "through the wringer," so that he understood his dependency on the United States. This reviewer has asked one of the American diplomats involved about that incident. He explained that the Americans, apparently confident of this dependent relationship, expected Castro to come back to the negotiating table. Instead, he turned to the Soviets. None of what happened afterwards can be fully understood without reference to the United States and Cuban relationship since the 1890s, the Cuban Revolution of 1933, and the Constitution of 1940. The United States has tolerated all sorts of authoritarianism around the planet, so long as the relationship showed a proper dependency on this country. Castro's real sin was that he did not.

In a similar fashion, the Cubans who fled the Revolution after 1959 were a diverse group. The Batistianos who came first were soon put in charge of American welfare efforts to help the Cubans. The second wave consisted of many who had supported a revolt against Fulgencio Batista, but had broken with Castro as it became apparent his commitment to one-party socialism meant the end of any efforts at a democratic discussion of alternatives. They were a bit dismayed that many of their old enemies were now in charge in Miami. A number who came later were not so much ideologically motivated as economically, with the promise of help in obtaining a better life in this country.

In the end, however, Muir's multitude of vignettes about Miami do convey one thing: the incredible history of this city



whose geography, culture, and history have placed it at the "interstices" between the essentially Anglo-American experience in the United States, and the Hispanic and Haitian cultures to the south.

William Marina

*Florida Atlantic University*

***The Constitution and the New Deal.*** By G. Edward White.  
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. x, 385 pp.  
Preface, introduction, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

A respected, widely used U. S. Constitutional history survey textbook offers the following interpretive statement: "As a result of the New Deal [,] a commitment to government interventionism, intended to create a full-fledged administrative state to replace the decentralized liberal commercial regime of the founders, became constitutional orthodoxy" [Alfred H. Kelly, Winfred A. Harbison and Herman Belz, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development*, Vol. 2, p. 467]. G. Edward White characterizes this statement and others like it written by various authors as the "conventional narrative" of the impact of the New Deal upon constitutional jurisprudence. In *The Constitution and the New Deal* he posits an alternative view in a bold, detailed reassessment.

White's previous scholarship has amply prepared him to undertake the task. He has written biographies of Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, an outstanding volume on the Marshall Court in *The Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise History of the Supreme Court of the United States*, and *The American Judicial Tradition*, a sparkling collection of essays crafted in a form similar to, if more sophisticated in substance than, Richard Hofstadter's *The American Political Tradition*.

According to White, the causal connection drawn by the conventional narrative between the New Deal and revolutionary constitutional change cannot withstand close historical analysis. The New Deal was a stage in a gradual movement that began in the early 1900s, not a core force that pushed U. S. Supreme Court Justices, lawyers, and the general public to embrace novel constitutional jurisprudence. Controversy over Supreme Court decisions that addressed New Deal programs in the early 1930s, as well as the Court-packing crisis of 1937, were significant episodes for the decade but not transforming events.

White shrewdly notes that the Supreme Court of the early 1930s was not necessarily split along a conservative or liberal fault line. Except for Justice Benjamin Cardozo, none of the sitting Justices could be counted upon to uphold New Deal legislation consistently. As reflected in the Court's decisions, the shift from traditional constitutional orthodoxy toward a new conception of fundamental law was not complete until the 1950s—long after Justices Holmes and Louis Brandeis, acclaimed by the conventional narrative as stars of the new jurisprudence, had left the bench.

Given such findings, why has this narrative remained so persuasive? White argues that historians, journalists, and legal commentators who have written accounts of the constitutional significance of the New Deal have assimilated the assumptions that helped earn both expanded governmental activism and the new jurisprudence widespread acceptance.

He identifies these assumptions as “accommodations to modernity.” Much like many New Deal proponents, authors who shared them “were less inclined than their predecessors to believe in the omnipotence of external forces as causal agents. They believed that they could make over their experience to mandate ‘progress,’ and that they could use law in that process. They did not think of Constitutional and common law as timeless and essentialist but human-crafted and thus malleable.”

In general terms, traditional constitutional orthodoxy called for a “guardian review” of legislation, giving special attention to the boundaries of the separation of powers, federal-state relationships, and expansive readings of the Contract Clause. Justices who adhered to this approach frequently rejected the constitutionality of laws that regulated wages, hours of labor, and working conditions. Since the 1940s, the new constitutional jurisprudence has allowed most economic regulation to stand, but has called for scrutiny of laws that levied specified restrictions upon freedoms stipulated in the Bill of Rights, as well as measures aimed at discrete groups or minority populations within U. S. society.

A short review of this book cannot fully convey its rich texture or the arresting insights formulated by its author. White's inquisitive, first-rate intellect serves as a guide here, offering a tour of historical, legal, and constitutional terrain well worth the price of admission.

The perfect book does not exist. This one is no exception. The early chapters which explicate foreign policy cases before 1935 and

the development of administrative law hold a depth and thoroughness that later chapters do not repeat. Some of the case discussions, such as that for *Wickard v. Filburn* (1942), a decision White highlights as an example of the transition to the new jurisprudence, deserve more extended treatment.

*The Constitution and the New Deal* will not convert all readers. But it is an indispensable step toward a thoughtful re-evaluation of the subject.

G. B. Crawford

Gainesville, Fla.

***Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation.*** By Nancy F. Cott. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. v, 297 pp. Introduction, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$27.95 paper.)

Since the late 1960s, feminists have argued that “the personal is political.” In her important new work, Nancy Cott draws upon that claim to examine the institutional dimensions of marriage. Using a broad brush, but providing careful detail, Cott takes the reader from colonial America to the present day, examining the ways in which that most intimate relationship—marriage—has been of concern not only to individuals, but to communities and to state and federal government as well. Elaborating on themes in the American past too frequently assumed to be private and domestic and relevant only to specialists in women’s history, the book convincingly presents marriage as crucial to our understanding of social and political change and both foreign and domestic policy.

Public authorities, in Cott’s view, pursued political, moral, and economic goals in their marital policy-making. Politically, marriage was linked to government from early colonial times, when the male-headed patriarchal family was held to mirror the relationship between kings and subjects. In the new republic after 1776, contract theory was introduced to justify more egalitarian politics, but the assumption remained that the husband acted for his dependent wife.

Indeed, since marriage vows were upheld as a contract consenting to relations of dominance and subordination, women’s subject status was strengthened.

During the Civil War, when congressmen worried—and feminists hoped—that the abolition of the “domestic relation” of slav-



ery would also end the relation of wifely subjection, the politics of marriage was particularly apparent, a politics that altered practice and created new meaning. In 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau encouraged and facilitated marriage among the freedpeople both as a sign of the ex-slaves' humanity and to emphasize their new status as citizens, under male headship. On the other hand, interracial couples, who were barred from marrying by new post-war laws, also found that marriage was more than a private act.

With the wave of immigration at the turn of the twentieth century, politics again defined women's place in marriage. Immigrant wives received the right to take up U.S. citizenship along with their husbands, but citizenship was denied to single women and wives whose husbands did not seek it. Further, American women lost their citizenship upon marriage to a foreigner. Only after women became voting citizens, asserts Cott, did the importance of marriage to American political life become less central to legislators and judges.

Moral concerns also structured the institution of marriage, and Cott shows that although this dimension has recently been challenged and constrained, it nevertheless remains vigorous. To the Puritans it was self-evident that marriage was a Christian institution that demanded monogamy, male headship, and wifely obedience. But in the nineteenth century that view was challenged by the pragmatic practices of American communities, especially in rural or frontier regions where couples were far from ministers or too poor to pay fees. Such "informal" marriage and divorce were tolerated throughout most of the century, says Cott, demonstrates that "living in sin" was not a recent invention.

State and federal authorities responded by enforcing a generalized morality with clear Christian roots, supporting marriage for ex-slaves while denigrating "Oriental" or "pagan" practices and taking action against pragmatic informal codes, utopian communities, Mormon polygamy, and the use of contraception. Today, Cott finds parallels in conservative attempts to use abortion and welfare-reform policies to redirect marriage back toward the earlier model, with its assumptions of male headship and of a link between sexuality and reproduction. One of her most challenging analyses compares the experience of the freedpeople with that of lesbians and gays in America today. Just as many African-Americans saw the right to marry as intrinsically bound up with other civil and political rights, so the same claim is made today with regard to homosexual marriage. Yet, just as some blacks

were suspicious of an institution that bound couples together regardless of consent, many today, particularly feminists, warn gay and lesbian couples that marriage is an institution that harms participants. Cott uses the parallel both to indicate the double edge of the sword, and to underpin her argument that the public dimension of marriage is alive and strong even when almost half of American marriages end in divorce.

Yet it is the economic dimension of marriage that Cott finds most important, as an institution anchored in reciprocity, with men providing economic support and women offering domestic and emotional services. Legal doctrines of coverture dating from the colonial period emphasized this economic dimension, but so too did the Freedmen's Bureau, which envisioned African-American men after marriage maintaining their families by their own labor, with wives in the home. Economic motives predominated when officials regulated immigrant marriages and dealt with utopian communities, many of which sought to "prevent disparities of wealth and also to prevent childbearing wives from being dependent on their husbands' earnings" by eliminating private property. Similarly, laws banning birth control information served to "keep extramarital sex risky, but to secure conventional responsibilities within marriage," with women as dependent mothers and men as providers.

For Cott, even as women earned new opportunities outside the home in the twentieth century, marriage meant economic dependence. She introduces solid evidence from laws, court cases, and New Deal policies that enforced male breadwinner status. Nor did the extensive changes in women's educational and work lives that emerged from the 1960s prevent a conservative backlash nostalgic for the old marriage model. This is evident both in the clashes over gay and lesbian marriage and in policies of welfare reform that assume fathers are providers and encourage women to marry to solve their economic problems.

Ending on a rather somber note, Cott holds that as we enter the twenty-first century, politics, morality, and economics are still bedrocks of the institution of marriage, even in a culture that seems to celebrate equality, individuality, and freedom. And given her rich and substantial analysis, the evidence certainly supports her view that marriage still remains "inextricably public and private."

*Cuba's Foreign Relations in a Post Soviet World.* By H. Michael Erisman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xiii, 270 pp. List of tables, foreword, preface, map, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

The Soviet Union's collapse in 1991 brought an end to the \$6 billion in annual subsidies and cut-rate oil prices to Cuba. As a result of this debacle, many predicted that the days of Fidel Castro's dictatorship were numbered. However, a decade later, Castro has proven once more that he is Latin America's master survivor.

In this most interesting work, Michael Erisman, a professor of Political Science at Indiana State University and a leading expert on Cuban foreign policy, provides a judicious in-depth analysis concerning Cuban foreign policy in both the Cold War and post-Cold War period. In addition, it thoroughly explores Cuba's economic response after the fall of its benefactor, the Soviet Union.

To his credit, Erisman begins his study by providing the reader with a historical overview of United States-Cuban relations prior to the Cuban Revolution. He lucidly explains that the Revolution's successful foreign policy during the Cold War was the product of Cuba's counterdependency politics. Even before Castro's triumph, Cubans resented American hegemony over the island's internal and external affairs. The author buttresses his analysis by addressing critical issues in United States-Cuban relations such as the Platt Amendment, the American interventions of 1906 and 1912, the American domination of key sectors of the Cuban economy following World War I, and the traditional American opposition to Cuba's nationalistic dreams. Thus, Erisman succeeds in highlighting this historical counterdependency as the cornerstone of the Revolution's foreign policy.

Erisman rightly points out that once the Revolution consolidated itself, counterdependency concerns prompted Castro to become a central figure in the struggle against "American imperialism." Cuba began granting moral and material support to Latin American revolutionaries in the 1960s, and during the 1970s and early 1980s its military might was crucial to the consolidation of Marxist regimes in Angola and Ethiopia. Another interesting aspect of Cuba's foreign policy during the Cold War was its "humanitarian" aid to Third World nations. In analyzing Cuba's assistance, Erisman goes beyond listing mere figures and provides



the reader with a thorough account of Cuba's involvement in this area. This policy, which largely consisted in sending Cuban doctors, teachers, and technicians to the Third World, not only gained the Revolution adepts but propelled the island nation to the leadership of the Movement of Nonaligned Nations. Thus, in the eyes of the Third World, Cuba was not a mere Soviet satellite but rather a Third World champion against colonialism, imperialism, and dependency.

While examining Cuba's counterdependency foreign policy during the Cold War provides valuable insights into the internal dynamics of the Revolution, the most interesting part of Erisman's work is his objective interpretation of Cuba's post-Cold War order. Faced with an already vulnerable economy, the Revolution had to undertake a carrot and stick approach to deal with the crisis following the Soviet demise. On the one hand, the Cuban government undertook unpopular draconian measures such as limiting purchases of consumer goods, further food and gas rationing, energy cutbacks, and dismissal of state employees. On the other hand, the government allowed the legalization of the dollar as tender and permitted limited private enterprise.

While Cuba suffered economic setbacks during this "special period," its economy recovered through Canadian and European Union investments. As a result of the infusion of European capital, Cuba's tourism industry became a vital force in helping its economic recovery. Today, for instance, it has surpassed sugar as the nation's main source of revenue and the European Union is Cuba's largest trading partner.

This book is important because it is the first comprehensive analysis of Cuba's pragmatic foreign policy since the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Erisman is to be congratulated for producing an exhaustive and provocative study, which is a welcomed addition to the literature of Cuban international relations.

José B. Fernández

*University of Central Florida*

## History News

### *Calls for Papers*

**“19th-Century Florida: Crackers, Caballeros, and Consumptives”** is the theme of the 101st meeting of the Florida Historical Society, to be held in Gainesville from May 21 to 24, 2003. The conference will convene at the Sheraton Gainesville Hotel, 2900 SW 13<sup>th</sup> St. Individuals and panels of scholars are invited to submit proposals. Although the overall theme of the conference deals with Florida during the nineteenth century, papers and presentations from all eras of Florida history are accepted. Individuals and groups submitting proposals should send them via USPS or e-mail to: Prof. Craig T. Friend, Program Chair, Dept. of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816; <cfriend@mail.ucf.edu>; (407) 823-6421. Paper proposals should be accompanied by a short vitae and by suggestions for fellow presenters or session chairs [and a means of contacting the suggested person]. Proposals should also be accompanied by a telephone number and mail/email address.

The **Florida Conference of Historians** will meet 27 February to 1 March 2003, in Jacksonville. The FCH solicits proposals for individual papers and panels on all subjects of historical interest. There will also be a special section for undergraduate papers. E-mail inquiries should be made to <jclarke@ju.edu> or information may be found at the conference website at <<http://users.ju.edu./clarke/fch.htm>>. Submission deadline is 1 February 2003.

**“The History of Manners”** is the topic of the DeBartolo Conference on Eighteenth-Century Studies, which will meet February 20-22, 2003, in Tampa. Conference planners invite sin-

gle presentation abstracts or complete panels with individual abstracts for each paper. Interested presenters and moderators should contact Dr. Laura Runge, DeBartolo Conference Director, Dept. of English, University of South Florida, 4202 E. Fowler Ave., CPR 107, Tampa, FL 33620-5550. Deadline for submissions is September 30, 2002.

### *Conferences*

**Lynching & Racial Violence in America: Histories and Legacies** is the topic of a special conference to be held October 3-6, 2002, at Emory University in Atlanta. In conjunction with the exhibition, "Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America," co-sponsored by Emory University and the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site, this international conference will focus scholarly attention on lynching and racial violence both within and beyond the U.S. Papers will be presented from a broad range of disciplines and will include legal, social science, and historical perspectives; artistic and literary responses; and community and activist efforts to deal with racial violence in America. For more information, contact Jennifer Freeman, Conference Coordinator, Emory University, 315 Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta, GA 30322; (404) 712-8768; [jlfreem@emory.edu](mailto:jlfreem@emory.edu).

### *Awards*

On 24 May, 2002, the **Florida Historical Society** presented its annual awards. The awards and recipients were:

Florida Historical Society Pioneer Award—Honorable Charles Bronson, Florida Commissioner of Agriculture

Arthur W. Thompson for Best Article in the *Quarterly*—Randy Sanders, Louisiana State University

Rembert W. Patrick Award for Best Book in Florida History—Michael Newton, University Press of Florida

Charlton Tebeau Book Award—Lewis N. Wynne, Florida Historical Society, and Robert A. Taylor, Florida Institute of Technology

James J. Horgan Book Award—William Warren Rogers, Florida State University, and James M. Denham, Florida Southern College

President's Award—Yael Greenberg, University of South Florida



Frederick Cubberly Award for Best High School Essay—Jennifer Rose Bonds, Rickards High School, Tallahassee

Frederick Cubberly Outstanding Teacher of the Year—Melinda Lang Hilsenbeck, Rickards High School, Tallahassee

Patrick D. Smith Award for Florida Literature—Don David Argo, Brevard Community College

Hampton Dunn Golden Quill Award for Print Media—Joe Crankshaw, Stuart News

Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Award—Larry E. Rivers, FAMU, and Canter Brown Jr., Tallahassee

Dorothy Dodd Lifetime Achievement Award—William S. Coker, Professor Emeritus University of West Florida

Florida Historical Library Foundation Chair Award—Venice Archives and Area Historical Collection

Jillian Prescott Inaugural History Award—Frank and Ann Thomas, Florida Balladeers

Carolyn Mays Brevard Award for Best Undergraduate Essay—Amanda Thomas, Florida State University

Governor LeRoy Collins Award for Best Graduate Essay—Benjamin Houston, University of Florida

Carolyn Washbon Book Award—Kristin Congdon, University of Central Florida, and Kitty Kitson Peterson, Illustrator

A one-time award was presented for the Fay Schweim Greatest Living Floridian to Patrick D. Smith.

On 23 May 2002, the **Florida Historical Confederation** presented its annual awards. The awards and recipients were:

Peggy Latour Award for Archivist of the Year—Diane Cohen, Micanopy

Marinus H. Latour Award for Volunteer of the Year—Barbara West, Rockledge

Outstanding Educational Program Award—Volusia County Leisure Service for DeBary Hall Historic Site

Hampton Dunn Award for Electronic Media—Volusia County Leisure Services for “DeBary Hall The Virtual Experience” CD-Rom

Best Local History Monograph—Winston Chester for *Full Box: 100 Years of Fishing and Boat Building History in Bay County*

*Fellowships and Awards***2003 Virginia Historical Society Research Fellowship Program.**

To promote the interpretation of Virginia history and access to its collections, the Virginia Historical Society offers fellowships of up to four weeks a year. We welcome applications from doctoral candidates. Undergraduates, master's students, and graduate students not yet admitted to Ph.D. candidacy are not eligible. Applicants should send an original and three copies of the following: a cover letter, c.v., two letters of recommendation (sent separately), and a description of their research project not longer than two double-spaced pages that also states the length of the award requested. The deadline for applications is 1 February 2003; awards will be announced by 15 March 2003. The committee will make partial awards and will consider reapplications in following years up to these limits: for doctoral candidates, a maximum of three weeks in a five-year period; for faculty or independent scholars, a maximum of six weeks in a five-year period. Send applications to: Dr. Nelson D. Lankford, Chairman, Research Fellowship Committee, Virginia Historical Society, 428 N. Boulevard, Richmond, VA 23220; telephone 804-342-9672; fax 804-355-2399; <nlankford@vahistorical.org>;(<<http://www.vahistorical.org>>).

*Statement of Errata*

While technology has made publication of a journal much easier, it also poses new challenges that occasionally complicate an editor's life. Such was the case in the spring 2002 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* when the incorrect version of Ronald Wayne Childers's "A Late Seventeenth-Century Journey to Tampa Bay" was printed. Foremost, I apologize to Mr. Childers whose hard work will not be fully appreciated by the readership. And I apologize to the readership for this editorial clumsiness.

There were a number of changes. First, Mr. Childers wanted to "acknowledge the invaluable assistance of W. S. Coker in reviewing and suggesting changes to this document as well as to John Hann for his aid and insistence on publishing it." There was a textual addition on page 505 between the third and fourth paragraphs that follows:

There had been at least two previous expeditions from St. Augustine to Tampa Bay. Both had gone across the upper peninsula and then taken boats down to Tampa Bay. The first was the Cortaya expedition of 1612. It visited Tampa Bay, which was then called the Bay of Pojoy for the town and chiefdom located on it. The second was the Medina-de la Cruz expedition of 1679-80. This expedition visited five villages in the area: Alcola, Pojoy, Elafay, Apojola Negra, and Tiquijagua, none of which have a location specified other than the Tampa Bay area.”<sup>1</sup>

And there were multiple changes and additions to the footnotes. On page 506 at the end of the first paragraph:

The prevailing opinion is that the Tanpas or Tampas lived further south in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, around Charlotte Harbor. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (New York, 1970), 331. John Worth shows what seem to be two Tampas in his work on the sixteenth-century memoirs of Hernando d’Escalante Fontaneda. One of these was “Tanpa” and was listed in the Province of Carlos and the other was “Tanpacaste” and was found further to the north in the province of Apalachee; see “Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth Century Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 83 (January 1995): 348.

On page 507 at the end of the first full sentence:

The governor was not a long term resident and might have been mistaken. However, it is possible that there was no one other than this man who had actually gone *by land* to the Bay of Tampa.

On page 516, footnote 42 should read:

This could be a variant of the word *cajigal*, which means “a plantation of muriated oaks.” John Hann has also suggested that this could mean “marshy.” However, it was used in

1. The Cortaya expedition of 1612 came overland to the Gulf Coast and then by boat to Tampa Bay. The Medina-de la Cruz expedition of 1679 followed the same route. John H. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville, Fla., 1991), 8-12, 23-27.



another document in a way that leaves no doubt that it means "scrub oaks," since the trees to which it referred were also referred to in other documents in the same series as *chaparrales*; see "Reply of the Sergeant Major don Francisco Martinez," 28 February 700, in Consultas Originales del Consejo de Estado con Papeles que las (env)iaron sobre asuntos del Darien: Indias: 1700, *Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid) Estado* 2315.

On page 517 at *Elafay* in the first sentence in No. 10:

In 1680 *Elafay* had 40 people; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 26, 26 n.23; Swanton, *The Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, 325, 332. It is assumed to be Alafia as per the river of the same name; see Jerald T. Milanitch and Charles Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida* (Gainesville, 1993).

On page 518, footnote 56 should read:

These are listed by Swanton as towns inland from Tampa Bay; Swanton, *The Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, 323, 325, 329. *Talafosole* is assumed here to be *Tafocole*.

On page 518 at the end of the first sentence in the first full paragraph:

The village of Cayuco is possibly the village of *Cayuca* which Worth lists as being in the province of Carlos; Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth Century Florida," 349.

On page 521 change footnote 80 to read:

It is possible that Tequi could be the village of Tiquihagua found in the report of the 1679-80 expedition or an abbreviation of Fontaneda's Tequemapo; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 26; Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth Century Florida," 349. None of the other villages are known except from this report.

On page 522, change footnote 83 to read:

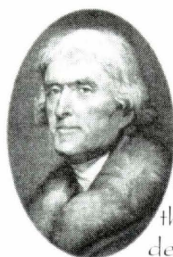
Among the Apalache, it was an office which was a mid-level administrative position under the iniha and sometimes was used to designate the iniha himself when discharging the duties of a chacal; John H. Hann, *Apalachee The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, 1988) 106-107, 106 n 7.

Once again, my sincere apologies to R. Wayne Childers and the readership.

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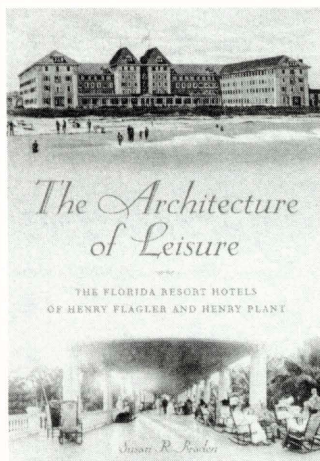
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The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902

The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905



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Dating its origins to St. Augustine in 1856, the Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in Florida and serves as the only statewide historical society. The Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through the collection, archival maintenance, and publication of historical documents and photographs; to scholarly research and publication through the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and a variety of awards for the researching and publishing of Florida history; and to public history, historic preservation, and youth education through *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, the Society's annual meeting, awards recognizing the teaching of Florida history, and the Printe Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

The Society's official headquarters are located in Historic Roesch House, an 1890s frame vernacular house at 1320 Highland Ave., Melbourne, FL 32935; (321) 254-9855. The Society's research collections—housing over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy—is located in the Alma Clyde Field Library of Florida History, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at (<http://www.florida-historical-soc.org>).