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membership@myfloridahistory.org

BOOK REVIEWS

The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870. By Father Michael V. Gannon. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965. xv, 210 pp. Introduction, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index, $5.00.)

To signal Florida's Quadricentennial, author and publisher have produced a properly handsome volume whose appearance will please every reader. Because the Roman Catholic church was planted with the first Spanish settlements, they have appropriately marked this anniversary with a history of the church in Florida from discovery to 1870. The author has unusual qualifications because he is both an historian of the church in Florida and director of the Mission of Nombre de Dios, founding site of church and state in Florida.

Because Florida was a frontier border zone, the church's fortunes depended upon the vicissitudes of empire. From 1565 to about 1700 the church was an arm of Spanish imperialism stretched out through the missions to embrace the Indians. When Florida was caught between the Anglo-American and the Spanish empires, the missions were ground to dust and the church shattered into puny fragments. When the expanding American empire absorbed Florida, the church had to find a place for itself in a new society.

The author has accepted the fact that he must work within this very undramatic framework. The climax arrived early in the story, when the missions touched the high point of their "golden age" around 1675; then followed a dreary denouement that dragged on for two centuries. Father Gannon chose to write a narrative history, but he seems to have assumed that it could not be at the same time an analytical history. Consequently, he has told an awkward story well, but he has not written a critical history.

Father Gannon has used the many excellent sources and adequate secondary studies to recount with fidelity and admiration the story of the Spanish Indian missions. Unfortunately, he has followed his sources too faithfully by sharing their con-

ventional and convenient view that the Indians were "savages" whom the missionaries rescued from depraved ignorance. This was precisely the assumption of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century missionaries who, of course, knew nothing of the concept of culture and the studies of modern anthropology. Some hard thought should have been given to the impact of the Spanish missions on Indian cultures. Statements of missionaries, who were often satisfied with appearances, must be analyzed and not simply quoted.

After the Spanish mission period the history of the church in Florida loses much of its interest simply because it comprised a tattered and unimportant minority. The author has resisted the natural temptation to exaggerate its size and influence. In these chapters appear the standard flaws of church history which is inclined to take a narrowly clerical and "institutional" approach to the subject. As a result, the reader finds scattered throughout the narrative what can only be called ecclesiastical piffle. The history of the church is reduced to an history of the clergy and buildings while major interpretive problems are either ignored or probed only from a clerical viewpoint. For example, the story of the church after the arrival of Bishop Verot becomes the story of Bishop Verot (of whom the author has published a biography). The revealing battle over lay trusteeism (which raised questions about the role of the laity in the church and about the church's adaptation to American culture) is handled, quite strangely, as a difficulty in church-state relations.

Father Gannon has given the general reader an informative and readable history of the Roman Catholic church in Florida before 1870. When he turns to the sequel for the modern period we hope that he will write a critical history as well.

GERALD J. GOODWIN

The Catholic University of America

The Catholic Historical Review, LI, No. 3 (October 1965). (Washington: The American Catholic Historical Association, 1965. iv, pp 305-456. Maps, illustrations, miscellany, book reviews, notes and comments, periodical literature, books received. $2.00.)

Ordinarily, historical journals are not reviewed. However, this issue of *The Catholic Historical Review,* labeled as the St. Augustine Quadricentennial Number, deals entirely with the religious and ecclesiastical aspects connected with, and ensuing from, the founding of St. Augustine in 1565. Thus, it can be treated as a book.

In "Four Contemporary Narratives of the Founding of St. Augustine," Father Matthew J. Connolly gives us an excellent bibliographical essay on the letter, dated September 11, 1565, from *Adelantado* Pedro Menendez de Aviles to Philip II; the narrative of Father Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, Menendez's chaplain, finished that momentous September; the biography of Menendez by Dr. Gonzalo Solis de Meras, his brother-in-law and companion in Florida, written in Spain after July 1567; and the biography of Menendez by Professor Bartolome Barrientos, of the University of Salamanca, finished in December 1567.

Connolly challenges two commonly accepted views. The Spanish source purporting to prohibit Florida settlement in 1561 was misinterpreted; there was no such prohibition. Also, the northern limit of Florida was Virginia, as implied by Menendez himself, in a letter, dated October 15, 1565, who advocated fortifiction of Santa Maria (Chesapeake) Bay. Indeed, Barcia has told us that the notion of Florida extending to Newfoundland was a post-Menendez concept. Additionally, Connolly documents the claim that the Mission of Nombre de Dios is the Menendez landing site. This is refreshing, since some parties in St. Augustine offer no documentation for all sorts of claims.

Father Michael V. Gannon's "Sebastian Montero, Pioneer American Missionary, 1566-1572" shows that the settled Florida missions are slightly older than had been supposed. Shortly after March 3, 1567, the Jesuits, Father Juan Rogel and Brother Francisco Villareal, began conversion work among the Indians of Carlos and Tequesta villages respectively. During the preceding three or four months, however, Chaplain Sebastian Montero of Captain Juan Pardo's company had already been giving religious instruction to the Indians of Juada, Quihanagi, and Guatari. This activity took place during Pardo's first reconnaissance (November 1, 1566 to March 7, 1567) of today's South Carolina.

Without prominent natural or man-made landmarks, the accurate location of historical sites is a problem. Despite Gannon's exercise, Guatari still eludes us. Likewise, students of John R. Swanton, who believe that Cufitachiqui was near Silver Bluff, Georgia, will file exception to Gannon's agreeing with Miss Mary Ross that the village was near Columbia, South Carolina. Actually, an historical event does not lose the idea or meaning that transcends it just because the event can not be connected to a definite or uncontroversial location.

"The 'Golden Age' of the Florida Missions, 1632-1674" by the late Father Charles W. Spellman challenges an interpretation of Father Maynard Geiger, who thought that the numerical increase of Indian conversions during 1632-1674 represented a full flowering of the seeds sown during *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618).* Spellman believed that quantitative increase must be correlated with the material conditions of the missions and the natives, the jurisdictional disputes between the military and the missionaries, and the violent Indian revolts that took place. All these factors usher in a "Time of Troubles" rather than a "Golden Age." Further details are needed for appraising Spellman's reinterpretation.

Students of Florida history should feel greatly elated reading the first essay in the Miscellany. The holdings of the Mission of Nombre de Dios Library, taken together with those of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, the St. Augustine Historical Society, and the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, actually make St. Augustine "the center" for the study of Florida history.

LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

St. Augustine, Florida

The Impeachment of Circuit Judge Richard Kelly. By Carl D. McMurray. (Tallahassee: Institute of Governmental Research, Florida State University, 1964. viii, 116 pp. Foreword, preface, appendices, tables. $2.50.)

The political history of Florida records five cases of impeachment and two impeachment trials conducted against state officials.

Both trials involved circuit judges, and this work is a study of the last of these, the 1963 impeachment trial and acquittal of Judge Richard Kelly. In addition to presenting a factual account, including statements by the principals in the case, the author includes commentary by leading critics on the deficiencies of impeachment as a method of removing judges and a summary of their recommendation for changing the present procedure.

This volume is well organized and includes copies of the impeachment documents in the appendix. Liberal use of names of witnesses with frequent quotations from the record, makes it interesting reading. Professor McMurray's work will be helpful not only to Florida historians, but to all who are interested in improving the administration of justice in Florida.

BEN KRENTZMAN

Clearwater, Florida

Florida Votes: 1920-1962. By Annie Mary Hartsfield and Elston E. Roady. (Tallahassee: Institute of Governmental Research, Florida State University, 1963. xiii, 106 pp. Foreword, preface, tables, illustrations. $2.00.)

Students of political science, history, and related disciplines have long cited the lack of compilations of voter registration and election data by state and county needed to facilitate research in voting behavior. Failure to collect these data from scattered and often difficult-to-use sources into convenient single or multi-volumes has severely handicapped research progress. Happily, more and more compilations are now being published. This volume is a welcome and valuable addition to the list. The authors cover the 1920-1962 period, and present data on selected major races by county. The offices included are president, United States senator, governor, and Railroad and Public Utilities commissioner. In addition, registration figures are included in so far as they were available.

Any serious researcher on Florida politics will find the voting statistics invaluable, but this volume makes a contribution beyond the simple collection and presentation of statistics. A valuable and perceptive introductory section analyzes some of the major trends

in registration and voting in Florida over the 1920-1962 period. Major factors that are analyzed include: (1) the shift in voting strength from North to South Florida; (2) the increasing participation of the Negro in Florida politics; (3) the changing shape of the two-party system in Florida; and (4) long-range trends in voter registration among both white and Negro voters. These analyses are supported by a number of maps and charts that illustrate the generalizations made. All in all, the introductory section of some thirty pages is a valuable complement to the compilation of data in the latter part of the book.

The only criticism one might make of the book is that it does not cover all of the elective offices involved during the period, nor does it cover the early period of Florida's political development. Of course, this is not so much a criticism of the authors as it is a testimony to the difficulty and sometimes impossibility of collecting these data. One would hope that the Institute of Governmental Research and the Florida Center for Education in Politics, co-sponsors of this project, will continue their interest in the matter of collecting and publishing voting and registration data. There is a great need in Florida, for instance, for county by county voting data broken down by precincts. This is a tremendous task, but one which would be invaluable to the political and historical researcher.

JOHN M. DEGROVE

Florida Atlantic University

The Wind Commands Me: A Life of Sir Francis Drake. By Ernle Bradford. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965. 251 pp. Illustrations, maps, preface, selected bibliography, index. $4.95.)

Ernle Bradford has written a most readable life of Sir Francis Drake. In his account, the author traces Drake's early life in England and his initial voyages with John Hawkins to Africa and the Caribbean. At first, the English attempted more trading and less stealing in the West Indies but when the Spanish went back on their pledged word at San Juan de Ulua (Vera Cruz, Mexico), they created an enemy who would seek and obtain full satisfaction.

Drake understood well that the weakest spot in Spain's colonial empire was at or near the Isthmus of Panama, and he undertook several expeditions in that neighborhood during the 1570-1586 period. In 1570 he scouted the area and returned two years later to loot the principal city of Nombre de Dios. During the years 1577-1580, after visiting the western coast of South America, Drake decided to circumnavigate the world, and he returned in triumph to Queen Elizabeth with captured treasure valued at several million dollars. A 1585-1586 foray against Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine was not at all successful.

It was Drake who caused Philip II's plans to invade England in 1588 to collapse like a house built of cards. First, Drake attacked the harbor of Cadiz, inflicting heavy damage upon Philip's merchant fleet, and second he destroyed the very important supplies of barrels and dried tuna at Sagres, Portugal. Finally, as every English school boy should know, he was most instrumental in the Armada's defeat at sea. The 1595-1596 excursion into the Caribbean was a complete failure. During this raid everything seemed to go wrong, and to climax it Sir Francis Drake died and his body enclosed in a coffin of lead was lowered into the Caribbean.

The Wind Commands Me probably will not be the best book ever written about Drake, but it is indeed a most stimulating and provocative one. Although we think that we are now involved in the original "cold war," Bradford points out that Spain and England were engaged in a "cold war" over 300 years ago. Drake was far ahead of his time in his treatment of Spanish prisoners, in his conduct towards Negroes and Indians, and in his consideration towards his own seamen. Ernle Bradford, a man who has crossed the Atlantic three times under sail, certainly enjoyed writing about the greatest English sea commander of all time, and he has presented a most readable and exciting narrative.

JAMES W. COVINGTON

University of Tampa

Jacksonian Democracy and the Historians. By Alfred A. Cave. *University of Florida Social Sciences Monographs,* No. 22. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964. vi, 89 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments. $2.00.)

This monograph will be most valuable to the students of the Jacksonian period, but it will be of interest to all those concerned with the historian's craft. Professor Cave, in skillfully delineating the twistings and turnings of historical interpretations of Jacksonian Democracy, has illustrated the limitations, the shortcomings, and the difficulties which often mark historians and their work. He divides his material into three periods: the nineteenth century, 1900-1945, and the period since 1945.

He sees nineteenth century scholarship as dominated by a "Whiggish" interpretation which had as its basic theme "the Jacksonian degradation of the Old Republic." The dominant figures whose works he cites are George Tucker, James Parton, William Graham Sumner, Hermann E. von Holst, and John W. Burgess. All were hostile toward the basic characteristics of the Jacksonian movement. Toward the end of the century, however, the more favorable twentieth-century view of Jacksonianism was heralded by the work of Frederick Jackson Turner. His generation tended to portray Jacksonian Democracy as a fulfillment rather than a betrayal of the nation's political tradition.

Turner was favorably inclined toward Jackson whom he viewed as a representative of the frontier, from which stemmed all that was distinctively American. Those who carried on this interpretation most notably were Carl Russell Fish, John Spencer Bassett, William E. Dodd, Charles A. Beard, Vernon L. Parrington, Claude Bowers, and Marquis James. The pro-Jackson theme was never as widely accepted in the early twentieth century as was the anti-Jackson theme in the nineteenth; and influential dissents were heard. Ralph H. Catterall was persuasive in his defense of the value of the United States Bank, while Edward Channing and Thomas P. Abernethy were bitterly critical of the basic assumptions of the defenders of Jackson.

By 1945, a new emphasis upon the urban labor support for Jackson and the role of Jacksonian Democracy as a precursor of twentieth century liberalism was assuming major proportions due largely to the popularity of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *Age of Jackson*. Though this theme of urban labor support had been suggested as early as 1886 by Richard T. Ely and had been utilized early in the twentieth century by John R. Commons, it received widespread attention only after the Second World War- and then mainly as a catalyst to new researches generally contra-

dicting the interpretation. Joseph Dorfman, Richard B. Morris, Edward Pessen, and Walter Hugins impressively attacked the claims of urban labor support for Jackson. That Jacksonian Democracy was a reactionary movement looking back toward a social and economic world that was vanishing was the theme of John H. Ward and Marvin Meyers. That Jackson's destruction of the Bank was a great setback for our economic development has been cogently argued by Walter B. Smith, Bray Hammond, and Thomas P. Govan. Richard Hofstadter and Louis Hartz attacked the class conflict on which Schlesinger had argued Jacksonianism was based and maintained that middleclass concensus had dominated American politics.

Professor Cave is wise enough, however, to see in Lee Benson one of the more important post-war interpreters, not for his dubious suggestion that ethnic and. religious factors were the basis of political division, but because he has called for "multi-variate analysis" to account for the many determinants of voting behavior. As more and more researchers indicate the bewilderingly pluralistic nature of Jacksonian Democracy, historians must learn to be at home with multiple causation and to use more of the methodology of the social sciences.

Professor Cave is complimented for a good book. The University of Florida Press is censured for not providing any of the monographs of this series with an index.

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.
University of Florida

Agriculture and the Civil War. By Paul W. Gates. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. xii, 383, xiii pp. Introduction, map, illustrations, note on sources and acknowledgments, index. $8.95.)

This book provides the first overall view of agriculture in the United States during the period from 1850 to 1870, with emphasis on changes wrought by the sectional conflict. The study is organized into three general parts - the South, the North, and the United States. While the author relies heavily on secondary

sources for his discussion of the South, the remaining two general discussions are based on extensive ground-breaking research.

One who reads this book will be impressed by the superiority of northern and western agriculture over that of the South, both in productive capacity and in war-time organization. During all the war years the North exported wheat, flour, pork, and lard. Europe's purchases of these more than offset the previous trade with the South, which ended with the closing of the Mississippi River. Shortages of sugar products and cotton were the North's principal problems. While cotton growing was attempted in southern Illinois, Missouri, and Utah, none of these efforts was a practical success. Cotton captured and traded through the lines was much more successful in ameliorating the fiber shortage. Sorghum-growing, to replace Louisiana sugar and molasses, was attempted with limited success.

While the North after 1860 actually expanded its acreage and production, with its farmers enjoying war-time prosperity, the Confederacy was plagued with food shortages, both in the army and in a few urban centers. Impressment and taxes-in-kind, combined with hasty organization and inadequate transportation, failed to improve the quality of the Confederate soldier's diet and the quantity of his rations. However, food often spoiled on the railroad sidings. The pilfering of rail fences by soldiers was one of the most damaging blows the South received.

Labor shortages in the North hastened the development of harvesting machinery and other labor-saving devices, resulting in a 300 percent increase in capital invested in farm machinery in the decade following 1860. This was in contrast to the vast destruction of equipment on the rice and sugar plantations of the South. Typical of other innovations was the development by Gail Borden of the condensed milk industry, providing the federal army and civilians with hygenic, first quality milk, and dairy farmers with an improved market. On the way out was the swill milk industry wherein cows, fed on distillery mash, produced a blueish, insipid milk, and a flaccid flesh with a tendency to putrescence.

After conservative southern congressmen left Washington following secession, the argicultural section of the patent office was elevated to the rank of a full department when, under Isaac Newton, it began a program of experimentation; it issued crop reports, and opened new lines of statistical research. Previously, northern

states had given generous support to agricultural education while the South had done little in this direction. Now came federal grants of public land for agricultural colleges, in addition to the Homestead Act, the Pacific Railroad Act, and the National Bank Act. New England, with its depressed agriculture, took the lead in the movement for land-grant colleges.

While recognizing the tendency for large quantities of the better public land to come under the control of land companies, banks, and speculators, Professor Gates sees the public land policy of the war period as a complete retreat from the conservatism of previous United States land policy. While grafted in an ill-fitting fashion upon an older system of granting large areas to railroads and to states for various purposes, "the Homestead Act cannot be called a distressing disappointment," but "constructive and far-reaching in its results."

JAMES C. BONNER

Woman's College of Georgia

Tennessee's War. Compiled and edited by Stanley F. Horn. (Nashville: Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, 1965. 364 pp. Foreword, prologue, endpaper maps, bibliography. $5.95.)

Certainly no one more competent could have been found to compile and edit a work of this nature; Stanley Horn already has to his credit two of the finest descriptions of military operations, *The Army of Tennessee* and *The Decisive Battle of Nashville*. In addition to a foreword and a prologue, this work is comprised of participants' contemporary writings, diaries, letters, and reports. These are combined with a minimum of editorial comment. This is Mr. Horn's avowed purpose and the result is excellent.

No claim is made that newly-discovered materials have been used, but those utilized have been well selected and offer the reader many more details than are usually available. One cannot refrain, however, from disappointment over the lack of an index. The Civil War, as "described by participants," is arranged chronologically. Matter regarding a particular period may be found by reference to chapter titles.

In the prologue, Horn quotes Senator John Sherman's speech delivered at Vanderbilt University in 1887. The announcement that Sherman would address the students created a turmoil and a demonstration led by the future dean of the Law School and two future members of the Board of Trust playing Dixie on their mouth organs. One wonders why in the description of the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson the journal of Randal W. McGavock was not utilized. "Terror in Nashville" and "Shiloh," including the autobiographical remarks by Henry M. Stanley, are excellent chapters. The material on the Battle of Murfreesboro brings up the still unsettled question of the spelling of Stone (Stone's) River. "Six Months Between Battles" (Murfreesboro and Chickamauga) includes Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Freemantle's (British Cold Stream Guards) famous description of the baptism and confirmation of General Braxton Bragg at the Episcopal Church in Shelbyville.

Quotations from the pen of John Fitch, General Rosecrans' provost judge, give a flowery picture of life behind Federal lines. Rosecrans occupied a house at Murfreesboro from which a "rebel" had fled. According to Fitch, "the uncreative aristocrat" had depended on the ingenuity of the "Yankees" for the luxuries of life -the marble "fire fronts," mirrors, curtains, furniture, bed linens, books, and pictures. This indictment of the South is reiterated, but with sympathy, by Henry Grady twenty years later. Fitch and others describe the trouble Federal authorities had with camp followers, particularly in Nashville, and with thieves, profiteers, and spies. The intimate observations of events and people throughout the book are most refreshing.

"The Long Way Home," the final chapter, is appropriately taken from the Journal of Lieutenant Bromfield L. Ridley, aide de camp to General A. P. Stewart, Army of Tennessee, who recounts the ordeal of traveling home across war-torn North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, from April 27 to June 12, 1865.

ADAM G. ADAMS

Coral Gables, Florida

The Union vs. Dr. Mudd. By Hal Higdon. (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1964. xii, 235 pp. Illustrations, preface, bibliography, index. $5.95.)

Historians have written dozens of volumes relating to John Wilkes Booth's infamous deed of a century ago. But Hal Higdon believes that one very prominent and heroic person who figured in the nineteenth century's famous crime has been neglected. Samuel A. Mudd is known as the doctor who set Booth's leg and who later distinguished himself by dedicated service when yellow fever raged inside Fort Jefferson, but who was Dr. Mudd? What kind of man was he? Was he really the victim of unfortunate circumstances? Did he deserve his punishment? Hal Higdon attempts to answer these questions in *The Union vs. Dr. Mudd.*

Actually, Higdon plays a Perry Mason role. He sets out to write a biography of Dr. Mudd, and in doing so he re-examines almost every shred of evidence that was used to convict the doctor of conspiracy in the Lincoln assassination plot. Readers will conclude that the prosecution failed to establish its case-the evidence against Dr. Mudd, a victim of hysteria, was circumstantial. The defendant, a civilian, was tried by a court-martial in time of peace. The case was settled more on passion than on points of law. Dr. Mudd was not even permitted to testify on his own behalf; he attended the trial as a passive observer. His appearance in irons did not demonstrate that the government believed in innocence until proven guilty. Two of the prosecution's star witnesses were later convicted of crimes. The highest ranking officer and president of the commission, Major General David Hunter, was a close friend of Lincoln. Belligerent by nature, Hunter was an unlikely choice as an impartial jury chairman.

Dr. Mudd and seven others were convicted. As to the actual guilt of George Atzerodt, David E. Herold, and Lewis Paine, there was little room for doubt. In the cases of Samuel Arnold, Michael O'Laughlin, Ned Spangler, Dr. Samuel Mudd and Mrs. Surratt, there was contradictory testimony. There was room for much reasonable doubt in the cases of Arnold, Spangler, and Mudd. Although these men were proved to be southern sympathizers, it was not proved that they endorsed assassination. The court sentenced Arnold, O'Laughlin, and Dr. Mudd to life imprisonment at New York's Albany Penitentiary. Fearing new insurrections against the

government, Secretary Stanton decided to move these dangerous prisoners to Fort Jefferson off the coast of Florida.

Floridians will read Higdon's account of life at Fort Jefferson with real interest. He uses the letters Mrs. Mudd received from Fort Jefferson to give us verbatim accounts of two years at what has been called America's Devil's Island. The letters tell of inadequate rations, of cruel and vengeful guards, and of the life of 550 prisoners crowded into the fort. For disobedience of regulations, the guards often strung up prisoners by the thumbs, roped and dunked them in the gulf, whipped them, or tied them to tree branches and left them to swing throughout the night. A cruel sergeant named Murphy beat a French Canadian so severely with his musket butt that the prisoner died. (Murphy was promoted to a lieutenancy.) Enlisted men stationed on the island lived a life better only by a degree than that led by the prisoners.

We are indebted to Higdon for this documented attempt to shed light on Dr. Mudd's heroism when yellow fever swept Fort Jefferson. The sacrifices made by this somewhat timid doctor are surprising, when viewed in the light of his own sufferings; he volunteered to risk his own life in an effort to save the lives of fellow prisoners and guards.

The final act in this post-war drama was the appearance of Mrs. Mudd in President Andrew Johnson's office. "Mrs. Mudd," said the President, "I have complied with my promise to release your husband before I left the White House. I no longer hold myself responsible. I guess Mrs. Mudd, you think this is tardy justice in carrying out my promise made to you two years ago. The situation was such, however, that I could not act as I wanted to do." Dr. Mudd was now free. He was pardoned in 1869 four years after his conviction. But another ninety years passed before he received official vindication. In October 1959, Congress passed and President Eisenhower signed into law a bill providing for a bronze memorial at Fort Jefferson commemorating Dr. Samuel A. Mudd's service during the yellow fever epidemic.

MERLIN G. COX

Daytona Beach Junior College