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Cover Illustration: Crew dumping trash sometime between 1962 and 1964 at Toytown, the former solid waste site on the east side of I-275 between Gandy Boulevard and Roosevelt Boulevard. Image courtesy of Island Garden Club Collection, Gulf Beaches Public Library, Madeira Beach, Florida.

Book Reviews

Shipwrecked in the Atlantic World: Reevaluating Jonathan Dickinson's Interactions with Native Peoples along Florida's Southeastern Coast

by Jason Daniels

> *About One a Clock in the Moring we felt our Vessel strike some few strokes, and then she floated again for five or six Minutes, before she ran flat aground, where she beat violently at first; the Wind was violent; and it was very dark, that our Marriners could not see Land: The Seas broke over us, that we were in the quarter of an hour Floating in the Cabin. By this time we felt the Vessel not to strike often; but several of her Timbers were broken, and some Plank started; the Seas continued breaking over us, and no Land to be seen. We concluded to keep in the Vessel as long as she would hold together. About the third Hour this Morning, we supposed we saw Land at some considerable distance. And at this time we found the Water began to run out of the Vessel, and at Daylight we perceived we were upon the Shoar, on a Beach lying upon the Breach of the Sea; which, at time, as the Surges of the Sea reversed, was dry... We rejoyced at this our Preservation from the raging Seas; but at the same Instant feared the sad Consequence that followed.*[1]

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1. *God's protecting providence, man's surest help and defence, in the times of the greatest difficulty, and most Imminent danger: evidenced in the remarkable deliverance of divers Persons, from the devouring waves of the sea; amongst which they suffered Shipwrack: and also, from the more cruelly devouring jaws of the inhumane canibals of Florida, faithfully related by one of the persons concerned therein, Jonathan Dickenson* (London: T. Sowle, 1701), 3-4. Hereafter cited as *God's Protecting Providence.*

As the sun rose upon the mangled and beleaguered *Reformation* on October 23, 1696, Jonathan Dickinson, an Anglo-Jamaican planter in the process of relocating his mercantile affairs to Philadelphia, found himself shipwrecked hundreds of miles from the nearest European colony and stranded amongst Native Americans.[2] For modern scholars, Dickinson's account of his two-month odyssey from present-day Jupiter Island to Spanish St. Augustine has proved to be an indispensable ethnographical tract for examining Native Americans living south of the Spanish mission provinces during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, this complicated and inscrutable text, like much of the Florida peninsula, remains relatively understudied by scholars of the Atlantic World.

While Florida's transition from colonial outpost to a well-settled plantation colony never occurred, the region represented a geographical and cultural crossroads where Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans interacted in interestingly complicated ways.[3] For Dickinson, however, Florida represented a world apart

2. The *Reformation* ran aground on present-day Jupiter Island. Richard Limpeney, the mate, with a quadrant and seamen's calendar reckoned their latitude to be twenty-seven degrees and-eight minutes. The positioning placed the castaways just south of the present-day St. Lucie Inlet. It should be noted that the modern-day St. Lucie Inlet did not exist in 1696. Many of the inlets Dickinson mentions in his journal closed and opened seasonally and as a result of coastal development do not exist today. The castaways were marginally closer to St. Augustine than Havana at about 250 and 350 miles away respectively. Historians and anthropologists debate about exactly where Dickinson landed and the location of the native American groups he describes. For the most recent and most thorough exploration of debates surrounding locations of places described in Dickinson's journal see: Alan Brech and J.F. Lanham, "The Location of the Paramount Town of the Ais Indians and the General Location of the Indians of Santa Lucia," *The Florida Anthropologist*, 64:3-4 (2010): 115-48.

3. Florida, because of its strategic position and seemingly boundless, but rarely realized, possibilities for profit, represented a considerable source of concern for the Spanish, English, and French colonial officials in the early eighteenth century. For Spain, Florida, at the end of the seventeenth century, represented a precious northern buffer zone for an increasingly indefensible empire. For the English, Florida provided a source of both prestige and problems. At the turn of the eighteenth century, *La Florida* (present-day Georgia and Florida) represented the last piece, albeit one dominated by Native Americans, in an expanding North American Atlantic seaboard. Conversely, the Spanish colony provided a vexing haven for runaway-slaves from South Carolina. For France, Florida, particularly the Gulf Coast, represented a necessary piece in linking French possessions, via the Mississippi River, in Canada to those in the American South and the Caribbean. See Paul Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2002); Daniel Usner *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 23-60.

from settled society, a savage wilderness rife with uncertainty and teeming with innumerable insecurities.[4] Yet, this "very dismal place," despite its unfamiliarity to Dickinson, his family, his enslaved Africans, and the Caribbean crew, was still very much a part of an emerging Atlantic community.[5] As an area of cultural clashes and political and economic maneuvering between various Europeans and Native Americans, Florida witnessed many trans-national, cultural, ideological, and material exchanges. Examining Florida as an "Atlantic area" provides an interesting opportunity to explore how various Native American groups reconciled an evolving Atlantic world with their traditional worldview, intertribal relations, and their relationships with Europeans.[6] The complex interplay between competing Native American groups and different Europeans along the east coast of Florida at the end of the eighteenth century illustrates the extraordinary pace at which Native Americans and Europeans adapted to the vast changes of

4. Because Spaniards failed to develop permanent settlements along the southeastern coast, we might assume that the Native American polities that existed in 1513 continued into the 1690s and, though populations may well have been lowered from pre-Columbian levels, the Native-Americans continued to live much as they had, while adjusting to the new opportunities presented by Europeans. Amy Bushnell suggests several factors that retarded the growth of Spanish Florida including "the crown's protective attitude toward natives, the obstacles of trade, the shortage of currency, the problems of food distribution, the slow Spanish increase in population and the rapid native decrease, and the exhausting wars." See Amy Busnell, *The King's Coffer: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1981), 1-14.

5. The castaways included twenty-four people: Jonathan Dickinson, his wife Mary, their infant child, Jonathan, a Quaker missionary named Robert Barrow on his way home from a proselytizing tour of the Caribbean, and Dickinson's kinsman, Benjamin Allen. The crew included five common sailors: Solomon Cresson, Joseph Buckley, Thomas Fownes, Thomas Jemmet, and Nathaniel Randall. The captain, Joseph Kirle, hailed from Philadelphia. Kirle and his mate, Richard Limpeney, were accompanied by John Hilliard, the master's boy and Ben, the master's slave. Dickinson brought with him ten enslaved Africans: Venus, an Indian girl, died en route from Jamaica. *God's Protecting Providence*, 4.

6. One of the major criticisms of Atlantic history, as suggested by Jack Greene, is that by focusing on lands bordering the Atlantic Ocean historians deflect attention away from inland populations and their role in the Atlantic world. Furthermore, with an explicitly Atlantic focus, historians seeking to illustrate the connections that tied the various areas of the Atlantic together do so at the expense of the development of local areas without much concern about how those connections and trans-national relations affected the internal histories of the areas they connected. See Philip D. Morgan and Jack P. Greene, "Introduction: The Present State of Atlantic History" in *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*, ed. Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5-7.

the period and made decisions based on both local and trans-Atlantic influences.

By failing to consider the directives of the Native Americans, the proceeding analysis of Dickinson's shipwreck suggests that previous historical interpretations of Dickinson's journal misrepresent the actions of the historical actors.[7] Therefore, this article focuses primarily on exploring the subtle ways in which local circumstances manifest themselves in Dickinson's account of his captivity in Florida. By examining Dickinson's journal in an Atlantic world context, this article further illustrates that Florida was not simply an isolated outpost and a string of missions; rather, Florida, as early as the turn of the eighteenth century, was firmly entrenched in an expanding and evolving Atlantic world.[8]

Native American Background

During their two-month, 250-mile trek from present day Jupiter Island to St. Augustine, Dickinson and company interacted with three autonomous Native American groups—the Jobé, the

7. This article particularly engages the two sustained commentaries on Dickinson's journal: Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles Andrews, eds., *God's Protecting Providence or Jonathan Dickinson's Journal: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Port Royal in Jamaica to Philadelphia between August 23, 1696 and April 1, 1697* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945); and Amy Turner Bushnell, "Escape of the Nickaleers: European-Indian Relations of the Wild Coast of Florida in 1696, from Jonathan Dickinson's Journal," in *Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Richmond F. Brown (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 31-58.

8. Historians of Florida typically treat the peninsula in isolation or in the context of Spanish Borderlands, while rarely endeavoring to integrate Florida historiography into an Atlantic world framework. There are two veins of scholarship on early Florida: one addresses Native Americans prior to European arrival and their subsequent reactions to the Spanish. Another focuses on Spanish efforts to settle the peninsula. The relationship of Native Americans to other Europeans and the larger Atlantic world receive occasional commentary but remain largely unexplored. In a recent volume on the transformation of the Gulf South, Daniel H. Usner Jr. remarked on the "lingering indifference shown by many early American historians" toward this region despite the "central role of religion in colonialism and the contest among empires for Indian trade and territory." Usner suggests that for most of the last two centuries, historians examined Gulf Coast colonization in the shadow of a nationalist history of the United States that privileged its founding English colonies. Usner further contends that historians actively shaped representations of life in places like seventeenth-century Florida to contrast with life along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, purposefully "essentializing"

Santaluces, and the Ais—as well as several Timucuan groups living in mission towns south of St. Augustine.[9] Influenced by prior experiences and popular perceptions of the "other," each group held distinct expectations, prejudices, and attitudes about interactions with outsiders. Native Americans had contended with Europeans along Florida's east coast for nearly two centuries before the *Reformation* arrived in 1696. The engagements, most often between the Spanish and Native Floridians, had a long and often unsavory tenure. In general, Native American interactions with Northern Europeans were episodic but they offer insight into how Native American groups developed different opinions about separate groups of Europeans. Due to the relatively sparse documentary record, scholars have been forced to rely on vignettes, like Dickinson's shipwreck, to examine European and

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cultural differences between European nations in order to explain why England's colonies purportedly grew and expanded more successfully than others. Amy Bushnell suggests that "students of Atlantic history focused on the societies, plantations, and commerce of the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese colonists and on enslaved Africans, leaving Spanish colonists to their own historians and Indians to ethno-historians." Jack Greene contends that "the new multicultural interest in the non-British roots of United States civilization...has remained relatively unconcerned with large cultural worlds to which the areas of Spanish and French penetration were attached...[thus] early American historians [continue] to be largely uninformed about the extensive and rich historiography produced...on those larger Spanish and French cultural worlds." Greene further suggests that "such de-contextualization cannot be expected to produce comprehensive understandings of the histories of the areas that suffer it, much less to enrich them." See Daniel H. Usner Jr., "The Significance of the Gulf South in Early American History" in Brown, ed., *Coastal Encounters*, 13-14; Amy Bushnell, "Indigenous America and the Limits of the Atlantic World, 1493-1825," in Greene and Morgan, *Atlantic World*, 191; Greene, "Hemispheric History and Atlantic History," in Greene and Morgan, *Atlantic World*, 300-01.

9. See Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Peter Wood, Gregorgy Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Cynthia Van Zandt, *Brothers among Nations: The Pursuit of Intercultural Alliances in Early America, 1580-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Steven Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

Native American relationships south of the mission provinces.[10] Therefore, it is important to remember that these relationships were not static and the treatment of European castaways varied according to time and place.

Reexamining Dickinson's account from an Atlantic perspective illustrates how Native Americans consistently and consciously incorporated their world-view into the expanding European colonial endeavor.[11] James Axtell suggests that "since the Spanish flotas contained black Africans and light-skinned Spaniards as well as more familiar brown-skinned Indian people from Central and South America, the Floridian's world view had to expand to incorporate and account for these strangers and geographies and cultures from where they came."[12] The introduction of Africans to this complicated web of interaction only further illustrates the dynamic nature of the multi-cultural world of late-seventeenth century Florida. Enslaved Africans accompanied many of Florida's early exploration expeditions, worked in and around St. Augustine, and occasionally

10. Dickinson and company spent just over two months along the east coast of Florida, a month of which was spent at the Jece, the paramount Ais village south of present-day Cape Canaveral. For general discussions of the Native Americans along Florida's east coast see: John Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 52-60, 63-69, 79-92; Eugene Lyon, "More Light on the Indians of the Ays Coast," (Unpublished Manuscript, on file at P.K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, 1967).

11. In the body of historical literature which touches directly upon these Native American groups, eyewitness accounts are limited to the Menédez party or its chroniclers, Spanish governmental, military or religious records following initial conquest, and a few outside accounts. See Lyon, "More Light on the Indians of the Ays Coast," 4. Lyons discusses the historiography up to the 1960s in this unpublished paper as well. Milanch suggests that without Dickinson's account "we would know little about the Hobe or the Ais, to the north." Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*, 56.

12. Axtell further suggests that "this is never a small undertaking because it involves a major adjustment of a people's ethnocentric sense of uniqueness at the naval of the universe. If it does not reduce their sense of superiority, it certainly complicates it by introducing disturbing intimations of cultural relativism," James Axtell, *The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 14.

ran away to Native American villages to the south.[13] Bushnell suggests that a considerable number of enslaved Africans ran off and intermarried with the Ais during the seventeenth century.[14] Jane Landers further contends that Africans realized the benefits associated with their proximity to autonomous Native American groups along Florida's east coast. For example, in 1603 the Ais gave refuge to seven enslaved Africans from St. Augustine. Five were later recaptured but two others were said to have married Indians and were never retrieved.[15] These episodic encounters provided historians with opportunities to examine how Native Americans adjusted to their involvement in the expanding European colonial endeavor.[16]

Native American integration of the European colonial endeavor into their worldview, however, should not be taken for granted. Unlike the sedentary, agricultural people of northern Florida, who in large part rendered themselves obedient to the Spanish king and his colonial representatives and accepted Christianity, the Native Americans of central and south Florida typically maintained their autonomy.[17] Fewer contacts with the Spanish may have contributed to these groups' ability to maintain relative autonomy. Jerald Milanich argues that the Spanish showed little interest in the Native American groups along the Florida southeast coast due to their small numbers and because their non-agrarian lifestyle provided little material for the colonists at St. Augustine.[18] Milanich further suggests that the

13. Jane Landers suggests that "enslaved Africans first entered the region in significant numbers in 1526. Landers, "Africans and Native Americans on the Spanish Florida Frontier" in *Beyond Black and Red, African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Matthew Restall, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 55.
14. Bushnell, *The King's Coffer*, 22.
15. Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 287.
16. For a general background of slaves in early Spanish Florida see: Landers, "Africans and Native Americans on the Spanish Frontier," 54-62.
17. The native groups of central and southern Florida did not farm maize and probably did not cultivate any crops. Villages and populations were probably smaller and less densely distributed than in northern Florida. Consequently, the establishment of missions and the control of native populations were much more difficult in the southern two-thirds of the state than in the northern third. See Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*, 34.
18. Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of our Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeast Indians* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 35.

distance from St. Augustine made maintaining missions in south Florida nearly impossible.[19] Fierce resistance to foreign intrusion also limited efforts to settle, proselytize, and trade further south along the peninsula.[20] Nevertheless, with fewer contacts, the Native Americans along Florida's southeastern coast exercised much more autonomy than their north-Florida counterparts in choosing whether or not to integrate Europeans into their world.

The Ais Indians dominated the central southeast coast of Florida.[21] They lived from present-day Cape Canaveral southward into St. Lucie County. The influence and mandate of the chief of the Ais extended as far south as the upper keys, at least in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[22] The evidence,

19. Several missionary and military operations south of Cape Canaveral failed during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For earlier interactions, see Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1984). A final missionary effort to southwest Florida in Calusa territory took place two years after Dickinson departed St. Augustine, but like previous attempts, this final attempt failed because of fierce Native American resistance. For missionary attempts south of St. Augustine, see John Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); John Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

20. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of our Lord*, 35.

21. Two peoples, the Calusa and the Ais, dominated most of coastal south Florida and its immediate hinterland from the sixteenth century to the early years of the eighteenth century. The Calusa represented the most important aboriginal group in southern Florida in terms of population size and density, political and military power, and influence. In the sixteenth century and eighteenth centuries, they inhabited the coastal region of southwestern Florida including Charlotte Harbor, Pine Island, San Carlos Bay, and Estero Bay. The Calusa were clearly the more influential of the two peoples, exercising hegemony over most of Florida's southwest coast, the Keys, parts of the Lake Okeechobee region, and, at times, even the Biscayne Bay area. Through alliance with the Ais or through prestige, the Calusa's head cacique received treasure from Spanish shipwrecks along Florida's southeast coast. The chief of the Ais was an ally of the Calusa head chief in the 1550s and 1560s and, possibly, something more—in view of the goods and people from shipwrecks he sent to the Calusa's head caciques in that era. The Ais's chief exercised hegemony or had influence all the way down the southeast coast to Biscayne Bay and the first of the keys below it. On this, see Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 2.

22. The Ais region encompassed the coast, the adjacent mainland, and probably a section of the St. Johns River in Brevard County. West of the Ais, in the south-central area of the state, from Orange County south into Osceola County and parts of Polk and Highland counties, lived another native group, the Jororo. To the north of the Jororo within the St. Johns River drainage, from Seminole County north to Lake George, were the Mayaca Indians. Two of

however, is conflicting regarding the place of the Jobé within the Ais Province during the third quarter of the of the seventeenth century.[23] It appears that the area from the Jeaga village, just south of Jobé village, through several Tequesta villages into the upper keys represented something of a unit apart from the Ais proper, even though they were within the region influenced by the Ais cacique's hegemony.[24] Evidently, the Jobé represented the southern limit of Ais influence because the Ais did not directly influence the scattered peoples along the southern limits of the peninsula. The Santaluces, a subsidiary Ais tribe, lived roughly halfway between the Jobé village and Jece, the paramount Ais village, on the mainland near Cape Canaveral. While none of these Native American groups maintained sustained contact with the Spanish at St. Augustine, Spanish relations influenced the Ais more than the other smaller groups. Nevertheless, the Ais, like the Jobé and the Santaluces, maintained relative autonomy in their interactions with the Spanish. Experiences with the Spanish and the advantages and disadvantages associated with that contact varied according to Native American proximity to St. Augustine. Previous experiences with other Europeans greatly influenced how these various Native American groups received and treated Dickinson and company.

From their first recorded encounters to the eve of Dickinson's arrival, Native Americans dominated their interactions with Europeans along the southeast coast of Florida. As a result of their less than felicitous interactions, the Spanish struggled to develop consistent trade or a mission presence among Florida's southeastern Native Americans.[25] In 1513, the exploratory mission of Juan Ponce de Léon, in need of provisions, sent men ashore in the vicinity of Jupiter Inlet, near the village of the Jobé Indians. Skirmishes took place and the Spaniards kidnapped one Native American to be used as a guide.[26] The negative reaction to the

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these three groups, the Jororo and the Mayaca, are often mentioned together in Spanish documents. As a consequence of their locatoin, the Jororo and Mayaca remained relatively isolated from Spanish initiatives. It was only after the native populations at the northern missions were severely decimated that the Spaniards began missionary efforts in the 1690s. See Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 63.

23. Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 61.
24. Ibid., 200.
25. Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to Present* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 134.
26. Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 1.

arrival of Ponce de Léon might indicate a history of unwelcome voyages (possibly slavers) to Florida's east coast. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, intermittent contact continued along the southeast coast between the Native Americans and Spanish shipwreck survivors and slavers. Generally, Native Americans enslaved the survivors or killed them on first encounter. After these initial conflicts, shipwreck victims could expect little mercy from the Native Americans along Florida's southeast coast.[27]

Nevertheless, the Spanish occasionally received friendly receptions and promises of allegiance from Native American leaders.[28] Ambiguous allegiances usually proved to be short-lived as initially good relations soured after mistreatment.[29] Certain occasions and interactions, however, provided great benefits for the Ais, but the immediate goals of the caciques typically dictated the nature of these interactions. For example, the salvaging of Spanish ships and the division of the spoils among chiefs may have created a cause for positive relations with Europeans:

> I desire to speak of the riches found by the Indians of Ais, which is perhaps as much as a million...or over, in bars of silver, in gold, and in articles of jewelry made by the hands of Mexican Indians, which the [ship] passengers were bringing with them.[30]

James Axtell suggests that "Floridians eagerly collected these metals from the wrecks, not because they appreciated their monetary value in European standards—they did not—but because of their color, brilliance, and possibly weight and their uses as media for their own artistic forms."[31] Eugene Lyon suggests that there is evidence for shipwrecks from the Spanish gold fleets of 1554, 1536,

27. Ibid., 12.
28. In 1565, Pedro Menédez de Avilés established "good relations with Cacique of Ays." In 1580, Governor Pedro Menédez announced the "establishment of peace in the area of the Ays coast." In 1605, "caciques visit St. Augstine and agree to maintain peace and send some Indians for Christian instruction." In 1607, Governor Pedro ye Ybarra reported that "conditions are now safe along a 100-league stretch of Florida coast." In 1628, Governor Borja reported that the caciques of the south coast are happy and the area is now secure and the Indians have renounced their former relations with the English and the Dutch. Lyon, "More Light on the Indians of the Ays coast," 27-32.
29. Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 78.
30. D' Escalante Fontenada cited in Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 42.
31. Axtell, *The Indians' New South*, 13.

1618, 1622, 1634, and 1715 in the area inhabited by the Ais.[32] Lyon contends that "salvaging became a persistent and ingrained part of the culture" of the Ais.[33] Conversely, if we consider that only one shipwreck from the gold fleets occurred each generation, Lyon may have over-stated their historical importance.

In an effort to contain or at least regularize the practice of salvaging, Spanish officials attempted to negotiate peace agreements with their Native American counterparts. Eventually, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Spanish made a breakthrough with the Ais cacique and the Native Americans subject to him because the cacique promised to provide provisions to the survivors from any Spanish ships and send them on to St. Augustine. The Ais also ambiguously agreed to capture enemy survivors and report their presence to the governor. Nevertheless, their promise to the Spanish was tenuous at best. Despite efforts by Spaniards to proselytize and to forge political alliances, the Native Americans of central and south Florida shunned those attempts and retained their complex socio-religious systems, inter-regional relations, and independence.[34]

Native Americans south of St. Augustine undoubtedly understood the ramifications of a constant Spanish presence in their villages, including the loss of land and, as non-agrarian peoples, the loss of their traditional subsistence methods as well. A constant Spanish presence might also have altered the power structures among the peoples of southeast Florida. Therefore, it stands to reason that the Ais and their subsidiaries limited their contact with Spaniards to occasions that provided immediate benefits. This type of vacillating behavior, especially in the face of military expeditions, kept the Spanish "perpetually puzzled and irritated" with their Native

32. In addition to ships lost out of the *flotas*, many other vessels wrecked on the reefs and sandbars along the Ais coast. The southernmost of the ships of Jean Ribault's ill-starred1565 expedition was lost on the shores of Cape Canaveral. In 1570 and 1571, six smaller ships were driven ashore; one was destroyed by the Ais. A document of 1630 mentions Flemish prisoners of the Ais, evidently from a shipwreck. Three Dutch ships sunk near the Ais Inlet in 1626. Lyon, "More Light on the Indians of the Ays Coast," 7-8.

33. Ibid., 8.

34. In the early colonial period, an increased European presence made life for Native Floridians more difficult. Introduced diseases and the colonial system reduced populations, caused alterations of traditional political systems, and disrupted what had previously been adequate subsistence systems, particularly in northern Florida. Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 33.

American counterparts. While the Spanish characterized Native American actions as "treachery," Lyon suggests that "all the Indians were doing was temporarily yielding ground when confronted with an immediate and present force, and then returning to their way when the threat was gone."[35]

These limited interactions, however, led to changes in the socioeconomic and political organization of the Native Americans along Florida's southeast coast. The Native Americans became increasingly connected not only to Spaniards but also other Europeans and their African counterparts. Consequently, rather than kill wayward Europeans, Native Americans in the early seventeenth century began to consider the benefits of keeping castaways alive, particularly for ransom. These groups increasingly traded with Atlantic-world interlopers as they came ashore for wood and water. Amy Bushnell suggests that the Ais traded with French corsairs for ambergris, a perfume fixative, and sassafras and china root, popular treatments for syphilis.[36] They also interacted with English and Dutch corsairs, who lurked near Cape Canaveral looking to attack Spanish ships. The Ais witnessed, on several occasions, Europeans interacting with each other along their coasts as well. In 1627, a Dutch fleet drove a Spanish frigate aground near Cape Canaveral. The Dutch mariners skirmished with the Spaniards, stripped the frigate of its contents, burned the frigate to the waterline, and anchored near an Ais village. In the end, the Dutch, with "gifts and cajolery," successfully established relations with the Ais. When the Spanish arrived in the village to purge the Dutch, who had already retreated, they found six English and French pirates being held captive. Rojas y Borja suggested that they were being held until they could be brought to St. Augustine.[37] Their captivity, however, seems strikingly similar to Dickinson's captivity discussed below. Since foreign captives did not provide immediate benefits for the natives, they remained in the village living amongst the Ais until discovered by the Spanish. What the Ais actually planned for their European captives remains open to speculation, but when the Spanish arrived at the village the Ais noted their intention to deliver them to St. Augustine.

35. Lyon, "More Light on the Indians of the Ays Coast," 13.
36. Amy Turner Bushnell, "Republic of Spaniards, Republic of Indians" in *The New History of Florida*, ed., Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 68.
37. Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 90.

To combat the problems posed by Northern Europeans trading with the natives of Florida's southern coast, the Spanish governor continued to pursue friendly relations with the Ais. Borja noted that "on the occasions when English and Dutch ships have arrived on the coast of these Indians, they have not admitted them or traded with them. And they have come to give me news that there are enemy ships on the coast."[38] The key here is the Native Americans' refusal to "admit" or "trade" with the English or the Dutch. The Spaniard said nothing about them being put to death, a treatment apparently reserved for his countrymen.[39] This omission suggests that the relations between Northern Europeans and the Native Americans along Florida's southeast coast were somewhat different than those experienced by the Spanish. At the very least, Native Americans, especially the Ais, made clear distinctions between different groups of Europeans. Whether these distinctions were based on national origins of the Europeans or the immediate goals of the Native Americans is unknown. When Dickinson and company shipwrecked along Florida's southeastern coast in 1696, they entered into a complex web of resistance and cooperation between Europeans and Native Americans. In the end, these early episodes suggest that Native Americans were very knowledgeable about different European nations and distinguished between them. These distinctions greatly influenced the Native Americans' reaction to the English castaways huddled around the shambles of the *Reformation*.

The Shipwreck

Having unknowingly arrived in this web of interaction, the castaways attempted to consolidate the wreckage of the *Reformation*. Dickinson and London, one of Dickinson's ten enslaved Africans, were searching for some type of suitable shelter when:

> About the Eighth or Ninth hour, came two Indian Men... from the Southward, running fiercely, and foaming at the Mouth, having no Weapons but their Knives, and forthwith, not making any stop, violently seized the two first Men they

38. Rojas y Boria, quoted in Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 89-90.
39. For a discussion of the numerous executions of Spanish missionaries and military men, see Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 78-103; and Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 99-163.

> met with...they used no Violence, for the Men resisted not...Their Countenance was very Furious and Bloody... the rest of our Men followed from the Vessel, asking me what they should do, whether they should get their guns to kill these two; but I perswaded them otherwise, desiring them to be quiet, shewing their inability to defend us from what would follow, but to put our Trust in the Lord, who was able to defend to the uttermost...whilst these two... stood with a wild furious Countenance, looking upon us; I thought with my self to give them some Tobacco and Pipes, which they greedily snatch'd from me, and making a snuffing Noise like a Wild-Beast, turned their backs upon us, and ran away.[40]

Post-storm reconnaissance missions were regular occurrences along Florida's east coast. Spanish prisoners reported that they often saw their captors head for the local beaches after a storm and return with "great wealth, in bars of silver and gold, and bags of reals."[41] Lyon suggests that Native Americans "had made adaptations to a wrecking and salvage complex" and essentially became experts at the task.[42]

Once the two Native American scouts departed, the wet, weak, and lame castaways:

> communed together, and considered our Condition, being among a barbarous People, such as were generally accounted Men-Eaters, believing those two were gone to Alarm their People: We sat our selves down, expecting Cruelty and hard Death, except it should please Almighty God to work wonderfully for our Deliverance. In this deep Concernment some of us were not left without Hopes; blessed be the Name of the Lord, in who we trusted. As we were under a deep Exercise and Concernment, a Motion arose from one of us, that if we should put our selves under the Denomination of Spaniards (it being known that that Nation had some Influence on them) and one of

40. *God's Protecting Providence*, 5.
41. Escalente Fontaneda quoted in Axtell, *The Indians' New South*, 13.
42. Lyon, More Light on the Indians of the Ays Coast," 14.

> us, named Salomon Cresson, speaking Spanish Language well, it was hope'd this might be a means for our Delivery; to which, the most of the Company assented.[43]

These two passages from Dickinson's journal are very revealing because they highlight several ideological strands that influenced the castaways' world-view and decision-making process.[44] First, for Dickinson, Robert Barrow, a Quaker missionary, and the editors of the first published edition of the journal, surviving this ordeal in Florida was a matter of putting faith in the Lord.[45] For an eighteenth-century Quaker audience, "God's protecting providence" was the central theme of the journal.[46] To further illustrate the glory of God, God's providence was actively juxtaposed with the harsh environment and the barbarous "devouring jawes of the inhuman canibals of Florida."[47] The prefacer of the original

43. *God's Protecting Providence*, 5.
44. Dickinson recorded the events of his time in Florida after his arrival in Philadelphia with prompting from the Society of Friends. Two manuscript copies, one previously undiscovered and being prepared for publication, of the journal are located at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The first published edition (1699) remains relatively true to the manuscript; however, some of the language was modified while other passages were excluded all together. The captain of the *Reformation*, Joseph Kirle, confirmed the accuracy of Dickinson's account.
45. Barrow was a well-traveled and oft-persecuted Quaker missionary. Barrow spent twenty-six years ministering throughout Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. He was a close friend of George Fox and a highly regarded member of the London Quaker meeting. Barrow, accompanied by another Quaker missionary, Robert Wardell, traveled along the east coast of America and the Caribbean. By the fall of 1696, Wardell died and Barrow resided in Elizabeth Parish, Jamaica with his fellow religionists. Discouraged by the conditions prevailing among the Friends in Jamaica, he left with Dickinson for Philadelphia.
46. *God's Protecting Providence* was an eighteenth-century bestseller. Its value as a Quaker tract was instantly recognized. The title pages of the various reprints of the journal reveal the importance of God in the narrative. After the first edition in 1699, Dickinson and Barrow feature equally. With each new edition Barrow, a Quaker missionary suffering his last ordeal, becomes the real hero whereas Dickinson remains merely the author. Nevertheless, Dickinson is the model of the emerging Quaker man of business and his text alternates between the story of his competent actions and a hagiographic appreciation of Barrow, the elder, beloved missionary, whose death near the end of the narrative provokes a textual apotheosis. See Lorrayne Carroll, "Captivity Literature," in *Oxford Handbook of Early American Literature*, ed. Kevin J. Hayes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 155. In all, the journal appears in fifteen editions and in three different languages: English, Dutch, and German. For a discussion of the various editions see: Walker Andrews and Andrews, *God's Protecting Providence or Jonathan Dickinson's Journal*, 163-96.
47. *God's Protecting Providence*, title page.

journal, presumably Samuel Preston, suggested that the castaways were "so affected with such eminent appearances of the protecting hand of Providence, for their help, preservations, and deliverance that they are not willing to confine it to them only, but to publish to the world; that the fame of God may be spread from sea to sea."[48]

According to the evidence, Dickinson's survival strategy required pragmatism rather than providence. At some point during his travels, Dickinson became aware that some Native Americans had a "love of tobacco." His gift of tobacco to Native American scouts suggests an attempt to cultivate a positive relationship. Native Americans were familiar with this type of reciprocity based on their prior experiences with the Spanish who often "bribed" them to do their bidding. Prestige items salvaged from shipwrecks or gathered through trade had long become a part of their local economic system.

Moreover, satiating the scouts with a gift provided time for the castaways to devise a plan for their survival. In the interim,

48. *God's Protecting Providence*, preface. Captivity narratives in general often included a theme of redemption by faith in the face of the threats and temptations of a foreign place and an alien way of life. Emphasizing the harshness of the voyage was a standard practice for many deliverance narratives published during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Lorrayne Carroll suggests that "much of their force derives from the fear and uncertainty attendant on the captive's position in hostile, little-known North American locales." She continues, "all captivity texts derive their narrative power from the image of the suffering captive. They emphasize individual experiences of privation, loss, injury, death, occasional escape, and redemption—both physical and spiritual." Many of these accounts reinforce pernicious, ethnographic images of natives as primitive, but some also (and simultaneously) present images of sophisticated and effective native practices—in warfare, political negotiation, and spiritual exercises. Dickinson's journal achieves all of these literary elements while also revealing the complex interplay between local and trans-Atlantic influences on Native Americans. In fact, Dickinson's journal is described in the *Cambridge History of English and American Literature* "in many respects [as] the best of all the captivity tracts." Carroll suggests that *God's Protecting Providence* portrays Dickinson as a "heroic, authoritative, and sensible captive, one who negotiates assuredly with his captors." In this way, Dickinson's captivity narrative served the Society of Friends as it moved from radical sect to mainstream institution by illustrating how a Quaker, under duress, capably manages the problems associated with temporal life (Dickinson) while it also offered a model of Quaker piety and resignation in death (Barrow). See Carroll, "Captivity Narratives" 143-45, 155-56; and Lorrayne Carroll, "Colonial and Revolutionary Literature, Early National Literature: Travellers and Explorers, 1583-1763" in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, ed. A. W. Ward, A. R. Waller, W. P. Trent, J. Erskine, S. P. Sherman and C. Van Doren (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907-21).

the castaways decided to masquerade as Spaniards because they believed them to have "some influence over them [Native Americans]."[49] Their ruse, however, was hopelessly flawed. Of the twenty-four castaways, only one, Solomon Cresson, could speak Spanish beyond a few words. Regardless, Dickinson and Kirle, the Captain of the *Reformation* and de facto leader of the castaways, "instructed" the crew and the enslaved Africans in rudimentary Spanish grammar and told them how to interact with Native Americans.[50] Dickinson, unaware of the complexities of the Native Americans' various relationships with the Spanish, figured they might fare better if the Native Americans believed them to be Spanish.[51] These two decisions, the gift of tobacco and pretending to be Spanish, illustrate that assumptions about Europeans and Native Americans relations circulated well beyond the peninsula. Native Americans, however, interpreted the castaways' actions quite differently than the castaways intended. For the Jobé, the significance of the shipwreck waited in the wreckage. Dickinson and company simply provided another opportunity for the Jobé to gather riches and information that they might utilize in their interactions with their local Native American counterparts, as well as the Spanish.

The Anglo-Caribbean castaways' survival stratagem of doning Spanish identities was based on astounding assumptions. For the ruse to work, as Amy Bushnell suggests, none of the Native Americans could know enough Spanish to penetrate their clumsy disguise. Yet the Jobé must collectively know enough about Spanish reprisals to refrain from harming Spaniards and enough about Spanish rewards to render them assistance.[52] Little did the castaways know that Spanish authority did not necessarily extend into the lower reaches of the peninsula. Nor did they know what would have happened to them if they revealed their true nationality. This stratagem was contrary to English pride and to Quaker principles, but the castaways had few options in the end.

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49. *God's Protecting Providence*, 6.
50. Cresson, of Huguenot descent, was born in Harlem, New Amsterdam, in 1674. After his father's death he relocated to Curacao. Cresson maintained business connections in the mid-Atlantic colonies, particularly in Philadelphia, but through poor business deals arrived in Jamaica penniless and was obliged to ship as a common sailor on board the *Reformation* bound for Philadelphia.
51. *God's Protecting Providence*, 6.
52. Bushnell, "Escape of the Nickaleers," 35-36.

Perhaps, in the minds of the castaways, nothing but the fear of Spanish retaliation or the expectation of ransom would keep the "savage men" at bay.[53] This first encounter, however, provided the castaways with little cause to think that pretending to be Spanish would preserve their lives.

Evidently, the Jobé decided to spare the castaways' lives on their own accord—not because of the castaways' successful ruse. Just like Spanish authority, the influence of Englishmen pretending to be Spanish did not garner much respect from the Jobé. The circumstances of Dickinson's survival directly related to Native American perceptions of their changing world and an extraordinarily complex and multi-generational exchange that involved a multitude of local and trans-Atlantic influences. Native Americans used these ideas to inform their decisions when Europeans appeared on their shores.

When shipwrecks occurred along Florida's east coast, the news of the castaways traveled fast between native communities. Within several hours, the Jobé returned to the shipwreck in "very great number all running and shouting."[54] While the majority of the approaching Jobé went to plunder the vessel, the "Cassekey with about thirty more came down" on the Dickinson party in a "furious manner."[55] Surrounding the castaways as they sat upon their salvaged trunks and chests, the Jobé cried, "Nickaleer, Nickaleer!" At first the Dickinson party did not understand the exclamation but after a reference to "Espania" the party supposed that at first the Indians meant English.[56]

The Jobé, unsure of the castaways' nationality or their potential value as hostages, surrounded the survivors with "their knives in their hands ready to execute their bloody design." The cacique stood behind Dickinson while others were "taking hold of some...by the heads with their knees set against [their] shoulders." Bewilderment and fear grew as the castaways listened to the Jobé: "they were in high words, which we understood not."[57] After a

53. Ibid., 35.
54. *God's Protecting Providence*, 6.
55. Ibid.
56. The label haunted the castaways for their entire journey. Found only in this account, 'Nickaleer' seems to be Dickinson's attempt to reproduce the Native American pronunciation of the Spanish *Inglaterra* or *Angleterre*. See Bushnell, 244.
57. *God's Protecting Providence*, 5-7.

brief discussion, the Jobé decided to spare the survivors in order to collect the goods locked in the trucks, chests, and scattered about the beach. The Jobé stripped most of the party of their personal possessions and continued pillaging the shipwreck "casting forth what ever they could lay hold on, except rum, sugar, molossoes, beef, and pork."[58] Evidently, the Jobé ascribed very little value to perishable items, or as Milanich suggests "perhaps the rum, sugar, and molasses were valued commodities to which another cacique... had a standing claim.[59] Nevertheless, Dickinson seemed impressed with Jobé efficiency and skill in salvaging the *Reformation.*

Without a real sense of the discourse of the Native Americans' "high words" it is difficult to speculate about their debate. The castaways' clumsy disguise might have put just enough doubt in the minds of the Jobé, but the apparent shift from "bloody-minded creature[s]" to indifferent salvagers, however, probably resulted from a well-argued discussion regarding the costs and benefits of captivity or execution.[60] The particulars of the debate will never be known, but two things are certain. First, Native Americans along Florida's east coast made real distinctions between different Europeans because of prior experiences with different groups. The three autonomous native groups, the Ais, the Santaluces, and the Jobé, repeatedly inquired about the castaways' national origins even though they could probably recognize the physical, cultural, and linguistic differences between the Spanish and the English. Why they were insistent on confirming their identity, however, varied according to each tribe's proximity to St. Augustine and their relationship with the Spanish. Second, these distinct opinions about different Europeans and distinguishing between them were fundamental components in deciding how they treated the castaways.

Despite a growing awareness of a larger Atlantic world, the Jobé cacique's most immediate concern was with the dominant Native American group along Florida's southeast coast, the Ais. Yet, he also had to consider the Spanish. If Dickinson and company were Spanish, as they suggested, a recovery expedition would be expected to follow when the anticipated ship did not arrive in St.

58. Ibid., 6.
59. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*, 58.
60. *God's Protecting Providence*, 7.

Augustine. By the late-seventeenth century, Spanish authorities had developed the reputation for dealing retribution to Native Americans who harmed Spaniards. While probably not a threat to their sovereignty, these visits were certainly unwelcome.

If the castaways were English and traveled south, they might go unnoticed by the Spanish at St. Augustine and, more importantly, by the Ais, who would otherwise demand tribute from the shipwreck. When Dickinson expressed his desire to move north, the cacique insisted they travel south to his "town." Dickinson suggested that the cacique wanted them to "go to the southward for Havana, and that it was but a little way."[61] Dickinson "press[ed] him more urgently, to let [them] go to St. a Lucea" but the cacique warned that they would have their "throats and scalps cut and be shot, burn'd, and eaten" by those he would encounter along the way.[62] The cacique foretold this dramatic prediction, as Dickinson rightly perceived, as a diversion to make going south appear more attractive. The cacique focused primarily on securing the plunder from the shipwreck and sending the castaways south so the plunder would be safe against other inquiries. In the end, as Dickinson suggested, the Jobé cacique "had heard of these places [Havana, Santa Lucía, and St. Augustine] and knew which way they lay."[63] During this early exchange, the Jobé cacique illustrated a keen awareness of his local milieu as well as a larger Atlantic world.

After three days at the Jobé village, the cacique permitted the castaways to go north toward St. Augustine; however, he delayed their departure until he re-secured his plunder, particularly the 1,500 pieces of eight. The cacique and three of Dickinson's enslaved Africans headed northward while the village was "busie with what they had taken out of [the] vessel...sewing some cloth together, stringing our beds, mending locks and chests."[64] When the cacique returned with the boat, the three enslaved African porters related that "the chief business was to remove the money from one place to another and bury it."[65]

61. Ibid., 8.
62. The fort named Santa Lucia, established by the garrison left by Pedro Menédez at the Ais Inlet in 1565 after they removed south, was incessantly attacked by Native Americans and tormented by improper supply and eventually abandoned more than one hundred years before Dickinson arrived in Florida. How Dickinson became aware of Santa Lucia is unknown.
63. *God's Protecting Providence*, 7
64. Ibid., 14.
65. Ibid., 15.

The cacique's choice to use Dickinson's enslaved Africans as porters is intriguing. Dickinson supposed that the cacique did not trust his own people. The cacique may have simply viewed the enslaved Africans as more able-bodied laborers and probably understood the relationship between enslaved Africans and Europeans. Either way, it is clear that the Jobé cacique made a distinction between his white captives and his black captives.

The Jobé cacique mended locks and hid plunder not because he did not trust his own people but because he aimed to keep it from his Native American counterparts, and perhaps the Spanish, whom Dickinson encountered on his travels northward. Burning the *Reformation* to the waterline, which the Jobé did after first contact, further concealed the size of the prize. The Jobé cacique's preparations were all justified because once Dickinson and company related what they lost to the Ais, and later to the Spanish, both the Ais and the Spanish sent recovery expeditions for the lost goods.

Maltreatment, abuse, and a general air of hostility characterized the first encounters of the castaways with both the Jobé and the Santaluces; however, upon reaching their respective villages the Native Americans treated the castaways much more kindly. Despite this obvious complication, most historians who have commented on Dickinson's journal argue that the Native Americans in Florida treated the castaways particularly poorly because they were English. Considering that moderate physical abuse and stripping the castaways of their personal property characterize the worst of the maltreatment, historians have difficulty supporting with evidence the claim that Native Americans treated English castaways particularly poorly. Amy Turner Bushnell suggests that "the wild coast Indians...had good reason to hate the English, for they know them as man-stealers."[66] Charles Andrews argues that the natives' antipathy towards the English resulted from their knowledge of the longstanding hostility between the Spanish and the English and their "familiarity with such a situation...could have become an established conviction with the Indians."[67] The author of the preface to the original edition of the journal was less certain:

66. Bushnell, "Escape of the Nickaleers," 58.
67. Walker Andrews and Andrews, *God's Protecting Providence or Jonathan Dickinson's Journal*, 156-157.

"whether their cruelty against the English proceeds from their being under no apprehension of danger from them...or whether it proceeds from any particular disgust offered them by some English I shall not determine."[68] In general, these commentators, at the expense of the real agents of the exchange, the Native Americans, focus too heavily on the English rather than the true European presence in Florida, the Spanish. In short, these historians argue that the poor treatment of the castaways resulted from a long history of enslavement and maltreatment on the part of the English, an awareness of European political maneuvers, or an apparent lack of threat posed by English castaways.

I contend that the Native Americans did not treat the English poorly at all. In fact, the castaways simply experienced a complex expression of a standard protocol developed by Native Americans after dealing with decades of shipwrecks. Events such as these, while devastating to the Dickinson party, were probably regular occurrences along the east coast of Florida.[69] Consequently, Native Americans developed a series of actions to deal with stranded Europeans. The Native Americans first cowed castaways into submission regardless of national origin. Second, they analyzed the costs and benefits for keeping the castaways alive. Third, and most importantly, they secured whatever plunder they could from the shipwrecked vessel. After establishing the status quo, Native Americans decided the fate of castaways.

Previous historical interpretations of Dickinson's journal about Anglo-Native American interactions are not particularly well founded. First, the idea that the English maintained a reputation amongst the Native American groups of south Florida to be slavers seems to be unlikely for three reasons: timing, location, and duration. Bushnell argues that "the English treated the wild coast like a labor pool, seizing the natives at will and taking them to distant places where they were forced to labor under dangerous conditions where few would survive."[70] Bushnell highlights several

68. *God's Protecting Providence*, preface.
69. In August 1682 Sir Thomas Lynch wrote to the Governor of New Providence about his position in the Bahamas: "it is known that your Islands are peopled by men who are intent rather on pillaging Spanish wrecks than planting, that they carry on their work by Indians kidnapped or entrapped on the coast of Florida, and that all the violence you complain of arises only from disputes about these wrecks." J. W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, 1681-1685* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), 286-288.
70. Bushnell, "Escape of the Nickaleers," 58.

occasions when the English took native captives including Robert Searles' sack of St. Augustine in 1668 when he took a number of captives black, white, and Native American. Bushnell also highlights a buccaneering occupation against the Apalache on the Gulf Coast in 1682 and William Phips' salvage expedition of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion* in 1687 when Native American divers worked on the site. The lynchpin of the argument, however, is Dickinson's relation of a Native American captive who had been taken by an English merchantman and subsequently made his way back to the Ais village via Havana.[71] Bushnell also suggests that English slave raids from South Carolina during Queen Anne's War might have generated this reputation as well.

On the contrary, Native Americans may have viewed Robert Searle's raid of St. Augustine as an attack on the Spanish, not as a direct affront to Native American villages some 250 miles south of the Spanish settlement. Searle's interests focused on weakening the Spanish garrison more than taking Native American captives. The occupation of the gulf coast community during 1682 was even more far removed from life along Florida's southeast coast. While the recovery expedition of William Phips might be viewed as a direct threat to Native American autonomy, it is important to remember that the Ais received certain benefits, particularly the acquisition of prestige goods, for their service as wreck divers. Finally, while Creek and Yamasee raids did occur in Spanish Florida prior to the beginning of the War of Spanish Succession, none of those raids took place south of St. Augustine until after 1701, nearly four years after Dickinson and company departed Florida. Alan Gallay, the chief scholar of the Indian slave trade in the American South, only mentions in passing that English-sponsored slave raids occurred south of Timucuan territory at all.[72] Furthermore, the English

71. At Jece, Dickinson describes a "man in this town who, some years past, had been taken off by some of our English sloops, for a diver on the wreck to the eastward of Cuba, where he was sometime: but the vessel putting into Cuba, for water, this Indian swam on shore and got to Havana, thence to St. Augustine, and so to his native town. The greatest charge this man had against the English was for taking him and their people away; not but that he was well used amongst them. This Indian would often call Joseph Kirle, Solomon Cresson, and some of us into his house, seeming very cheerful, asking if we would eat." See *God's Protecting Providence*, 41-42.

72. Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 148.

were not the enslavers themselves, only the middlemen between the raiders and the marketplace.[73]

Andrews suggested that Native American antipathy towards the English resulted from their knowledge of the longstanding hostility between the Spanish and the English. While Native Americans along the Florida southeast coast were certainly aware that the Spanish did not enjoy the English presence on the peninsula, the Native Americans also realized the impermanence of the English settlement in the region. The Ais had first-hand knowledge of English settlement in the Caribbean; whether or not the Jobé were aware of an English presence in the Caribbean or South Carolina is uncertain.[74] The arrival of English corsairs and merchantmen along the southern coast may have been viewed as an opportunity for trade, evident from a number of English goods at Jece. Dickinson suggests that:

> we saw many tokens of some of our nations...two English canoes, one of cedar the other of cotton tree like those of Jamaica, several blocks and sheaves of lignum-vitae; several tools and knives, and more particularly, a razor, on the haft...Thomas Foster. Some of these things look as though they have been several years amongst them, some but a few.[75]

The presence of English corsairs and traders may have also been viewed as a welcome distraction for the Spanish.

In any event, the idea that Native Americans directly adhered to Spanish perceptions of the English does not clearly represent their evolving perspectives regarding different Europeans. Native Americans wanted simply to adapt and adopt what they found desirable and attractive from the Europeans. Gallay argues that Native Americans had "no intention of accepting the Europeans' model for new behavior, or of exchanging their culture for a new one, or, not least, of accepting European dominance over them."[76] Native Americans along Florida's southeast coast were autonomous and made decisions based on their immediate goals. In the end, Andrews' supposition paints the Native Americans along Florida's

73. Ibid., 69.
74. *God's Protecting Providence*, 41-2.
75. Ibid., 41.
76. Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 125.

southeast coast as subject to Spanish authority. Spanish influence among the Native Americans must not be misinterpreted as apathy for or adherence to European initiatives.

Finally, the prefacer of the original journal, Samuel Preston, suggested that the English did not present a threat to the Native Americans and that their helplessness created an occasion for maltreatment. It seems counterintuitive that Native Americans would mistreat people simply because of their helplessness. This supposition perpetuated the idea that the journal's antagonists, the Native Americans, were savage and barbarous. In all of their arguments, these authors highlight the impact of European actions and their repercussions. If we consider the 175-year relationship with the Spanish, during which time Native Americans executed many Spanish soldiers, missionaries, and castaways, it appears that the Dickinson party received particularly good treatment.[77] The violence and the death threats, while real to the castaways, simply illustrate an elaborate scheme aimed at defining the power dynamics between captives and captors. More than likely, none of the native groups Dickinson encountered intended on killing the castaways or they would have done so immediately. The castaways' view of the Jobé, and all the Native Americans they encountered, as bloodthirsty pagan cannibals was an image created in their own minds resulting from the growing literature and prejudices about Native Americans that circulated around Europe and the Atlantic colonies.

During these complex exchanges, Native Americans balanced their acts of ferocity with acts of kindness. Dickinson, as an author, glossed over the kindness of Native Americans in the published account in order to highlight his dire circumstances and the glory of God's deliverance.[78] After the initial encounter, the Jobé cacique

77. From first contact to the eve of Dickinson's arrival in Florida, the Native Americans and the Spanish had a contentious relationship. Milanich outlines a number of cases in which Spanish soldiers and missionaries were put to death by Native Americans along Florida's east coast in *Florida Indians*.

78. This is evidenced from the differences in the language in the published account and the manuscript account in which the language is much more matter-a-fact. Dickinson's language in the unpublished manuscript version of the journal is much more forgiving in regards to the positive treatment he and the other castaways received from their Native American captors. Moreover, Dickinson's description of the harsh treatment is often much less descriptive in the manuscript version, suggesting that Quaker editors may have embellished the language to make their deliverance appear all that more remarkable.

stayed with Dickinson while "some hundreds" of Jobé pillagers continued to salvage goods from the wreck. Contrary to the image of a "blood thirsty savage" at first encounter, now the "Cassekey's heart was tendered toward us...and for the remaining part of the day [to] keep off the petty-robbers."[79] When the rain started again the cacique signaled that they should build a shelter in which he "stayed with [them] and the trunks he reserved for himself."[80] He also retrieved several coats for those in the tent. Late in the evening a group of Indians brought a slaughtered hog to the tent for the castaways to eat. Upon their arrival to the Jobé village, the cacique offered them water and constructed a makeshift shelter connected to his wigwam "of some sticks...with small palmetto tyed and flattened to the stakes;" he also provided three reed mats.[81] The "Cassekey's wife" suckled Dickinson's infant child. Another Jobé Indian "brought a fish boiled on a palmetto leaf and sat it down amongst us." This was hardly the treatment one might expect of a "barbarous people" preparing for a mass execution.

The following morning the cacique's hospitality continued with his son gathering, "in two hours...as many fish as would serve twenty men."[82] Some of the Native Americans took kindly to particular castaways, as Dickinson wrote, "Solomon Cresson was mightily in one Indian's favor, who would hardly stir from his wigwam, but Solomon must be with him, and go arm in arm, which Indian amongst his plunder had a morning gown, which he put on Solomon."[83] Others took to Christianity, or rather, to the reading of the Bible:

79. *God's Protecting Providence*, 8.
80. Ibid., 8.
81. Ibid., 12.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., 16. In the manuscript version, Dickinson relates more details about their relationship: "Solloman Cresson our interpretor [*sic*] was by one of ye Indians much affected in an extraordinary manner for at his first comeing [*sic*] to this Towne & being naked this Indian in plundering of our vessel got amonge other things some morning gownes one of which hee put on Solloman & during our stay here whenever he mett Solloman would embrace him & sometimes walk about with his arm on his neck a giving at time such food as he had but when hee perceived his new friend was a goeing hee very eagerly striped him of his roades & sent him away naked." See Jonathan Dickinson, "Journal of the Travels of severall persons their sufferings—being cast away in the gulph among Cannabals of Florida, 1696" (Loudon Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 22).

> some of them, especially, the Cacique's son, would take great delight in our reading, and would take the Bible or other book, and give to one or other to read; the sound of which pleased them, for they would sit quietly and very attentively to hear us.[84]

It is important to remember that the readings were all in English, not Spanish as they pretended to be. After three days at the Jobé village, Dickinson and company departed for St. Augustine. The cacique gave them several things including "five or six pounds of butter, some sugar, a rundlet of wine, some balls of chocolate," and a large bowl to bail water from the leaky boat.[85] The night before the cacique "seem'd very generous to my wife and child" and gave her several useful things.[86] In exchange, however, the cacique "resolved on" keeping one of Dickinson's enslaved African boys, Cæsar.[87] The Jobé cacique's desire to keep one of Dickinson's enslaved Africans along with his use of other enslaved Africans as porters further illustrates how Native Americans applied larger trans-Atlantic concepts to their local circumstances. In this instance, Native Americans held at least a rudimentary understanding of chattel slavery and made clear racial distinctions. Enslaved Africans must have also been considered prestige items by the Native Americans.

When the castaways arrived at the Santaluces' village, twenty miles up the coast, two Santalucean fishermen observed the castaways, black and white, from across the inlet and quickly headed for their village. Within the hour a large group of Santaluces arrived at the inlet with their bows and arrows. They "came in the greatest rage that possible a barbarous people could."[88] When coming upon the castaways, they cried "Nickaleer, Nickaleer" while the castaways "sat all still, expecting death." After the "Indians

84. *God's Protecting Providence*, 15.
85. A rundlet is roughly equivalent to fifteen gallons. In the manuscript version, Dickinson reveals that the Jobé cacique also "gave us those sure guns which they had taken oute of our vessel being 3 or 4 in number but wee had not powder nor shott & rather them give offence wee took them [*sic*]." See Jonathan Dickinson, "Journal of the Travels of severall persons their sufferings," 22.
86. *God's Protecting Providence*, 15-6.
87. Ibid., 16.
88. Ibid., 21.

had taken all but their lives" they ushered the castaways across the inlet.[89]

Here again, the Santaluces balanced their initial act of ferocity with acts of kindness. While some were for "prosecut[ing] their bloody design" others interceded on the castaways' behalf.[90] The castaways "felt the rage of some of them" as they continued to throw rocks, shoot arrows, and strike them as they made their way to the village. Conversely, some of the captors protected the castaways. A Santalucean woman gave Mary Dickinson a pair of breeches. When an overzealous captor forced a handful of sand into baby Jonathan's mouth, the cacique's wife came to their aid and stayed with them until they reached the cacique's house. Thus, as Dickinson suggested "a mighty strife there was amongst them; some would kill us, others would prevent it: and thus one Indian was striving with another."[91] This ritualized gauntlet, similar to the one the castaways experienced at Jobé, was meant to serve as an intimidation technique to cow the castaways into submission. In historical retrospect, massacring the captives seems like a fairly implausible objective.

While at the council house, the Santaluces gave Mary Dickinson and the enslaved African women deerskins to cover their cold and broken bodies; the men received breechcloths of woven grass. The Santaluces appointed a place for the castaways and provided mats to lie down; however, the place was "extremely nasty ... [and] swarmed with abundance of many sorts of creeping things."[92] The Santaluces debated while the castaways listened apprehensively. The cacique attempted to talk with Solomon but to no avail. The Native Americans went about brewing and drinking "Cassenna" and smoking tobacco.[93] Around noon the Santaluces brought the castaways some boiled fish. The day progressed with natives singing, dancing, and drinking "cassenna." The following day the cacique "looking on us pleasantly," offered gifts to some of the castaways. Mary received roasted clams to share with the rest of the castaways, while a Santalucean woman suckled baby Jonathan to the point that he "began to be cheerful and have an appetite to food."[94]

89. Ibid., 22.
90. Ibid., 22.
91. Ibid., 23.
92. Ibid., 24.
93. Ibid., 26.
94. Black drink or cassina is made from the parched leaves of the yaupon plant (*Ilex vomitoria*), which grows wild along the Florida coasts north of the more tropical

The Santaluces continued to inquire about the party's national origins and Cresson continued to suggest that they were Spanish. The Santaluces pointed to those with dark hair and suggested they were Spanish but had doubts about the nationalities of those with lighter hair. Whether or not the Santaluces believed the castaways to be Spanish, they decided to send them on to the next village. Dickinson suggested that they were "satisfied...that most of us were Spaniards." More than likely they were satisfied with what a visiting Jobé ambassador related about the plunder.[95]

When the castaways reached the Jece, the paramount Ais village, they endured quite a different welcome. The Ais, who maintained relatively regular contact with the Spanish, and had a longer, or at least better documented, history with St. Augustine, welcomed the castaways. At Jece they met the "commander of the northern part of this coast, an ancient man, his beard and hair gray."[96] The Ais cacique embraced Kirle and suggested that "those people, who had served us thus, in stripping us, were rouges, but we were his camerades or friends." The cacique promised to "carry us to Augusteen" in a few days.[97] Dickinson suggested that "the old Cassekey seemed to have compassion for us."[98]

In contrast to their violent arrivals at Jobé and Santalucean villages, the Ais cacique immediately welcomed the castaways into his village without the expected gauntlet of abuse. A performance of ferocity was apparently not needed to ensure the castaways' good behavior. The Ais escorts brought the castaways to the council house where the cacique washed Robert Barrow and Mary Dickinson's feet. The Ais distributed some canvas and ginger bags to the castaways to be used as clothing. They also offered Mary

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regions. It was used as a ceremonial tea by a large number of southeastern American Indians, including nearly all the groups in northern Florida. John Hann suggests that "despite south Florida's apparent lack of the yaupon holly, regular consumption of cacina appears to have occurred among the elite at least of the east coast." Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*, 59; Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 72; Charles Hudson, *The Black Drink. A Native American Tea* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979).

95. In the manuscript version, Dickinson suggested that "about tenn a clock came a stranger & Indians from another Towne upon ye news of this persons conveing yee Casseekey & all his Grandees." See Dickinson, "Journal of the Travels of severall persons their sufferings," 36.
96. *God's Protecting Providence*, 29.
97. Ibid., 29-30.
98. Ibid., 29.

a piece of linen to cover baby Jonathan as well as a substantial amount of foodstuffs. Kirle received a coat. An Indian woman came "laden with baskets of berries" for them to eat and another brought in a parcel of large "drums."

At Jece, the castaways met another vessel's company comprised of six Englishmen and a woman that shipwrecked the same night as the *Reformation*.[99] When they came to the inlet south of Jece, the castaways turned back to retrieve their boat. Shortly thereafter several Ais came down upon them asking "what nation they were, if Spaniards, English, or French?"[100] The castaways answered that they were Spanish but when the Indians looked angry they soon confessed to their English origins. The Ais scouts stripped the castaways and forced them to walk northward toward the town. Here again upon their entrance in the village the cacique gave them some clothing. Moreover, as Dickinson relates, "no violence [was] offered to their persons."[101] The "*Nantwich* castaways" received plenty of fish and berries to the time of Dickinson's arrival. The Ais lodged the captain in the cacique's "house" while the others were lodged in the other "Indian-houses." When Dickinson and company arrived at the Ais village, the cacique suggested that the *Nantwitch* castaways vacate the "Indian houses;" they refused and were not forced out. Both parties received a variety of berries and a large parcel of fish. Neither party received death threats from the Ais. Even in the middle of a violent storm that flooded the village, the Ais provided berries for the castaways. Mary repeatedly "went a-begging" to the Indian women to suckle baby Jonathan; "they seldom denied her." Several days after the storm, the castaways received the "greatest plenty" of fish since arriving in Florida. In general, the Ais treated the castaways with kindness or, at worst, with apathy.

Bitter infighting, however, threatened to tear the castaways apart. In the manuscript version of the journal (excised from the printed version), Dickinson relates how "there grow a division amongst us some or most of ye Marriners of our Vessell." He suggested they:

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99. The passengers of the *Nantwich* included John Smith, (Master) Andrew Murray, (Merchant) Andrew Barnes, (Mate) Hugh Allen, John Oster, John Shares (boy), Cornelius Toker (boy), and a female passenger, named Penelope.
100. *God's Protecting Providence*, 31.
101. Ibid., 31.

> in ye greatest joyletry [and] very prophane...would appear like anticks before ye Indians to make them laugh at their folly [and] at ye same time would bler terrible oaths with cursings [and] Damings which at any tyme yet either Barrow Kirll or myself would reprove them.

Dickinson lamented that his "reproofs begot their dislike at length, perfect hatred." So in times of need their recalcitrant counterparts refused to supply Dickinson, his wife, or Kirle with any provisions and "publiquely declared yet if wee perished for want they would not help us."[102]

In another incident recorded in the manuscript version of the journal but excised from the printed versions, Dickinson's enslaved Africans utilized the uncertainty of the circumstances to their advantage. Dickinson recorded how his enslaved Africans "through fear of ye Indians and other ill councell" would not "come nigh to help my wife to tend her child...Especially one Negroe woman named Sarrah." Dickinson complained that she would "taunt, demendre, [and] abase not only my wife but any of us all to our faces." Dickinson further suggested that having gained the cacique's favor, Sarah "would vilify us and at times when food and watter was scarce [and] would bee our hinderance from having it from ye Indians which wee might have had it not have been for her." Dickinson could not reconcile how she "would deny us to bee her master or mistress [and] laugh and deride us at ye same time all which would increase our troubles."[103] Africans, at least in this instance, took advantage of the leveling effects of being stranded among Native Americans.

Eventually tensions eased and Dickinson enquired if the crew of the *Nantwich* was to go to St. Augustine as well. The cacique refused to take them because they were "Nickaleer, no Camerade."[104] Dickinson interpreted that statement to imply that the English were not friends of the Ais. The cacique intended for them to go southward. He did not suggest that they were to be put to death. More than likely the cacique was unaware of the relatively new

102. Jonathan Dickinson, "Journal of the Travels of severall persons their sufferings," 52-53.
103. Ibid., 53.
104. *God's Protecting Providence*, 30.

alliance between the Spanish and English.[105] Even so, an alliance probably meant very little to the Ais cacique and it is plausible to suggest that when the cacique suggested that the English were "no camarade" he was referring to the longstanding animosity between the English and the Spanish, not to an animosity between the Ais and the English. Dickinson, like the historians who have examined his text to date, failed to consider the relative point of view of the Native Americans. This is further evidence of Native Americans' acute awareness of the evolving Atlantic world.[106]

As stated earlier, sustained contact with the Spanish better informed the Ais about European protocol and the advantages and disadvantages associated with interacting with castaways and Spanish authorities. More experience meant a better understanding of Spanish recovery expeditions and the potential value of different European hostages. Consequently, the Ais cacique probably wanted to send the English castaways south for two reasons: first and foremost, the English survivors would not generate any kind of compensation; second, the arrival of English castaways in St.

105. Old animosities between the Spanish and English were briefly suspended, at least on paper, with the Treaty of Ryswick after King William's War. Dickinson was fortunate in arriving in Florida during this time because the south became embroiled in conflict with the onset of the War of Spanish Succession in 1702.

106. Stuart Schwartz suggests that first observers of another culture, the traveler to foreign lands, the historian, and the ethnographer all share the common problem of observing, understanding, and representing. In practical terms, the study of cultural encounters generated a variety of approaches. Some scholars view the practice of representation itself as the essential act. In this formulation, such portrayals of another culture are important for what they tell us about the observer rather than the observed. Many other historians and anthropologists are less willing to abandon a belief in the ability of the observer to portray, record, or analyze another culture and the actions of its members in a manner that allows us to cross barriers that separate cultures. Schwartz further suggests that "in such meetings across cultures, an 'implicit ethnography' existed on both sides of the encounter." Members of each society held ideas of themselves and "others" and the things that gave them identities: language, color, ethnicity, kinship, gender, and religion. The theme of cultural encounters raises some of the central questions in the field of history, literature, and anthropology: perceptions of self and others, epistemology, and the dynamic nature of cross-cultural contact. All these disciplines have been concerned with the way in which the process of perceiving others reveals self-perception and, for some, how what one says about another culture is more interesting as self-projection than as a reliable description of the "other." See Stuart B. Schwartz, "Introduction" in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting of the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2-4.

Augustine would probably result in an unwanted visit from a Spanish recovery expedition. On the other hand, by delivering the "Spaniards" to St. Augustine there might be a chance at some type of recompense. By sending the Englishmen southward, the Spanish would remain unaware of the shipwreck and the plunder could be utilized by the Ais when trading with the Spanish.

Recovering the plunder from the wreck of the *Reformation* was the immediate goal of the Ais cacique. Shortly after the castaways' arrival, the Ais cacique enquired about Dickinson's losses. Dickinson related that the Indians at "Hoebay" confiscated a great deal of clothing and money. Upon hearing this, the cacique "grew covetous and said, he would go and get some of it from them."[107] The next morning the cacique with ten men and two canoes headed southward for "Hoebay." He promised that upon his return he would carry Dickinson and his party to St. Augustine.

The Jobé village represented the southern limit of Ais hegemony. Evidently the Jobé cacique hid the Spanish coin before Dickinson's departure for good reason. Several days later, the Ais cacique returned triumphantly atop one of Dickinson's chests. He also brought Cæsar along with him. The village received the cacique "with great homage."[108] He gave an account of his adventure during which time "he would often mention Nickaleer which caused us [the castaways] much fear."[109] The cacique continued to inquire about the castaways' national origins. He showed them goods that he knew to be English while asking if they belonged to the castaways. This is further evidence of the cacique making clear distinctions between different Europeans. While the Spanish coin provided Dickinson with a meek defense, the cacique became wary of taking them to St. Augustine. Perhaps he concluded that the value of the plunder outweighed the possible Spanish reward; consequently, he decided not take the party to St. Augustine and "laid all [their] hopes in the dust."[110]

Dickinson continued to lobby for his company's departure to St. Augustine, eventually convincing the cacique to allow Solomon to go to St. Augustine. The "old Cassekey," Solomon Cresson, and six Native Americans set out for St. Augustine in a canoe with a

107. *God's Protecting Providence*, 32.
108. Ibid., 36.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.

small chest with "nigh one hundred pieces of eight."[111] Presumably, the cacique planned to bring enough gold to St. Augustine to prevent Spanish authorities from coming to his village to inspect the size of the plunder. The gift of gold is comparable to the gift of cassina herbs, smoking herbs, and moss pillows given to the Santaluces by the Jobé ambassador. As Dickinson moved up the coast, he also moved up the theoretical chain of command. During his travels, Dickinson continually and unknowingly observed a complex network of hegemonic exchange. In other words, as Dickinson moved closer to the single European center of power in Florida, he witnessed how a proximity to Europeans altered Native American protocols. The news of the shipwrecks, however, reached St. Augustine before the cacique's arrival.

About two weeks after the cacique's departure for the Spanish settlement, eleven Spaniards and one Native American interpreter arrived at Jece and "embraced us [Dickinson and company] very cheerfully." The power dynamic changed with the arrival of the Spanish. Clearly Spaniards, even in small numbers, garnered some respect amongst the Ais. The "old Cassekey...seemed much dejected." He lost what he had taken from Jobé to the Spaniards and his hope of delivering Spaniards for a reward would not be realized. The Native Americans along the southern coast gambled and lost. Dickinson's relation of the events, however, indicated that the normal method of recovering salvaged goods from the Native Americans along Florida's southeast coast was barter and trade rather than confiscation. Bushnell contends that the Native Americans had:

> many things that Spaniards wanted: sassafras, amber, deer and buffalo skins, nut oil, bear grease, tobacco, canoes, storage containers, and, most of all food...and the Indians...wanted what the Spanish had: weapons, construction and cultivation tools, nails, cloth, blankets, bells, glass beads, church ornaments, and rum.[112]

Dickinson suggested that the Spanish attempted to persuade the Native Americans to "bring [goods] to light" by offering to buy things with tobacco.[113] A leaf or half leaf of tobacco would purchase

111. Ibid., 37.
112. Ibid., 44; Bushnell, "Escape of the Nickaleers," 46-47.
113. Bushnell, *The King's Coffers*, 8.

a year of linen or wollen, or silk from the Indians. Dickinson noted that the Ais had stores of silk, linen, and wollen cloth, which they dolled to the Spaniards by the yard.[114] Five pounds of ambergris could buy, at St. Augustine, a looking glass, an ax, a knife or two, and three or four mannocoes (five or six pounds) of tobacco.[115] By the time Dickinson arrived, Native Americans had learned that they could salvage goods from shipwrecks to manipulate their trade relationship with Europeans, particularly the Spanish.

In line with all those who encountered the castaways, the Spanish captain inquired about Dickinson's shipwreck and made it clear that he intended to retrieve what the Jobé kept from the vessel. The castaways implored him not to go there because they feared for their lives in the absence of the Spanish. The castaways thought they could rest easier in the care of the Spanish. Ironically, with the arrival of the Spaniards the castaways' plight worsened considerably as they quickly began the journey north to St. Augustine. The Spanish captain forced the castaways to proceed in two parties, always making Kirle, several enslaved Africans, and the Ais guides go ahead. The two groups met at a place where they were to "hale our boats over land, being a quarter of a mile from sound to sound."[116] At this place, the Spanish captain, with another reciprocal gesture, gave a Native American a "leaf of tobacco, commanding him to go, with all speed, and bid his cacique, with all his able men, come and help" get the boats across the land.[117] By the time they arrived, the job was completed; the Spanish captain gave the cacique "a leaf or two of tobacco" for his trouble and the cacique reciprocated with a "stately parcel of fish" which the soldiers shared with Mary Dickinson and Penelope, the solitary woman castaway with the *Nantwich* crew.[118] The Spanish, however, did not share the fish with the remaining two dozen castaways.

The actions of the Spanish distressed the castaways, but Dickinson appeared more comfortable with their new European counterparts, even if they showed little regard for the plight of the castaways. As the weather turned cold, the Spanish made themselves some shelter with mats, but would not "let us meddle with them

114. *God's Protecting Providence*, 48.
115. Bushnell, *The King's Coffer*, 96.
116. *God's Protecting Providence*, 48.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid., 49; Bushnell, "Escape of the Nickaleers," 49.

[the boats]" to get shelter from the wind.[119] Moreover, on the next day when the company came across an "Indian plantation" full of "pumpion vines," the "Spaniards were too quick for us, and got all before us." Furthermore, when a *piragua* sent to recover goods from the Native American villages delivered some provisions, including bread, corn, and strung beef, to the company "it was kept from us, except a piece of strung beef, the Captain of the Spaniards" gave to Mary Dickinson.[120] Finally, Dickinson and Kirle thought the leader of the Spanish expedition, Captain Sebastian Lopez, conspired against them when he "drew up a writing" for them to sign placing them and their African slaves "at the disposal of the Governor of Augustine." Dickinson refused to sign the document. By this point the Spanish had carried the castaways safely within the Spanish domain and left them to return southward to the shipwreck to recover what they could from the Native Americans. The Spanish escorted the English castaways because it was protocol under a recent treaty between the two countries. The treaty, however, did not erase years of national and religious animosities that erupted several years later.

Once the Spanish returned south for the goods left at Jobé, the castaways remained in the hands of the Native Americans of northern Florida. Spanish missionary efforts focused in north Florida in the seventeenth century amongst native groups who spoke dialects of the Timucuan language. While not a single political unit, the Timucua encompassed a group of around thirty simple chiefdoms, each comprised of two to ten villages.[121] The castaways interacted with the eastern Timucua who inhabited the coastal areas from Cape Canaveral to St. Augustine. The various Timucua speakers lived in different environmental zones. All of their groups practiced some agriculture but many relied heavily on hunting, fishing, and gathering. The key distinction between the Timucua and the Native Americans of southeast Florida was Timucuan adherence to Spanish authority maintained through the establishment of the missions and military outposts.[122]

119. *God's Protecting Providence*, 49.
120. Ibid., 50.
121. Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*(Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); John Worth, *The Timucuan Chifdoms of Spanish Florida, Assimilation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Resistance and Destruction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).
122. The castaways interacted with the eastern Timucua who inhabited the coastal areas from Cape Canaveral to St. Augustine. The various Timucua speakers

The castaways continued north with one Spaniard and their Native American guides. At each village, the Native Americans provided provisions for the castaways.[123] The further north they travelled, however, the less accommodating the Native Americans became to the castaways. This possibly occurred for two reasons: the Timucuans may have been more accustomed to maltreatment and tacitly resistant to the Spanish or they may have been, as Spanish allies, less accommodating to people who were not Spanish. At each sentinel outpost the Spanish expressed little concern for the castaways, suggesting that they should continue on to the next sentinel's house. In fact, several castaways were left to die along the shore after the Spanish sentinels refused to accommodate them. Dickinson noted this situation in his account:

> our people, black and white, made all speed, one not staying for another, that could not travel so fast, not but I, with my wife and child, Robert Barrow...Benjamin Allen, and my negro London, whom I kept to help carry my child keeping together; the rest of our company had left us, not expecting to see some of us again; especially Robert Barrow, my wife and child.[124]

For the remainder of the day, Dickinson remained a good distance behind the larger party, only four of whom he could see. Dickinson sent London to ask them to slacken their pace; they did not. Later in the evening "in the midst of these reasonings and doubtings" Dickinson saw a Spaniard on top of the sand bank. The shipwreck victims made their way to the sentinel's house where the Spaniard offered them room by the fire, plenty of hot cassina, cornbread, and a "kersey-coat" for Mary. The Spaniard refused, however, to go back for the others; he argued, "the weather was not fit to go out." Dickinson "begged of them hard" to let the travelers stay for the night but several of the castaways had to sleep in a small thicket of trees during the "hard frosty night."[125] In the end, five of the castaways died of exposure that day: Benjamin Allen, Jack, Ceasar,

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lived in different environmental zones. All of the groups practiced some agriculture but many relied heavily on hunting, fishing, and gathering. See Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 80-81.

123. *God's Protecting Providence*, 52.
124. Ibid., 55.
125. Ibid., 59.

Quensa, and baby Cajoe. The Spaniards, unable to maintain the castaways, continued to send them further north as quickly as they came to each house.

Eventually another boat from St. Augustine came to fetch the castaways. Once they arrived, the Spanish escorted the Dickinsons directly to the governor's house. Bushnell suggests that had Dickinson been more aware of protocol, he might have noticed where the governor received him—not at the landing, as an honored guest, nor at the entrance to the Government House as an equal, but rather standing formally at the top of the stairs. Once he established his space, Don Laureno de Toress y Ayala was gracious.[126] The governor's treatment of the Dickinsons was strangely similar to that they received from the various Native American caciques along their journey north. The Spanish provided wine, food, and clothing. The visitors were quartered in the governor's house. While the hard part of the ordeal was over for Dickinson and his companions, another 250 miles of Indian-territory separated Spanish St. Augustine and English Charlestown. During this journey, only briefly recorded in the journal, Dickinson entered into an even more hotly contested zone but his ordeal in Florida ended as abruptly as it began.

Conclusion

In the end, seventeenth-century Florida was a dynamic place where several autonomous Native American groups interacted with a number of different Europeans and their Native American allies living in mission towns around St. Augustine. Native Americans along the southeast coast were not mere dupes caught up in the events of the colonial period. They maintained their way of life, their socio-political organization, and their religion. They not only took an active role in the new world developing around them, they utilized the standing animosities of different Europeans to their advantage.[127] Their autonomy and their awareness of different Europeans influenced how Dickinson and his fellow castaways would be treated during their time along Florida's east coast.

126. In a long list of Spanish Florida's royal governors, he was the first American appointee: a creole from Cuba rather than a peninsular from Spain. See Bushnell, "Escape of the Nickaleers," 53.

127. Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 51.

But the process was complicated and unstable. Even though previous understandings, expectations, and generalized ideas about the "other" played important roles, the contacts themselves caused readjustments and rethinking as each side was forced to reformulate those ideas in the face of unexpected actions.[128] What advantages Native Americans could garner from different castaways also influenced intertribal interactions. Most importantly, local circumstance guided how the castaways from the *Reformation* moved from village to village.

In the context of competing empires, it appears that for this brief period, the Native Americans were victorious in contending with the uncertainties of this period. While the ultimate demise of these three groups waited on the horizon, Dickinson's journal presents a collection of highly sophisticated Native American groups who actively contended with the same issues Europeans faced at the turn of the eighteenth century. Europeans and Native Americans sought to maintain traditional ways of life, adjust to new trade opportunities, and incorporate new peoples and their actions into their collective worldviews. The Jobé, the Santaluces, and the Ais all figured out how to work these shifting circumstances to their advantage. In the end, these groups successfully maintained their autonomy and in some instances enhanced their position along this European frontier. They successfully incorporated Europeans and their goods into their world when it provided benefits. Generally, historians view Native American successes and failures in European terms but if we consider how agile these groups proved to be in their interactions with a diverse group of random Europeans, we can clearly recognize their successes.

By examining the events of Dickinson's shipwreck, I have attempted to develop a clearer picture of the interactions of a diverse group of Atlantic world peoples during a brief period along a European frontier zone. This exploration of a particularly intriguing international sphere of interaction highlights that despite Florida's reputation as a backwater, the peninsula was deeply impacted by the material and ideological currents circulated by Spaniards, Native Americans, and other wayward Europeans. I have further attempted to rescue Dickinson's journal from historical obscurity in utilizing Dickinson's narrative to explore how local

128. Schwartz, "Introduction," in *Implicit Understandings*, 3.

and trans-Atlantic cultural, religious, and political currents of the late-seventeenth century Atlantic world influenced the interactions of a diverse group of Atlantic world peoples.

For too long, historians have viewed the events of Dickinson's journal through an imperialist lens. While Dickinson's journal frequently appears in the footnotes of anthropological, historical, and literary monographs, scholars have collectively disregarded the richness of the account. Traditional approaches to captivity narratives and the ethnographical commentary contained therein deserve to be reevaluated. I utilized Dickinson's narrative to explore how local and trans-Atlantic cultural and political currents of the late-seventeenth century Atlantic world influenced the interactions of a diverse group of Atlantic world peoples to reveal the complex interplay between power and perception. In the end, the late-seventeenth century Atlantic world, especially along this European frontier, was a very uncertain and dynamic place where new exigencies outweighed customs.

The Fleeting Fame of Florida's Filibuster, "Major" Frank Hann

by Paul S. Losch

For three months in 1895, newspaper readers across the United States followed the heroic adventures of Major F. P. Hann, an American volunteer fighting to free Cuba from Spanish oppression. Hann's thirteen letters offered eyewitness accounts from the island's battlefields during the early days of the Cuban War of Independence. The ninth of these letters ran in at least 90 papers, including some well-known today, such as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and it described the arrival from Key West of "100 men, 1,000 repeating rifles, 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition and $250,000 in gold" for the rebels. The letter, dated June 10, also relayed the news that José Martí had been "betrayed into the Spanish hands by a trusted Cuban guide and shot down in cold blood before he could escape."[1]

News like this from the front lines in Cuba was hard to obtain, since Spanish authorities had restricted journalists' movements in the rural areas where the fighting was taking place. Hann had devised a clever way to get his letters out: they were written in a

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1. See Documents and Notes for a list of Hann's thirteen "Cuban" letters published in different newspapers, including those where the original text was summarized, abbreviated or otherwise edited. These published versions, of which there are at least 250, were retrieved mainly from six large online archives: Access Newspaper Archive, Chronicling America (Library of Congress), the Florida Digital Newspaper Library, Gale 19th Century Newspapers, America's Historical Newspapers (NewsBank) and ProQuest Historical Newspapers, all between July 2010 and March 2012.

code using the Greek alphabet, smuggled by ship to Tampa, and then relayed on to a trusted friend in Gainesville, Florida. That friend, Frank Anderfer, would decipher them and forward them on to the press. Anderfer claimed to have known Hann since their childhood days spent together near Philadelphia. Both young men had left home in 1894 in search of adventure in sunny climates, with Anderfer ending up doing odd jobs in Gainesville and Hann becoming an officer in the forces of Máximo Gómez.

Major Hann's letters read like installments of a fantastic adventure story and they brought to life the war in Cuba for newspaper readers who may have been unfamiliar with or indifferent to the situation on the island. Their publication also demonstrated that the Spanish colonial censors were no match for Yankee ingenuity and the free press. There was just one problem: the letters were all fakes. There was neither any "Frank Anderfer" in Gainesville nor any "Major F. P. Hann" in Cuba. Twenty-year-old Frank Hann was actually living in Gainesville, calling himself "Anderfer" and serving as the medium for his own letters, written over 600 miles away from the fighting they purported to describe.[2] From April to June, Hann employed this ruse to portray himself as a war hero to a national audience, and to develop sympathy for the nascent Cuban insurgency.

While the battles portrayed in Hann's letters were imaginary, real fighting took place among the newspapers, first as they competed to obtain the letters, and later as they sought to distance themselves from the hoax. Exposés had mocking headlines, such as this one from the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*: "His Accounts Bogus—Maj. Hann Did All His Cuban Fighting in Gainesville, Fla.—It Seemed Safer There."[3] The *Gainesville Sun* proclaimed, "It is now evident that one of the greatest humbugs in the history of newspaperdom in America is the Maj. Hann letters which have been published in all the leading papers throughout the United States."[4] Ironically, the *Sun* bore much of the responsibility for Hann's success, since it had forwarded his letters to the national press.

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2. To be clear, "Hann" and "Anderfer" were the same person. Since many of the contemporary reports use the names as if they were separate individuals, it is necessary here to sometimes refer to Hann by his alias "Anderfer."
3. *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, July 1, 1895. This same paper had printed letters from Hann on June 17, 19, and 20.
4. "Those Letters from Major Hann," *Bridgeton Evening News*, July 15, 1895, attributed to *Weekly Gainesville Sun*, July 4, 1895. Collections of Gainesville newspapers are incomplete, and we must often cite *Sun* and *Ledger* texts reprinted elsewhere.

The story has some of the characteristics of a comic opera, with concealed identities, stolen letters, and a light-hearted conclusion. Yet it is more than a colorful episode in local history, nearly forgotten for over a century. Modern research tools, specifically digital newspaper archives, allow us to trace how the affair grew to international proportions, with versions of Hann's letters published in Canada, France, Spain, Panama and the Bahamas. We can also see that his accounts of the war were often based on others he found in the papers (many of which were also false). He added his own dramatic touches, and his versions assumed a life of their own, sometimes with significant consequences. For example, the *New York Herald* wired his tale about the Key West expedition to its Paris offices, and a condensed version ran in the *Herald*'s European edition on June 18, 1895 under the front-page headline "Cuban Rebels Receive Help—Expeditions Land Men, Arms and Money, and They Capture Supplies."

The *Herald*'s article painted a desperate picture for the colonial authorities and its publication provoked a minor panic on the Paris financial market, where the Spanish government was selling bonds to finance the war. According to *Le Figaro* (June 19), the price of these bonds declined during morning trading, and then regained their value once investors had deduced that the *Herald*'s stories had no basis in fact.[5] Meanwhile the *Financial Times* of London (June 19) suggested that the bonds' resurgence was due to a late-afternoon rumor that the Cubans were seeking a truce, a piece of news just as unfounded as the ones published in the *Herald*.[6] The French and British papers alike interpreted the article's publication as a part of an unsuccessful ploy by speculators to depress the financial market.[7]

5. "La Bourse," *Le Figaro*, June 19, 1895. "Spanish colonial bonds are at exactly the same price. One might have been a bit hesitant, or even discouraged, at the beginning of the day, since an Anglo-American newspaper published in the morning the most unfavorable news on the subject of Cuba, but the market has been solid for the colonials. These schemes to manipulate prices lack, at their foundation, common sense." See also "La Bourse," *Le Gaulois*, June 19, 1895.
6. "Dalziel's Telegram," *Financial Times*, June 19, 1895. "The Paris Bourse was quiet on the whole. [French government bonds] were without noticeable feature and Spanish, in spite of numerous sensational reports floated by bears, maintained Monday's advance and closed steady, several large purchases being made. It was reported at the close that the Cuban insurgents are about to demand a cessation of hostilities."
7. "It is stated that the Cuban bonds on the Paris Bourse are being much affected by the various reports as to the progress of the Cuban uprising and officials are of the opinion that many of the reports of victory and defeat are systematically circulated for speculative purposes." "Why the Reports Conflict," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 2, 1895.

Two Madrid dailies, *El Imparcial* and *La Época*, mentioned that the *Herald* of June 18 contained news about Cuba too absurd to merit reprinting, nothing but "exaggerations of the filibusterers" and "an alarmist campaign." The *Correo Militar*, the Spanish army's own daily, observed that, while government forces were successfully restoring order to Cuba, "the filibusterers of North America were entertaining themselves by telegraphing stupendous things to the *Herald's* Paris edition."[8] A translation of the *Herald*'s report did appear in a Barcelona serial, *La Crónica de la Guerra en Cuba*, and in a republican newspaper in the Balearic Islands that demanded explanations from the monarchist authorities in Madrid: "We hope that the Government will publish an exact account of the war, so that filibuster reports such as these will not be believed abroad."[9] Within a week, the Spanish Minister in Washington had publicly denounced the war news coming from Gainesville as the worthless fabrications of a Cuban propaganda network.

Not only did Hann's letters have passing international repercussions, but they may have also helped to distort the historical record of a crucial moment of the Cuban War of Independence. His version of José Martí's death, introduced briefly in the letter cited above and developed more fully in another, blamed a Cuban named Oliva for leading Martí into an ambush in exchange for a bounty.[10] This mistaken idea seems to have gained wide credence in the United States, and while Hann was not the first writer to affirm this,

8. "Cuba," *Correo Militar*, June 19, 1895. "The *New York Herald* today published in its Paris edition reports from Cuba that have caused profound shock here due to their unbelievable and absurd nature. It seems to me pointless to transmit them." "Exageraciones de los Filibusteros," *El Imparcial*, June 19, 1895; "Campaña Alarmista," *La Época*, June 20, 1895. The *Herald*'s article included a rumor, also false, that the Spanish commander in Cuba had been wounded.
9. *Cuba* (Barcelona: Maucci, 1895-1897), 195; Emilio Revertér Delmas, *Cuba Española* (Barcelona: Martin, 1896), 450; *La Guerra de Cuba* (Barcelona: Martin, 1899), 450. "La Insurreción Cubana," *El Liberal, Diario de Unión Republicana* (Mahón), June 28, 1895.
10. An informant did give the Spanish the advantage of surprise at the Battle of Dos Ríos, but it was neither an ambush nor a rout, and Martí was killed in combat, not in cold blood. By most versions, Martí was indeed shot by Antonio Oliva, a Cuban scout in the service of the Spanish army. However, Oliva was guiding the forces of Spanish Colonel José Ximénes de Sandoval at the time, and not the insurgent party in which José Martí was traveling. Oliva was not Martí's guide, and thus Martí was not "betrayed into the Spanish hands by a trusted Cuban guide and shot down in cold blood before he could escape," as Hann had claimed.

he must deserve some of the credit for the story's acceptance, since his letters were published so extensively.[11] The *Junior Encyclopedia Britannica* (1897) and at least four popular history books of the period included some variant of the phrase "led into an ambush by a treacherous guide" in their description of Martí's death, and even Charles E. Chapman seems to have repeated this canard in his *History of the Cuban Republic* (1927): "A guide betrayed him to the Spaniards, who ambushed Martí's party and killed them to a man. Thus perished the acknowledged Father of Cuban Independence."[12]

The more general and lasting significance of Hann's hoax is as a lesson in how the U.S. press was manipulated in the years leading up to the Spanish-American War of 1898. Historians have debated the role of the press in inciting that war for over a century.[13] Many

11. Hann was not the first to advance some version of a betrayal for a bounty. Like the story about the expedition, the one about the "trusted Cuban guide" also appears to have come from the *New York World.* That paper had, on June 13 and 14, printed stories about a guide leading Martí to his death, attributed to Cuban sources in New York. "Satisfied that Marti is Dead," *World,* June 13, 1895; "Letter from Maceo's Camp," *World,* June 14, 1895.

12. Ebenezer Hannaford, *Map and History of Cuba from the Latest and Best Authorities: Including a Clear and Graphic Account of the War of 1895-1897* (Springfield, OH: Mast, Crowell, and Kirkpatrick, 1897), 19; "Cuba," *Junior Encyclopedia Britannica: A Reference Library of General Knowledge* (Chicago: Melvyn, 1897); Edward Sylvester Ellis, ed., *The People's Standard History of the United States,* vol. 7 (New York: Woolfall, 1898), 1859; John R. Musick, *The War with Spain: With a Complete Record of its Causes, with Incidents of the Struggle for Supremacy in the Western Hemisphere* (New York: J. S. Oglivie, 1898), 86; LeRoy Armstrong, *Pictorial Atlas Illustrating the Spanish-American War* (Chicago: Iliff, 1899), 18. Charles E. Chapman, *A History of the Cuban Republic* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 76 [originally published in 1927]. Chapman's research is the subject of Louis A. Pérez, Jr., "Scholarship and the State: Notes on *A History of the Cuban Republic,*" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54, no. 4 (1974): 682-690.

13. Even in 1900, Richard H. Titherington wrote that the role of press misrepresentations in provoking the war was overstated by contemporary observers. See *History of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (New York: Appleton), 48. Two widely-cited works blaming the "Yellow Press" for the war are Marcus M. Wilkerson, *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War: A Study in War Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1932); and Joseph E. Wisan, *The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press, 1895-1898* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965) [originally published in 1934].

Subsequent studies found that Wilkerson and Wisan overemphasized the role of the New York press. See George W. Auxier, "Middle Western Newspapers and the Spanish American War, 1895-1898," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 26, no. 4 (1940): 523-534; William J. Schellings, "The Advent of the Spanish-American War in Florida, 1898," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1961): 311-329; Mark Matthew Welter, "Minnesota Newspapers and the

studies have examined how a few specific newspapers covered U.S.-Spanish relations, and often they have given special attention to editorials just prior to the U.S. declaration of war. This case offers a different perspective, by focusing on sensational news that circulated widely at the beginning of the Cuban conflict, when U.S. opinion was starting to be formed. It also allows us to examine the methods, motives, and impact of one of the many writers of false news stories during this period, one especially successful at attracting attention. In the following three sections, I will attempt to explain (1) why the letters held such wide appeal as newspaper content; (2) how a climate of competition in the local and national press facilitated the spread of the letters, and also eventually led to the exposure of the hoax; and (3) who may have conspired together with Hann to carry out the hoax, and why they may have done so.

The first of Frank Hann's "Cuban" letters appeared not in Gainesville, but in his hometown of Bridgeton, New Jersey, about 40 miles south of Philadelphia. On April 11, 1895, the *Bridgeton Evening News* published a message from "Captain F.P. Hann, Sixth Regiment, Cuban Volunteers" describing his voyage across the Florida Straits. In hindsight, we can appreciate Hann's ironic touches: his expedition supposedly embarked on April Fools' Day under the command of "Colonel Pietro Aretino," alluding

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Cuban Crisis, 1895-1898: Minnesota as a Test Case for the Yellow Journalism Theory" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Minnesota, 1974); Joseph A. Fry, "Silver and Sentiment: the Nevada Press and the Coming of the Spanish-American War," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1977): 222-239; Marvin N. Olasky, "Hawks or Doves? Texas Press and Spanish-American War," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (1987): 205-208.

Others indicate that President William McKinley's decision-making was based on larger economic and political concerns. On this, see Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 401-406 [originally published in 1963]; Louis A. Pérez, Jr., "The Meaning of the *Maine*: Causation and the Historiography of the Spanish-American War," *Pacific Historical Review* 58, no. 3 (1989): 293-322; W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001), 121-123. A recent analysis established a sort of "middle ground," recognizing that the "Yellow Press" alone did not cause the war, but the national press created a generally pro-war climate. John Maxwell Hamilton, Renita Coleman, Bettye Grable, and Jaci Cole. "An Enabling Environment: A Reconsideration of the Press and the Spanish-American War," *Journalism Studies* 7, no. 1 (2006): 78-93.

to the satiric playwright of the Italian Renaissance.[14] The letter concludes, "Well, I will close hoping that you will see fit to publish this, being from an old Bridgeton boy." On April 13, this same letter was reprinted in the *New York World* under the headline "A Jerseyman in Cuba," and within a week, it had appeared in over two dozen papers, from Chicago to New Orleans to Portland, Oregon. It even returned to Florida, running in the *Pensacola Journal* (April 15) and the *Tampa Tribune* (April 16).

Hann's initial success inspired a second letter, dated April 8, that appeared in the Bridgeton paper on April 19, but does not seem to have been printed anywhere else. The third of Hann's letters (also published April 19) reached the national press through the *Gainesville Sun*, as did nine of the subsequent ten. From Gainesville, they were usually forwarded to the *Daily Florida Citizen* in Jacksonville and on to the Associated Press in Chicago. Railroads and steamboats carried the major dailies to dozens of small-town editors, who truncated, summarized, or amalgamated Hann's reports as they saw fit.

Hann's letters would generally be dated about five days before their first publication, and marked as written at various places in and around Puerto Príncipe (or Camaguey) Province.[15] They included tall tales about surviving scalp and shoulder wounds, as well as yellow fever. He promoted himself from captain to major, and boasted that the Spanish had put a price on his head, dead or alive. Beyond this personal self-aggrandizement, he painted a picture of Spanish defeat in Cuba as both just and inevitable, by exaggerating the military capabilities of the Cubans, the cruelty of the Spanish, and the strength of rebel ties with the U.S.

14. Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) was known for publishing sarcastic letters and often received favors from public figures who sought to avoid becoming the subject of his writing. As Jacob Burkhardt argued, "Aretino made all his profit out of a complete publicity, and in a certain sense may be considered the father of modern journalism." See Jacob Burkhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), 165 [originally published in 1878]. Hann wisely arranged for "Col. Aretino" to be killed in combat (April 20) and replaced with a more plausible "Col. Rodriguez" (May 6).

15. In this article, Hann's letters are referred to by the dates they were supposedly written, and not by the date they were first published. It seems clear that the letters were "backdated" to appear more authentic.

Regarding the Cuban forces, Hann described the men under Gómez alone as numbering over 15,000 at a time when the U.S. consulate in Havana estimated those forces as no more than 2,000.[16] He also reported the conquests of major towns, such as Puerto Príncipe (his letter dated May 2), Guaimaro (May 6), Las Tunas (June 10) and Manatí (June 17), none of which were actually occupied by the rebels until much later. In his May 6 letter, Hann claimed participation in a fantastic battle in which 1,000 Spaniards had been killed, wounded or captured and that General Juan Salcedo was probably among the dead, when the general was actually very much alive in another province. Hann closed one of his last letters (dated June 15) boasting that the Cubans were preparing to commandeer one of Spain's cruisers.

Hann's accounts were also intended to arouse animosity toward the Spanish. As mentioned earlier, the letters dated June 10 and 16 described José Martí as having been led to his slaughter by a Judas-like guide, alluding to a Biblical struggle between good and evil. Another description of cruelty appeared in his letter of June 14, in which he claimed that Spaniards had burned the Cuban village of Arequipa and massacred its inhabitants, including women and children. That there is no record today of such a village is not due to the thoroughness of the Spanish in their destruction of the place, but because it never existed.[17]

Most significantly, Hann described a fictional situation in which rebels and U.S. volunteers were working in close cooperation, contributing to a perception of the Cuban conflict that would eventually be used to justify U.S. military intervention. Hann also claimed that prominent Americans were already aiding the insurrection so as to encourage others to join the winning side. His letters were actually part of a larger body of fabrications about U.S. volunteers in Cuba, and he sometimes intertwined his own stories with the others. For example, in April, many papers carried bogus reports about Cuban agents enlisting a company of volunteers in

16. Consul General Ramón O. Williams to Assistant Secretary of State Edwin F. Uhl, Havana, July 20, 1895, National Archives and Records Administration, *Consular Despatches from Havana* (Microfilm T-20, Reel 121).

17. No "Arequipa, Cuba" appears on contemporary maps, including the *Official Map of Cuba* (Chicago: George F. Cram, 1895), and the *Atlas of the World* (New York: Rand McNally, 1898) among those consulted.

Fort Worth, Texas.[18] Soon afterwards, Hann wrote about the arrival in his camp of a group from Fort Worth and he invented details about the company's victories in subsequent reports. He made conditions in Cuba sound attractive to prospective recruits, and the *Gainesville Sun* of June 23 briefly noted that "R.F. Anderfer is now receiving letters asking for information in reference to joining the Cuban cause."

Hann's hoax offers a glimpse into the fluid boundaries between journalism, literary imagination, and foreign policy in the late nineteenth century. Editors around the country selected his letters for publication because they were timely, dramatic, and written in a popular style, at a time when most newspapers offered readers a varied (and poorly distinguished) mix of information and entertainment.[19] The *Philadelphia North American* specifically compared Hann to one of the period's most widely-read writers of military fiction and light martial histories: "From the sunny isle of Cuba, now devastated by the ravages of war, comes a romance that would do credit to Captain [Charles] King."[20] The *Pennsylvania Grit* (July 7, 1895) described Hann's reading habits: "He read romances and books of valorous deeds on battlefields and studied authorities on military affairs. [...] He had few companions, and his evenings were usually spent at home in reading war stories that fired him with an ambition to win fame on the field of battle."

18. "Recruits for Cuba from Texas," *Roanoke Times*, April 14, 1895; "Recruits for the Revolutionists," *Omaha Bee*, April 14, 1895. Other examples include "Cuban Agents at Work in Alabama Recruiting for the Insurgent Army," *New Orleans Picayune*, April 7, 1895; "To Fight For Cuba—Agents of the Patriots Enlisting Recruits in the Southern States," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 13, 1895; "Insurgents Hiring Eastern Toughs," *Chicago Tribune*, June 18, 1895; "Recruits for Cuba: Agents for Insurgents Have Enlisted Men in Denver" *Rocky Mountain News*, July 12, 1895. Statements of Cuban officials, however, tended to discourage U.S. volunteers. See "Asks Aid: Ammunition is What Gomez Desires from American Sympathizers," *Minneapolis Penny Press*, June 12, 1895; "Arms, not Men, Needed," *New York Times*, June 23, 1895; "Arms Wanted, Not Men," *Morning Oregonian*, July 3, 1895.

19. Kristen Roggenkamp, *Narrating The News: New Journalism And Literary Genre In Late Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers and Fiction* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005).

20. "Fighting for Cuba's Freedom," *Philadelphia North American*, July 2, 1895. Captain (later General) Charles King (1844-1933) wrote dozens of novels, many of which were published serially in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* of Philadelphia.

Even the *Philadelphia Record*, which did not carry Hann's letters and considered them likely to be bogus, noted that they were "quite readable."[21]

Hann was certainly not alone in straddling the boundary of war fiction and war journalism. Many respected writers, editors, and publishers of this period tended to move with ease between the two genres. Some of the leading literary figures, including Rudyard Kipling, Stephen Crane, and Richard Harding Davis were journalists also known for their military fiction. For example, Crane, like Hann, began his writing career as a contributor to a small-town New Jersey paper, and his *Red Badge of Courage* (1895) began to appear in serialized form in newspapers just a few months before Hann began to send his letters from Gainesville.[22] Crane and Davis would eventually become war correspondents in Cuba, and thanks to Davis's reporting on the Battle of San Juan Hill, "Colonel Roosevelt" became nationally known as the American hero of the Cuban fighting, just a few years after "Major Hann" had had his similar moment of glory.

Davis and Hann were neighbors of a sort in Philadelphia.[23] The Davis family home was at the corner of Chancellor Place and 21st Street, near posh Rittenhouse Square, while the Hann residence was at Chancellor Place and 32nd Street, near the train station and the almshouse in West Philadelphia, across the Schuylkill River from the center city.[24] While Hann was writing his letters in a Gainesville boarding house, Davis was in a Cape Cod resort, finishing a travelogue entitled *Three Gringos in Central America and Venezuela* (1896), and preparing to write the novel *Soldier of Fortune* (1897). Linked by their home address and their subject matter,

21. "Anderfer's Stanch Ally: 'Major Hann' Was a Bridgeton Lad," *Philadelphia Record*, July 3, 1895.
22. The *Red Badge of Courage* began in serial form in December 1894. Of course, this work was notable as a realistic departure from the romanticized war fiction that Hann read and wrote.
23. The 1900 U.S. Census shows another writer as the next-door neighbor of the Hann family in West Philadelphia. Lillian C. Whiteley wrote juvenile fiction as "Elsie Leigh Whittlesey" and "Rosanna Watson" in *Golden Days* and the *Inquirer*. We cannot establish their acquaintance in 1895, since the Hanns were then living a few blocks away on Chancellor Place, but perhaps she wrote the anonymous *Grit* article about "Frank Harm" based on family interviews.
24. Lemuel Clarke Davis, father of Richard Harding Davis, was managing editor of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, one of the papers that published Hann's June 10 letter.

yet separated by their social circumstances, we can see Hann as a sort of working-class aspirant to Davis's sophisticated world of international adventure.

Just as it is important to understand how Frank Hann, as a reader and writer, fit into the literary world of his time, it is also important to understand how his fictional character, "Major Hann," related to the contemporary imagination. Modern scholars have examined the discussion of Cuba in the U.S. press and in U.S. popular literature of the 1890s, and have found that it often involved a personification of the United States as an emerging actor in international affairs. Amy Kaplan has noted that, in foreign affairs reporting, the nation was often represented as a hero in a romanticized adventure story:

> Popular journalism has long been accorded a major role in galvanizing popular support for U.S. entry into war against Spain. [...] Less well known is the contribution of popular fiction to creating this jingoistic atmosphere [...] Many journalistic narratives followed the script of the historical romance, rendering America as a manly hero rescuing a foreign princess and her land from a tyrannical master.[25]

Robert E. May and Shelley Streeby have described how the figure of the filibuster had long been glorified as a model of U.S. masculinity and as a justification of U.S. ambitions of territorial annexation.[26] Kristin Hoganson has explained the public interest in accounts of the Cuban war in terms of a general preoccupation with manly vigor, both in the average U.S. male and in U.S. foreign policy, at the end of the nineteenth century.[27] The story of Cuba as

25. Amy Kaplan, "Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s," *American Literary History* 2, no. 4 (1990): 659-690.

26. Robert E. May, "Young American Males and Filibustering in the Age of Manifest Destiny: The United States Army as a Cultural Mirror," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 3 (1991): 857-886; Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). See also Charles H. Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny: the Lives and Times of the Filibusters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

27. Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 45. It is interesting to note that often the Hann letters ran on the same page as newspaper advertisements for patent medicines purporting to restore lost manliness.

a "damsel in distress" waiting to be saved was a device used often in the press before 1898, and specific cases are examined by Kristen Roggenkamp and W. Joseph Campbell.[28] Louis A. Pérez, Jr. notes that in political cartoons of the prewar period, Uncle Sam was often depicted as a knight rescuing a fair Cuban maiden, and as a kind protector watching over a helpless Cuban child in postwar illustrations.[29] Both these idealized or metaphorical descriptions of Cuba diminished the central role of the Cubans in their own quest for self-government, while they justified U.S. management of Cuban affairs, and masked U.S. geopolitical ambitions.

In a similar manner, presenting Cuba's War of Independence as an adventure story narrated in the first person by a young Philadelphian served to raise interest in the insurrection among U.S. readers accustomed to this kind of literature, but it also tended to overstate the very small role that U.S. volunteers played in what was then mainly a Cuban effort.[30] The appeal of Hann's story to newspaper readers in the United States probably had less to do with concern for the Cubans themselves and more with the image that Hann presented of a young and active United States abroad. In 1895, there was a heightened concern about the ability of the U.S. to enforce the Monroe Doctrine of containing European (especially British) expansion in the Americas.

The character of Major Hann, in his fictional adventures, personified the New World standing up to the Old. For example, when the editor of the Leadville (CO) *Herald-Democrat* gave one of Hann's letters an extended headline that included the phrases "Texas Rangers Are Fighting... Aiding Cuba in Her Struggle for Freedom" and "Haughty Dons on the Run," he was defining the

28. Kristen Roggenkamp, "The Evangelina Cisneros Romance, Medievalist Fiction, and the Journalism that Acts," *Journal of American & Comparative Cultures* 23, no. 2 (2000): 25–37; W. Joseph Campbell, "Not a Hoax: New Evidence in the New York Journal's Rescue of Evangelina Cisneros," *American Journalism* 19, no. 4 (2002): 67-94.

29. Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

30. "Hundreds of Cuban-born, naturalized U.S. citizens returned to their home island to support the uprising, and contemporary U.S. newspapers gave the impression that scores of Anglos also flocked to join the revolution. The actual number was around 30." Quotation from Benjamin R. Beede, *The War of 1898 and US Interventions, 1898-1934: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 1994), 452.

combat on the island as the democratic United States against imperialist Europe.[31] Little consideration was given to the idea that Major Hann himself might represent a new kind of imperialist. Hann and his rugged Texan friends embodied an image that the editor and many other Americans wanted for their nation, unlike that of the moderate Cleveland administration, which was criticized as timid by populist Democrats and expansionist Republicans alike ahead of the 1896 election.

A few Cubans may have been willing to recycle the Major Hann story to keep their cause in the news. In October, various papers cited a press release from the "Cuban Junta" in New York that said that volunteer "Lieutenant Clapp" of Florida had won a victory over a much larger Spanish force, with details reminiscent of Hann's letter of May 6.[32] However, many other Cubans would have rejected the idea that the cause of "Cuba Libre" was dependent on American mercenary officers for its success.[33] There is no evidence that Major Hann received any attention in *Patria*, for example, one of the leading Cuban publications in the United States.[34] Cuban nationalists may have realized that such false stories would eventually allow the American public to stake a claim to their struggle. For many years after the war, the United States considered itself entitled to deny Cuba its full independence, contributing to tensions that have persisted for over a century.

Hann's June 15 letter provided yet another false account of U.S. support for the Cuban side, describing the presence of some 800 U.S. volunteers, including complete units from Texas and

31. "The Ranger can always be counted on to shoot true for civilization and progress," , *Fort Worth Gazette*, May 17, 1895, reprinted in *San Antonio Daily Light*, May 26, 1895.
32. "One Thousand Slain: Spaniards Lose Heavily in a Recent Engagement," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, October 15, 1895; "Won by Insurgents," *San Francisco Call*, October 16, 1895.
33. Many Cubans wanted a purely Cuban struggle, while the "official representatives" of the Cuban Republic in Washington and New York cultivated U.S. support. See Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba between Empires, 1878-1902* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), 89-137; Gerald Eugene Poyo, *With All, and for the Good of All: The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), 112-137; and Lillian Guerra, *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 13-21.
34. For example, the available issues of *Patria* (June 18 and 25) made no mention of what Hann described as "the most important expedition that has landed on Cuban soil from the United States."

Georgia, in Gómez's army.[35] The *Fort Worth Gazette* of June 23 proudly carried the letter on the front page, under the headline "Fort Worth Sharpshooters Have a Prominent Part in the Cuban War for Independence." This same letter did arouse suspicion in Georgia, however, and the Macon *Telegraph* published a short item asking about one of Hann's invented fellow officers:

> "Who is Maj. Jennings of Georgia? The gallant major does not hail from Macon, but a special from Gainesville, Fla. to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* says Maj. Jennings of Georgia is down in Cuba at the head of 324 Georgians and Floridians fighting under Gen. Gomez. He certainly does not hail from these parts, and no one has been found who knows him. Perhaps if he succeeds in winning enough fame to speak of, Atlanta will locate him as a citizen of that city." [36]

Soon many other questions were raised about Major Hann and his letters from Cuba. For a week in mid-June 1895, Hann's letters seemed to be arriving in Gainesville on an almost-daily basis: five were published between June 17 and 24. This prolific output attracted the attention of the newly-appointed Spanish Minister to Washington, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme.[37] On June 25, various papers carried a statement by the diplomat denouncing the news from Gainesville as part of a body of falsehoods fabricated by rebel sympathizers around Florida. It read, in part:

> "I am surprised at the systematic manner in which this propaganda of misinformation is sent out from the centers of Cuban sympathy, Tampa, Key West, Jacksonville,

35. Most papers ran the June 15 letter as reliable news, but a few gave a brief sarcastic summary: "Gomez's Alleged 'Army'—Gainesville, Fla., June 20—R.F. Anderfer has received a letter from Major Hann of the Cuban revolutionary army which declares that General Gomez's army consists of 15,000 fighting men." It was published in the *Frederick News*, the *Middletown Argus*, the *Shenandoah Evening Herald* and the *Tyrone Herald*, all on June 20, 1895.

36. "Major Jennings of Georgia: He Is Said to Be Fighting the Spaniards in Cuba," *Macon Telegraph*, June 24, 1895. The humorous article continues, "Macon, however, is in sympathy with the side on which Major Jennings is fighting and will not object to making him a citizen if there is anything left of him after he gets through with the Spaniards and yellow fever. The average Georgian, however, does not have to go away from home to have a fight if he wants one real bad, and can generally get it in any shape or fashion he might choose."

37. Dupuy de Lôme later became infamous for criticizing President McKinley in a leaked private letter. See Carlos García Barrón, "Enrique Dupuy de Lôme and the Spanish American War," *The Americas* 36, no. 1 (1979): 39-58.

> Gainesville and Nassau [...T]hese centers keep furnishing reports of bloody battles, the killing of generals, although no such battles or casualties occur. [...] Tampa will first tell the story of a fictitious battle. The next day Gainesville furnishes another report of the same battle. Then it comes from Jacksonville and a little later from Nassau so that the fighting is made to serve for several weeks."

Dupuy de Lôme did not mention Major Hann by name, but the reports from Gainesville to which he referred could only have been Hann's, and he ridiculed their exaggerated numbers and geographic inconsistencies.[38] The *Kansas City Star* asked, "Will the Major try to vindicate himself by challenging the Minister, or are his hands and brains too fully engrossed at present keeping out of the way of the Spaniards and sending out fanciful stories?"[39] Various newspapers juxtaposed the statement of the Spanish diplomat with the latest letter from Hann, and attention soon shifted from the supposed activities of Major Hann in Cuba, to those of "Frank Anderfer" in Gainesville.

A series of strange events occurred over the next few days, causing great excitement among the citizens of Gainesville. "Anderfer" had been found on the night of June 25, unconscious in a vacant lot near the train station. Once revived, he told reporters that he had been returning from a late-night meeting with a contact bringing new information from Cuba when he was ambushed by two individuals who had beaten him, drugged him by injection, and stolen the letter just received. Alachua County Sheriff H. M. Tillis sent out bloodhounds after the assailants, one of whom was described as a "burly negro," but the trail went cold somewhere east of town. Various papers hypothesized that Spanish agents were responsible.[40] Two local doctors who attended

38. "First Class War Fakes: The Spanish Minister at Washington Denounces Some of the Reports from Cuba," *Macon Telegraph*, June 25, 1895; "Hoax Battles" *Galveston Daily News*, June 25, 1895.
39. Editorial, *Kansas City Star*, June 25, 1895.
40. "Four Shots Were Fired and Frank Anderfer Was Then Found Unconscious," *Florida Times Union*, June 27, 1895; "Mystery of Anderfer: Major Hann's Interpreter Waylaid in Gainesville," *Florida Citizen*, June 27, 1895," "Sandbagged and Robbed: Anderfer Comes to His Senses and Tells a Strange Story," *Florida Citizen*, June 28, 1895; "Anderfer Himself Again: 'Cuban Major's' Friend Has 'Regained' Consciousness," *Florida Times Union*, June 28, 1895; "Anderfer Is Conscious," *Gainesville Daily Sun*, June 28, 1895; "A Mysterious Case: Mr. J. S. Twomey Tells of a Miraculous Occurrence," *Tampa Weekly Tribune*, July 4, 1895.

Anderfer differed on whether he had actually been assaulted, and Gainesville opinion was soon divided.

The next day, the sheriff did make arrests, but not in the assault case. Rather, Anderfer and three friends with whom he shared a room in a boarding house were charged with cracking the safe of the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad. The bedridden Anderfer was placed under house arrest, and his roommates, who were jailed overnight, denounced their arbitrary imprisonment in the *Sun* and hired a lawyer to sue the railroad for damages.[41] Charges against all four were soon dropped for lack of evidence but, while Anderfer was confined to his room, some prominent local citizens questioned him about his supposed Cuban letters.

Major John W. Tench asked Anderfer to produce one of the "Greek cipher" letters, which was then taken to the Reverend John T. Hundley of the First Baptist Church. Hundley reported that it contained neither any complex code nor any description of a Cuban battle. In fact, it seemed to be a friendly letter, in Greek letters, from someone back home in Philadelphia. Soon afterwards, Tench, Hundley and others called on Anderfer, and asked him to translate the text aloud for them. He invented a war story unrelated to the real contents and within a few days, it would become apparent that Hann and Anderfer were one and the same, and no more letters from "Major Hann" would be published.

Hann is clearly an "unreliable narrator" in his manufactured Cuban letters, but the contemporary newspaper accounts about him are not much more objective. In the days following the "attack," Hann was generally described as a victim by those news organizations that had been part of his exclusive distribution network, namely the *Sun* in Gainesville, the *Citizen* in Jacksonville, and the Associated Press (AP) in Chicago, and as a fraud by the rival newspapers and wire services that did not receive the letters. A climate of active competition for sensational news had allowed the hoax to go on for nearly three months, but it also led to Major Hann's eventual unmasking.

41. Hann's roommates, Eugene Gauthier, Emmitt Lilly, and William Scott, unsuccessfully sued the railroad for $15,000 apiece, according to the Ancient Records of the Alachua County Clerk's Office, *Judgment Docket 8 (1894-1897)*, 252-253, 349-350. Mr. Jim Powell kindly furnished records of the suits against the railroad and against Station Manager Henry E. Day, who had sworn a complaint against "Andifer" and his three associates on June 25, the same evening as Hann's "attack." Arrested on the 26th, they were freed on the 27th, when Day withdrew his complaint.

In a note in its May 26 edition, the *Gainesville Sun* made the ironic boast that it was outdoing other papers by having its own correspondent on the battlefield in Cuba. "You can't keep up with the Cuban rebellion by reading newspaper reports. If you want the news, go to Cuba for it. This is one time the Press has been out-generaled." Young John O. LaFontisee, the 23-year old city editor of the *Sun* and special correspondent for the *Florida Citizen*, was a key figure in the affair, receiving the letters from "Anderfer," publishing them in Gainesville and sending them on to Jacksonville and Chicago.

LaFontisee described his source as well-educated and honestly employed, first as a hotel waiter during the tourist season and later as a brickmaker's assistant, apparently responding to charges in other newspapers that Anderfer was a tramp living off the sale of his letters.[42] After the supposed attack, LaFontisee's initial reports in the *Sun* (June 28) and in the *Citizen* (June 27, 28, and 29) were highly sympathetic to the "victim." When local authorities began to question Anderfer, LaFontisee began to modify his position somewhat, but as late as July 4, he and the *Sun* were still maintaining that Hann and Anderfer could in fact be different individuals and that the letters somehow might not be fakes.[43]

Publisher Henry H. McCreary's *Gainesville Sun* was a morning paper that had existed in one form or another since 1876. In early 1895, a second paper had appeared in Gainesville, the *Evening Ledger*, and competition was fierce, since the market was a small one for two dailies. The *Ledger* was highly critical of the *Sun*'s supposed Cuban letters in the few fragments we have of its coverage, one of which appeared in the *Times-Union*, the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Savannah Morning News* (all on June 28), and in the *New York Times* (June 29).[44]

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42. A Gainesville boarding house at which Anderfer stayed was run by a relative of LaFontisee's, according to Caroline Julia LaFontisee Palmer, *LaFontisee Letters* (Gainesville: Privately Printed, 1962). The 1897 Sanborn Map of Gainesville shows the Osborne House at the corner of Garden and Roper Streets, today a courthouse parking lot, at SW 1st Street and SW 4th Avenue.
43. Various items from the *Gainesville Sun*'s weekly edition of July 4 were reproduced in "Those Letters from Major Hann," *Bridgeton Evening News*, July 15, 1895.
44. "Anderfer Himself Again," *Florida Times-Union*, June 28, 1895; "A Fakir Assaulted," *Atlanta Constitution*, June 28, 1895; "Fake Letters on Cuba's War," *Savannah Morning News*, June 28, 1895; "Suspected of 'Faking' Cuban News," *New York Times*, June 29, 1895.

> It now appears to the heretics that the Major Hann letters, alleged to have been written from Cuba to one R. F. Anderfer of this city, constitute a very ingenious fake, devised by Anderfer for advertising himself, or for making money out of the newspapers. How these letters managed to escape Spanish espionage, if they are authentic, and reach their destination here promptly and with regularity in five days is as mysterious as the conduct of Anderfer when he was found Tuesday night, lying unconscious in a vacant lot and grasping a revolver, from which four shots had just been fired. The curious would like to see one of the original letters, which are alleged to have been written in Greek cipher, scrutinizing the postmark and have it explained why the letters are not received through the Gainesville post office.

Major Tench, who had finally confronted "Anderfer" and asked him to produce and decipher one of his letters from Cuba, was affiliated with the *Ledger*, as was briefly noted in the *Ocala Banner* (July 5): "The author of the Major Hann Cuban letters was run to ground last Saturday by the 'Major' of the *Gainesville Ledger*."[45] Not only did the *Ledger* seek to unmask Hann and LaFontisee as frauds, it also tried to dampen the war fever the *Sun* had been encouraging, running at least two editorials supporting President Cleveland's policy of non-interference in Cuban affairs.

These editorials in the *Gainesville Ledger* attracted attention in the Spanish-language press of New York and even in Madrid and Barcelona.[46] In August, a pro-Spanish paper in New York, *Las*

45. Rivals Tench of the *Ledger* and McCreary of the *Sun* had once been partners in a Gainesville newspaper called the *Alachua Advocate*. See *Rowell's American Newspaper Directory* (1883 edition), 44. John C. Luning and Adrian P. Jordan (also of the *Leesburg Commercial* and the *Punta Gorda Herald*) were the *Ledger*'s publishers of record at the time.

46. The editorial "Sober Second Thought," is referred to in a microfilmed issue of the *Weekly Ledger* (August 31), along with some praise from the Spanish editor of *Las Novedades*. However, we lack the original editorial in English. An editorial from the *Ledger*, perhaps the same one, appeared as "La Verdad Sobre Cuba," *La Iberia*, September 11, 1895; and *Correspondencia de España*, September 12, 1895, and as "Los Laborantes Cubanos," *La Época*, September 23, 1895, prefaced with "In the same Florida that elected Senator Call, and where thousands of Cuban cigarmaker emigrés are agitating, the truth about the insurrection is coming to light. We have here what a newspaper from that state, the Ledger, has written against the filibusterers and those who aid in their fabulous inventions and schemes."

Novedades, translated one with the added comment, "We are very much gratified at the tone of the foregoing article, for it requires peculiar courage to speak out like this in Florida." One also ran in three different Madrid dailies and in the Barcelona magazine *La Ilustración Ibérica*, which said the editorial was proof that influential U.S. newspapers were coming around to Spain's point of view. In fact, the *Ledger* had already lost its battle with the *Sun* and ceased publication as its "influence" was being touted in Spain.[47] The text contained a passage here translated back into English: "With the exception of some impulsive and excitable youths, of the type found everywhere, who are attracted to and captivated by the sort of romanticism associated with bandits fighting in the hills, the Spaniards of Cuba are opposed to the insurrection." Local readers of the *Ledger* would have identified Hann and LaFontisee among Gainesville's own "excitable youths," a reference certainly lost on the Spanish public.

The Gainesville papers tied their differing views on the Cuban war with local politics, reflecting the division of the Democratic Party into populist and conservative camps. At one point, the populist *Sun* attempted to link the Cuban cause with publisher McCreary's campaign to regulate the railroads. It defended Anderfer and his friends against the flimsy charges of robbery, faulted the railroad for poor detective work and insinuated that their arrest was carried out by those who would support the rule existing in Spanish Cuba: "Such actions smack too much of the methods in vogue in monarchies to suit American citizens."[48] The more conservative *Gainesville Ledger*, on the other hand, identified the rebellion in Cuba as a race revolt that was being misrepresented as a fight for freedom to impressionable carpetbaggers (presumably including those associated with the *Sun*). "If not for this, the insurrection would not have achieved any more significance than a Pennsylvania miners' strike."[49]

47. "La Insurrección en Cuba," *La Ilustración Ibérica* 13, no. 664, September 21, 1895: 595.
48. "A Card of Thanks" and "The law authorizing the arrest..." *Gainesville Daily Sun*, June 28, 1895.
49. Translated from the *Ledger*'s editorial as printed in Madrid, "La Verdad Acerca de Cuba," *La Iberia*, September 11, 1895. These comments may have been intended to remind Gainesville readers that both Hann (from the Philadelphia area) and LaFontisee (born in upstate New York of French-Canadian parents) were Northern interlopers.

In Jacksonville, two of the leading papers were the long-established *Florida Times-Union* and the upstart *Daily Florida Citizen*, launched in 1893.[50] As in Gainesville, the rivalry between the city's leading newspapers had to do with both circulation share and political differences. The *Citizen* was identified with the railroads and the gold standard, while the *Times-Union* was allied with the populist wing of the Democratic Party, until it was taken over by the *Citizen* in 1897.[51] On June 30, 1895 the two Sunday papers provided contrasting versions of the events in Gainesville.

The *Citizen*'s coverage, partially written by LaFontisee, raised serious doubts about Anderfer's identity, but avoided passing a final judgment. A physical description of Anderfer (reported from Gainesville) and one of Hann (received from relatives in Philadelphia) were printed together, and, of course, the two were very similar. However, the *Citizen* left open the possibility that Anderfer would yet explain his relationship to Hann once he recovered from his injuries. The *Times-Union*'s headline allowed no such room for doubt: "Fools Bit at the Fakes—The Mystery About the 'Cuban Letters' Explained—Pal of Anderfer Peaches—J.O. Lafontisee Admits the Letters Are Rank Fakes—Manufactured Lies for Money—An Alleged Jacksonville Paper Bit at the Fakes—Anderfer Probably Wanted in Philadelphia."

Within a week, the story had degenerated from a serious affair to something of a joke around Florida. The weekly edition of the *Tampa Tribune*, published July 4, drew from the daily editions of the preceding days, and traced this change over time. For example, a report on page 2 expressed outrage at the apparent attack on Anderfer, and suggested lynching the perpetrators. "The Spanish people are now put on their guard. Such conduct as that, if it is true, will not be tolerated on American soil, and if one of their emissaries engaged in that kind of business is caught, Judge Lynch will set in judgment on his case with all possible haste." Page 4 of the same edition ridiculed the gullible Gainesville public after Hann's identity had finally been revealed. "'Major Hann' turns

50. No issues of a third Jacksonville paper, the *Metropolis*, were available for consultation.

51. Tracy E. Danese, "Railroads, Farmers and Senatorial Politics: The Florida Railroad Commission in the 1890s," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 146-166; "Plot to Carry Florida," *Atlanta Constitution*, September 1, 1896; "Jacksonville Papers Merge," *Atlanta Constitution*, September 9, 1897.

out to be a giant fake. Andifer [*sic*] turns out to be Hann and Gainesville 'turns out' to be sold." [52] The editors of the *Bradford County Telegraph* in Starke also chimed in on the affair, observing that "Gainesville is becoming quite sensational in her old age."[53]

The rivalry in Jacksonville between the *Citizen* and the *Times-Union* had national implications because of their affiliations with competing wire services. The *Citizen* forwarded the letters to the Chicago-based Associated Press (AP), which tended to dominate the field west of the Appalachians. The AP had grown quickly at the expense of the older, New York-based United Press (UP), not related to the twentieth century organization of the same name.[54] The letters, as exclusive news material, became an issue of contention between the Chicago and New York organizations.

The UP had a contract with the Southern Press Association (SAP), which included the *Times-Union*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, and the *Charleston News-Courier*, among others. A few Southern papers, however, were abandoning the regional group for the AP, and chief among these was the *New Orleans Picayune*, which prominently published most of Hann's letters. After the hoax was revealed, the UP and SAP ridiculed the AP's reliance on fraudulent sources. Among the headlines were "Anderfer's Letters All Fakes: The Cuban News He Has Been Furnishing the Associated Press Absolutely Without Basis in Fact" (*New York Times*) and "A Fakir Caught and Where the Chicago Associated Press Gets its Cuban News Ascertained" (*Birmingham Age-Herald*).[55] The *Picayune*'s rival, the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, complained sarcastically that the

52. "A Mysterious Case: Mr. J. S. Twomey Tells of a Miraculous Occurrence," and "Editorial Brevities," *Tampa Weekly Tribune*, July 4, 1895. The page 4 editorial section also made light of this: "The *Gainesville Ledger* shies another startler into a crowd of pencil pushers: 'That two men should hold and try to murder another merely for receiving letters from Cuba or anywhere else, unless from another man's wife, is an idea wholly deficient in spissitude.'"

53. Editorial comments, *Bradford County Telegraph*, July 5, 1895.

54. This United Press had been the New York Associated Press, and the Associated Press based in Chicago was once the Western Associated Press. A. Schwarzlose, *The Nation's Newsbrokers: The Rush to Institution, 1865-1920*, vol. 2 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990), 149-181; Susan R. Brooker-Gross, "News Wire Services in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Journal of Historical Geography* 7, no. 2 (1981): 167-179.

55. *New York Times*, July 1, 1895, *Birmingham Age-Herald*, June 30, 1895. See also "Difficult News Management: Chicago Associated Press in Peril of Reporting Kurds in Santiago," *New York Times*, January 8, 1896; "Associated Press Unreliable: Another Blunder Added to Its Already Large List – How the Public Was Deceived by Alleged News," *New York Times*, January 9, 1896.

Cuban conflict had become positively boring without any new reports from Major Hann.[56]

However, the United Press was not above publishing Hann's letters since one of them had been circulated by both national wire services on June 17.[57] The *Times-Union* supposedly obtained Hann's June 10 letter by dishonest means involving a telegraph messenger, and it soon ran in dozens of SAP and UP affiliates around the country, including four in New York City (the *Herald*, the *Sun*, the *Times* and the *Tribune*), with a summary appearing in the *Herald*'s Paris edition the next day.[58] Many of these were the same papers that would soon happily denounce the Hann letters as AP fakes. The June 10 letter, describing the Key West expedition and the ambush of Martí, was an especially timely piece of news, since President Cleveland had days earlier proclaimed that materially supporting the Cubans was a violation of Federal neutrality laws. It was also timely for the United Press, since the SAP membership, in a meeting the day after the letter's publication, voted to renew its contract with the UP, rather than merge with the AP.[59]

Even after the hoax had been discovered, the AP briefly tried to revive the idea that the letters might somehow be authentic. On July 2, a report that a Philadelphia businessman had vouched for Anderfer's identity ran as "A Strange Combine: Anderfer is Not an Impostor and the Hann Letters Were All Right," in the *San Antonio Daily Light* and as "The Florida Mystery: Andifer [sic] Regaining the Confidence of the People" in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*.[60] This article was contradicted the next day by a UP report that the Anderfers of Bridgeton were unaware of anyone fitting the description given of their supposed relative in Gainesville. This

56. *Times-Democrat* of July 20 cited in "La Revolución Cubana," *Diario del Hogar*, July 26, 1895.
57. "Frank Hann's Confession," *Bridgeton Evening News*, July 22, 1895.
58. "Eluded Two Cruisers," *New York Herald*, June 17, 1895; "Spain Wants More Ships," *New York Sun*, June 17, 1895; "To Patrol Cuban Waters," *New York Times*, June 17, 1895; "Insurgents Gain Ground," *New York Tribune*, June 17, 1895. A summary of the letter ran in the Paris edition of the *New York Herald* on June 18 under the title "Cuban Rebels Receive Help."
59. "Satisfied That They Have the Best: The Southern Associated Press Will Stand by the United Press," *New York Times*, June 19, 1895. The Southern papers did leave the old United Press in 1897, giving the AP a near-monopoly.
60. Also "Anderfer in a Serious Condition," *Picayune*, July 2, 1895, "New Developments Expected," *Galveston Daily News*, July 3, 1895; "Anderfer Not a Fraud: Says He Will Prove He is Not Major Hann," *Macon Telegraph*, July 3, 1895.

ran on July 3 in the *Philadelphia Record*, in the *Times-Union*, and in the *Atlanta Constitution*, where it had the headline, "They Know Him Not—Bridgeton People Do Not Know 'Frank Anderfer.'"[61]

Attention to the hoax quickly died down in the national press, but the story lasted somewhat longer in the newspapers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Two Philadelphia papers ran stories based on interviews with Hann's relatives that ignored all of the controversy that had arisen during the preceding week in Florida: "Joined the Cuban Army" in the *Inquirer* (July 1) and "Fighting for Cuba's Freedom– A Young Philadelphian Made a Major in the Insurgent Forces" in the *North American* (July 2). The *Pennsylvania Grit*, a Williamsport weekly with national distribution and an emphasis on entertaining stories, ran a third version of the same story on July 7, "The Romance of Cuba's War." All three articles used similar language, but the *Grit*'s extended version related in detail how "John Harm" had received word from Cuba that his son had achieved a longstanding desire for glory on the battlefield.[62] It also mentioned that "Frank Harm" had received a military-style secondary education at the South Jersey Institute, and that he had served in the State Fencibles battalion of the Pennsylvania National Guard. This story reappeared as a novelty item for months in papers around the country, including the *Washington Post*.[63]

The *Bridgeton Evening News*, which had been the first to publish the letters of its "hometown hero" and former paperboy, was the last to acknowledge the truth. It continued to defend Hann's authenticity until it printed a special from Gainesville entitled "Frank Hann's Confession" (July 22). This item was written in the third person and seems to have only been published in Bridgeton. The author (probably LaFontisee) claimed that Hann had invented

61. "Faking Still the Order of the Day in Regard to 'Anderfer'— He's Not 'Anderfer' and is Probably 'Hann' —True He's Not a Fugitive From Justice," *Semi-Weekly Times-Union*, July 5, 1895; "Anderfer's Stanch Ally: 'Major Hann' Was a Bridgeton Lad," *Philadelphia Record*, July 3, 1895; "Anderfer Not Known at Bridgeton," *Philadelphia North American*, July 3, 1895.

62. "Romance of Cuba's War," *Pennsylvania Grit*, July 7, 1895. *Grit* ("America's Greatest Family Newspaper") advertised a weekly circulation of 60,000 in July 1895.

63. "Romance of Cuba's War," *Washington Post*, July 21, 1895; "Romance of Cuba's War," *St. Louis Republic*, August 18, 1895; "Romance of Cuba's War," *Columbia State*, August 24, 1895; "Romance of the Cuban War," *Anaconda Standard*, October 17, 1895; "Romance of the Cuban War," *Kansas City Journal*, December 29, 1895.

everything all to impress a sweetheart, and that Gainesville had already forgiven him for the prank that had brought so much amusement to the city.

The *Bridgeton Evening News* and the *Pennsylvania Grit* gave the impression that Hann was probably a harmless romantic, while the *Gainesville Ledger* and the *Florida Times-Union* contended he was a common criminal, who "manufactured lies for money" from unscrupulous newspapers. Other observers, however, alleged that Hann had not been acting alone, but as part of a broader and more sophisticated propaganda operation. On June 25, Spanish Minister Dupuy de Lôme described the fake news coming from Gainesville as a part of a "systematic" campaign organized by Cuban sympathizers in Florida. The *New York World* of July 1 contained a brief report from Tampa that also insinuated that Hann was secretly working for someone else: "It is thought that he is in the employ of a Philadelphia syndicate which has large Cuban interests and that the purpose of the letters was to boost the revolution."[64]

Hann's letters did help to attract attention to the insurrection, and to shape public opinion. For example, an editorial in the *Portland Oregonian* of June 30 (identified as reprinted from the *Indianapolis News*) described Spain's chances in Cuba as poor, citing his information that Gómez's army was 15,000 strong, well-organized and well-supported by sympathizers in the U.S.[65] An article in the July issue of *Self-Culture* magazine used Hann's false account about the Key West expedition to indicate that the flow of arms into Cuba had become practically unstoppable.[66] The editors of the *Boise Statesman* took his report about the fall of Puerto Príncipe as evidence that Spanish censors in Havana had been suppressing telegraphic news of rebel victories.[67]

Hann's letters were indeed very consistent in style and method with the propaganda of the Cuban leadership in New York, for whom a chief objective was persuading Federal authorities to recognize the rebels as having constituted a lawful government

64. "Major Hann a Myth," *New York World*, July 1, 1895.
65. "Spain's Expensive War: Americans Continue to Manifest Sympathy," *Morning Oregonian*, June 30, 1895.
66. "The Cuban Outlook," *Self-Culture: A Magazine of ... the Home University League*, July 1895, 212-213.
67. "Who is Winning?" *Boise Idaho Statesman*, May 10, 1895.

and thus entitled to use U.S. ports for shipping war materiel.[68] Hann clearly encouraged such a policy change, but there is no solid evidence to support either the Spanish claim that he was part of a Cuban network or the *World*'s idea that he was backed by Pennsylvania industrialists. It is still enlightening to examine these conspiracy theories, however, since they allow us to understand Hann's letters in the context of the larger movement within the U.S. to create sympathy for Cuba.

Hann's letters were just a few of the many false Cuban reports received through the Jacksonville papers. For example, on May 13 the UP announced that the *Times-Union* had received simultaneous accounts from Tampa and Key West about a massive Cuban victory, with Spanish losses of over a thousand men.[69] Minister Dupuy de Lôme immediately denied these as absurd, and his statement ran in various papers the next day, May 14. Alongside the Spanish denial, there appeared in various AP papers the latest letter from Gainesville, dated May 6, describing a battle very similar to the one reported via Tampa and Key West, also with Spanish casualties over 1,000. This letter directly contradicted the Minister's statement, and probably caused Spanish authorities to assume that Hann was working as part of a Cuban organization with operatives in Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West.

It seems unlikely that Hann coordinated his letters in advance, but simply rewrote what he found in the *Times-Union*, and passed it off as his own. Journalist George Bronson Rea, in his 1897 book, *Facts and Fakes about Cuba*, attributed much of the fantastic news coming from Florida to a network of *laborantes* (or collaborators), "rivaling the celebrated Baron Munchausen in the fertility and the absurdity of their inventions," and headed by former Jacksonville city councilman José Alejandro Huau.[70] One report indicates that Huau himself expressed doubts about Anderfer's sources. "Mr.

68. *George Auxier*, "The Propaganda Activities of the Cuban Junta in Precipitating the Spanish American War, 1895-1898," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 19, no. 3 (1939): 299. The "Peanut Club" where reporters waited to receive press releases from the Junta's New York offices is described in Horatio S. Rubens, *Liberty: The Story of Cuba* (New York: Brewer, Warren and Putnam, 1932), 205-206.

69. "Great Victory for Gomez," *Florida Times-Union*, May 13, 1895; "Battle of Boryey," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 13, 1895; "Gen. Gomez's Big Victory: He Has Killed and Captured Over 1,000 Spanish Troops," *New York Sun*, May 13, 1895; "Spanish Annihilated," *Salt Lake Herald*, May 14, 1895.

70. George Bronson Rea, *Facts and Fakes about Cuba* (New York: G. Munro's Sons, 1897), 207-211; Gustavo J. Godoy, "José Alejandro Huau: A Cuban Patriot in Jacksonville Politics," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1975): 196-206.

Huau, the Cuban cigar dealer who was in the last war for Cuban liberty, told Mr. LaFontisee that the letters were coming too regular to suit him, but he couldn't discover a discrepancy in them and had observed that some of them appeared in the papers simultaneously with the reports of the Southern Associated Press."[71]

Gainesville did have a small Cuban community around this time, even more ephemeral than the short-lived "Martí City" that developed near Ocala. A few cigar makers from Key West, including Gerardo Castellanos Lleonart (1843-1923), had set up shop in the city in 1893, and had organized a local chapter of the *Partido Revolucionário Cubano* (PRC), the "*Club Político Primeiro de Gainesville.*"[72] Soon after arriving, Castellanos reported to Martí that the city's inhabitants looked favorably on the Cubans and their cause, and he astutely connected the appeal of that cause to a sense of chivalry (as Hann would later do, as well):

> The town is pretty and on high ground, with about 8,000 inhabitants. They won't let us leave here. They see us Cubans as intelligent and industrious, and they respect us for the new efforts that we are making for our freedom. God forbid that these Southern people, still faithful after a generation to the cause that ruined them, to a cause without hope of revival, should find us Cubans unfaithful to a cause as alive and attainable as ours, one that cannot be deserted without dishonor. This is a place of gentlemen, by which I mean noble and chivalrous men, and he who is not a gentleman will find no place here.[73]

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71. *Gainesville Weekly Sun* of July 4, 1895, cited in "Those Letters...," *Bridgeton Evening News*, July 15, 1895.

72. The Gainesville club is recorded as having sent $30 to the party treasury in New York in July 1893 (along with about $500 collected in Ocala). *El Archivo Nacional en la Comemoración del Centenario del Natalicio de José Martí y Pérez 1853-1953*, (Havana: Archivo Nacional, 1953), 353. Castellanos, a veteran of the Ten Years' War, made an 1894 "tobacco buying" trip to Pinar del Río, secretly commissioned by Martí to make contacts. See Gerardo Castellanos García, *Soldado y conspirador* (Havana: Hermes, 1923), 94-100 and *Misión a Cuba: Cayo Hueso y Martí* (Havana: Alfa, 1944), 250-257; "Silueta autobiográfica de Gerardo Castellanos G" in *Gerardo Castellanos, patriota y historiador, simbolo de Cubanía* ed. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring(Havana: Sociedad Cubana de Estudios Históricos y Internacionales, 1956) 107-108; Silvia Padrón Jomet and Magali Jomet Sureda; *Gerardo Castellanos: agente secreto de Martí* (Santa Clara: Capiro, 2002).

73. My own translation, from *Patria*, April 10, 1893 which is cited in José Martí, *Obras Completas v. 11* (Havana: Trópico, 1953), 193-194. Castellanos was an active Mason, which may have facilitated his acceptance in North Florida society.

Castellanos seemed to have left Gainesvilleto take a leadership role in the Ocala branch of the PRC just before Hann started writing.[74] However, we do know that while Castellanos was in Gainesville, he maintained regular correspondence with his old comrades in Key West, Serafín Sánchez and Carlos Roloff. These two leaders of the Ten Years War (1868-1878) were the most prominent passengers on the ill-fated *Childs* expedition of June 1895.[75] Thus, it is tempting to affirm that Castellanos was somehow involved in the writing of Hann's widely distributed letter of June 10, which falsely announced that expedition's landing near Manatí.

Had Castellanos been behind the story, it probably would have included some reference to his old friends and their importance. However, Hann's letter fails to mention either Roloff or Sánchez, and instead uses language lifted nearly word-for-word from an article that ran in the *New York World* and elsewhere on June 14.[76] This seems to further indicate that Hann received his information about Cuba through the U.S. press, and not directly from Cubans in Florida. If a Cuban leader such as Castellanos or Huau had been guiding Hann, his letters probably would have contained fewer errors in matters of geography, personal names and military organization, and would have fit better with the reality on the island.

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74. Castellanos's son, Gerardo Castellanos García (1879-1956), in above sources, recalls that the family was still in Gainesville when the Fernandina Plan was discovered (January 1895), and that they left a few months later for Ocala/ Martí City. By September, the father had become the local *subagente* of the PRC in Ocala, a position he held until the Cuban community there disintegrated in 1896. The son went on to have a successful career as a newspaper columnist and historian in Cuba. Another son, Adolfo G. Castellanos García, reported visiting the Gainesville schools where he had once studied as a child, while on an official tour of US educational institutions in 1948 in his *Memorias de un maestro* (Mexico: Imprenta Mexicana, 1949), 13, 43.

75. The June expedition carrying Roloff and Sánchez failed, but in July they did successfully land in Las Villas. Correspondence between Castellanos Lleonart in Gainesville and Roloff and Sánchez in Key West is reproduced in the son's books, *Soldado y conspirador* and *Motivos de Cayo Hueso: contribución a la historia de las emigraciones revolucionarias cubanas en Estados Unidos* (Havana: Ucar, 1935).

76. The report ran as "Aid for Cuban Rebs," *World*, June 14, 1895; as "How the Childs Was Secured," *New Orleans Picayune*, June 14, 1895; as "Chased by the Infanta Isabel, Filibustering Craft from Philadelphia Escapes and Lands in Cuba," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, June 14, 1895; and as "Filibusterer Childs," *Salt Lake Herald*, June 15, 1895. The *World*'s version read "She put into Key West June 6 and sailed the following day for Bahia Islands, where she was to take on 100 men, 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition and $200,000 in gold. The *George W. Childs* is said to have been chased by the Spanish cruiser *Infanta Isabel* on the high seas, but succeeded in making her escape."

Was Hann an agent of Northern industrialists who sought to provoke war with Spain and the eventual annexation of Cuba? Such was the insinuation in the *New York World* of July 1. Hann had boasted of having important backers in Philadelphia, and he did receive at least one notable visitor from there shortly after his arrest. [77] Samuel Peacock called on "Anderfer" while the latter was bedridden, and he was cited in AP reports that attempted to salvage Hann's reputation as a reliable source of information.[78] Dr. Peacock was a respected native of Bridgeton, who had come to Gainesville to address a meeting of local phosphate producers, as a chemical engineer and the editor of the *American Fertilizer* trade magazine.[79] His encounter with Hann seems to have been largely one of chance, and his apparent defense of Hann's identity the result of some kind of misrepresentation. [80]

In order to appreciate the *World's* charges against Hann, we must examine more broadly the coverage by that newspaper of the Cuban conflict in 1895. The new style of journalism for which Joseph Pulitzer's *World* was known elevated the "common man" in his struggles against powerful interests. On the one hand, it tended to identify with popular nationalist resistance to entrenched Old World empires, in Ireland, Armenia, Cuba, and elsewhere. Among the various pro-Cuban reports it published were six letters from Major Hann, including his first and last missives.[81] Hann also appears to have been a regular reader of the *World*, borrowing liberally from its reporting on Cuban affairs.

On the other hand, the *World* also specialized in unmasking abuses by powerful corporations, and in May, it had run a series of

77. Hann's hometown had an interesting connection to Cuba: the local steamship *Bridgeton* had become a gunrunner for the rebels. "Two Cutters Watch Her: Spaniards Fear the Bridgeton is Making Ready to Sail for Cuba," *World*, April 8, 1895; "Spain Makes a Kick Complaining that We Let Filibusterers Fit Out Here for Cuba," *Philadelphia North American*, June 7, 1895; "Guarding Cuba's Shores," *New York Times*, June 14, 1895. The initial reports about the *Bridgeton* may have inspired Hann to send his first "Cuban letter" to the *Bridgeton Evening News*.

78. "A Strange Combine: Anderfer is Not an Impostor and the Hann Letters Were All Right," *San Antonio Daily Light*, July 2, 1895; "The Florida Mystery: Andifer Regaining the Confidence of the People," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, July 2, 1895; "Anderfer in a Serious Condition," *Picayune*, July 2, 1895; "New Developments Expected, "*Galveston Daily News*, July 3, 1895; "Anderfer Not a Fraud: Says He Will Prove He is Not Major Hann," *Macon Telegraph*, July 3, 1895.

79. "Death of Dr. Samuel Peacock," *American Fertilizer*, June 27, 1925, 81.

80. "Phosphate Men Organize," *Gainesville Sun*, July 4, 1895.

81. Hann's letters of April 4 and 20, and of June 10, 12, 15, and 17 ran in the *New York World*.

"muckraking" articles about the connections between the Cuban insurrection and large U.S. firms. Standard Oil and Bethlehem Steel were identified as being sponsors of the insurgency, and Philadelphia as the base of their secret financial operations. [82] Another report from Tampa accused Henry Havemeyer's Sugar Trust and the Florida railroad barons Henry Plant and Henry Flagler (also connected to Standard Oil) of promoting the conflict, all with an eye toward expanding their operations in Cuba.[83]

The *World* adopted a consistently anti-Spanish posture during its circulation battles with the *New York Journal* after that paper was taken over by William Randolph Hearst later in 1895. At this early stage in the Cuban conflict, however, the *World* earned praise for its fairness from both sides.[84] It also had an experienced staff correspondent in Cuba, Dr. William Shaw Bowen, who traveled behind rebel lines, and conducted interviews with Gómez, Martí, and Maceo. In an article published May 6, Bowen observed that many of the rebels in eastern Cuba were black.[85] He praised their courage, but he also expressed concern that the region could become a "black republic" like Haiti, an idea which would have tempered the enthusiasm for Cuban independence in some sections of the U.S. He also faulted the Cubans in Florida for contributing more words than deeds to the cause, and advised that most reports arriving via Florida were to be "regarded with distrust":

> I have endeavored to trace some of the amazing reports of battles and the doings of "Cuban infantry" and of "Cuban cavalry." In most instances, there was no truth in the yarns. There are certain newspapers which arrive from the States

82. "Scandal in the Revolt—Powerful American Syndicate Said to Be Backing the Insurgents," *World*, May 5, 1895; "War to Aid Fraud—Cuban Revolution Instigated by Great Corporations," *Chicago Tribune*, May 5, 1895; "In Monopoly's Grasp: Standard Oil's Corrupt Operations in Spain and Cuba," *World*, May 11, 1895. The rebels did indeed receive arms via the ships of Bethlehem Steel. Letter from Antonio Maceo to Benjamin Guerra, June 23, 1895, *La Revolución del 95 según la correspondencia de la delegación cubana en Nueva York* ed. León Primelles (Havana: Ed. Habanera, 1932), 159-161.

83. "Is the Sugar Trust in on It? A Florida Correspondent Believes It Seeks Territory in Cuba," *World*, May 12, 1895

84. "De Lome Praises the *World*: Gratified by Its Work in Disclosing the Standard's Conspiracy in Cuba," *World*, May 6, 1895; "Cubans to the *World*—Gen. Gomez and Jose Marti, the Insurgent Chiefs, Send Compliments," *World*, May 19, 1895.

85. William Shaw Bowen, "Cuba to Emulate Hayti—Revolution, If Successful, Likely to Result in Setting Up Another Black Republic," *World*, May 6, 1895; "White Cubans Brave at a Distance," *Chicago Tribune*, May 6, 1895.

> that contain fearful narratives of blood and carnage. Intelligent people, especially the well-informed foreigners, read with amazement the blood-curdling tales. As long as the Cubans who are not in the field, but who view all the imaginary bloodshed from afar, believe that they can fire the Cuban hearts and terrorize the Spaniards by these war fictions, it is to be presumed that they will continue on their present line of misrepresentation.

Bowen's report elicited an angry response from Hann, who, in a letter dated May 12, charged that the author (without citing his name or that of the *World*) must have been secretly working for the Spanish. "I received a copy of an American paper May 6, containing an article which the Spanish government must have paid well for, as it is a direct attack on the Cuban cause and meant to mislead the American public. I take this opportunity of denying it in full. In regard to the island becoming a black republic it is false."[86] This letter was published only in the *Sun* and the *Citizen*, probably because the AP was unwilling to circulate such a direct challenge to the *New York World*, one of its member papers. The *World*'s insinuations about Hann may have been a response to Hann's charges against Bowen. The allegation of a conspiracy fit neatly with what had already been published about Hann and prominent Philadelphians, and it also allowed the *World* to deflect some of the blame due for having helped to promote Hann's letters. Readers might accept that its editors had been duped by rich and sinister corporations, but not by some young prankster in Gainesville, Florida.

We know of just one person with whom Hann worked closely and whose cause was advanced by their collaboration. Ambitious John O. LaFontisee of the *Gainesville Sun* was Hann's intermediary in the press, but it is likely that he was also his accomplice in producing the letters.[87] The *Times-Union* and the UP claimed that LaFontisee had admitted, to local journalist colleagues, that

86. "Gomez Has Many Men," *Weekly Gainesville Sun*, May 17, 1895; "American Aid for Cuba," *Citizen*, May 17, 1895.

87. "Last April, the correspondent of the *Citizen* saw Anderfer with an envelope in his hand addressed to a Bridgeton, NewJersey paper and asked Anderfer if he was writing a description of Gainesville. He replied in the negative and stated that he had a letter from a friend who was a Captain in the Cuban Insurgent army. The correspondent asked him for it, and thinking it a good piece of news, published it in the Gainesville Sun and sent it to the Citizen." See "Is it Hann or Anderfer?," *Florida Citizen*, June 30, 1895.

Hann's letters were fakes but had sent them anyway, because "the Associated Press wanted them."[88] The publicity did not seem to hurt LaFontisee's career, and probably advanced it instead. The *Sun* and the *Citizen* prevailed in their local circulation battles—perhaps helped by the affair—and both rewarded him with further opportunities. For example, the owners of the *Citizen* acquired the *Times-Union* in 1897 and eventually made him city editor of the combined *Times-Union and Citizen*, a prominent position for a young man who had started as a teenaged typesetter in Gainesville.

Like many newspapermen of his era, LaFontisee moved easily between journalism and politics. His own boss, H. H. McCreary, represented Gainesville for nearly 40 years in the Florida Legislature while also publishing the *Sun* (often leaving the daily management of the paper to assistants such as LaFontisee).[89] The letters brought national publicity to the Cuban cause, with which Florida's leading political figures were in outspoken sympathy. For example, U.S. Senator Wilkinson Call repeatedly demanded that Federal authorities recognize the Cubans as belligerents, and also suggested the annexation of Cuba.[90] Duncan Fletcher, the mayor of Jacksonville and a future U.S. Senator, led large pro-Cuban rallies,[91] and Napoleon B. Broward, a future governor of Florida, was the captain of the filibustering ship *Three Friends*.[92]

LaFontisee continued to take great interest in Cuban affairs, and in 1898, at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, he left the *Gainesville Sun* to enlist in the U.S. Army. After being stationed in Alabama for a few months, he managed to get a discharge through political connections, and the following year he went off to Cuba to work as a reporter. The *Tampa Tribune* commented, "That little bundle of newspaper energy, Joe LaFontisee, is now showing the people of Havana a thing or two about progressive

88. "Suspected of Faking," *New York Times*, June 29, 1895; "Fools Bit at the Fakes," *Times-Union*, June 30, 1895.

89. McCreary, first elected to the House of Representatives in 1894 and to the State Senate in 1898, recalled often leaving "Johnnie" running the paper while in Tallahassee. "LaFontisee's Death Was Accidental," *Sun*, April 17, 1909.

90. Albert Hubbard Roberts, "Wilkinson Call, Soldier and Senator: Part II," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1934): 179-197.

91. "Sympathy with Cuba," *Macon Telegraph*, April 5, 1895; "Cuban Sympathy Meeting: Speeches in Spanish and English at Pablo Beach," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 28, 1895.

92. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1950).

American journalism."[93] LaFontisee soon became city editor of the fledgling *Havana Post,* an English-language paper and the "official palace organ" of the U.S. military government in Cuba.[94]

LaFontisee had political influence in occupied Cuba, and possessed the ability to trade favors with military authorities. For example, he would eventually testify before Congress that he had suppressed a story in the *Post* about the criminal background of one of Governor General Leonard Wood's close associates, at the request of Wood himself.[95] For his part, LaFontisee was able to arrange the pardon of a journalist friend from Gainesville convicted of embezzling funds from the Havana Post Office.[96] Upon his return from Cuba in 1901, LaFontisee was hired by Wood's government to do public relations work in Florida.[97]

Like many others in Florida, LaFontisee had prospered by supporting military operations in Cuba, first those of the Cuban insurgents, and later those of the U.S. Army. Thus, it is understandable that his early enthusiasm for Cuban independence eventually cooled, but it is ironic that Major Hann's one-time publicist wrote the following as editor of the *Fernandina Record* in 1907:

> "The gang of revolutionists whom the United States went to Cuba to assist, are now howling and threatening to

93. "Snapshots," *Tampa Tribune,* October 12, 1899; "Thoughts in Local News," *Tampa Tribune,* December 14, 1899.

94. "La Prensa," *Diario de la Marina,* July 11, 1901. Ernest L. Conant, one of the partners in ownership of the *Havana Post* was, at the same time, an attorney for Governor General Leonard Wood.

95. In 1903, LaFontisee testified in Senate proceedings related to corruption in the U.S. administration of Cuba, and described suppressing news about "Captain Edgar Bellairs." See *Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs Concerning the Nomination of Brig. General Leonard Wood to be a Major General, United States Army* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 616-619, 678-684. For background, see Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 94-122; and Melville E. Stone, *Fifty Years a Journalist* (New York: Doubleday, 1921), 230-232.

96. *Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs Concerning the Nomination,* 679-680

97. LaFontisee was specifically engaged to promote a U.S.-Cuban trade agreement under consideration in the U.S. Senate, and defended Cuban interests through the columns of the *Gainesville Sun.* See Editorial, *Ocala Banner,* January 10, 1902; "He Works for Reciprocity," *Tampa Tribune,* November 26, 1901; "Need Not Fear Cuban Truck," *Titusville Florida Star,* March 7, 1902; *Industrial Cuba: Facts and Figures Concerning Cuban Products and Trade* (Havana: Havana Post, 1902); "Thurber's Disclosures: A Great Clamor Raised by the Beet Sugar Men," *New York Tribune,* June 12, 1902; U.S. War Department, *Payments to F.B. Thurber Out of Cuban Funds* (Washington, G.P.O., 1902); *Cuban Sugar Sales: Testimony Taken by the Committee on Cuba* (Washington, G.P.O., 1902), 416-428.

> whip Uncle Sam if we don't turn the island over to them. Recent events there indicate the necessity of the United States making an announcement that we propose to hold the island and run its affairs to suit ourselves. The sooner this is done the better, though it will be many years before annexation will be a solution to the problem. Our imperial colony plan appears to be the only method just now."[98]

LaFontisee edited various Florida papers before serving, in 1908, as manager of Albert Gilchrist's successful gubernatorial campaign.[99] In February 1909, with the assistance of U.S. Senator James P. Taliaferro, LaFontisee was hired by the Agriculture Department to prepare studies of the turpentine industry.[100] He died of carbon monoxide poisoning in a Washington hotel room, about two months later, at age 37, and various newspapers around the state regarded his accidental death as the loss of one of the rising stars of Florida journalism.[101]

The hoax gave lasting visibility to John LaFontisee, but brought only fleeting fame to Frank Hann, who, after leaving Gainesville, seems to have put aside his dreams of military glory. An individual with a similar name and background appears in U.S. Census records as a newly-married farmer in North Carolina in 1900, and as a roofer with a growing family and a mortgaged house near Los Angeles in 1920. Hann's closest brush with real wartime service most likely came when he registered with the California draft board in 1918.[102]

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98. Editorial, *Gainesville Sun*, June 11, 1907, prefaced "J.O. LaFontisee, editor of the Fernandina Record, who is well posted regarding the people of Cuba and the conditions prevailing on the island, says in the last issue of his paper:[...]."
99. Ric A. Kabat, "'Everybody Votes for Gilchrist': The Florida Gubernatorial Campaign of 1908," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (1988): 184-203.
100. "Death of J.O. LaFontisee," *Weekly Industrial Record*, April 19, 1909; "Tribute to Work of Florida Man," *Ocala Banner*, October 29, 1909. Taliaferro, a member of the Senate Committee on Cuban Relations, sponsored private bills granting increases in LaFontisee's father's Civil War pension, specifically Senate Bills 5988 (1906) and 1415 (1909).
101. Editorial, *Suwannee Democrat*, April 16, 1909; Editorial, *Palatka News*, April 16, 1909; Editorial, *Volusia County Record*, April 16, 1909.
102. The 1900 US Census returns for Lewiston-Woodville, North Carolina, include a 26-year old New Jersey native named "F.P. Hann," living with his new wife, Fannie, on a farm belonging to his in-laws. A 1918 draft card gives his full name as 'Frank Probasco Hann.'" "Ancestry.com," http://ancestry.com (accessed October 30, 2010). A California man of his name and age died in Iowa during the Great Depression. See "Transient Found on Highway Near Scranton—Dying," *Carroll Herald*, July 5, 1938.

CONCLUSION

In 1895, as the U.S. and Spain focused their attention on the Caribbean, Florida took on a role of geopolitical importance and, for a few months, Gainesville became a "theater" of the Cuban War of Independence. Thanks to the wire services, the circulation battle between the city's two local papers, the *Sun* and the *Ledger*, had repercussions as far away as Paris and Madrid. The Major Hann letters, a combination of prank and propaganda, repeatedly reached a broad section of the U.S. newspaper-reading public. They ran in at least 40 states and territories, and were even translated by ethnic community papers into French (in New Orleans), Swedish (in Denver) and German (in Pittsburgh and Indianapolis).

The letters' popularity seems to indicate that the image of a young American hero abroad was well-received at a time when many in the United States were trying to understand their country's increasingly important role as an actor on the international stage. The case illustrates how poorly defined the boundaries were between reporting and fiction at this time, and thus how the public perception of foreign affairs was shaped by fashions in popular literature. The letters were presented as the triumph of an enlightened free press over the inquisitorial Spanish, but the fact that it took three months for them to be identified as fakes revealed some of the weaknesses of that press, as newspapers were competing to fill their pages with exclusive and exciting news from the front lines. The duo of Hann and LaFontisee sensed the opportunity for self-promotion that this environment provided, especially given the political climate in Florida, and they drew on a popular style of fiction to produce letters that appealed to readers' tastes.

After the phenomenal response to the June 10 letter, the youthful conspirators became careless and overly prolific, and the scrutiny from unsympathetic editors and from Spanish authorities was too much to bear. The hoax came to an end without any serious negative consequences for the perpetrators, but George Bronson Rea, who had covered the fighting firsthand as a journalist in Cuba, did foresee the possible long-term effects of fakes such as the "Major Hann" letters. In 1897, he wrote:

> Telegrams bearing the stamp of Key West, Tampa, Jacksonville, and other Florida points, may invariably be looked upon as utterly worthless and false. This has been

> conclusively proven time and time again; but our papers, notwithstanding that they are almost certain the "news" is too improbable to be exact, continue to give space to the lies, and indirectly encourage the "criminals" to repeat the offense. If "faking" on a serious question that might involve two countries in war is not a crime, then a law should be passed that would make it so.[103]

It seems likely that the success of this hoax, and the relative impunity of its authors, inspired imitation by other *laborantes* during the course of the Cuban War of Independence, and that their fanciful stories contributed, at least in a small way, to create a climate favorable to the United States entering the war against Spain. After the explosion of a U.S. ship in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, many Americans were more than ready to shout, "Remember the *Maine*, to Hell with Spain!" and to follow the gallant lead of Major Hann into the fighting in Cuba.

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103. Rea, *Facts and Fakes*, 150.

Talking Trash: A short history of solid waste management in Florida

by Andrew Fairbanks, Jennifer Wunderlich, and Christopher Meindl

> *In its simplicity and carelessness, as a means of waste disposal, the dump probably dates back to the discarding of the first apple core in the Garden of Eden, and its subsequent train of evils is ample testimony of the Eternal Wrath elicited by this act.*[1]

Death and taxes may be the only certainties in life, but taking out the trash is a daily routine for virtually every American household. Human beings have always discarded things, and in the more remote past, people often used discards for other purposes, such as empty oyster shells that formed impressive Native American ceremonial mounds. Until World War II, farmers and urbanites alike fed food scraps to pets, pigs, and other animals. Today, everything from worn out furniture to old cell phones is heaped into piles that comprise one of contemporary Florida's most easily identified landscape features: landfills. As a result the

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1. Charles E. Terry quoted in Martin V. Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform, and the Environment*, rev. ed. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 152.

state's burgeoning population is not only running out of places to dispose of its trash, it is confronting two additional problems: 1) an increasing percentage of our trash is toxic and 2) we are wasting non-renewable resources. These circumstances have produced calls for increased recycling (recovery of materials) and energy recovery from solid waste.

The state of Florida took relatively modest steps to manage its mounting solid waste problem until a former mayor of Tampa became governor in 1987. As mayor, Bob Martinez and his public works director, Dale Twachtmann, became well acquainted with solid waste management as they immersed themselves in the details of running one of Florida's biggest cities. Soon after his election as governor, Martinez persuaded Twachtmann to serve as his secretary of the Florida Department of Environmental Regulation (FDER). Steeped in an urban problem-solving ethos, Martinez and Twachtmann worked with FDER staffers and legislators to draft, pass, and implement Florida's 1988 Solid Waste Management Act. The law called for increased rates of recycling and more waste-to-energy facilities (which burn garbage to produce electricity) as alternatives to landfill disposal and provided financial assistance to local governments to help achieve these goals. Recognized as a national leader in solid waste management at the end of the twentieth century, Florida was eclipsed by other states that achieved higher recycling rates in the new millennium. In 2008, a well-meaning but term-limited Florida legislator persuaded his colleagues to set the highest recycling goal of any state in the nation, an effort that many doubt will bear much fruit. Recent legislation is little more than an accounting game that gives additional recycling credits to Florida communities for what they are already doing with solid waste and is not likely to produce significant changes in resource consumption and disposal behavior.[2]

Florida now has more than 19 million people, 76 active landfills, and 12 waste-to-energy facilities.[3] In 2010, Florida's solid waste

2. Andy Fairbanks, "Beyond Recycling Rates, Part 1," *Resource Recycling*, September 2012: 24-27.

3. Recent estimates of Florida's population are available from the U.S. Census Bureau at http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/12000.html (accessed on January 21, 2013). Recent inventories of active Florida landfills and waste to energy facilities are available from the Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Solid Waste Section, list of waste-to-energy facilities at the following two web sites: http://appprod.dep.state.fl.us/WWW_WACS/Reports/SW_Facility_Inventory_res1.asp and http://www.dep.state.fl.us/waste/quick_topics/publications/shw/solid_waste/WTE_Contacts-2011.pdf (accessed January 21, 2013).

managers received nearly 27 million tons of trash; they recycled just over 31%, burned a little more than 14% in waste-to-energy facilities, and deposited the remaining 54% (plus the ash from waste-to-energy facilities) in landfills.[4] Researchers and administrators of waste management efforts have concluded that this approach to waste management cannot be maintained indefinitely. It is neither locally nor globally sustainable.

The history of solid waste management in Florida shows that over the past century, the state developed progressively more effective means of coping with garbage. Increasingly, environmentalists advocate a shift from the current mode to a three-pronged strategy: *reduce* excessive consumption and packaging of goods (so that we generate less solid waste); *reuse* many more materials than we do now (including ash from waste-to-energy plants); and increase *recycling* of recoverable materials (because the earth has finite quantities of non-renewable resources). As was the case for earlier progressive changes, these three activities require strong state leadership and adequate funding.

This paper sketches the history of solid waste management in Florida since 1900 and wrestles with the following questions. How have Floridians managed their solid waste and how has this changed over the past century? What led local, state, and federal governments to become involved in waste management? How has Florida's solid waste management policy changed since 1900? What role has the federal government played in solid waste management? Answering such questions demands clarity on what is meant by solid waste and its management. Solid waste refers to all forms of trash, refuse, garbage or discarded material in solid form. It includes construction debris, all forms of yard waste, sludge from wastewater treatment plants, solid material from industries and other businesses, and virtually all household garbage. Solid waste management refers to how individuals and society deal with solid waste. In the remote past, people coped with solid waste by discarding what could not be reused or committed to other purposes without concern for environmental repercussions. As

4. Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Solid Waste Division, *Solid Waste Management in Florida 2010 Annual Report*, Table 5A: Final Disposition of Solid Waste in Florida. Available online at http://appprod.dep.state.fl.us/www_rcra/reports/WR/Recycling/2010AnnualReport/AppendixA/5pdf (accessed January 28, 2013).

population density increased, communities hauled garbage to designated dumpsites or landfills. As open dumps produced increasingly offensive odors and attracted animals that spread disease, public officials buried and burned garbage. As all species of natural resources become more scarce and expensive, and as landfills become harder to site, many local governments are recycling some of what is discarded and converting the rest into electricity. As scholars continue to explore the changing relationship between Floridians and their environment, "talking trash"—or examining how Florida communities have handled solid waste over time—warrants attention.

Indeed, appreciating the history of Florida's solid waste management is important for a variety of reasons. First, over the past century alone, Florida's burgeoning population has produced numerous dumpsites and other solid waste facilities. Indeed, the Florida Department of Environmental Protection (FDEP) maintains a list containing thousands of old dumps, active landfills, transfer stations, waste brush sites, material recovery centers, construction debris disposal centers, waste tire collection and processing facilities, and a wide range of proposed solid waste management facilities.[5] Population pressure has led some developers to build on top of old landfills. Moreover, many state-permitted landfills are now the most significant topographic features on local landscapes. A case in point is Broward County's 225-foot tall landfill, now jokingly referred to as "Mount Trashmore," which recently received approval to expand.[6]

Second, nobody wants to live near a garbage dump, and many people fight hard to avoid having a solid waste management facility placed nearby. Social scientists call this the NIMBY syndrome: Not In My Back Yard. While it is hard to blame *anyone* for not wanting a garbage dump near *their* property, growing scholarship supports the view that poor people—especially those of color—have borne

5. Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Water Assurance Compliance Program, *Solid Waste Facility Inventory Report*, June 27, 2012. Available in spreadsheet form at: http://appprod.dep.state.fl.us/WWW_WACS/Reports/SW_Facility_Inventory_res1.asp (accessed June 27, 2012).

6. Rachel Hatzipanagos, "At 225 feet high, landfill's too large for Creek's liking," *South Florida Sun Sentinel*, March 21, 2009; "Rezoning allows 'Mount Trashmore' to spread," *South Florida Sun Sentinel*, February 29, 2012.

a disproportionate share of such facilities in their neighborhoods.[7] Yet even though wealthy communities like the City of Palm Beach are not likely to host a garbage dump, its residents continue to produce trash.

The third reason it is important to study the history of solid waste management in Florida is that population growth has generated pressure to use old dumpsites for other purposes. Although Florida's earliest Native American inhabitants left mounds of debris on the landscape that provide clues as to what they ate and how they lived, more recent Floridians have dumped a host of dangerous substances into landfills—either assuming these discarded materials would pose no problem or not caring about the consequences. As a result, some old dumpsites are now leaking toxic chemicals into local groundwater supplies. The FDEP maintains on its web site an unofficial list of 71 Superfund sites in Florida, many of them old dumps that now require millions of dollars in treatment and monitoring.[8] Decaying organic material in refuse generates methane gas, which can make its way into overlying buildings and pose fire and/or explosion threats.[9] Finally, the slow decay of buried garbage can lead to surface subsidence, which can damage buildings.[10]

In sparsely settled rural settings, people historically burned refuse or dumped it on the landscape to either rot or rust. In the United States, nineteenth-century industrialization fueled urbanization, which concentrated people and their wastes. Not until after 1900 did the scientific community fully embrace the "germ

7. Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality* 3rd edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000); Susan L. Cutter, "Race, Class, and Environmental Justice," *Progress in Human Geography* 19 (March 1995): 111-122.

8. Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Division of Waste Management, Bureau of Waste Cleanup. Web site at: http://www.dep.state.fl.us/waste/categories/wc/pages/npl_1199.htm. FDEP provides the following statement at the bottom of the web page containing this list of Superfund sites: "FDEP has not confirmed the accuracy of the locational or descriptive data contained herein. Users of this data should do so at their own risk." (accessed June 27, 2012).

9. Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry, "Chapter 3: Landfill Gas Safety and Health Issues," in *Landfill Gas Primer—An Overview for Environmental Health Professionals* (Atlanta, GA: Center for Disease Control, 2001), available at http://www.atsdr.cdc.gov/hac/landfill/html/ch3.html (accessed June 27, 2012).

10. Shannon Behnken, "Homeowner's underground dump runs under house," *Tampa Tribune*, October 3, 2011.

theory" of disease—the now-standard explanation that microorganisms cause disease, which can be passed from one individual to the next. Prior to this time, authorities subscribed to the miasmatic or filth theory of disease, which suggested that disease was spread by gases emitted by rotting organic material in both natural settings, such as wetlands as well as human-dominated settings, such as garbage dumps.[11] The filth theory led public authorities in urban areas to invest heavily in waste management as a method of improving public health.[12] In the post-Civil War era, most American cities built sewer systems to remove human waste (though without treatment). By the late 1890s, however, most cities had lost interest in another round of large investments. As a result, solid waste management generally consisted of collecting refuse and moving it away from people. "Away from people" took a variety of forms: 1) indiscriminant dumping on the landscape or occasionally burying; 2) using food and animal waste to feed livestock and as fertilizer (respectively); 3) dumping into rivers and oceans; 4) incineration (without any regard for, or awareness of, air pollution).[13] Importantly, public officials distinguished between *garbage* (consisting of food, animal and kitchen waste subject to decomposition) and *rubbish*, which was non-putrescible and generally considered harmless. People often dumped rubbish in rock pits, quarries, wetlands, and other low-lying areas, a practice urged by community leaders as a means of "improving" property. This was cheaper than hauling such material out to sea, and it also provided the benefit of creating new real estate from unwanted swamps and marshes.[14]

Compared to the rest of the United States, Florida had no large cities in 1900.[15] With over 28,000 residents, Jacksonville

11. Kenneth Thompson, "Wilderness and Health in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Historical Geography* 2 (1976): 145-161; Garrick E. Louis, "A Historical Context of Municipal Solid Waste Management in the United States," *Waste Management and Research* 22 (2004): 308.
12. Louis, 309.
13. Ibid., 311.
14. "Exact Conditions in City Sanitation Dept Shown North Miamians," *Weekly Miami Metropolis*, December 15, 1916.
15. According to the U.S. Census Bureau Little Rock, Arkansas was the 100th largest city in the U.S. with 38,307 people—nearly 10,000 more people than Jacksonville—Florida's largest city. U.S. Census Bureau, "Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1900" (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 15, 1998) http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tab13.txt (accessed January 6, 2013).

boasted the state's highest urban population (Pensacola, Key West and Tampa each recorded fewer than 20,000 people; Orlando had less than 3,000, and Miami fewer than 2,000).[16] Yet Jacksonville still had its share of urban blight, and this created public health challenges. As historian James B. Crooks observed, Florida's biggest city suffered "at least four epidemics of yellow fever, smallpox, and typhoid in the two decades preceding 1900. Climate, environment, and sanitation problems contributed to high levels of communicable disease. . . . Stagnant ponds, open cesspools, rotting garbage, muddy streets, dead animal carcasses, and irregular private garbage collection services characterized . . . Jacksonville."[17]

The turn of the twentieth century also marked the dawn of the Progressive Era, typified by civic support for municipal improvements and the application of recent scientific discoveries to the maintenance of public health. Accordingly, Jacksonville benefited from two ambitious city health officers, Drs. Francis D. Miller and Charles E. Terry. Miller initiated a "clean city crusade" in 1906. Terry continued the effort from 1910 to 1916, pressuring the city council to better regulate unsanitary public dumps and advocating for a new waste incinerator.[18] Addressing the 1912 convention of the American Public Health Association, Terry contemptuously railed against public dumps: "In its simplicity and carelessness, as a means of waste disposal, the dump probably dates back to the discarding of the first apple core in the Garden of Eden, and its subsequent train of evils is ample testimony of the Eternal Wrath elicited by this act."[19]

A 1916 article in the *Weekly Miami Metropolis* provided a glimpse into the discard and disposal preferences of the times. The monthly report on North Miami's "destructor plant" (incinerator) revealed the combustion of "8,817 cans of garbage, 186 loads of dry rubbish, 36 dogs, 4 horses, two mules, 1 pig and 1 cow," as well as "twenty-one cords of wood" used in the process. The article also

16. U.S. Census Bureau, "Cities, Towns, Villages, and Boroughs," Twelfth Census of the United States (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1900) http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/33405927v1ch08.pdf (accessed January 6, 2013).
17. James B. Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire, 1901-1919: A New South City* (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1991), 50.
18. Ibid., 56.
19. Charles E. Terry quoted in Melosi, 152.

explained that authorities used a private device costing "about five times as much to operate" as the city-owned destructor that was down for repairs. According to the newspaper, the North Miami city engineer recommended that:

> non-combustible matter from the destructor and from the tin shop, etc. should be deposited in old rock pits or swampy lands in the city limits which property owners desire filled up . . . . a large quantity of these materials may be conveniently disposed of later to be covered up with excavated materials from the street, thereby accomplishing two purposes—the disposal of non-combustible matter and the filling and making useful of real estate. This can be done at less expense than taking the material out to sea . . . .[20]

Incinerators effectively transformed rotting piles of garbage into smaller quantities of ash, and could be used to generate steam or electricity, but they were expensive to maintain and belched dirty smoke. Although early twentieth-century authorities in Miami and elsewhere experimented with incinerators that generated electricity, the extra revenue from electricity at that time did not justify the additional capital investment—so most municipalities abandoned the idea of turning waste into energy.[21]

Hog feeding might be considered a primitive system of urban recycling with roots in rural farm-ways. According to environmental historian Ted Steinberg, "Life in the 'organic city,' a place swarming with pigs and horses and steeped in mountains of manure, was dirty, but it also had a social and environmental logic."[22] Notoriously omnivorous in their eating habits, pigs were fattened on all manner of edible discards before they became food themselves. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, urban pigs were an important source of protein in many poor and working class households. Cities generated large volumes of hog fodder, and in 1947, *Miami Daily News* reporter William H. Bischoff

20. "Exact Conditions in City Sanitation Dept Shown North Miamians," *Weekly Miami Metropolis*, December 15, 1916.
21. Louis, 314.
22. Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 157.

described how, subsequent to new local health department regulations, "Big business has replaced the old-time swill gatherer in the Miami area with a fleet of modern trucks."[23] The Atlantic Livestock Company planned to ramp up its operation from 700 to 3,000 hogs and Bischoff envisioned progress for the booming city: "Sanitary preparation of garbage solves one of the biggest drawbacks to a thriving livestock industry which will help make the thickly populated Miami area self-sufficient. It is the answer to hog fattening just as the grasses and feeds being developed by agricultural scientists are answering the problem of finishing cattle in this area for sale locally."[24] Yet the era of hog fattening on municipal garbage soon drew to a close. Officials eventually became concerned that garbage-eating pigs occasionally contracted trichinosis, which could be transmitted to people through undercooked pork. In 1955, the U.S. Public Health Service banned the practice after a nationwide outbreak of swine disease.[25]

Meanwhile, open dumps were inexpensive but unpopular with neighbors, and as urban areas spread out they became more difficult to site, more remote, and thus less convenient for collection crews. Some cities experimented with new methods of land disposal. Fresno, California, is credited with operating America's first "sanitary" landfill in the 1930s, described as such because workers compacted garbage and covered it with dirt for odor and pest control.[26] City workers carefully deposited daily loads of refuse in trenches, compacted to a depth of no more than five feet, and covered each trench with almost two feet of dirt. Sanitary cells accomplished many goals: rats and flies could not breed, the daily stench of rotting garbage almost disappeared, worker efficiency at the landfill increased exponentially because one dragline operator could perform almost all the labor, and compacting garbage trucks replaced mule carts for municipal collection.[27] The sanitary landfill turned refuse handling into an efficient, profitable activity for both public and private operators. For example, the City of Lake

23. William Bischoff, "Chef for 700 Hogs." *Miami News*, March 8, 1947.
24. Ibid.
25. Louis, 311.
26. Melosi, 182. Notably absent from early "sanitary" landfills were liners to prevent rainwater from percolating through the waste and into groundwater supplies.
27. Heather Rogers, *Gone Tomorrow: The Hidden Life of Garbage* (New York: The New Press, 2005), 94-95.

Worth adopted this technique earlier than most Florida communities as its public works director, Edward Hanley, fondly pointed out in 1946: "The [sanitary landfill] method is the most economical and sanitary for disposing of garbage and the people of Lake Worth can be proud that the city is the first in South Florida to adopt this modern method. We welcome visits by the public to see how the operation is going."[28]

Throughout the early twentieth century, the state of Florida had no major legislation regulating garbage disposal, so cities developed their own codes and ordinances. For example, Palm Beach County passed an ordinance regarding trash removal in January of 1920,[29] and the city of St. Petersburg tasked its Department of Public Works in 1923 with the responsibility of collecting and disposing of garbage and refuse.[30] A decade later, Jacksonville, following the lead of other cities, began pulling recyclables from the waste stream and selling them off as salvage to make money for the city.[31]

Content to allow cities and counties exclusive purview over solid waste management until after World War II, the legislature finally enacted the Florida State Sanitary Code on February 16, 1946. Laying out solid waste regulations in a mere one- and a half pages, the new law generally reflected existing municipal practices. Food and animal wastes (garbage, offal, dead animals, and manure) "subject to decay or putrefaction" were distinguished from rubbish, the latter encompassing "all waste material not of a putrescible nature."[32] The law identified municipalities as responsible for "providing for an adequate, efficient, and sanitary system of collecting, transporting and disposing of garbage and rubbish . . . in a manner approved by the State Board of Health."[33] The code articulated collection and storage methods, prohibited highway dumping, and required a permit for feeding "garbage, dead animals or offal" to hogs.[34] Proper disposal methods, including

28. "Garbage System Causes Dispute at Lake Worth: City Official Defends 'Landfill' Method of Destroying Refuse," *Miami News*, July 10, 1946.
29. *Palm Beach Post*, September 22, 1921.
30. *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, July 19, 1923.
31. *Miami Daily News*, January 4, 1937.
32. February 16, 1946, *Florida State Sanitary Code*, Chapter XXXI, Laws of Florida. http://www.dep.state.fl.us/waste/quick_topics/rules/pages/62-701_compiled.htm (accessed on June 10, 2013).
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.

incineration, burial, and sanitary fill were specified for putrescible wastes (those susceptible to decay), and all disposal plans required review by an engineer and approval by the State Board of Health prior to operation. Importantly, the code prohibited disposal of *putrescible* wastes in "any natural or artificial body of water or . . . watershed of any surface public water supply, or within one-half mile of any habitation or place of business where it may become a nuisance or menace to health."[35] However, it appears that disposal of non-putrescible rubbish in such locations remained acceptable.

Motivation for the state's sanitary code may well have come as a response to a recent outbreak of polio. News reports on this epidemic frequently included stern advice from local health officials to properly dispose of and contain garbage, with threats of arrest for failure to do so.[36] This is consistent with budding attention to solid waste by the United States Public Health Service. H. Lanier Hickman, a leading figure in late twentieth-century waste management efforts in the United States, writes that under the authority of the Public Health Service in 1948, "efforts were begun both in the Division of Sanitation and the CDC [Center for Disease Control] to eliminate potential communicable agents, including open-burning dumps, which might cause polio."[37] This belief reinforced the notion that protection of public health remained the primary driver of solid waste management policy through mid-century. But as Florida's population boomed in the post-war period, Americans' consumption and disposal habits underwent radical changes, even as an emerging nation-wide environmental movement in the 1960s forced all levels of government to respond to citizens' discards in entirely new ways.

At mid-century, solid waste management was an afterthought in a state booming with post-war growth. For example, an enormous barbecue accompanied Florida Governor Fuller Warren's 1949 inauguration, described by journalist Max Halperen as likely to go down in history as "the eatingest affair of them all" with over 16 tons of meat plus all the fixings served to a crowd on the Capitol

35. Ibid.
36. "Health Group Plans Fight Against Polio," *Palm Beach Post*, May 19, 1946; "Polio Outbreak Said Near Epidemic Here," *Palm Beach Post*, May 30,1946; "Garbage Thrown in Street May Result in Police Action," *Miami News*, June 23, 1946.
37. H. Lanier Hickman, *American Alchemy: The History of Solid Waste Management in the United States* (Santa Barbara, CA: Forester Press, 2003), 17.

lawn. Halperen also pitied Tallahassee's garbage collectors, noting that "what remained to litter up the grounds along with stacks of paper cups and saucers would feed a small army." He suggested (perhaps tongue-in-cheek) that Warren's first act as governor ought to be giving the city's sanitation crew a bonus for cleaning up the mess. Garbage collection and disposal had become a standard municipal service (in urban areas), and so long as someone else carted the garbage away, few cared where it went or what happened to it.[38]

During the euphoria of the immediate post-war era, state and local governments simply did not consider the long-term consequences of such wastefulness. As a result, garbage in Florida did not attract much attention during the 1950s and 1960s. Although garden clubs managed to convince the legislature to pass a bill that required garbage trucks to be covered,[39] hogs continued to fatten up on public rubbish in some places,[40] and municipalities continued to discuss the economics of sanitary landfilling versus composting or incineration.[41] By the late 1960s, rapid population growth, increasing per capita volumes of waste, and changing waste composition produced a garbage crisis for Florida's sprawling cities. An influx of residents and their garbage competed for limited space as yesterday's dumping grounds on the outskirts of town became tomorrow's suburban housing tract. Municipal dumps filled more quickly than ever before, and new ones became harder to open in places close enough for a city's collection crews to efficiently complete their routes. The waste stream resulting from "planned obsolescence" of many products exacerbated this situation as products proliferated while becoming less re-usable.[42] Likewise, packaging added volume to discards.

Mid-twentieth century manufacturing and marketing catered to the captive audience in front of America's television sets. Creative advertising suggested to busy middle class households that they could buy disposable diapers, paper plates, and Styrofoam

38. "Barbecue Just Headache For Garbage Men," *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, January 5, 1949.
39. *St. Petersburg Times*, May 14, 1957.
40. *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, November 14, 1952.
41. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 12, 1963.
42. Vance Packard, *The Waste Makers* (New York: D. McKay Co., 1960), 43.

cups and toss them in the trash.[43] Wages increased, commodity prices decreased, consumer spending surged, and garbage production increased dramatically. Not only did the volume of trash increase, its composition changed considerably. Plastics became immensely popular: they could be created in a lab and altered to replicate almost any natural resource, thereby eliminating the need to procure limited raw materials overseas.[44] Moreover, curbside garbage began to consist of significant numbers of disposable razors, single use cooking pans, plastic forks, and most substantially, packaging. Some scholars suggest that packaging substituted for sales clerks in larger, busier stores, ultimately serving an important role in advertising many products and that, by the 1960s, packaging equaled or exceeded the manufacturing and advertising budgets for most industries.[45]

Florida cities scrambled to cope with the growing volume of garbage. Miami, as a "central core of one of the fastest growing areas in the world," saw its population double between 1945 and 1955.[46] In 1955, the city responded to the resulting surge in garbage by investing in the world's largest incinerator at that time. The $3.3 million facility had a rated capacity of 900 tons of waste per day, but the city's waste division chief Grady Phelps confidently predicted that "the incinerator would burn 1,200 tons per day without difficulty."[47] It replaced a 30-year-old incinerator rated at 300 tons per day, which had been force-fed 1,100 tons per day to cope with Miami's growing volume of solid waste and produced "complaints from nearby residents as its six huge stacks belched smoke and fly ash for blocks around."[48] The new incinerator burned lots of trash but could not solve all of Miami's waste problems, especially changing the bad habits of residents and city departments alike. The *Miami Daily News* reported in 1959: "Wagner Creek smells, but not just because of the city incinerator. . . . People dump garbage, dead fish and dead animals into the creek."[49] Outfalls from city sewers, wash-water from

43. Melosi, 177-178; Louis Blumberg and Robert Gottlieb, *War on Waste: Can America Win Its Battle with Garbage?* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1989), 247-250.
44. Rogers, 118-119.
45. Blumberg and Gottleib, 12.
46. "Miami Doubles Population During Past Ten Years," *Miami Daily News*, December 11, 1955.
47. "Full Test Set Tomorrow for New Incinerator," *Miami Daily News*, January 9, 1955.
48. Ibid.
49. "Residents Blamed for Smell," *Miami Daily News*, January 28, 1959.

city garbage piles and trucks, and fly ash from its incinerator also flowed into the creek and ultimately into the Miami River. Clearly, sanitary reforms require more than technological improvements—they require changes in behavior.

Not all Florida communities built garbage incinerators. Because cheap, undeveloped land remained readily available in much of the state, many Floridians assumed that landfills could handle the increased volume of solid waste well into the future. In 1966, a Tampa sanitation officer apprised Mayor Nick Nuccio of a looming problem, warning that "we have only from four (4) to six (6) months left at the large land-fill on Anderson Road . . . . [and] about three (3) months left at the land-fill on south Manhattan. Beyond this at the moment we have nothing in sight for future use to carry us for another year to fifteen months until the incinerator is finished."[50] He emphasized that it was "a rather dangerous position for a City the size of Tampa to be in."[51] He assured the mayor, "We are constantly riding, looking, contacting property owners and making every effort humanly possible to locate new areas for landfills," but the outlook was "grim" after surveying most places within a "reasonable hauling distance."[52] The perplexed staffer opined, "Apparently we just cannot put a dump within a mile or two of a house at all today."[53]

On the other side of Tampa Bay, communities in Pinellas County experienced some of the fastest growth in the nation. From 1950 to 1970, the county's population more than tripled from 159,249 to 522,329.[54] Local officials, such as Gulfport's Mayor Edwin "Bud" Markham, began to recognize the problem of such expansion on the Pinellas peninsula: "Pretty soon there won't be any place to dump the trash . . . . All the land will be used up and then what will we do?"[55] Neighboring St. Petersburg was

50. "Status of Present City Land-fill Areas and Projected Outlook," January January 14, 1966, letter to Tampa Mayor Nick Nuccio. The sender's identity is illegible, but the style of correspondence suggests that it was an employee of the city's sanitation department.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. U.S. Census Bureau, "Florida: Population of Counties by Decennial Census: 1900 to 1990," (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census, March 27, 1995) http://www.census.gov/population/cencounts/fl190090.txt (accessed March 15, 2012).
55. "Dump Site Exhaustion Said in Sight," *Evening Independent*, October 18, 1969.

mired in solid waste disposal problems, including an incinerator that generated insufficient revenue to cover its costs.[56] A 1970 *St. Petersburg Times* editorial urged community leaders to "think bigger" in coping with "our garbage crisis," citing the recent failures of the city's incinerator and composting facility as reasons for local governments in the bay area to cooperate and develop "a more comprehensive, long-range disposal plan."[57] For St. Petersburg, the *Times'* editors optimistically suggested "the ideal solution—to which the city will inevitably come—is to return to the cycle of production."[58] Pointing to examples of resource recovery successes elsewhere in the world, they concluded, "Some kind of recycling is the direction St. Petersburg should take."[59]

In northeast Florida, Jacksonville's problems with sprawl and waste disposal exemplified those of the entire state. Prior to consolidation with Duval County in 1967, the city's population had been shrinking while that of Duval County grew exponentially, increasing demand for urban services such as waste disposal. Historian James Crooks notes that metropolitan areas across the country faced similar challenges, but "Duval County was exceptional in its inability to respond."[60] The city's waste woes attracted the attention of local newspapers, including a 1961 article by the *Jacksonville Journal* with the alarming headline: "Duval's Garbage is Threatening Public Health: Worst Sanitation in the State."[61] Shortly after consolidating city and county government, Jacksonville reacted by providing free garbage pickup to discourage rampant dumping throughout its 840-square-mile area (almost all of Duval County) and hired consultants to plan a better system. Local authorities shut down the old incinerator and illegal dumpsites, and consolidated and regulated landfills, collecting 1,500 tons of waste per day. At the same time, the city approached the capacity of two of its four landfills.[62] By the mid-1960s, the hazards and limitations of land disposal and incineration became clear to state and federal government officials. In 1965, the federal government passed the Solid Waste Disposal Act (SWDA), initiating what might be called

56. "Incinerator Tangle of Debt Persists," *St. Petersburg Times*, January 13, 1967.
57. "Think Bigger: Our Garbage Crisis," *St. Petersburg Times*, March 13, 1970.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. James B. Crooks, *Jacksonville: The Consolidation Story, From Civil Rights to the Jaguars* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 38.
61. Ibid.16.
62. Ibid., 137.

Sanitation crew for the City of Madeira Beach behind Gene's Lobster House sometime between 1962 and 1964. Image courtesy of Gulf Beaches Public Library, Madeira Beach, Florida.

the "golden age of garbage governance," which would last another 43 years. This golden age was characterized by a series of bills and actions at both federal and state levels that led to positive changes in Florida's management of solid waste. The 1965 legislation did little to reduce or prevent waste generation, and it labeled open burning of garbage a fire hazard therefore restricting, but not banning, this activity.[63] Still, the SWDA did award grants to state and local governments for research and planning, and Florida took advantage of federal grant money to take stock of the state's solid waste practices.

After surveying solid waste disposal around the state, Florida officials reported "an appalling lack of interest, planning, organization, reliable data, equipment, personnel and money for the collection and disposal of solid waste in a large percentage of counties."[64] Details were alarming: 98 percent of the 427 dumps identified in the statewide survey were considered "substandard," a finding made even more startling because the two percent of landfills qualifying as

63. Wallis McClain Jr., ed., *U.S. Environmental Laws, 1994 Edition* (Washington DC: Bureau of National Affairs , 1994).

64. Division of Health, Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, 1971, *State of Florida Solid Waste Management Plan* (Jacksonville, FL: 1971), Section I, 1.

"sanitary" landfills lacked liners to prevent groundwater contamination. Moreover, more than 30 percent of all landfills rested on top of marshes or floodplains and threatened water resources. Other means of disposal listed by the report included 13 incinerators (noting that "most lack adequate air pollution control equipment"), three hog feeding lots, and two composting operations (including St. Petersburg's "intermittently operational" facility).[65] In short, this 1971 report exposed the truly haphazard way in which Florida communities dealt with solid waste. Of course, Florida had plenty of company. According to Garrick Louis:

> In 1965 there were no state-level solid waste management agencies in the country and state regulation of solid waste was minimal. With the federal requirement of state solid waste management plans, funding through planning grants, and the designation of a single state agency for solid waste management within each state, there was a proliferation of state agencies and state solid waste management legislation. In less than 5 years after enactment of the law, 44 states had active solid waste management programs. By 1975, all states except Wyoming had enacted solid waste management statutes.[66]

When President Richard Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act in 1970, *Associated Press* science correspondent Alton Blakeslee reflected increasingly popular sentiments in an article carried by the *Sarasota Journal*: "So—as the 1970s begin—go some signs that the country might veer off from a suicidal course of destroying a livable environment by abuse of land, water and air, and through an avalanche of trash and garbage."[67] That same year, Congress amended the SWDA with the Resource Recovery Act and the National Materials Policy Act , both reflecting broader concerns about material waste. With these two acts, Congress provided funds for planning and development of recycling and energy recovery. Meanwhile, the federal government's new Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) launched an investigation of the nation's hazardous waste management practices. More important,

65. Ibid., Section IV, 20-21 and Figures 15 and 16.
66. Louis, 317.
67. Alton Blakeslee, "Small step finally taken to overcome pollution," *Sarasota Journal*, January 13, 1970.

according to H. Lanier Hickman (former executive director of the Solid Waste Association of North America), "the term *solid waste management* had crept into the terminology," where previously the focus was limited to *solid waste disposal*.[68]

In 1976, Congress amended the SWDA significantly with passage of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA)—so much so that RCRA became the new reference point for federal solid waste management legislation.[69] Indeed, this legislation was so significant that since its adoption in 1976, the entire legislative package dating from 1965 is often referred to as the RCRA, regardless of subsequent amendments.[70] Importantly, by 1978, implementation of RCRA had prioritized federal attention on hazardous wastes. Subtitle C of RCRA required that a chain of custody document follow all hazardous waste from "cradle to grave." This manifest was to be initiated and signed by persons who generate or produce these wastes, and all transporters involved with moving such waste.[71] Finally, in 1980, Congress passed the Comprehensive Environmental Response and Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA), commonly known as the Superfund Program. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of this new law is that it empowers the EPA to hold those responsible for the release of hazardous waste liable for the cost of clean up. CERCLA is considered a retrospective law because it assigns liability for actions taken before the law was enacted. CERCLA applies to un-permitted, unintentional releases that happened in the past, rather than planned or permitted releases that will happen in the future. The typical Superfund site is an old municipal or industrial dump that had been abandoned or closed, and was located in a suburban area, although such sites varied considerably in size and composition. Remediation of Superfund sites generally takes six to eight years on average, and even then the EPA monitors the site once every five years to assess new threats of contamination or continued

68. Hickman, 65 (italics in original).
69. *25 Years of RCRA: Building on our Past to Protect our Future* (Washington, DC: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Solid Waste and Emergency Response, 2002).
70. John Sprankling and Gregory Weber, *The Law of Hazardous Wastes and Substances in a Nutshell*, 2nd ed. (St. Paul, MN: Thomson West, 2007).
71. Thomas Sullivan, ed., *Environmental Law Handbook*, 20th edition. (Lanham, MD: Government Institutes, 2009).

problems.[72] Congress vastly underestimated the cost of coping with contaminated sites (especially where no responsible party can be identified), and the nation continues its struggle to find the resources to rehabilitate contaminated sites.[73]

Attention to solid waste issues in Florida meshed closely with federal efforts subsequent to the 1965 Solid Waste Disposal Act. The state hosted two early research and demonstration projects supported by federal funds: a municipal solid waste composting facility in Gainesville and another in Pompano Beach, the latter designed to anaerobically (without oxygen) digest equal parts municipal solid waste and sewage sludge.[74] In 1971, while addressing the opening of the Pompano Beach facility, Governor Reubin Askew cautioned, "Our progress is coming back to haunt us in the bones of a dying environment."[75] Noting the project's high cost (approximately $4 million) and its operation by a private firm (Waste Management, Inc.) he added, "There will never be enough public money to meet our needs." The *Palm Beach Post* further reported Askew's insistence on making the investments necessary to address pollution in Florida, which he observed "might appear expensive in some instances . . . but they (the problems) will require much more in the long run if we don't do it now."[76]

In 1974, Florida passed its own Resource Recovery and Management Act (RRMA), requiring all 67 counties and over 300 municipalities to develop solid waste management plans and submit them for state approval. The RRMA also created a Resource Recovery Council to assist the FDER, local governments, and the private sector with developing energy recovery (waste-to-energy) and materials recovery (recycling and composting) programs as alternatives to landfill disposal.[77]

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72. Gwendolyn Burke, Ben Ramnarine Singh, and Louis Theodore, *Handbook of Environmental Management and Technology*, 2nd edition (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2000).
73. Hickman, 64-70, 104.
74. Hickman, 170-72, 177. Hickman cites a 1973 report by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, *Final Report on a Solid Waste Management Demonstration Project* (Gainesville, FL: Compost Plant) # SW-21D-73-009. Hickman also notes that "The design of the Gainesville plant was based on experience obtained at the Metro Waste pilot plant located in Largo," 170.
75. "Askew addresses opening of Pompano garbage plant," *Palm Beach Post*, September 29, 1971.
76. Ibid.; There was a $4 million project cost estimate according to Hickman, 170.
77. *State of Florida Solid Waste Management Plan*, x.

When the federal government delegated responsibility for solid waste management to states with implementation of the 1976 RCRA, Florida was already in the process of coordinating efforts with its local governments. The state's 1976 *Solid Waste Management and Resource Recovery Technical Assistance Handbook* spelled out goals for rural and urban counties. For urban counties, which generated 90 percent of the state's waste and had significant energy demand, authorities hoped that materials recovery (recycling) would account for 18 percent and energy recovery 50 percent of a projected 9.9 million tons of solid waste by 1985. Rural counties were expected to recover just one percent of their 1.1 million tons of waste anticipated by the same year.[78]

A 1978 Florida DER report to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency showed how far the state had come since publishing its first solid waste management plan just seven years earlier. New open dumps had been prohibited by state law since 1974, and efforts were underway to eliminate those still in operation. Of 314 "recognized disposal sites" in the state, 153 were permitted and eight were under construction; 76 were under consent orders (to clean up or close) and 38 more were proposed for consent orders; 27 were in the process of being closed and 12 were under enforcement by DER.[79] Local governments were also subject to state scrutiny: all 67 counties, 390 cities, and three special districts were required by law to submit solid waste elements to their comprehensive land use plans by July 1979.[80] Furthermore, the 1974 RRMA required state government to lead by example in recycling paper from all state offices, a program that the DER hoped to expand in the future.[81]

Despite significant progress, solid waste disposal issues continued to impact local governments. Tighter regulations meant higher disposal costs. Citizens' increasing environmental awareness made them leery of plans for new or expanded disposal facilities. Most of all, Florida's population growth continued unabated, generated more waste, and competed with disposal facilities for space. Though

78. *Solid Waste Management and Resource Recovery Technical Assistance Handbook*, (Tallahassee: Florida Department of Environmental Regulation, 1976), 15.
79. *State Solid Waste Management and Work Program for Federal Fiscal Year 1979*, Report to U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (Tallahassee: Florida Department of Environmental Regulation, November 1, 1978), 3.
80. Ibid., 17.
81. Ibid., 88.

it had been decades in the making, Florida's (and the nation's) garbage crisis took center-stage with the infamous *Mobro 4000* "garbage barge" debacle in 1987.[82]

Reported as far away as Alaska, and drawn out over a period of months, news of a barge loaded with 3,000 tons of garbage from Islip, New York, wandering down the eastern seaboard in search of a home for its cargo, became a national sensation.[83] Headlines screamed "America Awash in Garbage."[84] By the time it reached Key West, it was both an embarrassment and a call to action.[85] A *Florida State University Law Review* article summarized Florida's solid waste management predicament as of the middle 1980s:

1. By 1990, the state's solid waste generation will have increased by almost five million tons due to population growth and increased rates of generation.
2. Solid waste generation rates of individuals are increasing by eleven percent per year.
3. From 1980 to 1985, landfill costs increased by an average of only ten percent per year. However, by 1990 it is expected that landfill costs will increase by eighty-six percent over the 1985 level because of more stringent rules at both federal and state levels.
4. The cost of solid waste management is the second largest expense of local governments on a national basis.
5. Approximately one-third of the landfill space available in the state in 1985 will be closed by 1996.
6. The cost to counties for complying with more stringent landfill closure standards for their existing landfills is expected to be $103 million by 1995.
7. In 1985, eighteen Florida counties reported that they will close all their existing landfill acreage by 1996.
8. At the current rate of landfilling in Florida, 64,000 more acres of landfills will need to be sited by 1997.[86]

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82. "News Analysis: Garbage Barge Prods Officials," *New York Times*, May 2, 1987.
83. "Garbage Barge Skipper is Determined to Finish the Job," *Anchorage Daily News*, May 10, 1987.
84. "America Awash in Garbage," *Orlando Sentinel*, February 14, 1988.
85. "Trash-packed Barge Cruises Slowly Back Up Florida Coast," *Boca Raton News*, May 11, 1987.
86. William D. Preston, and Thomas M. DeRose, "The Solid Waste Management Act: Facing Up to the 'Garbage' Component of Florida's Burgeoning Growth," *Florida State University Law Review* 16 (Fall 1988): 599.

Florida's legislature responded in 1987, forming a Senate Select Committee on Solid Waste. The committee worked tirelessly with DER staff, local government and private sector stakeholders to craft comprehensive solid waste management legislation that would set the standard for the nation.[87] Florida's recently elected Republican governor, Bob Martinez, and his DER Secretary, Dale Twachtmann, also played key roles in developing such legislation.

Born in 1934, Bob Martinez grew up on the outskirts of Tampa in an area then more notable for dairy farms than the present-day Raymond James (football) Stadium. The governor recalled "sparse housing, dirt roads," and the absence of garbage collection. Instead, "you burned and buried your own" and most everything was biodegradable. "Old tin cans would just rust away," and it seemed like "we threw less away in a week than we do now in one day." When garbage collection arrived, it was picked up in "a big old dump truck" and carted to city dumps where it was often used to fill up marshland, much like in Miami (and probably throughout Florida).[88]

When Martinez became mayor of Tampa in 1979, he asked public works director Dale Twachtmann (from the previous administration) to stay on the job. Martinez respected Twachtmann's broad base of civil engineering knowledge and his even temperament. As mayor, Martinez inherited the city's solid waste problems, which persisted at least since the 1960s. Repeated air quality violations led the U.S. EPA to shut down Tampa's incinerator in 1979.[89] Meanwhile, the garbage had to go somewhere so the city hauled it to Hillsborough County's landfill, well northeast of town, and to an old city dump on Manhattan Avenue, near Port Tampa. These stop-gap measures remained in place while authorities upgraded the incinerator, which finally re-opened in 1985.

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87. "Legislature, DER are Preparing to Talk Trash," *St. Petersburg Times*, August 2, 1987.

88. Governor Bob Martinez, interview with Andrew Fairbanks, December 9, 2011. All material for the interview in this and subsequent citations in the possession of the interviewer.

89. "Incinerator In Tampa Called Dirty," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, December 13, 1975; "Tampa Accused of Bay Pollution," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, September 10, 1977; Mark P. Schwartz and Thomas M. White, *Retrofit of the McKay Bay Waste-to-Energy Facility* (10th North American Waste to Energy Conference, American Society of Civil Engineers, NAWTEC10-1003, 2002) 35, available at http://www.seas.columbia.edu/earth/wtert/sofos/nawtec/nawtec10/nawtec10-1003.pdf (accessed January 18, 2013).

Twachtmann and Martinez presided over the transformation of the city's incinerator into a modern waste-to-energy facility in order to recover some of the operating costs.[90] While the facility retrofit would increase disposal rates in Tampa, Martinez was more concerned about future disposal capacity and the ongoing costs of hauling garbage to a remote landfill operated by the county: "It was costing us a lot to travel way out there for garbage. And we knew landfills were being attacked and, sooner or later, they were going to attack that one, too . . . and then what would we do?" Tampa's incinerator reopened as a waste-to-energy facility and, despite the increased cost and the prior facility's reputation, Martinez recalled that "no one showed up in opposition," something he credited to Twachtmann's "good temperament to deal with people and controversial issues that required explanation."[91]

Florida voters elected Martinez governor in November 1986, and Twachtmann soon joined his administration as secretary of DER. Their solid waste experience in Tampa served them well at the state level. Informants who worked for DER at this time described the Martinez and Twachtmann approach to the agency as a shift in emphasis from protecting "birds and bunnies" to coping with urban environmental issues.[92] While Martinez recalled being overwhelmed with his legislative mandate to implement the state's 1985 Growth Management Act, his staff also worked hard to address the solid waste issue. Certainly, the two were interrelated. One DER employee noted that because land-use was basically unregulated, people could do just about anything they wanted with garbage in their back yards, even developing their own landfill.[93] As Martinez recalled, "the state had no law [regulating] solid waste. You could burn or bury it where you wanted to."[94] In his estimation, the 1974 RRMA had only helped develop energy and material recovery facilities in a few places with sufficient population density to support them. Meanwhile, the rest of the state had

90. Governor Bob Martinez, interview with Andrew Fairbanks, December 9, 2011; Robert A. Catlin, *Land Use Planning, Environmental Protection, and Growth Management: The Florida Experience* (Chelsea, MI: Ann Arbor Press, 1997), 82-83.
91. Governor Bob Martinez, interview by Andrew Fairbanks, December 9, 2011.
92. August 3, 2011 focus group conducted by Andrew Fairbanks (confidential). All material for this focus group as cited here and in subsequent citations in the possession of Andrew Fairbanks.
93. Ibid.
94. Governor Bob Martinez, interview by Andrew Fairbanks, December 9, 2011.

been left to its own devices to contend with growing volumes of waste.

The composition of solid waste, as well as development in Florida, changed rapidly after World War II. As Twachtmann was fond of saying, "The old Florida we love is not the new Florida where we live."[95] The state's population grew rapidly, new suburbs appeared in places that used to be remote, and dumping grounds were pushed farther afield from cities. Garbage became more voluminous and more complicated to deal with because of proliferating plastics and other non-degradable materials. On top of this, Floridians have long depended heavily upon groundwater, and landfills increase the risk that drinking water supplies can be contaminated. This risk is heightened in places where sinkholes are common because, if a sinkhole opens beneath a landfill, it provides an immediate conduit for leachate (water contaminated by moving through a landfill) to reach the aquifer.[96] Indeed, since 2006, the City of Tampa has partnered with environmentalists and concerned eastern Pasco County residents to fight plans to build a landfill just a few miles from the Green Swamp—a mostly natural area that pushes groundwater toward the headwaters of the Hillsborough River—Tampa's main source of drinking water.[97]

A city-dweller for all his adult life, Martinez remained sensitive to the plight of rural areas: "Most of the growth was occurring in the big counties, but you knew darn well that rural counties were beginning to develop, and they'd eventually face similar problems that larger counties faced before, so it's better to deal with them up front so there's less you have to undo."[98] Importantly, the policymaking

95. Dale Twachtmann, telephone interview by Andrew Fairbanks, November 16, 2011.

96. Richard L. Marella, *Water Withdrawals, Use, and Trends in Florida, 2005* (U.S. Geological Survey, Scientific Investigations Report 2009–5125, 2009); Jack J. Coe, "Effect of solid waste disposal on groundwater quality," *Journal of the American Water Works Association*, 62 (1970): 776-783; Mario Fernandez, *Hydrogeology of a Landfill, Pinellas County, Florida*, (Tallahassee, FL: U.S. Geological Survey, 1983); E.C. Drum, W.F. Kane, R.H. Ketelle, J. Ben-Hassine, and J.A. Scarborough, *Subsidence of Residual Soils in a Karst Terrain* (Oak Ridge, TN: Oak Ridge National Laboratory, 1990); Ronald W. Hoenstine and Ed Lane, *Environmental Geology and Hydrogeology of the Gainesville area, Florida* (Tallahassee: Florida Geological Survey, 1991).

97. Mike Salinero, "Iorio: Pasco landfill could taint local water," *Tampa Tribune*, July 20, 2007; Todd Leskanic, "Five years on, east Pasco landfill proposal still in dispute," *Tampa Tribune*, July 8, 2011; Laura Kinsler, "Parties await ruling in Pasco landfill permit appeal," *Tampa Tribune*, December 12, 2012.

98. Governor Bob Martinez, interview by Andrew Fairbanks, December 9, 2011.

process remained open. As Martinez recalled, "I told my top administrators that I wanted them to have an open mind on any proposal that is brought to us. Not to be any automatic yes or automatic no. Each . . . evaluated on merit and nothing else . . . no philosophical bent one way or the other. . . . Decisions should be fact-driven and fact-based."[99] Likewise, Twachtmann was willing to work with environmentalists in the department and offered an atmosphere of reciprocal respect to his employees, saying "I'm happy to learn some biology if you're willing to learn some civil engineering."[100]

Twachtmann ultimately embraced a "three-thirds" approach: an attempt to balance recycling, energy recovery, and sanitary landfilling. Looking back, he explained, "It allowed me to get my point across in the many talks I made throughout the state in 1987 and 1988 that we had to do something totally different about solid waste."[101] When he and Martinez arrived in Tallahassee, they found a draft bill in the House of Representatives that revealed both a top-down approach and evidence that solid waste knowledge in the DER was "very thin," a potentially disastrous combination. Environmental advocates wanted his support for a "bottle bill" (deposit-return system for bottle recycling), but he refused, noting that "the [solid waste] problem was much larger than that [beverage containers]."[102]

Rather than a bottle bill, Twachtmann insisted on a combination of methods that also required collaboration with stakeholders, particularly local governments, where he and Governor Martinez had prior experience addressing solid waste challenges. The experience with waste-to-energy in Tampa, and his awareness of expansion in adjacent Pinellas and Hillsborough counties, led Twachtmann to believe that diverting one third of Florida's garbage to energy recovery—particularly in the state's growing urban areas—was ambitious but possible. Similarly, many considered diverting one-third of the state's discards to recycling as "pie in the sky," but Twachtmann thought it could be done "if we just assisted the cities and counties." He also believed they were the "only ones

99. Ibid.
100. Dale Twachtmann, telephone interview by Andrew Fairbanks, November 16, 2011.
101. Dale Twachtmann, email correspondence with Andrew Fairbanks, March 16, 2012.
102. Ibid.

who could implement recycling at door to door locations," and thought they would be more agreeable to financial support rather than "Tallahassee edicts."[103]

Twachtmann relied on Senator George Kirkpatrick (a Democrat and Chairman of the Select Committee on Solid Waste) to arrange the necessary funding for local governments, which allowed the Secretary to focus DER's efforts on technical aspects of the plan to expand resource recovery and recycling programs across Florida. While getting the amount of waste landfilled down to one-third seemed a "sensible" thing to do, Twachtmann anticipated that it would be the biggest stumbling block in their plan, "because it was the cheapest" method of disposal. Both men had their work cut out for them. Recalled Twachtmann, "[Senator Kirkpatrick] was forceful in getting the bill . . . funded and through the legislature. The two of us were the Democrat/Republican team that led the actual writing of the bill."[104]

During a focus group interview in 2011, DER staffers who served under Twachtmann readily acknowledged that they were not experts in solid waste management, a regulatory field that was still in its infancy in 1987. They recalled a kind of excitement about solid waste, the challenge of tackling something new, but they also recognized that they did not have all the answers. They took to the field to soak up as much information as they could from local officials and facility operators. In comparison with raging battles over dredge-and-fill permits to which they had been accustomed, informants claimed, with no trace of irony, that working with the emerging solid waste issue was "refreshing."[105] They knew they had support from the legislature and the executive branch, and they were determined to come up with solutions.

The opening line of a 1988 *Wall Street Journal* article reads, "Florida, facing what may be the nation's biggest garbage problem, has launched the most ambitious assault on waste yet attempted in any state."[106] The article describes the state's 1988 Solid Waste Management Act (SWMA), intended to "hammer the rising cost of solid waste disposal, and the virtues of recycling, into the consciousness

103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. August 3, 2011 focus group conducted by Andrew Fairbanks (confidential).
106. Eugene Carlson, "Florida Readies Broad Assault on Garbage," *Wall Street Journal*, July 20, 1988.

of every Florida consumer and business."[107] After much deliberation and compromise, the Florida Legislature passed a 185-page bill on the last day of the 1988 regular session. Martinez emphasized the importance of state action as he signed the bill into law:

> One of the biggest problems we face as a growing state is what to do with the trash and other waste we produce . . . . With this law, Florida will finally begin to take a comprehensive approach to dealing with a serious environmental problem that simply won't go away on its own.[108]

Florida's leaders recognized solid waste management as a series of local problems, requiring statewide coordination, and thus the legislature crafted much of the 1988 SWMA as "a coordinating tool, guide, and vehicle for technical assistance to municipalities, counties, other state agencies, business and industry organizations, and the general public."[109] It clearly assigned responsibility for solid waste management to counties (with options for inter-local agreements with cities and among counties) and set a 30 percent recycling goal. Each county had one year to develop plans designed to achieve the goal by the end of 1994, and they were required to report their progress annually. Noncompliance could be punished by withholding state grants and denying disposal permits.[110]

Properly managing solid waste was expensive and Florida leaders provided significant funding to support implementation of the 1988 law. The Governor's Energy Office initiated Florida's Solid Waste Management Trust Fund by transferring $19 million, and further support from other revenue sources was estimated at over $13 million—recurring annually.[111] In addition to supporting DER's administrative functions, these funds were to be distributed as grants to local governments to support their own solid waste management and reduction programs. A progress report published by DER in early 1991 indicated rapid improvement and an optimistic outlook resulting from state and local efforts:

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107. Ibid.
108. Governor Martinez, quoted in Preston and DeRose, 602.
109. Preston and DeRose, 601.
110. Ibid., 601-605.
111. Ibid., 621.

> In 1980, Florida had 500 open dumps, one small waste-to-energy plant and virtually no local government recycling. In 1990, Florida had 150 permitted landfills, most of which are lined, eleven waste-to-energy plants, and one of the largest recycling programs in the U.S . . . . Recycling has increased from an estimated statewide average recycling rate of 4% in 1988 to 15% in 1990. The rate is projected to be near 20% by the end of 1991 . . . . If Florida meets the 30% recycling goal, and builds all of the WTE [waste-to-energy] plants permitted or under construction as of 1990, the state will have achieved a "three-thirds" solid waste management strategy by 1995: about one-third of the waste stream will be recycled, one-third burned and one-third landfilled.[112]

Alas, Twachtmann's "three-thirds" vision never came to fruition. While Florida presently has more waste-to-energy (WTE) facilities than any other state, barely more than 14 percent of its garbage is incinerated.[113] Some of this is a function of expense: waste-to-energy facilities can cost well over a half billion dollars.[114] And then there are concerns over air quality. DER Secretary (and head of the U.S. EPA during the Bill Clinton administration) Carol Browner, who also served in the administration of Democratic Governor Lawton Chiles, called for a moratorium on development of WTE facilities in 1992. Browner expressed concerns about mercury emissions. Her questions about WTE also extended to its competition with recycling efforts. In early 1992, Browner commented in the *South Florida Sun Sentinel*: "For the past 20 years we have essentially encouraged incineration as the way to deal with our garbage . . . I now question whether or not we might be able

112. *Solid Waste Management in Florida: 1990 Annual Report* (Tallahassee: Florida Department of Environmental Regulation, 1991).

113. Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Solid Waste Division, *Solid Waste Management in Florida 2010 Annual Report*, Table 5A: Final Disposition of Solid Waste in Florida. http://appprod.dep.state.fl.us/www_rcra/reports/WR/Recycling/2010AnnualReport/AppendixA/5A.pdf (accessed on January 28, 2013).

114. Jennifer Sorentrue, "Money from Trash: Palm Beach County may open landfill to out-of-town haulers," *Palm Beach Post*, October 9, 2012; Tux Turkel, "Future of trash-to-energy hinges on economics," *Portland [Maine] Press Herald*, April 24, 2012.

to cut back in the (construction) of these facilities, to step back."[115] Ultimately, Browner and the DER worked closely with the Florida legislature to institute a two-year halt to the permitting of new WTE construction while the state studied the matter further.[116]

Recycling rates also fluctuated as the state modified policies and funding numerous times over 20 years. What began as "minimum 4" materials (aluminum cans, glass and plastic bottles, and newspaper) each targeted for a 50 percent recycling rate in 1988 became "minimum 5" with the addition of steel cans in 1993.[117] Also in that year, Florida's 30 percent recycling goal for all counties became a reduction goal applied only to counties with more than 50,000 people. An "advanced disposal fee" on beverage containers (materials that never achieved 50 percent recycling) went into effect in 1993, but was allowed to "sunset" in 1995.[118] Grants distributed to all counties totaled $20-24 million annually from 1988 to 1997, but declined to $10 million in 2000 and $6.4 million in 2001. Local governments also began competing for "Innovative Recycling Grants" awarded by the FDEP[119] in 1997, and then by the legislature in 2002.[120] The targeted material recycling goals changed again in 2002, requiring only a "significant portion" recycled from a "minimum 4 out of 8" (aluminum and steel cans,

115. Robert McClure, "Incinerator Moratorium Proposed, State Official Cites Mercury Concerns," *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, January 23, 1992.

116. Frazier W. Russell, "State public policy trends in trash-to-energy" (1st North American Waste to Energy Conference, American Society of Civil Engineers, NAWTEC01-11, 1993) 166, available at http://www.seas.columbia.edu/earth/wtert/sofos/nawtec/nawtec01/nawtec01-11.pdf (accessed January 21, 2013).

117. *Timeline for Florida Solid Waste Reduction Legislative Changes* (Tallahassee: Florida Department of Environmental Protection, 2008).

118. Ibid.

119. The bureaucratic division of responsibility for public health, natural resources management, and environmental protection (including solid waste management) in Florida has evolved significantly over the past few decades. Effective July 1, 1993, the Florida legislature combined the Florida Department of Environmental Regulation (DER) and Florida Department of Natural Resources (DNR) into a single agency called the Florida Department of Environmental protection (FDEP). See the following report for some discussion of this issue as it pertains to managing solid waste in Florida: *Compilation of Florida's solid waste regulations from 1966 to 1997* (Tallahassee: Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Solid Waste Section, January 26, 2001) ftp://ftp.dep.state.fl.us/pub/reports/62-701/FloridaSWRegulations1966_1997_toc_etc.pdf (accessed June 27, 2012).

120. *Timeline for Florida Solid Waste Reduction.*

glass and plastic bottles, newspaper, cardboard, office paper, and yard waste).[121] Also in 2002, the overall 30 percent reduction goal no longer applied to counties with fewer than 100,000 people.

Throughout this period of adjustment, Florida's recycling rate peaked at 40 percent in 1996, but declined thereafter (partly attributed to a change in calculation methods by FDEP) to hover just below the 30 percent goal as the new millennium began.[122] Still, the state helped divert millions of tons of municipal solid waste from landfills to recycling and energy recovery facilities each year. And even the sanitary landfill design requirements subsequent to the 1988 SWMA were a vast improvement when compared to unregulated dumps of an earlier era. Yet in the two decades after Florida passed its landmark 1988 SWMA, other states around the country passed similar and even more aggressive solid waste management legislation. Maybe this would not matter if Florida's population growth stagnated, but between 1990 and 2012, the number of people living in Florida mushroomed from just under 13 million to more than 19.3 million and—prior to the recent economic meltdown in Florida and across the U.S., the U.S. Census Bureau projected that more than 28 million people would call Florida home by the year 2030.[123] Clearly, there is more work to be done in the realm of solid waste management.

Republican state Senator Lee Constantine tried to advance solid waste management in Florida by including an ambitious 75% recycling goal into the state's 2008 Energy Act. This well-intentioned but naïve effort marks the end of the "Golden Age of Garbage Governance" for several reasons. To begin with, Senator Constantine appeared to pull the 75% goal from thin air, simply assuming that it can be done. He did not engage in much, if any, consultation with solid waste professionals or FDEP staff members on what it might take to achieve such a goal. (Recall that the 1988

121. Ibid.

122. *Eliminating Recycling Grants and Raising Recycling Rates Could Save Over $2.5 Million* (Tallahassee: Office of Program Policy and Government Accountability, 2002), Report No. 02-15, http://www.oppaga.state.fl.us/reports/pdf/0215rpt.pdf (accessed March 28, 2012); note that this report includes DER's response as an attachment.

123. Florida's 1990 population found at the U.S. Census Bureau website: http://www.census.gov/population/cencounts/fl190090.txt; Florida's 2012 population estimate found at http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/12000.html; Florida's 2030 population projections found at http://www.census.gov/population/projections/SummaryTabA1.pdf (accessed on January 28, 2013).

effort involved intense collaboration among a variety of constituencies.) Second, despite the 1988 goal of recycling 30% of all its solid waste, Florida recycled just over 25% during the early 2000s.[124] While recycling 75% of the state's garbage may be desirable, and perhaps even technically feasible, it would be very expensive. Recycling costs money, whether for collection, separation of materials, finding markets for material, or transportation of material to manufacturers who can use it. Thus far, the legislature has provided virtually no financial support for helping communities increase their recycling rates. Third, 2010 legislation intended to implement the 2008 Energy Act's 75% recycling goal specifically demanded that all garbage burned to produce electricity (waste-to-energy or WTE) shall be counted as "recycled." Of course, this stands the meaning of the word "recycle" on its head. Indeed, by one preliminary recycling calculation method, a handful of counties instantly achieved recycling rates of more than 100%.[125] Nobody denies that WTE will have to be part of Florida's solid waste management future—but the 2010 legislation appears to reduce "recycling rates" to a mere accounting exercise in which counties are given credit for burning garbage while avoiding any serious change in behavior. Meanwhile, much of Florida's trash (and ash from its WTE facilities) continues to pile up around the state.

Though Florida's cities were minor players in sanitary reforms in the early 1900s, by century's end, the state took significant steps to cope with solid waste. Rapid population growth and increasing material prosperity in Florida after World War II generated volumes and kinds of waste that exceeded local government disposal capacity. Environmental awareness and tighter state and federal regulations further limited disposal options as growing cities and suburbs occupied land that previously served as dumping grounds. Yet by the mid-1970s, Florida began to emerge as a leader in attending to the problem. A decade later, when the *Mobro* garbage barge catapulted waste into the nation's consciousness in 1987,

124. Florida Department of Environmental Protection, *Solid Waste Annual Reports* from 1998 to 2008 available at http://www.dep.state.fl.us/waste/quick_topics/publications/default.htm (accessed June 27, 2012).

125. Bruce Ritchie, "Statute may require state rule that could skew reporting on recycling goals," *The Florida Current* (December 20, 2011) available at http://www.thefloridacurrent.com/article.cfm?id=25862244 (accessed on June 27, 2012).

Florida leaders responded with the most comprehensive solid waste management plan of any state. This result, recognized in the national press, was the product of intense, collaborative efforts by state and local government officials, and private sector interests who were willing to consider a broad range of possible solutions for solid waste management in the Sunshine State. Public perception of a garbage crisis drove these efforts in the late 1980s, but the roots of Florida's 1988 SWMA extend to wider subjects of concern, from public health to environmental protection, spanning the twentieth century. Sadly, recent efforts to improve Florida's solid waste management appear cursory, expensive, and incapable of eliciting further changes in resource consumption and disposal behavior—suggesting that the state will wait for another garbage crisis before it attempts serious action (demanding that citizens reduce, reuse, and recycle much more than they do now) to deal with a problem to which we all contribute.

Notes and Documents: Letters of "Major" Hann

edited by Paul S. Losch

***LETTER #1: Bridgeton (NJ) Daily News*, April 11, 1895**

A Captain in the Cuban Army
A Bridgeton Boy's Undertaking
He Has Entered the Service of the Cubans in their Fight for Liberty and Writes About it to the "News"

In Camp near Nuevitas, Cuba, April 3, 1895

Having arrived here last night and entered the service of the Cubans in their noble fight for liberty, I thought that perhaps some of my old friends in Bridgeton would like to hear from me through the columns of your paper.

We left Florida near Punta Rassa on April 1st and by exercising considerable ingenuity we managed to elude the Spanish cruisers and landed near here last night, the 2nd. We have in camp here at present two companies of infantry fully armed and equipped. We are expecting reinforcements in a few days when we expect to take the field against the Spanish with a full regiment.

There is not much doubt that the whole island will be in full revolt against the Spanish before the middle of June. We are well armed and equipped, having brought over with us one thousand Winchester rifles and fifty thousand rounds of ammunition and expect to receive as much more before the 10th of April.

I have been made captain of Company A, under the command of Col. Pietro Aretino, 6th Regiment, Cuban Volunteers. We expect

to take the field about the 10th of April and commence an active campaign against the enemy.

We have a good secret service and are kept fully informed of the plans and movements of the Spaniards. We shall probably fight on the defensive rather than the offensive until we are better organized.

Well, I will close, hoping that you will see fit to publish this, being from an old Bridgeton boy. I am,

Respectfully yours,

F. P. HANN

P.S. I will try, as much as circumstances will permit, to keep you posted in regard to our movements and engagements.

Bridgeton (NJ) Dollar Weekly News, April 13
Cedar Rapids (IA) Evening Gazette, April 13
Minneapolis Journal, April 13
New Orleans Picayune, April 13
New York World, April 13
Winona (MN.) Daily Republican, April 13
Saginaw (MI.) News, April 13
Americus (GA) Times-Recorder, April 14
Chicago Tribune, April 14
Chicago Inter-Ocean, April 14
Cincinnati Enquirer, April 14
Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 14
Dallas Morning News, April 14
Denver Rocky Mountain News, April 14
Duluth (MN) News-Tribune, April 14
Fort Worth Gazette, April 14
Louisville Courier-Journal, April 14
Milwaukee Journal, April 14
Newark (OH) Sunday Advocate, April 14
Portland Morning Oregonian, April 14
San Antonio Daily Light, April 14
Sioux City (IA) Journal, April 14
Aberdeen (SD) Daily News, April 15
Bismarck (ND) Tribune, April 15
Pensacola Daily News, April 15
Athens (GA) Semi-Weekly Banner, April 16
Tampa Tribune, April 16
Eau Claire (WI) Weekly Leader, April 20

LETTER #2: Bridgeton (NJ) Evening News, **April 19, 1895**

Captain Hann Leads a Raid
The Spaniards Completely Routed
Another Letter from Our Former Citizen, Which Brings News Directly from the Cuban Seat of War
Special Correspondence of the *News*

In Camp at Espiritu, April 8, 1895

Since my letter of the 3rd, we have been reinforced by the arrival of three more companies of infantry and a battery of artillery who have not as yet received their full armament, having only three guns. The infantry we have equipped from our own stores. So now we have five effective companies of infantry and a battery of artillery in camp here. Five more companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry are on their way to join us and are due here the 10th.

We have moved our camp from near Nuevitas to this place, being some distance from the coast on the road to Puerto Principe, where we will proceed as soon as we receive reinforcements. We are busy all day long, drilling and we are becoming very proficient in field movements and hope to give a good record of ourselves before many days pass.

Our spies have brought word of an intended attack on us by the Spanish before our reinforcements reach us if possible. But thanks to our secret service we shall be prepared for them.

We are within one day's march of Nuevitas and three days' march of Puerto Principe, the capital of this province. We send our scouting parties every day and have made several raids on small villages, securing small quantities of arms and a small amount of ammunition at each place.

On one of these raids, led by myself, we met a party of volunteer Spanish soldiers on their way to Nuevitas and captured them after a short fight in which ten of my men were wounded and one killed. The Spaniards lost three killed and were all wounded more or less. The fight was short and fierce, but ended in a complete rout of the Spaniards as they left their dead and wounded on the field and in their haste threw away their arms.

We buried their dead and our own and then returned to camp, where the wounded were attended to. Our spoils consisted of

twenty prisoners, together with about fifty rifles and a small quantity of ammunition. Since then, which was the 5th, I have not left camp but some of the other companies have been on successful raids.

We shall, according to orders just received, stay here until the men and arms we are expecting from the United States have arrived. Our orders are to cover their landing and then proceed to Puerto Principe. We have now established a way of communicating with the mainland but as yet it is quite irregular. We hope to have soon made enough headway to justify in asking recognition from the United States and other countries as belligerents. When we have done this our success will be assured. I shall have to close, as the courier is waiting for this.

Yours respectfully,

F. P. Hann, Captain Co. A, 6th Regiment

***LETTER #3: Daily Florida Citizen* (Jacksonville), April 19, 1895**

Americans under Cuba's Flag: An Independent Company of Sixty-three Texans Make a Landing [Special to the *Citizen*]
Gainesville, April 18. — The following letter, written in cypher by a captain of a company in the Sixth Regiment of Cuban Volunteers, was received by a friend in this city to-day. It is dated Camp Liberty, Cuba, April 12.

At last our second expedition has landed but it seemed for a time as if it would not be able to land here. The vessel was pursued by a Spanish vessel and had to run out to sea to escape. But to-night she happened to run in under cover of darkness and landed about twenty miles from Nuevitos.

This is the largest American expedition that has landed here as yet. In it was a company of Americans, sixty-three in all, fully equipped. They are from different parts of Texas, but mostly from Fort Worth. They were enlisted by a Cuban agent, who is organizing other companies and they will be forwarded as fast as possible after their enlistment.

This is a fine company, and, mark my words, they will be heard from before many days have passed. They are all splendid marksmen,

and will make havoc among the ranks of the Spanish troops. We now have in camp a full regiment of infantry, an independent company of Americans, a troop of native cavalry, and a battery of artillery armed with Gatling guns. These men are all fully armed and equipped with the most improved weapons.

We number in all 1,000 and start on the 14th for Puerto Principe, where we will join other commands and then march to join General Maceo. The latest dispatches we have indicate that yellow fever is making great havoc among the newly arrived Spanish troops. As yet we have not been troubled and hope to escape it. We anticipate several skirmishes with the enemy during the next few days.—*The writer is from Pennsylvania and was formerly a member of the militia of that State.*

Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock), April 19
Carroll (IA) Sentinel, April 19
Dallas Morning News, April 19
Fort Worth Gazette, April 19
Galveston Daily News, April 19
Louisville Courier-Journal, April 19
New Orleans Picayune, April 19
Salt Lake Herald, April 19
San Francisco Chronicle, April 19
Washington (DC) Evening Star, April 19
Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 20
Brownsville (TX) Daily Herald, April 22
Laramie (WY) Semi-Weekly Boomerang, April 22
Atlantic (IA) Weekly Telegraph, April 24
Silver Cliff (CO) Rustler, April 24
Two Republics (Mexico City), April 25
Pagosa Springs (CO) News, April 26
Wheatland (WY) World, April 26
Bridgeton (NJ) Dollar Weekly News, April 27
Washington (DC) Post, April 28

LETTER #4: *Daily Florida Citizen*, April 27, 1895

Insurgents Win a Battle
1,800 Cubans Defeat Superior Spanish Force—
American Companies Engaged—
A Letter from Captain Hann, Direct from the Cuban Camp near Puerto Principe Tells of a Fierce and Prolonged Engagement Fought April 19
[Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, April 26. The subjoined letter was received here to-day from one of the camps of the Cuban insurgents. It was written to a friend in this city by Captain Hann, a Pennsylvanian in command of an independent company of American volunteers. Following is the letter:

In Camp near Puerto Principe, Cuba, April 20 – After many days of battle, we are in sight of Puerto Principe. We left Camp Liberty on the morning of April 14, and proceeded all the day without noteworthy interference. The next morning we broke our camp at 5:30. About noon the advance guard was fired upon by Spanish guerrillas under command of Captain Ballabao, who mistook our advance guard for a small band of insurgents. Our main command came on at double quick, and when Captain Ballabao saw how strong our forces were he promptly surrendered. We captured thirty-five men, together with their arms and equipments, losing three men killed and seven wounded.

We again took up the march, camping again at 4 p.m. During the night, our spies brought in word that the Spaniards were out in force, about six miles to the front and intended to give us battle in the morning. Colonel Aretino, who was in command, ordered us to advance and surprise them, which we did, reaching them about 6 a.m., April 16. They were on the watch and ready for us.

We drove in their pickets and were soon upon them. We found them drawn up in line of battle and ready to receive us. By this time, it was almost daybreak. We soon found out that they outnumbered us two to one. My company, together with B, C, and D Companies, were sent at the Spaniards' center. Commands E, F, G and H were sent against their left, and Companies I and K and the Texas Rangers were sent to break through their right if possible.

While the battery and troop of cavalry were posted with us, my company had the honor of leading the charge. Our Gatling guns did havoc among their ranks. The enemy held their fire until we were within 100 yards of them, when they opened a deadly fusillade, doing much damage to our ranks and staggering us. We soon rallied, and in a moment we were among them. Our Winchesters soon did work and the Spaniards were soon flying from before us. They rallied and tried to dislodge us, but having the advantage, we held our own, driving them back in confusion. Again they charged, but were repulsed with heavy loss. On the right the rangers were as successful as ourselves, but on the left our forces were having a hand-to-hand conflict. We went to their relief and soon victory was ours. Out of 1,800 men we lost 235 killed and wounded. Our colonel was killed, together with two captains and eight lieutenants, one captain being among the rangers.

We came in sight of Puerto Principe on the 19th. We have been harassed much by the enemy constantly on the march. We expect to be reinforced by two regiments of infantry to-morrow, when we will attack Puerto Principe, which is defended by a large force of Spaniards. In our battle we secured a supply of ammunition and arms with a large stock of supplies. From the prisoners we have learned that the enemy we engaged consisted of the Second and Fifth battalions of Spain and an infantry regiment, regular army of Cuba. We are receiving help from the United States daily, and as every Cuban in the insurgent ranks has entered with the expectation to win, we are hopeful.

Captain F. P. Hann, Company A, Sixth Regiment Cuban Volunteers

Auburn (NY) Bulletin, April 27
Brooklyn Daily Eagle, April 27
Chicago Times-Herald, April 27
Cumberland (MD) Evening Times, April 27
Dallas Morning News, April 27
Kansas City (MO) Star, April 27
Louisville Courier-Journal, April 27
New Orleans Picayune, April 27
New York World, April 27
Ogden (UT) Standard, April 27
Pittsburgh Press, April 27
Syracuse Evening Herald, April 27
Warren (PA) Evening Democrat, April 27
Denver Rocky Mountain News, April 28
Fort Worth Gazette, April 28
Leadville (CO) Herald-Democrat, April 28
Los Angeles Times, April 28
Salt Lake Tribune, April 28
San Francisco Call, April 28
San Francisco Chronicle, April 28
Bridgeton (NJ) Dollar Weekly News, May 4

LETTER #5: *Daily Florida Citizen*, May 6, 1895

Capture of Puerto Principe—Major Hann of the Insurgent Army Writes Another Letter from the Field [Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, May 6. The most definite news in reference to the Cuban rebellion is received by a certain gentleman of this city, who resides several miles in the country, and who is a bosom friend of the sender, Major F. P. Hann of the Sixth Regiment Cuban Volunteers.

A proposition was made to Hann while he was in this country to go to Cuba and join the insurgent army. He went at once, and entered the service as a Captain. In the battle before Puerto Principe several officers were killed and in the line of promotion he was made a Major. The subjoined letter, written in cipher, was received by his friend while the latter was in the city yesterday:

Puerto Principe, Cuba, May 2.

At last we have taken a town, Puerto Principe. After a bloody battle we are now in full possession. Having been reinforced April 27 by two regiments of infantry, we proceeded to attack Puerto Principe on the same day, and, after a battle of two days, have completely routed the Spaniards. Our loss is 422 out of a force of 2,790, while the Spanish loss is 692 killed and wounded and 319 prisoners. We captured four pieces of artillery together with all of the Spaniard's supplies and a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Volunteers are flocking into our camps by hundreds and the natives are rising all over the island. As soon as Congress meets, we shall apply for recognition.

We have received dispatches announcing General Gomez's victory over the Spanish at Jaragueta and the formation of the Cuban republic at Palegu with Tomaz Estrato Palmo as president. General Gomez is commander-in-chief of the Cuban forces. We have just received orders to leave Puerto Principe and join General Gomez in the province of Camaguay. We shall start in the morning. The two commands when united will make a force of 5,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry and a battery of artillery. Our forces have taken 5,000 prisoners in the last two weeks. As soon as we reach and unite with General Gomez he is to start an aggressive campaign against the Spaniards.

I have, as you see, been promoted to major since my last letter.

Yours in hope,

Major F. P. Hann

Chicago Inter-Ocean, May 7
Bay City (MI) Times-Press, May 8
Davenport (IA) Leader, May 8
Quincy (IL) Morning Whig, May 8
Boise (ID) Statesman, May 10
Bridgeton (NJ) Evening News, May 10
Bridgeton (NJ) Dollar Weekly News, May 18

LETTER #6: *Daily Florida Citizen*, May 14, 1895

Salcedo Reported Dead—The Ill-fated Spanish General Defeated Again—Left 1,000 Men on the Field—
Major Hann of the Cuban Army Writes Again from the Insurgent Camp Immediately After a Battle in Which Colonel Rodriques was Victor—[Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, May 13—The following letter was received in this city to-day. It was written in Greek cipher and the sender, a Major in the Cuban Army, was successful in smuggling it through the Spanish post.

In Camp, Province of Camaguay, Cuba, May 6. —Again we have routed the Spaniards. This morning, while on our way to join General Gomez, we were attacked by a force of 3,000 Spaniards, under command of General Salcedo, who was on his way to attack General Gomez and mistook our command for his. We numbered 1,700 and were under the command of Colonel Roderiquez.

We had just broken camp, when our advance guard was driven in by the Spaniards. Immediately, we formed in line of battle and waited the Spanish charge. We did not have long to wait. General Salcedo sent part of his force to attack our center, while with the rest he strove to turn our left flank. We held our fire until they were almost upon us, when we fired as one man.

Our fire was so deadly that the Spaniards fled in dismay, but again did General Salcedo form his men and again did they bravely charge us. This time they came at us with the determination to win or die. Again did we pour a leaden hail into them, but still they came on. They almost reached us, but the storm of bullets from our Winchesters was too much for them and they broke and fell in great disorder. We charged after them, and took many prisoners.

The Texas Rangers deserve special mention for the part they took in this engagement, as they were the first to break the Spanish ranks. Our loss is 253 killed and wounded, while the Spanish loss is more than 1,000 killed and wounded, together with prisoners. We have learned from a prisoner just brought in that General Salcedo was killed in the final charge, but we have not yet found his body.

We join Gomez in the morning at Guaimaro, which town he has taken and has made his headquarters for the present. The Spanish ranks are greatly decimated by yellow fever and there is

great dissatisfaction among them. We are joined daily by deserters from the Spanish army. The natives are rising everywhere and the wildest enthusiasm reigns for the cause of freedom.

Yours fraternally,

F. P. HANN, Major Sixth Regiment Cuban Volunteers.

Boulder (CO) Daily Camera, May 14
Chicago Tribune, May 14
Dallas Morning News, May 14
Delphos (OH) Daily Herald, May 14
Denver Rocky Mountain News, May 14
Los Angeles Herald, May 14
Los Angeles Times, May 14
Louisville Courier-Journal, May 14
Marshall (MI) Chronicle, May 14
New Orleans Picayune, May 14
New Orleans Times-Democrat, May 14
Portland Morning Oregonian, May 14
Salt Lake Tribune, May 14
San Diego Union, May 14
San Francisco Call, May 14
San Francisco Chronicle, May 14
Syracuse Evening Herald, May 14
Washington (DC) Evening Star, May 14
Wichita (KS) Eagle, May 14
Worcester (MA) Daily Spy, May 14
Bakersfield Daily Californian, May 15
Decatur (IL) Daily Review, May 15
Eau Claire (WI) Morning Telegram, May 15
Marion (IA) Register, May 15
Muncie (IN) Morning News, May 15
Omaha Daily Bee, May 15
Denver Svenska Korrespondenten (Swedish), May 16
Bridgeton (NJ) Evening News, May 17
Dodge City (KS) Globe-Republican, May 17
Red Cloud (NE) Chief, May 17

LETTER #7: *Daily Florida Citizen*, May 17, 1895

American Aid for Cuba—
Large Quantities of Arms Taken from the States—
600 Men Fighting in the Ranks—
Major Hann in Another Letter from Gomez' Camp Says that Powerful Interests in the United States are Backing the Revolutionists' Cause [Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, May 16—The following letter, written in cipher, was received here to-day:

In Camp near Guaymarillo, Cuba, May 12

Dear Friend:

We joined Gomez on May 8, and I will try to give you a description of his force. He has about 5,000 infantry and 200 cavalry in all,

which, together with our commands, will make a force of 8,000 infantry and 500 cavalry.

Of these, three regiments are armed with Winchester repeating rifles, and the rest with arms captured from the Spaniards and others. The cavalry are armed with sabers and carbines, which are used very effectively. All of the men are being armed with Winchesters as fast as they arrive from the States. We are receiving very substantial aid from the United States, both in regard to men and arms.

I personally know of at least 600 Americans in the Cuban service, all reckless fighters and splendid marksmen. We have received, as near as I can find out, about six thousand stands of arms from the United States and they are still coming every few days. We have agents working all through the United States enlisting men. I could give you information that would surprise you as to who is backing us in the United States, but I dare not at the present time.

I received a copy of an American paper on May 10, which the Spanish Government must have paid for very liberally, as it is a direct attack on the Cuban cause, and intending to mislead the American public and I take this opportunity of denying it in full.

In regard to the island becoming a black republic, it is false. I admit that many of the Cuban troops are black, but they are officered by whites and there are not more than one-half of our troops are black, and there is no danger of the blacks getting the upper hand of the whites in this conflict. In regard to the Cubans themselves being indifferent to the cause, it is not so, as many of the best Cubans on the island are among our ranks, and we are being joined daily by scores of Cubans who make splendid soldiers.

I do not have the least doubt of our being successful, as we are too heavily backed to fail, and it is only a question of time when our fight for Cuban independence will be successful and we shall have a white Cuban republic.

The sentiment here is about evenly divided as to annexation by the United States. The last few days have been quiet, and I am at present in command of a battalion of the Sixth, out on a foraging expedition. I hope to have big news for you in the course of a few days.

Yours fraternally,

F.P. HANN, Major Sixth Regiment, Cuban Volunteers.

Gainesville Sun, May 17

LETTER #8: *Daily Florida Citizen*, May 26, 1895

A Hard Fought Battle
Spanish Defeated, With Heavy Losses on Both Sides—Gomez is After Puerto Principe
Major F. P. Hann of the Cuban Volunteers Writes of an Encounter That Took Place near Neuvitas—Thousands of Laborers Will Join Him There
[Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, May 25—Major F. P. Hann has written another letter to his friend who lives near this city. Owing to a change in the cipher, it required one day and a half on the part of the writer to make out the full working of the communication.

Major Hann had a friend with him, who is a Lieutenant, and who lived in Philadelphia for a number of years. He was a good scholar, and Major Hann made known to him the cipher, with the hope that the Lieutenant would use it in notifying his friends in case of an accident. The gentleman in question deserted his friend and made known the cipher to the Spanish authorities. Upon hearing of this, Major Hann adopted another cipher which is similar to the first. His letter is as follows:

In Camp Near Neuvitas, Cuba, May 18 - We have just defeated a force of Spaniards after a severe loss on both sides. Our regiment, the Sixth, was ordered here to cover the landing of another American expedition. The Spaniards, having heard of our presence here, sent a force of 800 soldiers from Neuvitas against us. They arrived and proceeded to attack us this morning. After a battle lasting six hours, we have just succeeded in driving them before us. It seemed for a time that we would be defeated, as the Spaniards attacked us both in front and rear at the same time, and almost had us surrounded, but we formed in a hollow square, and having the advantage in arms, we finally managed to drive them off.

The Spanish attack was well planned and executed, and if they had had proper support, they would have defeated us, but our men were desperate and fought like veterans. This, together with the rapid fire from our repeating rifles, did the work. Our loss was 152 killed and wounded, out of a force of 600. The Spanish loss is as yet unknown, but it will be heavy.

We left Gomez in the District of Camaguey on the 13th, preparing for a raid through the Province of Puerto Principe, and we shall join him in as soon as our expedition lands. It is very important

that Puerto Principe shall join in the revolution, and Gomez hopes by this move to win it over to the cause.

As soon as the rainy season sets in, we shall be joined by thousands of laborers from the sugar plantations. I have received a severe wound in the shoulder, but am still on active duty.

The Spanish Government has set a price on my head, dead or alive, and I shall die before being taken. I am expecting to be sent out on a long raid in a few days. I am gathering information in response to your letter in regard to our full strength, white and colored, and other information that you request, as fast as possible, and I hope to have a complete account for you in a few days.

Yours fraternally,

F. P. Hann, Major Sixth Regiment, Cuban Volunteers.

Gainesville Sun, May 26
Dallas Morning News, May 26
Dubuque (IA) Sunday Herald, May 26
Salt Lake Tribune, May 26
San Francisco Chronicle, May 26
Washington (DC) Times, May 26
Galveston Daily News, May 27
Omaha Daily Bee, May 27

LETTER #9: *Daily Florida Citizen*, June 17, 1895

Marti Died by Perfidy

Betrayed into Spanish Hands by a Cuban Guide
Reports Confirmed by Letter
Major F. P. Hann of the Patriot Army Also Tells of the Landing of Men, Arms, Ammunition and Money at Aransas River, Cuba
[Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, June 16. The subjoined letter from Major F. P. Hann of the Cuban Army has been received by a friend in this city.

Aransas River, Cuba, June 6, 1895

We have positive news that Marti is dead. He was betrayed into the Spanish hands by a trusted Cuban guide and shot down in cold blood before he could escape. I hope to have more definite news of his death and other matters as soon as I rejoin my own command, of which I will notify you as soon as possible.

The most important expedition that has landed on Cuban soil from the United States was landed to-day at this point. It consists of

100 men, 1,000 repeating rifles, 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition and $250,000 in gold. Under the command of Col. Hernandez the vessel left Key West June 6, and sailed for Bahia Island, where the men and cargo were taken aboard. They were chased twice by Spanish cruisers, but managed to outsteam them, and arrived here this morning before day.

We are now making arrangements to join Gomez at Tunas, Province of Camaguay, where he has his headquarters at present. We have a march of about forty miles before us, but hope to join him on the 12th. The landing was protected by a battalion of Cuban troops from Gomez's command, and we hope to join him without serious fighting, as there are no Spanish troops in this immediate neighborhood.

I am just recovering from an attack of yellow fever, but shall risk joining my command again. I shall try and keep you informed of all important movements on our side in the future.

Yours fraternally,F.P. HANN, Major, Sixth Regular Cuban Volunteers

Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville), June 17
Anaconda (MT) Standard, June 17
Atlanta Constitution, June 17
Baltimore American, June 17
Baltimore Morning Herald, June 17
Birmingham (AL) Age-Herald, June 17
Boston Herald, June 17
Bridgeton (NJ) Evening News, June 17
Charleston (SC) News-Courier, June 17
Chicago Inter-Ocean, June 17
Chicago Times-Herald, June 17
Cincinnati Enquirer, June 17
Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 17
Columbia (SC) State, June 17
Cumberland (MD) Evening Times, June 17
Dallas Morning News, June 17
Decatur (IL) Republican, June 17
Denver Rocky Mountain News, June 17
Duluth (MN) News-Tribune, June 17
Frederick (MD) News, June 17
Fredericksburg (VA) Star, June 17
Galveston Daily News, June 17
Geneva (NY) Times, June 17
Jackson (MI) Citizen-Patriot, June 17
Kansas City (MO) Journal, June 17
Kansas City (MO) Star, June 17
Kansas City (MO) Times, June 17
Knoxville (TN) Journal, June 17
Lawrence (KS) World, June 17
Lebanon (PA) Semi-Weekly News, June 17
Lima (OH) Times-Democrat, June 17
Logansport (IN) Reporter, June 17
Los Angeles Herald, June 17
Los Angeles Times, June 17
Louisville Courier-Journal, June 17
Macon (GA) Telegraph, June 17
Maysville (KY) Evening Bulletin, June 17
Middletown (NY) Argus, June 17
Meriden (CT) Daily Journal, June17
Milwaukee Sentinel, June 17
New Orleans Picayune, June 17

New Orleans Times-Democrat, June 17
New York Herald, June 17
New York Sun, June 17
New York Times, June 17
New York Tribune, June 17
New York World, June 17
Olympia (WA) Daily Olympian, June 17
Omaha Daily Bee, June 17
Omaha World Herald, June 17
Paterson (NJ) Daily Press, June 17
Philadelphia North American, June 17
Philadelphia Public Ledger, June 17
Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette, June 17
Pittsburgh Freiheits-Freund, June 17 (German)
Pittsburgh Volksblatt, June 17 (German)
Plattsburgh (NY) Daily Press, June 17
Portland Morning Oregonian, June 17
Rochester (NY) Democrat-Chronicle, June 17
Sacramento Record-Union, June 17
St. Louis Republic, June 17
St. Paul (MN) Daily Globe, June 17
Salt Lake Herald, June 17
Salt Lake Tribune, June 17
Sandusky (OH) Register, June 17
San Francisco Call, June 17
San Francisco Chronicle, June 17
Savannah Morning News, June 17
Shenandoah (PA) Evening Herald, June 17
Sioux City (IA) Journal, June 17
Spokane (WA) Spokesman-Review, June 17
Syracuse Courier, June 17
Syracuse Daily Standard, June 17
Syracuse Evening Herald , June 17
Trenton (NJ) Times, June 17
Utica (NY) Observer, June 17
Washington (DC) Post, June 17
Washington (DC) Times, June 17
Wheeling (WV) Register, June 17
Worcester (MA) Daily Spy, June 17
Youngstown (OH) Vindicator, June 17
Fort Worth Gazette, June 18
Guthrie (OK) Daily Leader, June 18
Laramie (WY) Daily Boomerang, June 18
Manitoba Free Press (Winnipeg, Canada), June 18
Muncie (IN) Morning News, June 18
New York Herald (Paris, France ed.), June 18
Richmond (KY) Climax, June 19
Brownsville (TX) Daily Herald, June 20 and June 26
Denver Svenska Korrespondenten, June 20 (Swedish)
New York Weekly Observer-Chronicle, June 20
Ticonderoga (NY) Sentinel, June 20
Toledo (OH) Weekly Blade, June 20
Troy (IL) Weekly Call, June 20
Warren (MN) Sheaf, June 20
Belleville (KS) Telescope, June 21
Cedar Falls (IA) Semi-Weekly Gazette, June 21
New Bethlehem (PA) Vindicator, June 21
Aspen (CO) Weekly Times, June 22
Cape Girardeau (MO) Democrat, June 22
Stevens Point (WI) Daily Journal, June 22
Nassau Guardian (Bahamas), June 26
Crónica de la Guerra en Cuba (Barcelona, Spain), n.d.
El Liberal (Minorca, Spain), June 28
La Estrella de Panamá (Colombia), July 4

LETTER #10: *Daily Florida Citizen*, June 19, 1895

Put Cubans to Torture—Spanish Soldiers Surprised in their Horrible Work
Rodriguez' Quick Vengeance—Insurgent Colonel Rodriguez, with 500 Men, Almost Annihilates a Battalion at Arequipa, Killing 473 Men at a Loss of 163 [Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, June 18—F. R. Anderfer of this city, an old friend of Major Hann, has received another letter direct from the seat of the Cuban revolution. It is important, as it contains information which shows conclusively that the Cuban insurgents are not the only ones who are burning towns and butchering the inhabitants. The letter is as follows:

Arequipa, Province of Camaguay, Cuba, via Tampa, June 14. — Our troops today surprised a battalion of Spanish soldiers and almost completely annihilated them. It seems that their major, hearing that a wounded Cuban officer was being nursed at this place, decided to capture him. The Spanish major, taking his command, reached the village before daybreak. After searching all the houses and not finding the wounded Cuban officer, he called some citizens before him and demanded, on pain of torture, to know his hiding place. All denied any knowledge of the Cuban. The Spanish officer thereupon put all the citizens to torture.

In the meanwhile, a Cuban had escaped and made all possible speed to us, reporting to Col. Rodriguez, who is in command. We were immediately ordered forward on double time. When we reached the village, the scene beggared description. The Spaniards had fired the houses and were torturing and killing everybody. Women did not escape. Our men were wild with rage. After firing one volley, they became so furious that they charged and were soon engaged in hand-to-hand encounter.

No quarter was given, and those Spaniards who were uninjured and had strength, fled in utter dismay. Dead and dying were lying in heaps about the place. This was the most desperate battle I have ever been engaged in. Our loss is 163 out of a force of 500, while the Spanish loss is 472 by actual count, including officers. We

captured their complete outfit and arms. This battle will delay us in reaching Gomez, but we hope to reach him to-morrow.

Yours fraternally,

F. P. Hann, Major Sixth Regiment Cuban Volunteers.

Chicago Times-Herald, June 19
Chicago Tribune, June 19
Dallas Morning News, June 19
Denver Rocky Mountain News, June 19
Galveston Daily News, June 19
Logansport (IN) Reporter, June 19
Macon (GA) Telegraph, June 19
Maysville (KY) Evening Bulletin, June 19
Milwaukee Sentinel, June 19
Minneapolis Penny Press, June 19
Nashville American, June 19
New Orleans Picayune, June 19
New York World, June 19
Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette, June 19
Racine (WI) Daily Journal, June 19
Salt Lake Tribune, June 19
Salt Lake Herald, June 19
San Francisco Chronicle, June 19
San Jose (CA) Evening News, June 19
Sandusky (OH) Register, June 19
Sterling (IL) Evening Gazette, June 19
Washington (DC) Post, June 19
Wheeling (WV) Register, June 19
Denver Svenska Korrespondenten (Swedish), June 20
Grand Rapids (MI) Evening Press, June 20
Philadelphia North American, June 20
Rochester (IN) Weekly Republican, June 20
Hopkinsville Kentuckian, June 21
Belize Colonial Guardian (British Honduras), June 29

LETTER #11: *Daily Florida Citizen*, June 20, 1895

Gomez Has 15,000 Men: Major Hann Sends Out a Roster of Commands
More than 500 Americans There: The Lack is Not in Men, but in Arms
As Soon as the Army Concentrates, It Will Advance on the City of Puerto Principe

[Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, June 19. R. F. Anderfer has received another letter from Major Hann, which was delivered in Tampa by a private individual, although it was written in the same Greek cipher. It reads:

In Camp at Tunas, Province of Camaguey, Cuba, June 15, Via Tampa June 18. We reached Gomez' camp this morning at 10 o'clock after marching part of the night. Our entry was triumphant as his troops were all drawn up to receive us, and we received an ovation. Colonel Hernandez was with us, and had the pleasure of turning over the gold, $250,000, to General Gomez, who will use it in buying supplies and paying the soldiers. The rifles and ammunition we turned over to the quartermaster, as well as the 500 rifles we captured in the battle yesterday.

I will now give you a description of General Gomez' army. It comprises in all 15,000 men, consisting of the following regiments.

Second Regiment, colored, 982 strong, under command of Colonel Guanaha, recruited at Cienfuegos;

Fifth Regiment, colored, 795, recruited near Cienfuegos, under command of Colonel Canarre;

Sixth Regiment, Cuban, Colonel Rodriguez, which has seen some of the hardest fighting of any regiment. When recruited it was 1,000 strong, but six weeks later it had only 600 men, having lost the others in battle, including our first colonel, Aretino. It has been newly recruited at is again 1000 strong.

Ninth Regiment, Cuban, Colonel Hernandez, 862 men.

Tenth Regiment, Cuban, Colonel Melpies, 930 strong;

Fifteenth Regiment, Cuban, Colonel Esperanza, 995;

Sixteenth Regiment, colored, Colonel Zapata, 1000 strong, newly recruited;

Nineteenth Regiment, Cuban, Colonel Matamoras, 926 men;

Twenty-eighth Regiment, colored, Colonel Pinos, 854;

Twenty-fifth Regiment, colored, Colonel Cortez, 979;

Twenty-seventh, colored, Colonel Martinez, 1000, newly recruited;

Thirty-second, Cuban, Colonel Cespedes, 938

Thirty-ninth, colored, Colonel Seronez, 739

Battalion of Natasa, Cuban, Major Canova, 400 men. This battalion is of the best families in Cuba.

Battalion of Damuneco, Cuban, Major Palmas, 460

Battalion of Soledo, Cuban Cavalry, Colonel Catalina 460

Battalion of Santa Cruz, Major Torre, 320

Battalion of Americans, from Georgia, Alabama and Florida, 324, under command of Major Jennings of Georgia, and Captains Stone, Lee, Most and Redman.

Independent Companies of Americans from OH, under command of Captain Ellis, 185 strong, and last, but not least, is the company of Texas sharpshooters, now 52 strong, from Fort Worth, under command of Captain Stilwell who was promoted from First Lieutenant. This company has been in six battles and lost 11 men, including its first captain, Little.

Of these commands, the Sixth, Ninth, Fifeenth, Thirty-Second, and Thirty-fourth Regiments, and the battalions of Natasa, Damuneco, Santa Cruz, and the Americans, and the independent companies of Americans, are armed with Winchester rifles, captured from the Spaniards, while the Second and Fifth regiments are armed with machetes and other arms, and the Seventeenth, Twentieth, Twenty-ninth, Twenty-seventh, and Thirty-ninth are armed with sabers and rifles. We hope to have all armed with rifles, but men are coming in faster than arms at present. Of these regiments, the Second, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-fifth, Thirty-fourth, and Thirty-ninth are in camp here, also the battalions and two companies of Americans.

The others are marching to join us, and as soon as all are in camp we shall march upon and try to take Puerto Principe, which is our objective point. We are expecting another expedition with 1000 rifles and 5,000,000 rounds of ammunition. We also hope to take one of the Spanish cruisers soon, as we have made plans to that end.

F. P. Hann, Major Sixth Regiment Cuban Volunteers.

Chicago Times-Herald, June 20
Chicago Tribune, June 20
Cincinnati Enquirer, June 20
Frederick (MD) News, June 20*
Kansas City (MO) Star, June 20
Maysville (KY) Evening Bulletin, June 20
Middletown (NY) Argus, June 20*
Middletown (OH) Signal, June 20
New York World, June 20
Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette, June 20
Shenandoah (PA) Evening Herald, June 20*
Sterling (IL) Evening Gazette, June 20
Tyrone (PA) Daily Herald, June 20*
Warren (PA) Evening Democrat, June 20
Washington (DC) Times, June 20
Wheeling (WV) Register, June 20
Youngstown (OH) Vindicator, June 20
Milwaukee Sentinel, June 21
Muncie (IN) Morning News, June 21
Columbia (SC) State, June 22
Nassau Guardian (Bahamas), June 22*
Fort Worth Gazette, June 23
Sioux Center (IA) Nieuwsblad (Dutch), June 26
Sumter (SC) Watchman-Southron, June 26
Racine (WI) Weekly Journal, July 4
*in very abbreviated form

LETTER #12: *Daily Florida Citizen*, June 23, 1895

How Cuba's Leader Died—Authentic Story of Marti's Assassination

A Villain's Life Paid Forfeit
Marti and an Escort was Moving to the Coast to Embark for the United States When He was Led into Ambush and Slain
[Special to the *Citizen*]

Gainesville, June 22. R. F. Anderfer of this city has received another letter from Major Hann of the Sixth Regiment, Cuban Volunteers, which reads as follows:

Tunas, Province of Camaguey, Cuba, June 16, Via Tampa, June 20. Since I have rejoined Gomez's army I have been trying to get an authentic account of Marti's death. At last I have been successful and have secured this statement from the only man of Marti's escort who escaped with his life. It is as follows:

On May 19, Jose Marti, having accomplished the purpose for which he had been working in Cuba, viz. the uniting of the various parties of Cubans on the island, left Maceo's army, with an escort of 50 men and a guide, for Sevilla, where a vessel was held in readiness to carry him to the United States.

All went well for the first day, but on the second, the guide, Oliva Gavilon, led the party into an ambush of Spanish soldiers near Tacajos. The ambush consisted of a battalion of Spanish soldiers under Colonel Sandoval, who is now a marked man. He ordered his men to fire, and at their first fire, Marti fell, pierced by a score of bullets, also a large part of his escort. Instantly, one of the Cubans turned and fired, killing Gavilon, the traitor. Gavilon was to receive $10,000 for his dastardly deed, but instead death was his portion. Only one man escaped to tell the tale of treachery. He is my informant, Manuel Jucarez. He immediately made his way back to Maceo's command and relayed his story.

Maceo immediately started for the scene, but reached it too late to save the body of Marti from the Spaniards The Cubans were rendered furious by Marti's death, and have sworn to avenge his death fifty to one, and Colonel Sandoval and his command are marked for no quarter. This is a true account, as generally accepted throughout the Cuban ranks.

The Sixth has been ordered on an expedition to-morrow, which will prove to be an important one if successful. From latest advices received from all part of the island by General Gomez, 30,000 men are up in arms, and hundreds are joining daily. Yellow fever is making terrible havoc amongst the Spaniards and they are deserting daily.

Yours fraternally,

F. P. Hann, Major, Sixth Regiment, C.V.

Gainesville Sun, June 23
Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock), June 23
Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 23
Galveston Daily News, June 23
Kansas City (MO) Journal, June 23
Macon (GA) Telegraph, June 23
Nashville American, June 23
Natchez (MS) Democrat, June 23
New Orleans Picayune, June 23
Omaha Daily Bee, June 23
Quincy (IL) Morning Whig, June 23
Salt Lake Tribune, June 23
San Francisco Chronicle, June 23
Washington (DC) Post, June 23
Washington (DC) Times, June 23
Wichita (KS) Eagle, June 23

Dallas Morning News, June 24
Cedar Rapids (IA) Evening Gazette, June 24
Fort Wayne (IN) Times-Post, June 24
Marshall (MI) Chronicle, June 24
Milwaukee Sentinel, June 24
Philadelphia North American, June 24
Racine (WI) Daily Journal, June 24
Sterling (IL) Evening Gazette, June 24
Ann Arbor (MI) Argus, June 25
Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer, June 25
Elkhart (IN) Weekly Review, June 27
Cedar Rapids (IA) Standard, July 11

LETTER #13: *New York World*, June 24, 1895

Spanish Troops Routed—A Spirited Engagement Graphically Described by One of the Participants

[Special to the *World*]

Gainesville, Fla., June 23. F. R. Anderfer has just received the following letter from Major Hanna of the Sixth Regiment Cuban, Volunteers.

Manati, Province of Puerto Principe, June 17—We have just finished a very successful expedition against the Spanish. Col. Rodriguez received orders from General Gomez on the 14th to start for Manati where a battalion of Spanish soldiers were staying. So, at 1 a.m. on the 15th, we started on our mission.

Colonel Rodriguez detailed companies A and B, and placing them under my command, ordered me to make a detour and attack the enemy from the north to draw their attention, while he, with the main body of troops, attacked them from the rear. The attack was started at 4 a.m. I commenced my attack by driving in their pickets and surprising them completely, for they had not expected any insurgents within miles of them. Their commander immediately formed them to received us, but by this time, my two companies had reached the shelter of some buildings and were pouring a deadly fire into their ranks from our Winchesters. Just then our main force came up and attacked them in the rear, sending a disastrous fire among them, which was repeated again and again, until the Spaniards, finding themselves between two fires, broke and fled, after firing one volley, some of them throwing away their guns in their haste to make good their escape. Their commander was a brave man, and sought to stay them, striking down two of them with his sword, but it was in vain. So, finding himself deserted by

his men, he surrendered to Col. Rodriguez. Our men pursued the Spaniards and succeeded in taking 250 as prisoners. Our loss was 52 killed and wounded, and the Spanish loss is estimated at 139. We captured 50,000 rounds of ammunition and about 400 rifles.

Our distinguished prisoner reports himself as Col. Sanchez and his command as the ninth battalion of Spain. From one of the prisoners, I learn that they have lost 145 men from yellow fever alone. We are now busy burying the dead and caring for the wounded of both sides. I received a slight scalp wound. We start on our return tomorrow.

F.P. Hanna, Major, Sixth Regiment, C.V.

Cedar Rapids (IA) Evening Gazette, June 24
Charleston (SC) Evening Post, June 24
Chicago Times-Herald, June 24
Kansas City (MO) Star, June 24
Ogden (UT) Standard, June 24
Quincy (IL) Daily Journal, June 24
Salt Lake Deseret Evening News, June 24
San Antonio Daily Light, June 24
Adrian (MI) Evening Telegram, June 25
Anaconda (MT) Standard, June 25
Boise (ID) Statesman, June 25
Dallas Morning News, June 25
Denver Rocky Mountain News, June 25
Fort Wayne (IN) Gazette, June 25
Galveston Daily News, June 25
Indianapolis Taglicher Telegraph, June 25 (German)
Leadville (CO) Herald-Democrat, June 25
Los Angeles Herald, June 25
Los Angeles Times, June 25
Macon (GA) Telegraph, June 25
New Orleans Bee (L'Abeille) June 25 (French)
New Orleans Picayune, June 25
New Orleans Times-Democrat, June 25
Portland Morning Oregonian, June 25
Riverside (CA) Daily Press, June 25
Salt Lake Herald, June 25
Spokane (WA) Spokesman-Review, June 25
Wheeling (WV) Register, June 25
Alton (IL) Weekly Telegraph, June 27
Athens (GA) Weekly Banner, June 28
Brownsville (TX) Daily Herald, June 28

Article from *Pennsylvania Grit* (Williamsport), July 7, 1895

Romance of Cuba's War
A Young Philadelphian Among the Insurgent Forces

The romance of the war, in which a young Philadelphian figures as the hero, comes from Cuba. He left home on a bicycle. The latest advices from him announced that he is a major in Maximo Gomez's insurgent forces, and conveyed the intelligence that he was having a lot of excitement and fun in skirmishes and battles with the enemy.

The name of the youthful hero is Frank B. Harm, the son of John Harm, of West PhiladelphIA He is twenty-one years old. His love for military life was manifested several years ago, when he expressed a desire as well as a determination to become a soldier. His parents were then living at Bridgeton, NJ, where he was a clerk in a grocery store. He was a pupil in the South Jersey Institute in that place for two years. While there he gained some knowledge of military tactics and became infatuated with the idea of becoming a soldier. He read romances and books of valorous deeds on battlefields and studied authorities on military affairs. About four years ago, the family moved to PhiladelphIA Young Harm still held to his New Jersey convictions that he would become a soldier, but continued clerking in stores.

He finally determined to join the State Fencibles. His father and other members of the family tried to dissuade him, but he refused to listen to their advice. He became a member of the organization, and was then happy in his new uniform. He was in the Decoration Day parade a year ago. The Harm family attended the Epiphany Baptist Church. Young Harm was one of the candidates for the captaincy of the Boys' Guard in that church and he won the honor. He was a domesticated young man. He had few companions, and his evenings were usually spent at home in reading war stories that fired him with an ambition to win fame on the field of battle. He frequently expressed a wish that he could find an opportunity to distinguish himself.

Last November, he said he was going to make a trip through the South on his bicycle. Family persuasion was futile. His mind was set on an expedition. He had a small amount of money to provide a few necessaries. Bidding his parents, brothers and sisters good-by

he started for the sunny clime on his wheel. How far he traveled with it is not known. No word as to his whereabouts was received until April, when a letter postmarked Gainesville, Fla., arrived. It conveyed the information that he was about to leave for Cuba to join Gomez's army. The letter relieved the anxiety of his family for the time. Nothing more was heard of the young man until about a month ago, when he wrote from Port-au-Prince [Puerto Príncipe]. He said he enlisted in Gomez's army, became a captain, and had just been promoted to a majorship. The last letter said he had been sick of fever, but was improving and expected to soon regain his regiment.

Washington (DC) Post, July 21
Anaconda (MT) Standard, August 2 and October 17
St. Louis Republic, August 18
Columbia (SC) State, August 24
Kansas City (MO) Journal, December 2

Article from the *Bridgeton Evening News*, July 22, 1895

Frank Hann's Confession
Trying to Deceive a Sweetheart
He Admits that Name of Anderfer was Assumed
That Cuban Correspondence and How He Went About It
Special to the *News*

Gainesville, Fla., July 20—The Anderfer-Hann episode which has afforded a topic for interesting conversation in this city for the last several weeks was terminated recently when "Anderfer" confessed that he was Hann and said that he had adopted the Hann letter fake as a means of deceiving a "sweetheart" he had left in Philadelphia. Hann is not what would be termed an ingrained villain but all the trouble he has experienced in the past few weeks is the direct result of a prank which he commenced in a small way but which drew him into a serious complication. Had it not been for Hann leaving the city with a disreputable woman he would have still been respected here. As it is, however, he would not receive a warm welcome should he return.

The manner in which he proceeded in connection with the Cuban letters was amusing. Every letter was written by himself in Greek cipher, taken to a pile, and buried underneath. In the night time

he would go for it, rewrite the letter in English, and give it out to J.O. LaFontisee, a newspaper correspondent, who gave out the letters to the press.

A laughable feature of this episode was the spectacle that the Southern Associated Press made of itself. A Mr. Reynolds, the Florida representative of the Southern Associated Press, offered every inducement to secure the letters. Anderfer retained them, however, for Mr. LaFontisee and finally in desperation Mr. Reynolds stole one of the letters out of the Jacksonville telegraph office when he was assisted by a messenger.

Gainesville people have enjoyed the fun and are anxiously awaiting for another sensation.

Hann's first appearance in Gainesville was when he was a member of a tramp camp near this city, when a tramp known to his associates as Frenchy and whose home was in Pennsylvania was killed. Hann was not criminally connected with the tragedy. While here he secured a position and went with the best people.

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

The Calusa: Linguistic and Cultural Origins and Relationships. By Julian Granberry. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011. Illustrations, references, index. Pp. xviii, 82. $30 paper.)

Julian Granberry's *The Calusa* is a provocative call for renewed holistic investigation of South Florida's indigenous peoples. In this short book, he admonishes his colleagues for ignoring the linguistic information about the Calusa in favor of historical and archaeological data. The first half of his main thesis links the language of southwest Florida's Calusa with that of northeastern Louisiana's Tunica. While this argument is based on a small number of Calusa words—sixty-nine total and only twelve with contemporary Spanish translations—the results are more convincing than previous analyses that tried to link Calusa with Choctaw or Creek. More speculative, however, is the second half of his main thesis, which ties the Calusa with a Tunica-speaking population at the Poverty Point archaeological site through trade in the "Weeden Island Corridor" (50), or his additional hypotheses concerning the presence of other Louisiana languages in Florida, including Chitimacha and Natchez.

Granberry pulls from the literature of several disciplines, including linguistics, archaeology, and ethnohistory. For example, he acknowledges Buckingham Smith's attempt to tie the Calusa language to Choctaw in his *Letter of Hernando de Soto, and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda* (1854), although, he omits other efforts to link Calusa with Creek, including work by D. G. Brinton, Albert Samuel Gatschet, and John R. Swanton. For his informa-

tion about the Calusa, the related pre-contact Caloosahatchee culture, and the adjacent Weeden Island cultures, he relies on relevant scholars, including John H. Hann, Christopher T. Hays, William H. Marquardt, Jerald T. Milanich, Rebecca Saunders, Randolph Widmer, and John E. Worth. Granberry's Calusa linguistic information comes from several primary sources, including the *Memoir* and other documents of the aforementioned Escalante Fontaneda (ca. 1575), a letter from Fr. Feliciano López (1697), and a report by Fr. Joseph Xavier de Alaña (1743). Additionally, Granberry draws on the research of Mary R. Haas as his linguistic foundation for Tunica, especially her "A Grammatical Sketch of Tunica" in *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (1946) and the *Tunica Dictionary* (1953).

The book can be broken into several parts. The preface and chapter one includes introductory remarks and the author's critical comments on the fractured state of anthropology. Granberry's cure is a return to holistic investigation encompassing all available linguistic, archaeological, cultural, and historical data, in this case about the Calusa. Though not breaking new ground on the subjects, the second part of the book provides an overview of the Calusa culture and historic Calusa-European contacts between 1500-1700. The crux of the book's argument comes in the third part: five chapters covering the linguistic data, comparative analysis between the Calusa and the Tunica languages, and speculative discussion of the migration and trade routes from Louisiana to Florida through the Weeden Island cultures. Much of the analysis in this section will be familiar to readers of Granberry's 1995 paper on the Calusa language in *The Florida Anthropologist*. The book ends with a brief conclusion summing up Granberry's major points.

Contending that South Florida archaeologists and ethnohistorians have ignored Calusa linguistic data, Granberry offers up the "analytical techniques of modern synchronic and diachronic linguistics" (21) to compare the Calusa language to other Native American languages "phonologically, morphologically, and semologically" (22). Although Granberry's linguistic analysis is quite technical, most readers should be able to follow the underlying concept. Succinctly, he claims that the twelve contemporarily translated Calusa words do not match the corresponding words in other Florida languages, such as Timucua or Apalachee. Instead, Granberry argues for "Tunica-Calusa parallels [*that*] are without exception specific, detailed, and uniform" (26). He tests this hy-

pothesis by using Tunica to translate some of the untranslated Calusa words. He does this for four words, yielding logical translations, though additional examples using this technique would have strengthened his argument. Granberry does not suggest that this Tunica-Calusa language extended from southwest Florida to Louisiana; rather, he argues that the Calusa were "the descendants of the last migration of Tunica-speaking peoples" (69). To further this connection, he offers additional evidence for the Louisiana origin of some of the languages in Florida. For example, his limited discussion on the presence of the Chitimacha language on Florida's west coast and the same language as the possible origin of the language of the east coast's Ais is intriguing, and these ideas suggest possible avenues for future research.

Although the Tunica-Calusa linguistic similarities are well argued and moderately convincing, some of Granberry's facts and interpretations are problematic. For example, he seems unsure where to locate the Tequesta geographically or linguistically. In his use of Jonathan Dickinson's *Journal* (1985), he appears to conflate the geographical position of the Tequesta with the Jeaga and Ais. Also, while Granberry cautions that the Tequesta might not have had the same language as the Calusa, he uses *sipi* as one of the twelve translated Calusa words, while William C. Sturtevant has suggested it might be a Tequesta word; see Sturtevant's chapter in *Native Languages of the Southeastern United States* (2005). Perhaps the most speculative element is Granberry's interpretation that links the Calusa to the Poverty Point archaeological site through a connecting "Weeden Island Corridor" (50). He does note evidence of trade, the possibility that the population at Poverty Point might have spoken Tunica, and some interesting similarities between the Calusa and other Southeastern Indians, including the concept of a tripartite universe. Yet these notions are not fully developed or well-supported. Granberry is well aware, however, that many components of his argument are speculative. He acknowledges that the "fit" between these cultures is "a hypothesis that should be investigated" (60), and while many of the explanations are speculative, the connections between the Tunica and Calusa languages are impossible to ignore. Hopefully this book will provoke more scholarship that is holistic in its approach to the investigation of the Indians of South Florida.

Peter Ferdinando *Florida International University*

Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in 19th Century Florida. By Larry Eugene Rivers. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xi, 264. $55 cloth.)

Toward the end of the Civil War, Florida slave Sarah Bryant entered her mistress's house and discovered the women inside in tears. Bryant asked her mistress why they were crying and was told that they feared the men in their lives would perish in combat and that they would never see them again. "Sarah then asked her if she [the mistress] remembered when she was first brought to Tampa [and] she would cry for her mother and they would spank her. And for her not to cry as it would not do her any good" (156).

Larry Eugene Rivers has a good eye for a telling story. In crafting a book on runaways and resistance, it would be far too easy to become tangled in data and lose sight of the human dimension. Rivers, the author of the admired *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (2009), never forgets the importance of agency and fills this fascinating study with similar accounts. Yet he does not slight statistics either, as the volume includes seven tables that illuminate stories such as Sarah's. The first reveals why her story was typical. In 1830, only nine years after Florida's cession to the United States, the territory was home to but 15,501 slaves. By 1860, that number had exploded to 61,745, a 298.2 percent increase. Of the 179 runaways Rivers was able to chart in this forty year period, a majority of 62 returned to Georgia in search of family. Only 4 tried to make it to a distant free state, but the second highest number, 33, fled to Bermuda or into the Caribbean islands. Earlier studies of southern runaways indicated that most slaves fled one location in the South for another, but Rivers reminds us that, as Florida was geographically unique, African Americans "gained exposure to what could be described as an Atlantic worldview" (64).

Yet, more masters were concerned with their slaves "lurking" in nearby swamps than they were with permanent flight. Especially in Middle Florida, most bondpersons had little chance to see much of the world beyond their masters' property, and so flight tended to be localized and temporary. Within estates, women feigned illness and played on the paternalistic self-image of the planter class. One unnamed Leon County bondwoman hobbled about her master's house on crutches, performing only light domestic work. That pose lasted only until federal soldiers reached the estate, at which point she threw down the crutches and briskly walked off into freedom. Women also

comprised a higher percentage of runaways than in other states. In the years after 1821, 23 percent of runaways were women, which was nearly double the rate of bondwomen in Virginia and North Carolina. Only Louisiana had a higher percentage of female runaways, suggesting a desire to return to lost family members in Georgia as well as a depressing commentary on the brutality in frontier Florida.

As was the case in other parts of the South, extreme acts of brutality proved to be the final straw in provoking acts of flight. The 1850s proved to be the cruelest decade, and a majority of runaway ads indicated scars from floggings and beatings. Enslaved Floridians ran away at nearly twice the rate of bondpersons in Virginia and North Carolina, leading Rivers to conclude that masters building their plantation empires resorted to inhumane methods more commonly than did whites living in what were already slave societies.

Florida masters, Rivers remarks, flattered themselves as indulgent men. But just how deeply that paternalistic ethos ran, and whether slaves ever bought into the notion, remains much debated by modern scholars. The sale of black men and women and the forced division of slave families, for many historians, is the strongest evidence that paternalism was but a defensive pose on the part of slaveholding whites. Rivers demonstrates that migrations and sales destroyed over 75 percent of slave families in Middle Florida in the two decades after 1821. As the black population rose in the region, slave families achieved some stability, though Rivers suggests that was because wise masters regarded sound families as crucial to plantation peace and prosperity, and not because they valued black families for their own sakes. Although Rivers is never explicit on this point, his use of the term "masquerading paternalists" (93) hints that he sides with those scholars who suspect that black southerners only pretended to accept paternalism so that they might manipulate the system to their advantage.

The most revelatory section of the volume pertains to the Second Seminole War. Although usually folded into accounts of Native American removal, Rivers convincingly argues that due to the large number of African Americans residing with the Seminoles, the conflict should be understood as a slave rebellion. Congressman Joshua Giddings and General Thomas Jesup, Rivers notes, certainly saw it as such; the latter assured Joel Poinsett—a veteran of the court that had tried Vesey's followers—that this was "a negro, not an Indian war" (131). Roughly 750 to 1000 runaways had found safety with the Seminoles, and some had resided on their lands

long enough to produce mixed-race children. In the process, Rivers compares this struggle with other acts of widespread rebelliousness. Unlike Gabriel's men, he observes, the black Seminoles did not seek the complete overthrow of slavery, and unlike Vesey's supporters, they did not plan to flee American shores. Instead, they fought to safeguard "individual and family freedom" and to protect their "homelands from white encroachment" (131).

Rivers' prose is clear yet passionate and wonderfully free of jargon. His research, both primary and secondary, is impressive, and his many comparisons with other sections of the Old South make this book indispensable for those who wish to understand the larger patterns of flight, resistance, and rebellion in the antebellum decades.

Douglas R. Egerton *Le Moyne College*

The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in His African Homeland. By Kevin G. Lowther. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 336. $39.95 cloth.)

Slavery, in its many forms, works to minimize the particularities of the identities and life-stories of the enslaved. Historiography, in its reliance on written documents, tends to replicate the power structures of the past by privileging the stories of the individuals and groups who feature prominently in the archive. Therefore, those historians who wish to recover the stories of the oppressed must "struggle within and against the constraints and silences of the archive," as Saidiya Hartman observes in *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (2007, 11). Kevin G. Lowther tackled such challenges when he set out to write a biography of an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century West African man, John Kizell. His success is a testament to pertinacity, creativity, and extensive research.

Born in the Sierra Leone region of West Africa around 1760, Kizell was seized in a raid on his uncle's village and accused of witchcraft at the age of thirteen, an accusation that served as one of many tactics that slave traders employed to justify their nefarious practices. Transported to Charleston, South Carolina, on the eve of the American Revolution, Kizell grew up as a slave "in the sec-

ond largest urban black community in the world" (5). When the British seized control of Charleston in 1780, Kizell answered the British call for slaves to defect from their masters and find freedom behind British lines. He fought in the British army and, at the war's end, was evacuated to Nova Scotia along with three thousand other black loyalist soldiers. The hardships and disappointments of farming very poor lots of land and combating racism in Nova Scotia pushed Kizell to join nearly 1200 black Nova Scotians who were persuaded by the budding Colonization movement to return to Africa and create a free town in Sierra Leone.

Because the extant evidence about the first half of Kizell's life probably could fit into one paragraph, the first half of Lowther's biography is primarily a description of the times in Charleston, the Revolution, and Nova Scotia. Other historians have already covered much of this information in compelling works such as H. Amani Whitfield's *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (2006). Lowther tends to compensate for the paucity of information about Kizell by introducing an excessive number of people and events that Kizell *might* have encountered. The biography comes into its own, however, in the second half, when Kizell becomes a significant player in Sierra Leone's transatlantic politics and an impassioned foe of the slave trade. Here he "begins to appear regularly in the colony's public record" (136), and Lowther mines the record to create an unforgettable portrait of freed African Americans struggling for survival despite injustice, hardship, and hostility on all fronts. Their multiple displacements forged new identities, leaving them nowhere to feel completely at home in the world.

Lowther, who moved to Sierra Leone as a Peace Corps teacher in 1963 and later helped to found Africare, a development and relief organization for which he worked until his retirement in 2007, is deeply knowledgeable about West African history, peoples, and landscapes. He observes that Kizell's "known work—a substantial body of letters and reports to British governors and others, confined largely to a single decade (1806-1815)—made him the leading black writer of his time *in* Africa" (16). It would have enhanced the biography if at least some of Kizell's works had been published in an appendix, but Lowther does quote aptly and effectively from Kizell's writing. Assaulted by what appears to have been an endless, heart-breaking stream of betrayal, corruption, violence, disease, and death, Kizell managed to persist as a successful farmer, merchant, and negotiator

until at least the mid-1830s. Standing up to both European and African slave traders, he remained devoted to the dream of the abolition of slavery and African peoples' return to Africa.

In the face of the enormous efforts by the institution of slavery to eradicate enslaved people's individuality, creativity, and autonomy, the persistent diversity and particularity of individual lives is remarkable. Despite devastating loss and tragedy, John Kizell negotiated geopolitical minefields and forged an extraordinary life. Lowther's biography rescues his story from obscurity, thus making a valuable contribution to the literature of transatlantic slavery and resistance.

Kari J. Winter *State University of New York at Buffalo*

The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic. By Barbara A. Gannon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 282. $39.95 cloth.)

This important and provocative volume makes three sets of valuable contributions to our understanding of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), and particularly the role of African American veterans in that powerful postwar organization.

First, and most central, Barbara Gannon has accomplished a prodigious amount of research, providing the reader with a vast array of previously untold information while challenging quite a few things that we thought we knew. In brief, Gannon has uncovered a startling number of all black GAR posts, as well as a long list of integrated—largely harmonious—posts scattered across much of the nation. Whereas previous scholars have generally portrayed the GAR as a predominantly segregated product of its time where black veterans were routinely excluded or treated as second-class citizens, Gannon tells a dramatically different story. Here we find a world of fundamental racial harmony, where whites and blacks coexisted peacefully and African American veterans routinely rose to significant elected positions. When the numbers allowed for it, veterans of the United States Colored Troops (USCT) commonly chose to form all black posts while remaining on good terms with their white comrades. Where there were fewer black veterans in a community, they joined integrated posts. True, Gannon acknowledges, there were celebrated cases in which white posts fought to

exclude black veterans. But when this happened, she argues, these individual posts or state organizations faced integrationist pressure from national GAR leaders. Moreover, the very celebrity and controversy surrounding these episodes demonstrates that they were the exception that proved the rule.

Beyond these crucial arguments about GAR membership and organization, Gannon offers a wealth of information about how the GAR posts operated and how they contended with the war's complex memory. Framing the Union soldier's memory of the war as the "Won Cause"—in contrast to the mythologized "Lost Cause" of the Confederacy—Gannon insists that both white and black posts never lost sight of the conflict as a war for emancipation and not merely for Union, even while the nation at large seemed to be embracing a reconciliationist's perspective that brought whites together at the expense of racial memory. Of course white GAR members, not entirely immune to the historic moment, proved more energetic in embracing their black comrades and celebrating the memory of emancipation than they were in joining their black brothers in political attacks on Jim Crow. In Gannon's view, the GAR was not quite an island of racial equality in a world of segregation and bigotry, but the veterans did repeatedly demonstrate a more progressive stance than the country as a whole.

Gannon's second large contribution, intrinsically related to the first, is about the process of doing history. The book is grounded upon the fundamental—and occasionally neglected—insight that researchers will not always find things unless they actually look for them. Thus, for instance, the official records of the GAR almost never spoke of "black" or "colored" posts. One must be a superb sleuth to identity these posts. But first, one must set out to find them. For Gannon, that meant poring over black newspapers to see which GAR posts they reported on, or following up on the obituaries of deceased members, which could be counted on to note if the fallen veteran had served in a USCT regiment. In short, by actively looking for both all black and integrated posts, Gannon found evidence that had been previously missed. In contrast, a research design that only considers race in the context of highly publicized racial clashes is likely to yield a very different sort of story. And the scholar who finds all black posts and fails to read the record carefully is liable to see them as evidence of segregation.

This then leads to a third contribution. Gannon is occasionally tough on previous historians for missing evidence, overstating seg-

regation, and generally letting their research agendas dictate their conclusions. She insists, for instance, that scholars have caricatured the GAR as an essentially cynical political lobbying group, intent on wringing excessive pensions from the federal government, while those same scholars have failed to pay sufficient attention to those same veterans as often broken men in need of medical attention and support. In a valuable discussion of the relationship between the GAR posts and the Women's Relief Corps (WRC), Gannon critiques historians for concentrating on the WRC's political activities while failing to consider their crucial charitable work. In considering postwar commemorations, she argues that historians have claimed African Americans were not present at the famed 50th anniversary celebrations at Gettysburg, while her research makes it clear that black veterans really were there although they were not entirely enthusiastic about all they saw there.

Throughout *The Won Cause*, Gannon adopts a refreshing—occasionally didactic—writing style, which includes periodic excursions into research strategies. For example, she contends that "The best evidence of how black posts kept their books is the records themselves" (43), and "Twenty-first century readers cannot imagine nineteenth-century poverty ..." (53). She sees a clear connection between the goal of coming to a full understanding of her subjects, and a broader goal of improving the public's comprehension of the contemporary veteran. Veterans of the Iraq war, she reminds us, suffer from amputations and traumatic brain injuries as did their Civil War predecessors, and today "veterans still sleep in the streets of American cities" (140). These sorts of observations are not reserved for a contemplative afterward, as many other historians might have chosen, but are instead embedded in the core of this rich and powerful text.

J. Matthew Gallman *University of Florida*

Hidden Seminoles: Julian Dimock's Historic Florida Photographs. By Jerald T. Milanich and Nina Root. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.Pp. x, 208. $39.95 cloth.)

With the publication of *Hidden Seminoles*, authors Jerald T. Milanich (Curator Emeritus of the Florida Museum of Natural His-

tory, Gainesville, Florida) and Nina J. Root (Director Emeriti of the Research Library at the American Museum of Natural History, New York City) provide us with a superb collection of Julian Dimock's photographs depicting Mikasuki-speaking Seminoles in the Big Cypress from 1905 to1910.

A.W. Dimock and son Julian Dimock's lives and activities on Wall Street provided quite a contrast to their excursions and adventures into pioneer South Florida's coastal waters and forays deep into the isolated Everglades and Big Cypress interior. Their environmental advocacy and animal collecting for zoos further involved them in South Florida. A.W. found a fertile field on which to write popular works of fact and fiction based on his South Florida experiences and Julian accompanied his father to chronicle their trips photographically.

Julian's images, which make up the body of this work, are mostly familiar to us in the field of Seminole Studies and have been utilized in our research for decades. They are wonderful in clarity and distinctively Dimock in signature. The lighting, attention to detail, and artistry of poses (some obviously too posed) give readers an insider look at individual Seminoles, their appearance and clothing, and transportation, along with some more intriguing aspects such as articles of natives and also commercial goods that they utilized in the early 20th century.

The Dimock photographic record deserves renewed attention and respect and the authors of *Hidden Seminoles* have our gratitude for assembling them. A. W. Dimock's narrative, on the other hand, is little more than the uninformed observations and imprudent conclusions of a culturally ignorant, but enthusiastic explorer, resulting in the omission of fundamentally vital information, much based on the bias of the period in which he lived. This brings me to the narrative aspect of *Hidden Seminoles.* Inexplicably, this book repeats all of those mistakes that the Dimocks made.

The authors of *Hidden Seminoles* admit their own inadequacies. In a virtual disclaimer they note: "Our goal for this book is simple: to relate an interesting story, one captured in the photographs of, and by, people who were there. We also hope to acquaint the public, scholars, and the Seminole and Miccosukee peoples themselves with the Dimock collection of Florida photographs and the potential it holds for historical, ethnological, archaeological, and genealogical research"(7). Unfortunately, this statement does not exonerate the authors from their responsibility, because they do

indeed offer comment! And it is therein that this book commits a disservice to its readers by repeating and entrenching the Dimocks' decades-old errors and misunderstandings. And, because of the authors' inexperience with Seminole culture, the commentary that they provide throughout is glaringly tentative, speculative, and incorrect, at times due to what has been omitted. For example, the term "patchwork appliqués" is incorrectly used for both a single braid and also the intricate cut and sewn two-or-three-ply "appliqué" patchwork (76). This mistake is inexcusable as these techniques have been well documented and analyzed by experts. It is particularly inexcusable when discussing the evolution of the Tribe's premier art form and source of cultural expression. Commenting on a photo of a Seminole man in a canoe, the authors' state the obvious, "He has a pole rather than a paddle" (79), but offer no further comment. An explanation of why the culturally unique, evolutionally significant "push pole" was used for the Seminoles' dugout canoes would have been appropriate.

Noting that Ruby Tiger Tail was wearing "silver pendants, the latter almost certainly made from silver coins," (104) the authors again reveal their unfamiliarity with their subjects and the literature. Contemporary with this time period, women's "bangles" were *always* made of coin silver. In calling attention to what Dimock irreverently called the "cook shack" (a literal translation by the Seminoles as "cooking chickee"), the authors failed to mention that this structure was the focal point of the camp and housed the culturally, as well as functionally, important "Seminole fire" that was so consistently lauded in the literature (108).

One of the book's greatest faults is the lack of clan identification, the basic foundation of Seminole culture itself. A clan, to which everyone born of a Seminole woman has as their birthright, is at the heart of Seminole camps and camp life. The exclusion of clan identification is a most significant shortcoming of *Hidden Seminoles*, as a Seminole or Miccosukee Tribal Citizen, old or young, cannot pick up this book and be expected to relate to the photographs; by absenting clan identity *there is no meaningful insight into heritage.*

It is ironic too, that in this book the Seminole woman...matriarchal head of the clan, family, and camp, recedes even farther into obscurity. In *Hidden Seminoles*, as in the Dimocks' own works, the women remain UNNAMED. They are referred to only as the "widow of so-and-so or the wife (squaw) of so-and-so (30)." Clan status and the identification of the women depicted in *Hidden Semi-*

noles could have been initiated with a simple "Ready Reference" contact to either the private Seminole/Miccosukee Photographic Archive or the Seminole Tribe's (who aided in the sponsorship of this book) Ah-Tha-Thi-Ki Museum.

And in yet another deficiency of the narrative, there was no information on Seminole settlement patterns, another important cultural tradition that was unknown to the Dimocks, who apparently saw the Big Cypress Seminoles in a total microcosm. Were these people a culturally pristine group of individuals because they lived in a more isolated area (26)? No! What the Dimocks didn't realize was that the "Big Cypress" Seminoles were also the "Miami and Ft. Lauderdale" Seminoles! These people had practiced dual residency for generations, with permanent seasonal settlements in the Big Cypress and on the Atlantic Coast. On the coast they took advantage of fantastic economic boons from "wrecking" (also unmentioned by Dimocks and authors), gleaning the spoils of wrecked ships along the coast. Foodstuffs were another significant draw, especially bears on the beaches and coontie starch plants in the high pinelands. Indeed, these advantages were so constant and so compelling that this settlement pattern was a tradition in place before the Second Seminole War (1835-1842)!

In closing, *Hidden Seminoles* could have provided a very much needed continuum of historical narrative and photographic documentation that bridged the gap between the Seminoles who relied on the hunting economy to the Seminoles who embraced the new tourism/exhibition/crafts economy in the city. The "Hidden Seminoles" were certainly "hidden" no more after the very women depicted in *Hidden Seminoles* gave their permission for their families to begin their involvement in the tourist attraction economy a mere *five years* after Julian took his last photograph of a Seminole! Holding prominent positions in the attractions were men whose names readers will recognize from the text: Willie Willie, Charlie Willie, Jack Tiger Tail, Charlie Cypress, and George Osceola, who worked in their wives' attraction camps in Miami and Silver Springs. The new employment with its attendant crafts production held economic prominence for many Seminole and Miccosukee families until the gaming economy of the latter 20th century.

I had looked forward to receiving my copy of *Hidden Seminoles*. It should have been a "must have" book for anyone interested in the Seminoles and Miccosukees and their culture, a book that should have revealed the Seminoles to the interested reading audi-

ence while providing a good foundation reference for the scholar. More importantly, Julian Dimock's photographic legacy should have been a legacy for the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes, with this book taking its place as a most significant new contribution to the field. But, unfortunately, *Hidden Seminoles* will leave readers in many ways as ignorant about the Seminoles as the Dimocks were ... over a hundred years ago.

Patsy West — *Seminole/Miccosukee Photographic Archive*

The U. S. Coast Guard's War on Human Smuggling. By Dennis I. Noble. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp., 320. $29.95 cloth.)

The United States Coast Guard is the only armed force charged with law enforcement. Created by Congress in 1790 as the Revenue Cutter Service, its initial primary responsibility was to enforce customs regulations. Gradually through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its mission evolved to encompass additional duties. In 1915 President Woodrow Wilson signed into law an act creating the United States Coast Guard by combining the Revenue Cutter Service and the Lifesaving Service. On the eve of World War Two, Congress added supervision of light houses to the Coast Guard, and since that time the organization has attained other responsibilities including a variety of inspectional and enforcement tasks. Noble's well-crafted book examines the Coast Guard's recent, ongoing, and difficult role in the "War on Human Smuggling."

As Noble points out, "From 1794 to 1980, the known numbers of undocumented migrants trying to reach the United States via the sea remained relatively small so policing the traffic of undocumented migrants was never a primary mission of the service" (2-3). This situation, however, altered dramatically as a result of upheavals in Cuba and Haiti. In the spring of 1980 Fidel Castro opened the port of Mariel, thus beginning the Mariel Boatlift. By early summer of that year, thousands of Cubans were landing in southern Florida. The government in Washington was caught completely unprepared. Operating without clear directives, the Coast Guard did all it could to assist nearly 125,000 people in the space of less than six months. The combination of Castro's cynicism in allowing his

own people to risk their lives crossing to Florida and the American government's vacillating and feckless policies placed the service in an unenviable position. Through personal interviews with those involved, ashore and afloat, Noble paints a vivid and emotional picture of desperate refugees imperiled at sea, and the young (mostly) men and women of the Coast Guard struggling to assist them.

While the Cuban plight is pitiful, no Caribbean country has a longer history of poverty and oppression than the troubled island nation of Haiti. Political oppression, civil wars, and natural disasters have worked misery on the Haitian people. Increasing political instability in Haiti during the 1980s, virtually continuing to the present, sent thousands of Haitians towards the United States. Boarding local sailing craft called *yolas*, Haitians set out on the treacherous 750 mile crossing towards Florida. Packed tight, in one case 215 people on a 45 foot vessel, these migrants faced incredible odds. Untold numbers were lost at sea while others intercepted by the Coast Guard were, in most cases, returned home. U.S. policy and public opinion in regard to Haitian refugees differed remarkably from that directed towards fleeing Cubans. Notwithstanding politics and policy in Washington, the Coast Guard again performed admirably. In a particularly poignant moment, the captain of the *Dallas* described the scene when he received orders to return a boatload of Haitians to their country. "The crew was very upset. A junior officer came [to me] in tears, asking did they have to take them back... I took out my ID card and held it up to her and said 'Until I am given an unlawful order, I serve at the pleasure of the President. We have been given an order and we will carry it out' " (84).

Although on a lesser scale, the Coast Guard has also confronted the challenge of undocumented Chinese migrants. Here, however, the problem is slightly different. Whereas most of the Cubans and Haitians attempt entry into the United States on their own or with the help of relatives, undocumented Chinese are the victims of vicious "snakeheads," criminals who recruit and smuggle migrants into America, extorting horrendous fees in the process. Most often slipping their victims into shipping containers where air, food and sanitation were scarce, on occasion they were even bold enough to actually pack an entire vessel with their human cargo. While the Pacific Coast was their usual destination, the East Coast has also seen activity, most famously in 1993 when the *Golden Venture* ran aground on a beach near New York City carrying nearly 300 undocumented Chinese, men, women and children.

As a retired chief petty officer, Noble brings to this topic a special expertise, but personal experience alone does not account for this fine piece of work. Noble has taken on the skills of an historian and through personal interviews, careful research and skilled writing he has crafted an important story, one that continues to unfold around us. It is a credit to the men and women serving in the Coast Guard that they are able to perform their duties at the highest standards of professionalism while never losing sight of the humanitarian disaster confronting them.

William M. Fowler, Jr. *Northeastern University*

Images of America: Lost Orlando. By Stephanie Gaub Antequino and Tana Porter on behalf of the Historical Society of Central Florida. (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012. Acknowledgements, photographs. Pp. 128, $21.99, paper.)

Orlando, Florida's largest inland city, may be the least known of our nation's well-known locales. Tourists from Timbuktu to Toronto associate "Orlando" with Walt Disney World, but they never see the actual city. To them, Orlando means the sprawl of hotels, outlet malls, and restaurants that cater to conventioneers and Mouseketeers. Even residents often assume that Orlando had no history "B.D."—Before Disney.

The city, in fact, boasts a long history (by Florida standards), some of which can be confirmed by bricks and mortar. But, as this appropriately titled volume makes clear, Orlandoans' continual push for "progress" created a constant cycle of building, tearing down, and rebuilding again, especially in the city's historic downtown—a pattern that removed much physical evidence of how the city grew from its nineteenth-century roots.

If much of the historical Orlando has been lost, we do have some fascinating photographs of its shape and form, many of which are presented in this volume.

Lost Orlando comes to readers bearing the boundaries required by its publisher. It is part of Arcadia Publishing's "Images of America" series—actually a sub-series that presents photos of vanished architecture. (Other volumes include "Lost Dallas," "Lost Galveston," "Lost Hartford," and so on). By definition, the focus is on what's gone rather than what survives.

Such a book must take the shape of the publisher's format, which embodies both Arcadia's strengths and the limitations of its books. Beginning in 1993, this Charleston-based publisher has succeeded in publishing short-run compilations of archival photos by using the same format for all its books. Advances in digital scanning and restoration of photos have helped, too.

If readers, including this one, would love to see these rare photos sprawled across a coffee-table-sized volume, where we could revel in their details, we must also be grateful to have them available at all, at an affordable price.

One more note about Arcadia: Its "Images" books vary considerably according to the quality of the photo collection presented and the depth of knowledge of the authors. In the case of *Lost Orlando*, the pictures and captions are top-notch.

What's remarkable about these photos is not how few but how many the book presents, especially of early Orlando, a city with a population of only 85 in 1875. That number mushroomed to 2,000 by 1886, during Orlando's first, railroad-driven boom.

Of six chapters, organized chronologically, the first three focus on the city before the 1920s, the decade when Orlando experienced the immense boom that produced many of its older schools and homes.

From the Historical Society of Central Florida's collection at the Orange County Regional History Center, Antequino (the museum's photo archivist), and Porter (recently retired as its research librarian), have culled seldom-seen images of a frontier crossroads and its transformation into an urban center.

Readers with an interest in Orlando's past may have seen, for example, one of the images of the 1875 wooden courthouse in this volume (14). But this reader, at least, has never seen the other picture on the page: an early 1890s image of the courthouse being moved to a new life as part of the Tremont Hotel (also vanished).

This is the courthouse that played such a crucial role in Central Florida's history. When cattle baron Jacob Summerlin offered $10,000 to pay for it, he stymied Henry Sanford's bid to move the county seat to his river town of Sanford.

The image of the wooden courthouse in transit shows it shoehorned next to the turreted Rogers Building, then a social club for English settlers and an Orlando treasure that does survive. In the photograph, bystanders gaze at the camera near a horse and wagon. It is the kind of image that makes the past come alive in ways that often elude written description.

In this book's format, the authors had two opportunities to supplement the pictures with words: a three-page introduction and substantial captions for the photos, which are mostly presented two to a page. Antequino and Porter have served readers well in both. Porter's introduction deftly summarizes Orlando's build-and-rebuild saga, and the information-packed captions display the authors' considerable research, aided by volunteer Clayton Phillips.

In *Lost Orlando,* the authors have delved deeply into property records, maps, and other sources and have told us much about the lost buildings depicted and their locations.

Folks interested in Orlando's early history, for example, may have seen references or even a picture of the Summerlin Hotel, owned by the same Jacob whose influence proved so great in Orlando's early years. But here the authors make clear its location near Lake Eola.

The prevalence of such hotels among the images in *Lost Orlando* offers evidence that, long before Walt dreamed of his famous world, Orlandoans looked to seasonal visitors for a good chunk of their incomes. And though much of the architecture that shaped the early city is indeed lost, much remains, particularly in the city's Historic Preservation districts and National Register Historic Districts that, like this book, reveal a rich history "B.D."

Joy Wallace Dickinson *Orlando, Florida*

The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture Volume 19: Violence. Edited by Amy Louise Wood. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xviii, 320. $24.95 paper.)

The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture is a joint venture of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture of the University of Mississippi and the University of North Carolina Press. Its present form is a revision of the original encyclopedia published in 1989 as a single volume cultural examination of the region. The original version was highly praised, and rightfully so, as an invaluable source for comprehending the complicated history of the South. The latest version of the reference work continues and expands this legacy in its own right by combining the latest in southern history scholarship while making the information accessible to the general reader.

The *New Encyclopedia* is divided into twenty four separate volumes based on the major thematic parts of the first encyclopedia, such as "Art and Architecture," "Media," and "Law and Politics."

The volume under review here, 19, deals with violence and is edited by Amy Louise Wood. In her brief but informative introductory essay, Wood provides an insightful outline of the historiography on violence in the South and makes the argument that violence "was at the core of a southern social order based on stark class and especially racial hierarchies, the maintenance of which depended upon force and aggression" (3). The second part of the volume is forty four thematic articles which provide perceptive overviews of manifestations of violence from arson to militarism to vigilantism. For the most part the articles are quality work, but vary in length from five pages to five paragraphs. Many historians will be glad to see the inclusion of Native Americans in the encyclopedia. The article by Theda Perdue and Christina Snyder on violence perpetrated against Indians sketches the periods of white-Indian contact from the expedition of Hernando De Soto to the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and how different forms of brutality in these eras affected Native Americans. The third part of the volume consists of fifty-eight shorter topical and biographical entries that provide basic information on a range of topics from the Battle of the Alamo to the assassination of Huey Long. Located at the end of each article and entry is a short bibliography. The articles are connected methodologically by an analysis of the different manifestations of violence beyond just physical attacks on individuals. Some articles, such as those on church burnings and arson, explore the psychological ramifications violence had on its victims, while the article on suicide discusses how race, class, and gender interacted to create multiple meanings of suicide in the region.

As with any reference work, especially with one that possesses an ambitious purpose such as examining violence, some readers may disagree about the inclusion or exclusion of particular topics and entries. Readers will be glad to see the incorporation of the latest historical scholarship over the last twenty years with new articles on black armed resistance, lynching, and antiabortion violence, just to name a few. Individuals interested in Florida history will find references to the state in numerous entries, and a new entry solely dedicated to the 1923 attack on the mostly black town of Rosewood. Some readers, however, may be disappointed that culturally and politically significant events from the upper South such as the

Black Patch Wars, which helped to weaken the monopolistic grip of the American Tobacco Company in western Kentucky and Tennessee, and the murder of Governor William Goebel of Kentucky, the only U.S. governor to ever be assassinated while in office, are only briefly mentioned in the entries on "Memory" and "Political Violence," respectively.

Of course violence was not an experience particular to the South, but some types of violence were more prevalent in the region and possessed distinguishing features. In this case, the articles and entries primarily focus on interracial violence that has punctuated the history and culture of the South. Whites committed beatings, lynchings, and other acts of political and social violence against blacks that served as communal rituals, solidified Confederate identity and shaped ideas of masculinity. The articles pertaining to violence committed against Native Americans and Mexican Americans illustrate that white supremacy was not built only on white on black violence. Violence against blacks, Indians, and immigrants sustained white supremacy in the South until the nonviolent protests of the civil rights movement exposed this brutal foundation of American society to the world.

Violence, as examined in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, provides a prism for southern culture and history to be viewed holistically and singularly. With well written and insightful entries, this volume adeptly navigates various forms of violence to illustrate the unique and complex culture of the American South. Collectively, the essays complement each other and serve as a useful resource for both obtaining the basic facts and historiographies of topics. This volume will make a fine addition to any university's collection of works on southern history.

Benjamin Fitzpatrick *Morehead State University*

Key West on the Edge: Inventing the Conch Republic. By Robert Kerstein. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. Acknowledgements, appendix, notes, bibliography, illustrations, map, index. Pp. vii, 368. $32.95 cloth.)

Robert Kerstein has produced a well-researched and very readable analysis of the role mass tourism plays in Key West, Florida. Kerstein, a professor of government at the University of Tampa,

offers detailed discussions of the ongoing debates over tourism's impact on the island community and clear explanations of the complex interplay between local politicians and tourism boosters. His book emphasizes contemporary Key West, as the first five chapters sum up the island's history from 1821 to 1970, and the final eight chapters examine events since 1970 in greater detail. *Key West on the Edge* can be seen as two books in one, and while both halves offer clear writing based on solid research, the majority of new information and insights are found in the thematic chapters on the modern era.

Kerstein's overview of Key West's first 150 years provides background information to set up the more in-depth chapters that follow. The early chapters offer a condensed synthesis of the island's history before the emergence of mass tourism. Kerstein, a political scientist, seems more interested in analyzing how the past explains the present, and less interested in demonstrating that nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Key West were very different worlds. Thus, the early chapters discuss the completion of transportation infrastructure such as Flagler's railroad in 1912 and the Overseas Highway in 1938 because they would shape tourism. In contrast, wrecking, sponge fishing, and turtle fishing are covered very quickly, and slavery and emancipation are barely mentioned. Paying more attention to the unique maritime economy and culture that existed before mass tourism would have allowed for deeper insights into the changes created by the collapse of this way of life and the rise of a tourist economy.

The heart of the book lies in the analysis of contemporary Key West. A series of thematic chapters explore ongoing issues such as "The Politics of Tourism and Development," "Shelter for the Labor Force?" and "The Gay Community and the Transformation of Key West." These chapters provide in-depth explorations of issues such as the use of tourist tax revenues to advertise for more tourists and the gentrification of once-affordable neighborhoods. Kerstein offers a wealth of information about the interactions between Key West's City Commission, its colorful mayors, the Chamber of Commerce, varied tourism booster organizations, and grassroots groups that questioned tourism's constant growth. He provides valuable summaries of battles over the image of Duval Street and Mallory Square, the rising number of cruise ships, the increasing presence of wealthy seasonal residents, and the shortage of affordable housing. Kerstein is to be commended for his clear explanations of the

changes in local real estate policies and real estate markets, and for his detailed analysis of the important roles played by gay men and lesbians in shaping modern Key West.

These thematic chapters and a short conclusion bring the story up to 2011, leaving the reader with the question of whether mass tourism, cruise ships, the real estate boom, and the lack of affordable housing have made it impossible for a community of artists and eccentrics to continue. These are real challenges, but the message that Key West faces ruin right now should be examined. Ernest Hemingway first declared that tourism had destroyed the island's charm in the 1930s, and writers in every decade since then have argued that they knew the golden era of Key West, but now it is ending. The book's title, *Key West on the Edge*, carries this sense of crisis, and suggests that the core message is about Key West today, rather than about the island's past (The subtitle, *Inventing the Conch Republic*, is problematic for a different reason—a 2009 article published in this journal and cited by Kerstein used the exact same title). Kerstein explores the island's current controversies in depth, but could do more to examine important continuities across the twentieth century.

Kerstein sets up a chronological divide in Key West's history with the 1970s as the pivot point, based on his view that Key West did not truly become a tourist town until the late 1970s and early 1980s. To support this chronology, he highlights the first Fantasy Fest celebration in 1979, the creation of the Tourist Development Council funded by a tax on tourists in 1981, and the mock secession of the Conch Republic from the United States in 1982. These were major events, but the late 1950s and the 1960s also saw important tourism milestones, such as the creation of the Conch Train tours, the Old Island Restoration Foundation, the Key West Art Center, the Hemingway House, the lighthouse museum, and the Pier House Hotel. Some might question giving events since 1970 so much weight when tourism became a central part of Key West life in the 1930s, and continued to play a major role during the Cold War years. It would be particularly valuable to expand the brief discussion of the federal government's efforts to convert the destitute island to tourism during the Great Depression. Deeper analysis of Julius Stone, FERA, New Deal policies, and efforts to discuss non-local players such as the cruise ship industry would enrich the book.

Key West on the Edge is a clearly written analysis of the challenges that modern Key West faces due to its reliance on tourism. More

efforts could be made to establish a deeper historical context, and to compare Key West with other tourist destinations that package their history, as this broader frame would create opportunities to explore the changing nature of American tourism across the twentieth century. But *Key West on the Edge* succeeds in telling a richly detailed local story about the tensions between mass tourism and the island community's culture. Kerstein's in-depth examinations of the interplay between public officials, tourism boosters, and critics of mass tourism reveal the complex ways that Key West's residents have fought to shape the island community.

William C. Barnett *North Central College*

Realizing Tomorrow: The Path to Private Spaceflight. By Chris Dubbs and Emeline Paat-Dahlstrom. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 299. $34.95 cloth.)

Should spaceflight in the United States be dominated by government organizations and controlled by the priorities of national policy or should it be a commercial activity undertaken by private firms engaged in profit making? That is an important question and most assuredly one worthy of exploration. I had hoped this book would treat this theme; but instead it is history written for advocacy about the virtues of private spaceflight versus the ineffectiveness of government programs. Chris Dubbs and Emeline Paat-Dahlstrom have presented here a rosy, once-over-lightly history of commercial space activities from the earliest days of the space age to the present. Those satisfied with such a work will be rewarded by *Realizing Tomorrow: The Path to Private Spaceflight.*

The authors begin with a discussion of the cult-like activities of Gerard O'Neill and his plans for creating colonies in space. He insisted in the 1970s that the possibilities for human colonies in free space seemed limitless, as he calculated the technical issues of energy, land area, size and shape, atmosphere, gravitation, and sunlight necessary to sustain a colony in an artificial living space. Rather than live on the outside of a planet, settlers could live on the inside of gigantic cylinders or spheres of roughly one-half to a few miles in each dimension. These would hold a breathable atmosphere, all the ingredients necessary for sustaining crops and life,

and include rotating habitats to provide artificial gravity. While the human race might eventually build millions of these space colonies, each settlement would of necessity be an independent biosphere with trees and lakes and blue skies spotted with clouds. In these places all oxygen, water, waste, and other materials could be recycled endlessly. Animals and plants endangered on Earth would thrive on these cosmic arks; insect pests would be left behind. Solar power, directed into each colony by huge mirrors, would provide a constant source of nonpolluting energy. Enthusiasm for this possibility prompted many to embrace spaceflight as something everyone would eventually engage in, and lead humanity to settlements throughout the cosmos.

O'Neill was an iconoclast, but no more so than Robert Truax, the rocketeer who believed he could build a commercial rocket that would open the space frontier to everyone. Truax, a career Navy officer, had worked briefly with Robert Goddard during World War II on rocket technology and then went on to lead the American Rocket Society and pursue a succession of rocket development efforts. In 1966 he founded Truax Engineering and pursued design work on a sea launch concept, as well as other rockets over the years. He never got very far with these efforts, although he did build the rocket used by Evel Knievel in his attempted jump of the Snake River Canyon.

These are mere preludes to the bulk of *Realizing Tomorrow*, which focuses on the efforts beginning in the 1990s to advance private space activities. Unlike the stories of O'Neill and Truax, some of those later efforts have proven successful, if only modestly. There is a lot of *Sturm und Drang* about these efforts, but thus far the accomplishments have been modest. In the remainder of this book, authors Dubbs and Paat-Dahlstrom emphasize the rise of entrepreneurial rocket companies, space tourism organizations, the X-prize and the flight of SpaceShipOne in 2004, and possibilities for the future.

The tone throughout this book is hopeful, suggesting that there is a straight line path from early ideas to the success that they believe is on the verge of being realized. A handful of key events provide the skeleton on which to hang this optimism. The first is the enticing of Russia to support entrepreneurial space activities and selling seats on Soyuz spacecraft to space tourists. The first of these tourists was Dennis Tito, who gained fame in 2001 for flying to the International Space Station over the objection of NASA.

Since then there have been six additional paying space tourists, each contributing more than $20 million toward their flights. At that price tag, the market for this form of tourism is limited.

A second hopeful event was the 2004 flight of SpaceShipOne which took the Ansari X-Prize as the first privately developed vehicle to fly into suborbital space twice within two weeks. This unleashed a wave of investment to build suborbital space tourism vehicles and Virgin Galactic Inc.'s SpaceShipTwo may fly in the near term, according to the authors. This passenger vehicle would be carried to high altitude by a carrier aircraft, and then launched for a quick ballistic flight above 100 kilometers (the "official" beginning of space). In the next few years there seems good reason to believe that sub-orbital space tourism will become a reality, according to Dubbs and Paat-Dahlstrom. What also seems clear, but is less well-explored in this book, is that space tourism for the foreseeable future will remain the province of wealthy thrill-seekers, essentially the same class as those who climb Mount Everest, rather than the masses who dominate the current $600+ billion per year tourism industry. A tiny elite of multi-millionaires may continue to fly aboard Soyuz capsules to Earth's orbit, but the reality is that orbital space tourism is many decades away absent a major breakthrough in space access. Until that happens, we will be able to count the number of orbital space tourists on our fingers for years to come.

The authors also make much of SpaceX's efforts to develop new launch vehicles that will lower the cost of space access. This company, the creation of Elon Musk, according to the authors, challenges the normative approach to space transportation and may well open the space frontier to many more players. They also emphasize Robert Bigelow's efforts to develop inflatable orbital habitats, two of which has been launched and tested.

Realizing Tomorrow makes the case that the United States is on an inevitable path toward greater access to space and a blossoming of activities in Earth's orbit. Dubbs and Paat-Dahlstrom offer an overall Panglossian version of what has been taking place, that we live in the best of all possible worlds and that it is getting better all the time, forecasting a bright future for private human spaceflight. This development will increase opportunities for tourism, which takes up the bulk of their book, for research, or for other activities. There is little skepticism recorded in any of this, despite the fact that these efforts are being viewed with considerable skepticism by many in the space community. One may believe that this skepti-

cism is predicated on outmoded thinking and twentieth century norms and is therefore easily dismissed. But one may just as easily conclude that those skeptical are reflecting their knowledge of just how hard it is to build and operate these space technologies.

Moreover, skeptics will confide that they have seen so much of this before. In addition to O'Neill's stillborn colonies in space or Truax's new rockets, a succession of efforts in the 1990s also failed and has prompted caution in believing hyperbole. During that period, initiatives aimed at opening the space frontier to a much broader community included updated versions of existing rockets such as Lockheed Martin's Atlas, Orbital Sciences Corporation's Pegasus XL and Taurus rockets, and the Boeing Company's Delta 3. Those were successful redesigns but they did not open greater opportunities for larger numbers of people to engage in space activities. Private entrepreneurs also emerged: Kelly Space and Technology's Astroliner, Rotary Rocket Company's Roton, Kistler Aerospace Corporation's K-1, and Beal Aerospace's BA-2 rocket all vied to capture a share of the space access market. None proved successful and all folded.

This book provides a reasonable overview of its subject, but one far too optimistic for what has been accomplished thus far. In this sense it is less a work of history than a work of advocacy. It offers usable discussions about some of the key breakthroughs in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries made by a range of American entrepreneurs and engineers with a vision of spaceflight democratized beyond government programs and narrow elites. Even so, the overview offered here is a history of nascent triumphalism. It offers a narrowly linear process of space technology and policy development to the very great exclusion of any social or cultural factors that might be at play. There is little of the obscurity of choices or trial and error that might have enriched this story.

No doubt, *Realizing Tomorrow* will be satisfying to many within the space community. It is a massively complex, important topic, one that arguably marks the most significant transition for spaceflight in America in the last twenty years. But this book falls short as a scholarly analysis; the topic deserves more serious investigation.

Roger D. Launius *National Air and Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution*

End Notes

FLORIDA FRONTIERS: THE WEEKLY RADIO MAGAZINE OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FLORIDA FRONTIERS: THE WEEKLY RADIO MAGAZINE OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is a weekly, half-hour radio program currently airing on public radio stations around the state. The program is a combination of interview segments and produced features covering history-based events, exhibitions, activities, places, and people in Florida. The program explores the relevance of Florida history to contemporary society and promotes awareness of heritage and culture tourism options in the state. *Florida Frontiers* joins the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the publications of the Florida Historical Society Press as another powerful tool to fulfill the Society's mission of collecting and disseminating information about the history of Florida.

Recent broadcasts of *Florida Frontiers* have included visits to Fort Christmas Historic Park and the Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Cultural Complex. Discussions about the St. Augustine Foot Soldiers Memorial and the life of Stetson Kennedy have been featured. We've talked with authors including Martin Dyckman, James Clark, Harvey Oyer III, and Rachel Wentz. We've previewed plans to recognize the 500th anniversary of the naming of Florida and the 450th anniversary of the establishment of St. Augustine. Upcoming programs will cover the 125th anniversary of the founding of Eatonville, the first incorporated African American town in the United States; and the 75th anniversary of the Zora Neale Hurston novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God.*

Florida Historical Society Executive Director Ben Brotemarkle is producer and host of *Florida Frontiers,* with weekly contributions

from assistant producers Janie Gould and Bill Dudley. From 1992-2000, Brotemarkle was creator, producer, and host of the hour-long weekly radio magazine *The Arts Connection* on 90.7 WMFE in Orlando. In 2005, Gould became Oral History Specialist at 88.9 WQCS in Ft. Pierce. Since 1993, Dudley has been producing an ongoing series of radio reports for the Florida Humanities Council.

The program is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 p.m and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Thursdays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Wednesdays at 9:00 a.m.; 89.1 WUFT Gainesville, Sundays at 7:30 a.m.; and 90.1 WJUF Inverness, Sundays at 7:30 a.m. 90.1 WGCU Ft. Myers airs the program as hour-long "specials" for several months of the year. Check your local NPR listings for additional airings. More public radio stations are expected to add *Florida Frontiers* to their schedule in the coming year. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myfloridahistory.org.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Florida Humanities Council; the Jessie Ball duPont Fund; the Kislak Family Fund, supporter of education, arts, humanities, and Florida history; and by Florida's Space Coast Office of Tourism, representing destinations from Titusville to Cocoa Beach to Melbourne Beach.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* has entered a new era of media. Dr. Robert Cassanello, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and a member of the *FHQ* editorial board, has accepted a new role as the coordinator for podcast productions. In conjunction with the Public History programs at UCF, Dr. Cassanello will produce a podcast for each issue of the *Quarterly*. Each podcast will consist of an interview with one of the authors from the most recent issue of the *Quarterly*. The podcasts are uploaded to iTunes University and are available to the public at http://publichistorypodcast.blogspot.com/.

Dr. Jack E. Davis on his article "Sharp Prose for Green: John D. MacDonald and the First Ecological Novel," which appeared in Volume 87, no. 4 (Spring 2009).

Dr. Michael D. Bowen on his article "The Strange Tale of Wes-

ley and Florence Garrison: Racial Crosscurrents of the Postwar Florida Republican Party" appeared in Volume 88, no. 1 (Summer 2009).

Dr. Nancy J. Levine discussed the research project undertaken by her students on the Hastings Branch Library that appeared in Volume 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009).

Dr. Daniel Feller, 2009 Catherine Prescott Lecturer, on "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1819 Florida Campaign," Volume 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010).

Dr. Derrick E. White, on his article "From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and 'Dixie' at the University of Florida," Volume 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010).

Dr. Gilbert Din was interviewed to discuss his article "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010).

Deborah L. Bauer, Nicole C. Cox, and Peter Ferdinando on graduate education in Florida and their individual articles in Volume 89, no. 2 (Fall 2010).

Jessica Clawson, "Administrative Recalcitrance and Government Intervention: Desegregation at the University of Florida, 1962-1972," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 3 (Winter 2011).

Dr. Rebecca Sharpless, "The Servants and Mrs. Rawlings: Martha Mickens and African American Life at Cross Creek," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 4 (Spring 2011).

Dr. James M. Denham, "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Pensacola," which appeared in Volume 90, no. 1 (Summer 2011).

Dr. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., Dr. James G. Cusick, Dr. William S. Belko, and Cody Scallions in a roundtable discussion on the West Florida Rebellion of 1810, the subject of the special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 2 (Fall 2011).

Dr. Julian Chambliss and Dr. Denise K. Cummings, guest editors for "Florida: The Mediated State," special issue, *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 3 (Winter 2012).

Dr. David H. Jackson, Jr., on his article "'Industrious, Thrifty and Ambitious': Jacksonville's African American Businesspeople during the Jim Crow Era," in the *Florida Historical* Quarterly Volume 90, no. 4 (Spring 2012) and Dr. Tina Bucuvalas, 2012 Jillian Prescott Memorial Lecturer and winner of the Stetson Kennedy Award for *The Florida Folklife Reader.*

Dr. Claire Strom, Rapetti-Trunzo Professor of History at Rollins College, on her article, "Controlling Venereal Disease in Orlando during World War II," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 1 (Summer 2012).

Dr. Matthew G. Hyland, on his article, "The Florida Keys Hurricane House: Post-Disaster New Deal Housing," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 2 (Fall 2012).

Dr. Paul E. Hoffman, guest editor of Volume 91, no. 3 (Winter 2013) on sixteenth century Florida.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY AVAILABLE ON JSTOR

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is available to scholars and researchers through JSTOR, a digital service for libraries, archives, and individual subscribers. JSTOR editors spent more than a year digitizing *FHQ* volumes 3-83; it became available to academic libraries and individual subscribers in August 2009. The *FHQ* has reduced the 5-year window to a 3-year window for greater access. More recent issues of the *Quarterly* are available only in print copy form. JSTOR has emerged as a leader in the field of journal digitization and the *FHQ* joins a number of prestigious journals in all disciplines. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* will continue to be available through PALMM, with a 5-year window.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY NOW ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, an abstract of each article. There is also a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
2013 AWARD RECIPIENTS

CHARLTON TEBEAU AWARD
For a general interest book on a Florida history topic

Robert Kerstein
Key West on the Edge: Inventing the Conch Republic
(University Press of Florida)

REMBERT PATRICK AWARD
For a scholarly book on a Florida history topic

Stacy Braukman
Communists and Perverts Under the Palms: The Johns Committee in Florida, 1956-1965
(University Press of Florida)

HARRY T. AND HARRIETTE V. MOORE AWARD
For a book relating to Florida's ethnic groups or dealing with a significant social issue from an historical perspective

Larry Eugene Rivers
Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in 19th Century Florida
(University of Illinois Press)

STETSON KENNEDY AWARD

For a book based on investigative research which casts light on historic Florida events in a manner that is supportive of human rights, traditional cultures, or the natural environment

Blaine Q. Waide and Dwight DeVane
Drop on Down in Florida: Field Recordings of African American Traditional Music 1977-1980
(The Florida Folklife Program)

JAMES J. HORGAN AWARD

For an outstanding publication which promotes study of Florida history and heritage, intended for younger readers

Harvey E. Oyer, III
The Adventures of Charlie Pierce: The Last Calusa
(Middle River Press)

SAMUEL PROCTOR AWARD

For an outstanding oral history project substantially about Florida

John Dos Passos Coggin
Walkin' Lawton
(Florida Historical Society Press)

ARTHUR W. THOMPSON AWARD

For the most outstanding article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*

Florence M. Turcotte
"For this is an Enchanted Land": Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and the Florida Environment
Volume 90, No. 4, (Spring 2012): 488-504.

HAMPTON DUNN BROADCASTING AWARD

For electronic media, such as radio and television, recognizing outstanding audio or video programs, announcements or other works promoting or expanding knowledge of Florida history

Robert Cassanello
The Committee
RICHES of Central Florida

HAMPTON DUNN INTERNET AWARD

For emerging "new media" utilizing computerized production and distribution techniques, recognizing outstanding audio or video programs, announcements or other works promoting or expanding knowledge of Florida history

Robert Cassanello
RICHES Podcast Documentaries Series
RICHES of Central Florida

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BOARD OF DIRECTORS

POSTGRADUATE STUDENT SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS

For outstanding essays or research papers on Florida history produced by postgraduate students in master's or doctoral programs at colleges or universities in the United States, to be presented at the Florida Historical Society Annual Meeting & Symposium

Diana Reigelsperger
University of Florida
"The Best Laid Schemes: Canary Islander Immigration to Spanish St. Augustine"

Jonathan DeCoster
Brandeis University
"Have you not heard of Floryda?"

Stephanie Lampkin
University of Delaware
"The Changing of the Flag: The Florida Interior Under the British, 1763-1783"

Erin Conlin
University of Florida
"Circular Migration: Bahamian Labor and Florida Agriculture"

Lauren Thompson
Florida State University
"Revisiting Lee's Brigade?"

JOHN H. HANN AWARD

For new scholarship on the colonial era (pre-contact through 1821) in the fields of history or historical archaeology

Alejandra Dubcovsky
"161 Knots, 2 Plates, and one Emperor: Creek Information Networks in the Era of the Yamasee War"
Ethnohistory, Summer 2012

DAVID C. BROTEMARKLE AWARD

For creative expressions of Florida history other than books

Maurice J. O'Sullivan and Bill Dudley
"Have You Not Hard of Floryda? The Florida Poets Project" (DVD)
Angel Alley Press

PRESIDENTIAL CITATION

For an outstanding book, project, or program not recognized in another category

Billy Townsend
Age of Barbarity: The Forgotten Fight for the Soul of Florida
(Billy Townsend)

MARINUS LATOUR AWARD

For outstanding volunteer in a local historical society, library, museum or other
Florida history-related program or organization

Chris Brotemarkle
Volunteer Administrative Assistant
Florida Historical Society

JILLIAN PRESCOTT MEMORIAL LECTURESHIP

Larry Eugene Rivers
Florida Historian
Fort Valley State University

CAROLINE P. ROSSETTER AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING WOMAN IN FLORIDA HISTORY

Barbara West
Associate Director
Florida Historical Society

DOROTHY DODD LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

Jerald T. Milanich
Florida Anthropologist and Archaeologist
Florida Museum of Natural History

And

Kathleen Deagan
Spanish Colonial Archaeologist
Florida Museum of Natural History

500 YEARS AFTER PONCE DE LEON: THE GULF SOUTH IN CHANGE 1513-2013

OCTOBER 10-12, 2013
PENSACOLA, FLORIDA

The Gulf South History and Humanities Conference is an annual event sponsored by the Gulf South Historical Association, a consortium of Gulf South colleges and universities from the states of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

The Thirty-first Annual Gulf South History and Humanities Conference, hosted by Southeastern Louisiana University welcomes all researchers and scholars to propose papers, panels, roundtables, performances, and workshops, exploring all aspects of the history and culture of the Gulf South and Caribbean Basin.

The registration fee includes a Thursday evening reception at the Hilton Pensacola Beach Gulf Front Hotel, all conference sessions, and a free one-year membership in the Association. Tickets for the banquet, annual keynote address, and a courtesy cocktail reception are all included in the additional banquet fee.

Proposals will be considered if postmarked by the deadline of July 1, 2013. To submit an individual paper, send a brief c.v., title of the paper and a short abstract. Panel organizer (two or more pre-

senters, a chair and commentator, or chair/commentator) must submit a c.v., paper title, and short abstract for each participant. A complete list of conference sessions and topics will be mailed to each registrant in the first week of September 2013.

The conference will be at the beautiful Hilton Pensacola Beach Gulf Front Hotel, which offers special conference room rates at $139.00 a night provided reservations are made by September 26, 2013. Please mention "GSH" when you call for reservations at 1-866-916-2999.

To submit proposals please contact Dr. Samuel C. Hyde, Jr. at shyde@selu.edu, President, or for more information please contact Dr. Randy Sanders at dsanders@selu.edu, Conference Coordinator, or: Gulf South Historical Association, c/o University of Southern Mississippi – Gulf Coast Campus, Katrina Research Center, 730 East Beach Blvd., Long Beach, MS 39560.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS TO THE *FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is a peer-refereed journal and accepts for consideration manuscripts on the history of Florida, its people, and its historical relationships to the United States, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, or Latin America. All submissions are expected to reflect substantial research, a dedication to writing, and the scholarly rigor demanded of professionally produced historical work. Work submitted for consideration should not have been previously published, soon to be published, or under consideration by another journal or press.

Authors should submit an electronic copy in MS Word to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, at Connie.Lester@ucf.edu.

Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced (excluding footnotes, block quotes, or tabular matter).

The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced footnotes, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style.*

Tables and illustrations should be created on separate pages, with positions in the manuscript indicated.

In a cover letter, the author should provide contact information that includes phone numbers, fax number, email address, and mailing address. The author should provide a statement of the substance and significance of the work and identify anyone who has already critiqued the manuscript.

Images or illustrations to be considered for publication with the article may be submitted in EPS or PDF electronic format at 300 dpi or higher. Xeroxed images cannot be accepted. All illustrations should include full citations and credit lines. Authors should retain letters of permission from institutions or individuals owning the originals.

Questions regarding submissions should be directed to Connie L. Lester, editor, addressed to Department of History, 4000 Central Florida Blvd, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350, or by email to Connie.Lester@ucf.edu, or by phone at 407-823-0261.

Florida History in Publications, 2012

Compiled by Katie L. Kerns and James Anthony Schnur

Books

Acosta, Delphin. *Tampa's Hyde Park.* Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

Antequino, Stephanie Gaub, and Tana Mosier Porter (on behalf of the Historical Society of Central Florida). *Lost Orlando.* Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

Appleyard, John, and Sunne Heubach. *A Brief History of Escambia County's Development, 1821-2011.* Pensacola: John Appleyard Agency, 2012.

Archard, Dave. *Through Slanted Windows: A Journey into Radio.* West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2012. [Author worked primarily in Tampa Bay and Miami radio markets.]

Ashley, Keith, and Nancy Marie White, eds. *Late Prehistoric Florida: Archaeology at the Edge of the Mississippian World.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Ashton, Jeff. *Imperfect Justice: Prosecuting Casey Anthony.* New York: HarperCollins, 2012.

Augeron, Mickaël, John de Bry, and Annick Notter. *Floride, Un Rêve Français: 1562-1565.* La Rochelle, France: Musée du Nouveau Monde, 2012. [French-language exhibition catalog for an exhibit at Musée du Nouveau Monde that examined the history of the French Huguenot Colony.]

Baez, Jose, and Peter Golenbock. *Presumed Guilty: Casey Anthony, the Inside Story.* Dallas: BenBella Books, 2012.

Bayles, Sally Wright. *Good Bones: A Pioneer Daughter Looks Back.* Edgewater, FL: CHB Media, 2012. [Focus is on families in the area of Oak Hill.]

Becerra, Cesar A. *Giants of the Swamp: The Story of South Florida's Logging Industry.* Miami: planetcesar.com, 2012.

Bernreuter, Bob Joseph. *Star of the Sea: A History of the Basilica St. Mary Star of the Sea.* Key West: Key West Pub. Co., 2012. [History of a Catholic church in Key West.]

Bertelli, Brad, and Jerry Wilkinson. *Key Largo.* Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

Betz, Myrtle Scharrer, Terry Fortner, and Suzanne Thorp. *Caladesi Cookbook: Recipes from a Florida Lifetime, 1895-1992.* Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2012.

Birt, Ken, and Pat Birt. *Useppa: An Ongoing Journey.* Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2012.

Bowen, Beth Rogero, and the St. Augustine Historical Society. *St. Augustine in the Roaring Twenties.* Postcard History Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

Braukman, Stacy Lorraine. *Communists and Perverts under the Palms: The Johns Committee in Florida, 1956-1965.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Carlisle, Rodney, and Loretta Carlisle. *Forts of Florida: A Guidebook.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Carr, Robert S. *Digging Miami.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

_____, and Timothy A. Harrington. *The Everglades.* Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

Chao, Raúl Eduardo. *Exiled Cuba: A Chronicle of the Years of Exile from 1959 to the Present.* "Cuba y Sus Jueces" Series. Miami: Ediciones Universal, 2012.

Cinchett, John V. *Vintage Tampa Storefronts and Scenes.* Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

Clark, James C. *Presidents in Florida: How the Presidents Have Shaped Florida and How Florida Has Influenced the Presidents.* Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 2012.

Clark, Peggy Beucher. *Howey-in-the-Hills.* Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

Clayton, Tonya D. *How to Read a Florida Gulf Coast Beach: A Guide to Shadow Dunes, Ghost Forests, and Other Telltale Clues from an Ever-Changing Coast.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Coggin, John Dos Passos. *Walkin' Lawton.* Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2012.

Collins, Toni C. *The Lady of the Lighthouse: A Biography.* Chiefland: Suwannee River Publishing Company, 2012. [Biography of Catharine Dorgan Hobday, the only female lighthouse keeper at the Cedar Keys Station.]

Cook, Thomas E. *Orlando's Historic Haunts.* Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 2012.

Corbett, Theodore. *St. Augustine Pirates and Privateers.* Charleston, SC: History Press, 2012.

Cox, Dale A. *The Claude Neal Lynching: The 1934 Murders of Claude Neal and Lola Cannady.* Bascom, FL: Old Kitchen Books, 2012.

Crawford, Robert L., and William R. Brueckheimer. *The Legacy of a Red Hills Hunting Plantation: Tall Timbers Research Station and Land Conservancy.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Croft, Candace G. *West Florida Electric: When the Lights Came On.* Virginia Beach: Donning Company Publishers, 2012.

Cusick, James G., and Sherry Johnson. *The Voyages of Ponce de León: Scholarly Perspectives.* Cocoa: Florida Historical Society, 2012.

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Yu, Dan. "Poeticism of Natural Light in Architecture." M.Arch. project (Architecture), University of Florida, 2012. [Focus is on structures in Alachua County.]

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The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905

Created in St. Augustine in 1856, The Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in the state, and Florida's only state-wide historical society. The Society is dedicated to preserving Florida's past through the collection and archival maintenance of historical documents and photographs, the publication of scholarly research on Florida history, and educating the public about Florida history through a variety of public history and historic preservation projects. We publish scholarly research in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and through the Florida Historical Society Press. *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society* is broadcast on public radio stations throughout the state and is archived on our web site. The Florida Historical Society headquarters are located at the Library of Florida History in historic Cocoa Village. The Florida Historical Society manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum and the Florida Books & Gifts.

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