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**Volusia and Vibilia: Companion Plantations on the
St. Johns River in Spanish and Territorial East Florida**
by Lani Friend 379

**The Making of Florida's "Criminal Class": Race,
Modernity, And the Convict Leasing Program,
1877-1919**
by Connor Donegan 408

**Covert Cross-Racial Mobilization, Black Activism, and
Political Participation Pre-Voting Rights Act**
by Loren Collingwood and Benjamin Bonzaes-O'Brien 435

Book Reviews 464

End Notes 481

Cumulative Index for Volume 97 498

Cover Illustration: Convicts leased to harvest timber,
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floridamemory.com/items/show/35256](https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/35256)

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Book Reviews

- Martínez-Fernández, *Key to the New World: A History of Early Colonial Cuba.*
by Ida Altman 464
- Saravia, *Bernardo de Gálvez: Spanish Hero of the American Revolution.*
by Light Townsend Cummins 466
- Helg, *Slave No More: Self-Liberation before Abolitionism in the Americas.*
by Christy Hyman 468
- Demas, *Game of Privilege: An African American History of Golf.*
by Amy Essington 471
- Lear, *The Remarkable Kinship of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and Ellen Glasgow.*
by Jane Turner Censer 473
- Spriggs, *Voices of Civil Rights Lawyers: Reflections from the Deep South, 1964-1980.*
by Melissa Milewski 475
- Dunn, *Drying Up: The Fresh Water Crisis in Florida.*
by Brad Massey. 477

Volusia and Vibilia: Companion Plantations on the St. Johns River in Spanish and Territorial East Florida

by Lani Friend

The names Volusia and Vibilia are mellifluous, “soft and pleasing to the ear.” These are words used by Horatio Dexter to describe the Seminole language,¹ but they are well suited to the names of these Spanish land grant plantations on the St. Johns River. Volusia and Vibilia seem to belong together because they do—they share a semantic affinity; they originate from a common cultural source; they were likely bestowed by the same person/s; and the lands bearing the names are closely linked in their history and development. Volusia and Vibilia were companion plantations in Spanish and Territorial East Florida.

Both tracts were developed by Horatio Dexter—trader, land dealer, and frontier diplomat—who lived on the Volusia plantation for at least eight years.² Although he is often credited as the name-giver, this is not documented, and there are several other candidates worthy of that honorific. Situated on the east side of the St. Johns River about six miles south of Lake George, Horatio Dexter’s nineteenth-century plantation grew into a bustling river town that

Lani Friend is a public historian and writer in Central Florida. The author wishes to thank Charles Tingley, Senior Research Librarian of the St. Augustine Historical Society for his invaluable assistance in clarifying issues related to Spanish East Florida culture and history, and for providing copies of Spanish Land Grant documents and resource maps.

- 1 Mark F. Boyd, “Horatio S. Dexter and Events Leading to the Treaty of Moultrie Creek with the Seminole Indians,” *Florida Anthropologist* II, no. 3 (September 1958): 83.
- 2 John W. Turner, *The Volusian: Horatio S. Dexter* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2006), 65.

gave its name to present Volusia County. The site and the name of Volusia have been studied historically in isolation, apart from any other site along the St. Johns River. But careful examination of the provenance of Volusia shows that it is, in fact, closely tied to a second Spanish land grant tract called Vibilia which once encompassed the southern portion of present-day Palatka and its south to southwestern environs.

The tracts of Volusia and Vibilia were part of a 50,000-acre grant awarded by Governor José Coppinger in 1818 to Joseph Freeman Rattenbury, a London lawyer seeking opportunity in Spanish East Florida. They were to be inaugural settlements in Rattenbury's proposed colony of British immigrants who would "augment the population" and, with the labor of African slaves, cultivate and turn a profit from the land.³

Rattenbury's scheme seems to have been inspired by Lord Denys Rolle's 1765 colony of Charlotta, or Rollestown, a 78,000-acre British grant on the east side of the St. Johns River south of present-day Palatka. For colonists, Rolle recruited "hopeless vagrants, debtors and beggars off the streets of London"⁴ with the intent to reform them and make new citizens out of them.⁵

For almost twenty years, Rolle struggled to make his colony a success, but it was doomed from the start. His epic failure was widely known in London. Although Rattenbury's proposal seems similar, he had nothing but derision for his Rolle's plan. In 1818 he visited the ruins of Rollestown on his travels through East Florida and wrote about it in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main* published anonymously the next year in London.

On a journey from Amelia Island to St. Augustine in January of 1818, Rattenbury was rowed in a canoe manned by slaves up the St. Johns River to Rollestown where he viewed the remains of the settlement. In his narrative he evinced amazement at Rolle's "folly and infatuation" in his choice of "penitent prostitutes" of London as the objects of his philanthropic bounty. He was also incredulous that Rolle had situated the settlement in such a remote location, "...did he propose to found a colony of Amazons?" He concluded

3 *American State Papers, Public Lands* 6: 419. <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsp&fileName=033/llsp033.db&recNum=442> (accessed 12/16/18).

4 Carita Doggett Corse and James Grant, "Denys Rolle and Rollestown, a Pioneer for Utopia," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1928):118.

5 Carl Bohnenberger, "The Settlement of Charlotta (Rolles Town), 1765," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (1925): 46.

that Rolle “must have intended to promote their intermarriage with the Seminole Indians,” following George Washington’s advice on the best way to integrate “North American Indians with the people of the United States.”⁶

Apart from the brief proposal quoted in the *American State Papers*, nothing else is known about Rattenbury’s planned colony. It may have been devised solely to obtain a large grant of land. In his published narrative of three hundred and twenty-nine pages covering every detail of his experiences in East Florida, there is no mention of a colony other than “discussions” with the Spanish Governor Coppinger. Relating that Coppinger was liberal with grants of land to foreigners, he states as an aside, only that “a considerable tract was assigned to me upon the borders of Lake St. George.”⁷ It is hard to take Rattenbury’s colonizing idea seriously. But his journal provides a revealing picture of the turbulent state of Spanish East Florida of the time.

Rattenbury had come to Spanish East Florida in 1817 as part of an adventure gone wrong. The British public had long sympathized with the struggle of South American insurgents to throw off Spain’s “most oppressive tyranny,” a conflict deemed nothing less than “a holy war.”⁸ In July of that year, inspired by London newspaper accounts of successful rebellions in South America and desiring to leave England, Rattenbury embarked on an expedition to the Spanish Main. Many British veterans of the Napoleonic Wars, reduced to half-pay, came home during a time of economic distress. Agents of Venezuela in London targeted them with offers of higher rank and corresponding pay for their services in fighting for independence from Spain.⁹ It is probable that Rattenbury was a veteran, and he enlisted in the cause. Also, the recent death of his father and other “circumstances of a painful and distressing nature” caused him to “seek relief to my feelings in absence from my country.”¹⁰

6 [Joseph Freeman Rattenbury], *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main, in the Ship “Two Friends,”* (London 1819), 153-154. <https://archive.org/details/narrativeofvoyag00lond/page/152> (accessed 12/10/18).

7 [Rattenbury], 125.

8 [Rattenbury], “Introductory Matter,” B.

9 Patrick W. Doyle, “Unmasked: The Author of ‘Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the ship “Two Friends,”’” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (1999): 190.

10 [Rattenbury], 4.

He sailed from England with eighty other passengers, many of them veterans like shipmate Charles Blacker Vignoles,¹¹ for the Caribbean island of St. Thomas where a Venezuelan agent was to direct them on the next leg of the voyage. But on their arrival, no agent was to be found or ever would be, according to a gentleman they encountered who was on the same mission. Townsfolk sympathized with their plight, confirming that they had been hoodwinked. Survivors of a previous schooner of recruits, maimed and abandoned in the service of the insurgents, shared stories of the despotism of General Simon Bolivar, revolting cruelties on both sides, and the character of the people—"blind, bigoted...victims of the priesthood, and instruments of designing men." Rattenbury's group realized they had been "decoyed from their country" to engage in a "despicable and dishonorable" cause.¹² Some returned to England, others were forced to chase down their boat which had sailed in the night without paying harbor dues, carrying off all their possessions.¹³

The American consulate on St. Thomas, in support of its country's goal of possession of the Floridas, recommended that the remaining thirty British officers join up with Sir Gregor MacGregor on Amelia Island. MacGregor, veteran of the Napoleonic wars and South American revolutions, had recently captured Fernandina as a base from which he planned to free the Floridas from Spanish control.¹⁴ "Sick of the scenes at St. Thomas's and of the prospects on the Spanish main," Rattenbury and his party resolved that MacGregor's was a worthier cause, and sailed for Amelia Island.¹⁵

Unknown to them, MacGregor's coup had failed, and French pirate Louis Aury had assumed command, raising the flag of the Republic of Mexico. The buccaneers then proceeded to make a fortune at Amelia by capturing ships and selling slaves, as many as a thousand Africans in less than two months.¹⁶ Rattenbury and his companions met with Aury and his followers, "the refuse of all nations."¹⁷ In a short time, the British officers became disillusioned with all revolutionary causes, and went their separate ways.

11 Patrick W. Doyle, "Uninvited Guests: A Night at Cedar Point Plantation," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 89, no. 3 (Winter 2011): 376.

12 [Rattenbury], 42.

13 [Rattenbury], 48-49.

14 Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 244.

15 [Rattenbury], 54.

16 Landers, *Black Society*, 245.

17 [Rattenbury], 96.

Fernandina residents asked Rattenbury to help rid them of Aury and the French party, but Rattenbury got involved in a brawl, was arrested, and banished.¹⁸ “Tired and disgusted with the scenes I had witnessed at Amelia, and cured of my expectation of finding patriotism in the Western Hemisphere,” Rattenbury set off for St. Marys.¹⁹ There he received an invitation to meet with Coppinger in St. Augustine where they discussed his proposal for East Florida. He also volunteered to lead a raid against Aury, but when Aury got wind of it, Rattenbury had to flee overland to St. Marys to avoid capture by the pirate forces, then sailed to Charleston.²⁰

The “Amelia Island Affair,” as it became known, brought to a peak ongoing tensions between the Spanish and American governments. Weakened by the Napoleonic Wars and struggling to quell uprisings in Latin America, Spain had few troops or resources to spare for East Florida.²¹ East Floridians realized that Spain couldn’t hold on to the province much longer. To secure their positions under American rule, residents and foreign investors rushed to solicit land from Governor Coppinger who, to strengthen Spain’s hold on the land, generously complied.²²

News spread that people on Amelia Island were about to declare independence. President James Monroe informed Congress that Amelia Island had been made “a channel for funneling illicit slaves from Africa into the U.S., an asylum for fugitive slaves from neighboring states, and a port for smuggling of all kinds.” Seizing the opportunity, American forces moved in on December 23, 1817 to clear out the “pirate’s den” and occupy Amelia Island, which they held until the Spanish finally left Florida.²³

In early February of the next year, Rattenbury again met with Coppinger at St. Augustine. Two weeks later Rattenbury’s 50,000-acre grant was officialized on condition that the whole or part of it should be settled and cultivated within two years. In the fall, he sailed to Philadelphia where he made an agreement on October 16, 1818 with New York attorney James Alexander giving Alexander power of attorney and authorizing him to manage his affairs in Florida. Rattenbury also transferred one-half interest in the grant

18 Doyle, “Unmasked,” 192.

19 [Rattenbury], 101.

20 Doyle, “Unmasked,” 193.

21 Doyle, “Unmasked,” 190.

22 Frank Marotti, Jr., “Edward M. Wanton and the Settling of Micanopy,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (April 1995): 465.

23 Landers, *Black Society*, 246.

to Alexander, then left for England to make further arrangements for the colony.

Mr. Alexander then proceeded to New York City to meet with Horatio Dexter who agreed to act as Alexander's agent in East Florida. Alexander then hired four New York men to help develop the proposed settlement and traveled on to East Florida, procuring livestock and necessary supplies along the way. On arriving in St. Augustine, he arranged to have various tracts of Rattenbury's land surveyed and registered in the proper offices in East Florida.²⁴

Two tracts of land claimed by Rattenbury on the west side of the St. Johns River were located south of Lake George; the third was downriver north of Lake George. About six miles south of Lake George lay the Volusia tract shown on a Spanish Land Grant Survey Map as 10,000 acres on the west side of the river,²⁵ a tract later described by Dexter as 11,000 acres traversed by the river. Volusia, as seen on the Tanner Map of 1823,²⁶ encompassed one of four major Indian crossings on the river. At the Indian ferry landing there, trails from St. Augustine and the east coast crossed over the river and headed southwest to Chucachate (Red House/Town), the seat of Seminole territory northeast of the site of present-day Tampa, and the village of Okehumke (Deep Waters). Connecting trails led north to Micanopy (named for a leading Seminole chief) and southwest to the site of current Tampa, where a major native hunting trail traversed the peninsula to Jupiter Inlet.

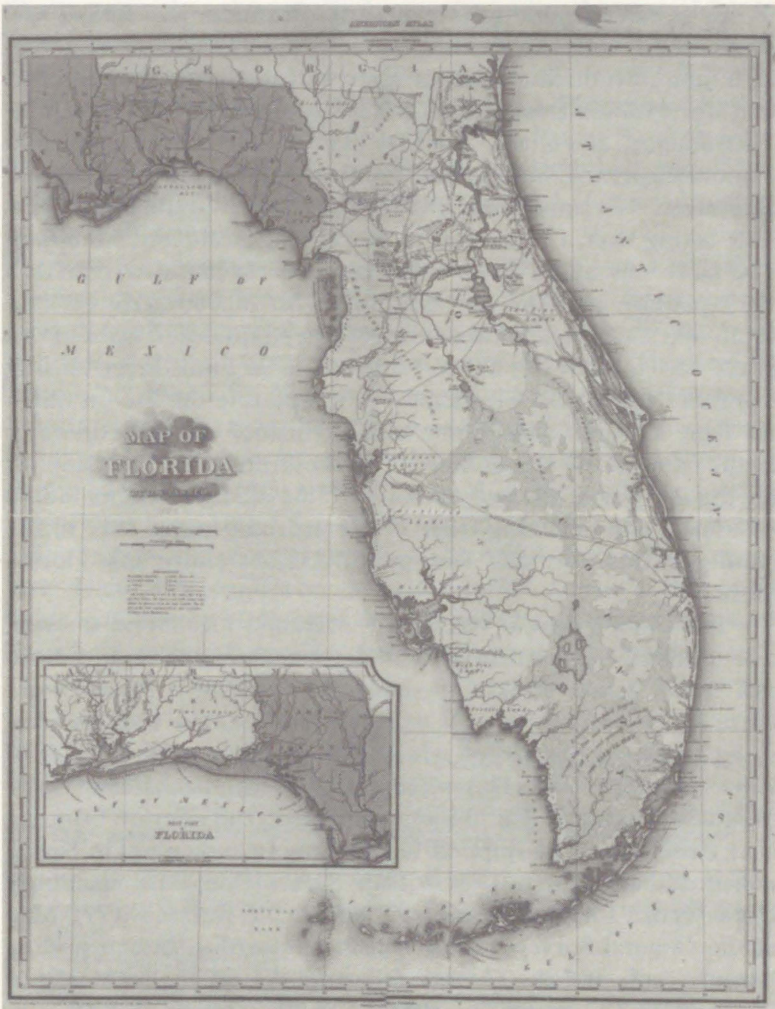
Dexter later stated that, through a transaction that remains unclear, he acquired from Rattenbury 2,000 acres of the tract. Dexter's friend, Peter Mitchel, lawyer and land speculator, maintained that Rattenbury had also conveyed to him 3,500 acres of the Volusia tract. Both men began improvements on the land in 1819.

Coppinger was eager to grant land to Dexter and others associated with the slave trade whose labor force would ensure development. Both Dexter and Mitchel were involved in the domestic slave trade, and Dexter was one of a few Anglo planters who dominated

24 *American State Papers, Public Lands* 6: 420, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsp&fileName=033/llsp033.db&recNum=443> (accessed 18 August 2019).

25 Map depicting unconfirmed Spanish land grant of Joseph F. Rattenbury, in Box 8, Folder 1 of Unconfirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, 1763-1821 (Series S 991), State Archives of Florida, <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/233236?id=44> (accessed 18 August 2019).

26 Charles Blacker Vignoles and Henry Schenck Tanner, Map of Florida [S.L., 1823], <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003627045/> (accessed 18 August 2019).



Tanner Map of Florida, 1823

the St. Augustine slave market.²⁷ Peter Mitchel was a partner in the large mercantile house of Carnochan and Mitchel that shipped slaves in and out of Savannah, Georgia between 1817 and 1820, with Peter Mitchel acting as an individual shipper in 1821 and 1833.²⁸

27 Landers, *Black Society*, 178.

28 Series D: Records of the U.S. Customhouses. *Papers of the American Slave Trade. Part 1: Port of Savannah Slave Manifests, 1790-1860.* 1, 89-94, 97, 115, <http://>

By as early as June or July of 1819, Alexander had settled fifty slaves on the Volusia tract and “made considerable improvements” including introducing “various species of stock.” In December of that year, Horatio Dexter arrived and “commenced with Alexander a settlement” at Volusia. Seventy “hands...cleared 157 acres and planted sugarcane, built 49 slave houses, and planted orchards and vineyards.”²⁹ At some point, Dexter established a trading post, possibly taking over a former store of Panton, Leslie and Company. The store was noted in Don Fernando de la Maza Arredondo’s 1817 petition to Governor Coppinger for 30,000 acres of land south and southwest of Lake George. Fifteen thousand acres of this grant were located on the west side of the St. Johns River starting from the “old Indian Chucichatty path opposite the site on which the firm of ‘Panton and Leslie’ had their store established known by the name of the Upper Store.”³⁰ Losses suffered by the company during the War of 1812 combined with the alienation of its Indian customers and declining trade in the province led in 1817 to the closing of this store and Panton and Leslie’s entire East Florida branch.³¹

The trading post at Volusia was originally located on the west side of the river at or near present-day Astor in Lake County. Scottish trader James Spalding established Spalding’s Upper Store there as it was convenient for trading with the Creek Indians, soon to be known as Seminoles, whose lands lay west of the St. Johns River. From Spalding’s Upper Store, traders with pack horses carrying trade goods traveled to Indian villages in the interior, bringing back deerskins to be shipped to company headquarters in Savannah and Charleston. In 1774 William Bartram lodged at Spalding’s Upper Store for several weeks.³² William de Brahm’s 1771 Map of the General Surveys of East Florida shows the “Indian trading house” south of Lake George (Dartmouth) on the west side of the river.³³ In 1775 the mercantile firm of Panton and Forbes in

www.lexisnexis.com/documents/academic/upa_cis/100539_AmSlaveTrade-SerDPt1.pdf (accessed 18 August 2019).

29 *American State Papers, Public Lands* 6: 421.

30 *American State Papers, Public Lands* 3:720-724, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ll/llsp/030/0700/07360721.tif> (accessed 16 August 2019).

31 William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands* (Pensacola: University of West Florida Press, 1986), 370.

32 Daniel L. Schafer, Florida History Online, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL, https://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Plantations/plantations/Spaldings_Upper_Store.htm (accessed 18 July 2019).

33 William Gerar de Brahm, *History of the three provinces South Carolina, Georgia,*

St. Augustine bought out the businesses and real estate of James Spalding and Roger Kelsall, including Spalding's Upper Store and the Lower Store located on the west side of the river at Stokes Landing six miles south of present-day Palatka. Panton and Forbes eventually became Panton and Leslie.³⁴ The Upper Store at Astor began operations under Panton, Leslie and Company possibly in 1783.³⁵ At some point after ownership changed, it began business on the east bank of the river.³⁶

Dexter's plantation was "said to have been built on a high shell mound,"³⁷ and the 1834 U.S. Government Township Survey would seem to confirm this as the plantation site is drawn as distinct from the wide riverbank margins to the north and south depicted as "marsh."³⁸ When Dr. William Hayne Simmons visited Dexter at Volusia in 1822, he described the ground appearing in many places "as if covered in snow from an abundance of these [periwinkle] shells scattered over the surface, while they are found by digging twenty feet below the level of the soil."³⁹ The site was located in a flood-plain, and the rich muck of the soil further inland would have been very conducive to agriculture.⁴⁰ Dexter's sugarcane fields may have been located north-northwest of the shell mound site where aerial photos from the 1940s show old cleared areas⁴¹

and East Florida: manuscript, [after 1771] Map of the General Surveys of East Florida (Cambridge, MA: Colonial North America at Harvard Library, Harvard University). https://colonialnorthamerica.library.harvard.edu/spotlight/cna/catalog/990098790550203941_FHCLHOUGH:11113614 (accessed 25 July 2019).

- 34 Schafer, "Forbes Bluff," Florida History Online, https://www.unf.edu/florida-historyonline/Plantations/plantations/Forbes_Bluff.htm (accessed 16 August 2019).
- 35 Coker and Watson, 365.
- 36 Brad Sanders, Official Site of the Bartram Trail Conference, email correspondence July 21, 2019; "The Bartram Trail: Florida," <http://bartramtrail.org/page-1657751> (accessed 20 July 2019).
- 37 Lillian Dillard Gibson, *Annals of Volusia: Birthplace of Volusia County* (Volusia, Florida: R. Alex Gibson, 1978), 35.
- 38 State of Florida Township Maps, T15S, R28E.
- 39 William Hayne Simmons, *Notices of East Florida with an account of the Seminole Nation of Indians* (Charleston 1822), 28, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00103078/00001/72x?search=volusia> (accessed 26 July 2019).
- 40 George Johnson, District Conservationist, Flagler and Volusia Counties, USDA-NRCS, "Historical Site of Volusia: Soils and Terrain," phone interview and emails, July 26, 2019.
- 41 University of Florida Aerial Photographs of Volusia County (1942), links courtesy of George Johnson, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00071789/00001/41x?search=volusia+%3dcounty> (accessed 26 July 2019).

or to the immediate east of the shell mound site where the survey noted an old field.

Further upriver south of current Lake Dexter was a tract of 11,520-acres encompassing Alexander Springs and Creek, presumably named by James Alexander. There Dexter supervised slaves putting up three buildings and planting a small orange grove.

Encompassing the southern half of current Palatka and its south to southwestern environs was Rattenbury's 4,000-acre tract called Vibilia.⁴² The Vibilia tract was bounded on the northerly or short side by the claim of Bernardo Segui and the "road to Lochway," the Seminole headquarters of Alachua. At Vibilia, Dexter's slaves cleared twenty-seven acres of land; planted corn, rice and potatoes; and built three dwelling houses.⁴³

Vibilia, "now called Vibrillia," is noted on the list of Spanish surveys of Rattenbury's claims.⁴⁴ Vibilia became known as Vybrillia and several other spelling variants of the name.⁴⁵ The tract lay across the river from "lands planted by the mulatto John/Juan Moore." Since Blacks and slaves sometimes used their master's surname and sometimes their biological father's surname, John Moore may have been John/Juan Gray/Grey, a free quadroon who worked for Hannah Mills, also known by her maiden name of Hannah Moore. [H]annah Mills is recorded in a baptismal record from St. Augustine as the mother of Edward Mills Wanton⁴⁶—trader, community leader, and possible kin (unverified) to Horatio Dexter's

42 Map depicting unconfirmed Spanish land grant of Joseph F. Rattenbury, in Box 8, Folder 1 of Unconfirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, 1763-1821 (Series S 991), State Archives of Florida, <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/233236?id=28> (accessed 18 August 2019).

43 *American State Papers, Public Lands* 6: 421.

44 List of unconfirmed Spanish land grant claims and surveys of Joseph F. Rattenbury, State Archives of Florida, https://www.floridamemory.com/FMP/SLG/doc_images/Rattenbury_JosephE_75x1/75x1_1_8_Rattenbury_JosephE_030.jpg (accessed 18 August 2019).

45 The phonetic tendency to put an "r" after the "b" in Vibilia endures in modern times and can be seen in the modern blog page of two science educators doing a krill survey in Antarctica, December 2011, wherein the species Vibilia is spelled Vibrilia: "Life as the Fraurers, Antarctica," Fraurers.blogspot.com (accessed 18 August 2019); the correct spelling of the species name Vibilia is verified at "Nature Picture Library" at www.naturepl.com, [https://www.naturepl.com/stock-photo/vibilia-sp-\(hyperiidea-vibiliidae\)-this-is-a-genus-that-isnt-too-easy/search/detail-0_01139284.html](https://www.naturepl.com/stock-photo/vibilia-sp-(hyperiidea-vibiliidae)-this-is-a-genus-that-isnt-too-easy/search/detail-0_01139284.html) (accessed 18 August 2019).

46 Black Baptisms, Roman Catholic Cathedral Parish of St. Augustine Records, vol. 2, no. 224, "Juan Zeferino Alexandro Wanton," St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Fl.

wife, Abigail Dennis.⁴⁷ The baptismal record also shows that John Moore's sister Margarita was Edward Wanton's wife.⁴⁸ Moore's land (unclear whether Hannah Moore's or John Moore's) included a ferry, a guardhouse or "pueste militar" (military post), and Moore's dwelling.

The Vibilia tract encompassed another of the four major Indian crossings on the St. Johns River, the remaining two being at Cow Ford and Picolata. As early as the 1650s, cattle from Spanish ranches at La Chua (Gainesville), Apalachee (Tallahassee), and north and south of present-day Palatka were driven across the river here on their way to the slaughterhouse at St. Augustine to supply meat for the garrison.⁴⁹ By the mid-1700s, Seminole Indians came to dominate the interior of the peninsula in a district variously known as "La Chua, Latchaway, and Allatchua," where they controlled the transpeninsular routes of travel.⁵⁰ Trails ran from the river here to Alachua, then north to the province of Apalachee in the current Florida Panhandle. The Seminoles called the crossing "pilo-taikita" meaning "ferry," "ford," or "canoe crossing". This was eventually simplified to Pelitka, then became Palatka.⁵¹ In the mid-1820s, Palatka replaced the river landing of Picolata further north as the head of ocean navigation on the St. Johns River. The "port" of Vibilia, or Vybrillia, became the gateway to the interior of north-central Florida.

Horatio Dexter was instrumental in opening this gateway. In 1818 Don Fernando de la Maza Arredondo and his son, Havana merchants living at St. Augustine, were granted almost 290,000 acres in the heart of Seminole-Creek territory around Alachua by

47 "History Bytes: Newport and Florida," March 29, 2011, Newport Historical Society, Newport, Rhode Island, <https://newporthistory.org/2011/history-bytes-newport-florida/> (accessed 18 August 2019).

48 Black Baptisms, Roman Catholic Cathedral Parish of St. Augustine Records, vol. 2, no. 224, "Juan Zeferino Alexandro Wanton," St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Fl.

49 Justin B. Blanton, "The Role of Cattle Ranching in the 1656 Timucuan Rebellion: A Struggle for Land, Labor, and Chiefly Power," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (Spring 2014): 672, 677-78; "A Brief History of Palatka," Putnam County Historical Society, <http://www.putnam-fl-historical-society.org/Historic/Historical%20Documents/PALHIST.html> (accessed 18 August 2019).

50 "Images of Alachua: From Planes to Trains, Sinks to Citrus", UF Libraries, University of Florida, 1, <http://web.uflib.ufl.edu/spec/pkyonge/alachua/voa1.html> (accessed 18 August 2019).

51 "Name Origins of Florida Places @OCHP," <http://info.flheritage.com/florida-names/> (accessed 18 August 2019); Allan A. Swanson, "Pilo-Taikita: A History of Palatka, Florida" (Jacksonville, FL: s.n., 1967), 1.

the King of Spain as a reward for Don Fernando's years of unpaid service to the Crown. Although the area had apparently been abandoned by the Seminoles, the Crown mandated that the Arredondos could not violate Indian rights to the land.⁵² In 1820, Peter Mitchel became one of Arredondo's partners, and asked Horatio Dexter to start a settlement in Alachua. Dexter, like Arredondo, was one of twelve merchants influential in St. Augustine affairs. As a plantation owner, a land speculator, and a trader with the Seminoles, Dexter had much-needed skills and connections.⁵³

Dexter's first task was to obtain the approval of the Seminole Indians. For this he called on his possible relative Edward Wanton who had worked for Panton and Leslie at Pensacola and was adept at Indian diplomacy. Dexter and Wanton realized that under American rule, settlers would pour into the Alachua region. They sought to obtain legal agreements with the Indians to deter American squatters and possibly delay Indian removal from Florida.⁵⁴

In the spring of 1823, Dexter was asked to be an Indian sub-agent for the Territory, to produce a comprehensive report on the Seminoles, and to assist in assembling them for a treaty. In a letter to Gov. William P. Duval, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Florida, Dexter states, "The Indians coming to attend the treaty will pass the St. Johns at Volusia and Vibrillia [sic] opposite [the old Spanish fort of] Buena Vista, and it will be necessary to provide food to enable them to go to town [St. Augustine]." Dexter then calculates the amount of rice needed for each site including Vibrillia.⁵⁵ That September, several hundred Seminoles passed through Vibrillia on their way to attend the Treaty of Moultrie Creek at a site several miles south of St. Augustine. The treaty would restrict the Seminoles to a reservation south of the Alachua country, freeing that area for white occupation.⁵⁶

In 1822, several Europeans and a group of tradesmen from New York and New Jersey recruited by the Florida Association of New York sailed by schooner from New York harbor to the St. Johns River. They disembarked at the port of Vabrillia, also cited as Vybrillia and Vebrillia where, with the labor of fifteen slaves, they began building a storehouse for their supplies, a dwelling for the agent, and a "practical wagon road" to Alachua. When completed,

52 Marotti, 465.

53 Marotti, 466.

54 Marotti, 468.

55 Boyd, 86.

56 Marotti, 471.

the road had nine bridges and extended fifty miles from the river into the settlement—"a road of great value not just to those who live there but to the country in general."⁵⁷ The settlement, called "Wanton" or "Wanton's," would later become Micanopy, the first permanent white settlement in Alachua County.⁵⁸ Two years later, the Arredondo grant would include twenty farms and 200 residents.⁵⁹

In 1821 British engineer Charles Blacker Vignoles was appointed city surveyor for St. Augustine and began traveling throughout East Florida collecting materials for a new map of the province. He wrote in his *Observations upon the Floridas* that from Micanopy, the "ancient capital of the Indian nation," the tracts "diverge in all directions to Black creek, Picolati, Vibrilia [sic], and Buffalo Bluff [south of current San Mateo and across from Stokes Landing] on the central parts of the St John's River". He also cites Vibrilia as one of the places the mail should pass through on its way from Pensacola to St. Augustine instead of the current route.⁶⁰

Dr. William Hayne Simmons, an East Florida resident who traveled through the province in the winter of 1822, saw a hollow gum tree "near Vibrillia" in which an Indian corpse had been placed with the feet protruding. He had already passed an "Indian tomb" of pine logs lashed with grape vines covering a body on the ground. In his *Notices of East Florida*, Simmons relates that Dexter had told him about cutting down an old cypress tree and finding a body inside. The author wondered that the Indians seemingly had no fixed mode of disposing of the dead. At a later point in his journey, he parted with his guide who was to go on to Vibrillia with horses to meet some settlers who were on their way to Alachua.⁶¹

What is the origin of the names Volusia and Vibilia?

Much like today's housing developments, these sites were intended to appeal to potential colonists, and the names would

57 *Full Text of "Record in the Case of the United States of America Versus Fernando M. Arredondo and Others,"* Supreme Court of the United States (Washington 1831), 131, 134, 268, <https://archive.org/details/recordincaseuni00courgoog/page/n274> (accessed 18 August 2019).

58 Micanopy Marker. University of North Florida Digital Commons. Historical Architecture Main Gallery, https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/historical_architecture_main/3355/ (accessed 18 August 2019).

59 Marotti, 471.

60 Charles Blacker Vignoles, *Observations upon the Floridas* (New York, 1823), 79, <https://archive.org/details/observationsupon00vign/page/68> (accessed 18 August 2019).

61 Dr. William Hayne Simmons, *Notices of East Florida*, 35, 42, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00103078/00001/79x?search=volusia> (accessed 26 July 2019).

have been an important marketing tool. Nineteenth-century plantation owners often looked to antiquity for inspiration. George Fleming named his 1,000-acre plantation north of Green Cove Springs “Hibernia,” the classical Latin name for Ireland, the land of his birth. Two early plantations in the Ormond area, “Rosetta” and “Damietta,” were named for ancient Egyptian cities and river branches near Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile.

Greco-Roman references evoking timelessness and tradition were especially popular. Someone with a high level of education, particularly for that time, put a good deal of thought into naming Volusia and Vibilia, possibly consulting reference books available in private collections or nineteenth-century libraries and bookstores, including those at Savannah and Charleston.

And that is where the source of these names can be found.

Volusia and Vibilia, Latin in origin, are Roman goddesses cited in numerous nineteenth-century dictionaries of classical mythology commonly used by headmasters, teachers, and tutors in both English and American schools. These books were “necessary for the understanding of the ancient poets”.⁶² As an editor of Tooke’s *Pantheon* wrote, “Without a general knowledge of Heathen Mythology, the immortal writings of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and others are almost unintelligible, and their principal beauties lost.”⁶³ Such a text, according to an editor of an earlier mythological dictionary, “will enable the scholar to understand the purport of his lesson, and thereby render his talk more pleasant and consequently, less tedious.”⁶⁴

From the end of the 18th century to mid-19th century, the intellectual and artistic achievement of ancient Greece and Rome was considered one of the foundations of Western culture. “The Classical world permeated almost every aspect of life, from political institutions and philosophical enquiry to scientific method and the basic forms of architecture. The classics of Latin literature, such as Virgil’s *Aeneid*, the *Odes* of Horace, and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* were

62 William King, *An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes* (London 1750, 1772), title page, <https://archive.org/details/anhistoricalacc00king-goog/page/n12> (accessed 18 August 2019).

63 Andrew Tooke, *The Pantheon: Representing the Fabulous Histories of the Heathen Gods* (Baltimore: William and Joseph Neal, 1833), iii., <https://archive.org/details/tookespantheonof00pomerich/page/n9> (accessed 18 August 2019).

64 Thomas Carnan, *The gentleman and lady’s key to polite literature, or, A compendius dictionary of fabulous history* (London 1783), Preface B1, <https://archive.org/details/gentlemanladyske00carn/page/n11> (accessed 18 August 2019).

standard texts.”⁶⁵ A grounding in Greek and Latin was part of the general education for gentlemen and a few privileged women of the time.

Beginning in the early 1700s, there was a “great outpouring of popular mythologizing.” Numerous inexpensive handbooks were printed to spread ideas about mythology to various audiences, especially students.⁶⁶ Andrew Tooke’s *Pantheon*, first published in English in 1698, was a bestseller. Tooke was an English scholar and headmaster of Charterhouse School in London who translated (though failed to credit) a Jesuit work called *Pantheum Mythicum* written in 1659 by Father Francois Pomey.⁶⁷ Tooke’s *The Pantheon: Representing the Fabulous Histories of the Heathen Gods and Most Illustrious Heroes* went through seventeen editions in Latin and thirty-six English editions before an American edition was published in New York in 1810.⁶⁸ Over the course of two centuries since its first appearance in English, it was in wide circulation on both sides of the Atlantic and was a standard text at Boston Latin School, one of the oldest schools in America. Tooke’s *Pantheon* became a standard textbook on Greek and Roman mythology in Britain for well over a century until 1859, when it was supplanted by Thomas Bulfinch’s *Age of Fable* (1855). As late as 1859, *The Pantheon* was published in America as “adapted for the use of students of every age and either sex,” as its title proclaimed.

Tooke’s 1774 and 1810 editions describe Volusia as a “goddess of corn” whose responsibility it was “to fold the blade round the corn before the beard breaks out, which foldings of the blade contain the beard as pods do the seed”. Vibilia was “a tutelar goddess... presiding over young and adult persons” whose task it was to “bring wanderers into their way again.”⁶⁹

From 1769 through the 1790s, John Bell, a popular London publisher and bookseller, had a bookstore and circulating library on the Strand called “The British Library”. Bell’s *New Pantheon*, a historical dictionary of gods and goddesses of antiquity published in 1790, volume two, provides similar entries for the names that are

65 Stephen Hebron, “The Romantics and Classical Greece” (British Library 2014), <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-romantics-and-classical-greece> (accessed 18 August 2019).

66 Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology 1680-1860* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2000), 130.

67 Tooke’s *Pantheon*, <http://www.hellenicaworld.com/Greece/Mythology/en/TookesPantheon.html> (accessed 18 August 2019).

68 Feldman and Richardson, 130.

69 Tooke, *Pantheon* (London 1774), 229, 290; (New York 1810), 205, 260.

far more readable than those in Tooke's *Pantheon*.⁷⁰ It is notable that Bell's bookstore in the Strand was just a short carriage ride away from Joseph Rattenbury's London insurance office at Copthall Court.

William King's *Historic Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes* (1710) was part of Thomas Jefferson's reference collection and another standard text of Boston Latin School. It was one of the most popular classical handbooks of the time, going through five editions by 1731 and still being printed in 1761.⁷¹ Multiple editions of King's book describe "Volutia" (variant) as "a goddess of young leaves," one of many deities who "protect plants as they grow out of the ground". She had charge over the plant as the leaves were opening.⁷² King does not provide an entry for Vibia.

Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* is one of the most famous dictionaries in history and "one of the greatest single achievements of scholarship...ever performed by one individual who laboured under anything like the disadvantages in a comparable length of time." First published in 1755, the dictionary took nine years to compile, required six assistants, and listed 40,000 words. The first Miniature Edition was published in London in 1800, and the first American Miniature Edition was published in Boston in 1804 from the fourteenth English edition.⁷³

The goddesses Volusia and Vibia are to be found in many editions of *Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language in Miniature*. Volusia was "a goddess of corn," and Vibia was "the goddess of wanderers". In several editions, both are listed on the same page which would have been remarkably convenient for someone researching potential plantation names.⁷⁴

Rev. John Entick's *The New Spelling Dictionary...with a Compendious Historical Dictionary of the Heathen Gods and Goddesses...Deduced from the Best Authorities* published in London in 1777 and 1783 cites

70 John Bell, *New Pantheon*, v. 2 (London 1790), 311, 318, <https://archive.org/details/b28777992/page/318> (accessed 18 August 2019).

71 Feldman and Richardson, 130.

72 King, *Historic Account* (London 1750, 1772), 162, <https://archive.org/details/anhistoricalacc00kinggoog/page/n204> (accessed 18 August 2019).

73 "Bureaucracy, Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language," University of North Texas Libraries, <https://exhibits.library.unt.edu/bureaucracy-love-story/items/johnson%E2%80%99s-dictionary-english-language> (accessed 18 August 2019).

74 Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language in Miniature* (Boston: W.P. and L. Blake, 1804), 262, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?q1=vibia;id=nyp.33433081987871;view=plaintext;seq=270;start=1;sz=10;page=search;nun=262> (accessed 18 August 2019).

Volusia as “a corn goddess” and Vibalia (variant) as “a goddess of wanderers.”⁷⁵ American editions were published in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1804 and 1812.

The names are also cited in *A Dictionary of Polite Literature*, v. 2, London (1804) with Volusia erroneously listed as “Wolusia. An inferior rural deity. [followed by her duties].”⁷⁶ Peacock’s *A General and Complete Dictionary of the English Language, To which are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Deities* (1785) lists Vibilia as “a goddess of wanderers” and “Voluna, [error variant] a corn goddess.”⁷⁷

The name Volusia may originate in the latter half of the Republican Period of Roman history or even earlier, in the founding days of Rome. Ettore Pais, director of excavations at Pompeii in the early 1900s, wrote about the discovery of a Roman fresco based on a famous painting representing myths about the origins of Rome. In his book *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, Pais analyzes the painting and describes the deities depicted. He relates that a goddess named Volusia was worshipped in a temple area located at the end of the Nova Via, a road paralleling the Via Appia, which connected the two most ancient parts of the Palatine Hill, the oldest part of the city, also called “the nucleus of the Roman Empire.” Here there was an altar of Volusia upon which sacrifices were made. The cult of Volusia was associated with the Mother of the Earth and with the Lares, spirits of the dead. “Volusia, under the appellation of Libertina, was considered a goddess...analogous to Venus.” Volusia may have been similar to Libertina, being “at one and the same time, the goddess of Love and of Death.”⁷⁸ It is not known how a goddess of this stature was transformed or demoted over the centuries into an inferior rural deity of corn. However, according to Pais, Volusia was also closely associated with Angerona, a goddess of Death and

75 Rev. John Entick, *The New Spelling Dictionary* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1777), 451; (London: Charles Dilly, 1783), 456; (New Haven, CT: Sydney’s Press, 1804, 1812), 400, <https://archive.org/details/enticksnewspell-00murrgoog/page/n386> (accessed 18 August 2019).

76 *A Dictionary of Polite Literature*, v. 2 (London: Scatcherd and Letterman, 1804), 400, 408, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?num=400&u=1&seq=9&view=plaintext&size=100&id=uiug.30112112354235> (accessed 18 August 2019).

77 W. Peacock, *A General and Complete Dictionary of the English Language, To which are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Deities* (London 1785), 264, <https://archive.org/details/ageneralandcomp00unkngoog/page/n264> (accessed 18 August 2019).

78 Ettore Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1906), 53, 97, 272, <https://archive.org/details/ancientlegendsr00pais-goog/page/n78> (accessed 17 August 2019).

Silence.⁷⁹ The Latin word for silence, *silentium*, is close to the word for corn, *frumentum*. The long *s*, an archaic form of the lower-case letter *s*, was derived from the old Roman cursive medial *s* which looks like an *f*. It could have been a transcription or printing error replicated over time, given the lack of standard orthography or printing techniques.

The melodious names of Volusia and Vibilia raise questions about who bestowed them on the two companion tracts and why these names were chosen. These questions are part of the larger issue of place and the power of naming. Space becomes “place” when it is given boundaries and accorded value. Place is created and recreated over time by diverse groups of people.⁸⁰ Place refers to how people are aware of or attracted to a space; it can be understood as “space that has meaning.” More than just a location, place is a location created by human experiences.⁸¹

Names give a place identity. Place names can evoke strong imagery and connotations. They can tell us about the topography of a site or about its history and are of special interest to those who study the past. Abraham Resnick, a social studies educator, compares place names, collectively, to characters in a regional narrative.⁸² Place names can “commemorate an event, recognize a past incident, honor a noteworthy person, or remember a founder.” They can reflect national, ethnic, or foreign or linguistic features. They can originate in a literary reference or a Native American term. Place names may be religious or mythical, or even manufactured or contrived.⁸³

Naming is a platform for the construction of heritage and identity. It is a powerful method of creating an identification with the past and “locating oneself within wider networks of memory.” Naming is a means of appropriating or taking ownership of places. It can be part of the process of claiming territory and subordinating

79 Pais, 79.

80 K. L. Wolf, S. Krueger, and K. Flora, “Place Attachment and Meaning - A Literature Review,” *Green Cities: Good Health* (University of Washington: College of the Environment, 2014), http://depts.washington.edu/hhwb/Thm_Place.html (accessed 13 July 2019).

81 Dr. Huib Ernste, “Space vs Place,” The Human Geography Knowledge Base, Dept of Human Geography, Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherlands, http://geography.ruhosting.nl/geography/index.php?title=Space_vs._place (accessed 14 July 2019).

82 Abraham Resnick, *In Search of American Place-Name Origins: Clues to Understanding our Nation's Past and Present* (Bloomington, IN: Iuniverse, 2012): 2.

83 Resnick, 2-4, Table of Contents.

indigenous histories. A name has the power to privilege one world view over another.⁸⁴ As Dolores Hayden notes in her book *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, “those in privileged positions can bury the truth of occupation and inhabitation in historical geographies.”⁸⁵

“Renaming” projects seek to create new connections between the past and the present.⁸⁶ The goal of these projects is to replace names that may reflect “racialized, classed, or gendered” accounts of place, as Hayden calls them, with names that bring to light hidden narratives or are more accurate and culturally inclusive. Some projects involve removing colonial names and bringing back aboriginal or indigenous ones. They all address basic issues such as: Who has the power to name? Whose knowledge is privileged? And whose narrative will dominate the political, cultural, and social landscapes?⁸⁷

The power of the names Volusia and Vibia to evoke a “network of memory” was lost on most contemporary inhabitants who would have been unfamiliar with these references from classical mythology. In the case of Volusia, its meaning and origin may never have been known to the inhabitants of the area and, over time, became the source of endless and imaginative speculation continuing to the present. The name Volusia endures in the community of Volusia and Volusia County. Vybrillia and its variants, however, went out of use in the mid-1820s when they were superseded by the Seminole-derived “Palatka.”

Indigenous history and names for the Volusia site might have been known to at least Horatio Dexter, but native names would never have been considered for a large-scale settlement of immigrants from the British Isles. An English or European name, preferably one from antiquity, would have been favored by the men associated with these land claims.

84 Derek Alderman, *Place, Naming, and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscape* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2008): 195-200, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286121765_Place_Naming_and_the_Interpretation_of_Cultural_Landscapes (accessed 16 July 2019).

85 Jen Jack Giesekeing & William Mangold, et al, editors, *The People, Place, and Space Reader*, Section 3: Place and Identity, <https://peopleplacespace.org/toc/section-3/> (accessed 15 July 2019).

86 Alderman, 195.

87 Michaela J. Carter, “The Power of Place Names: Embedding Bama Local Languages into the Australian Landscape,” *Langscape Magazine*, Vol. 7, Issue 1 (June 15, 2018) <https://medium.com/langscape-magazine/the-power-of-place-names-embedding-bama-local-languages-into-the-australian-landscape-2d43277b284a> (accessed 15 July 2019).

By imposing names from the distant past and from cultural references foreign to most settlers along the river, the namers rejected authentic connections to the land and its history, stamping it with their own Euro-centric brand. There was no attempt to relate to any physical feature of the claims or to their planned purpose as an agricultural enterprise. The names may have been intended to “gentrify” the tracts, conferring a contrived status and distinction on future settlements. Like many feminine names of plantations and ships, they established masculine ownership of and symbolic dominance over the named object, and, in this case, served to reflect the namer’s erudition and aesthetic sensibilities.

Many native Florida Indian and Seminole place names have survived in Florida, but in the case of Volusia and Vibia, the narrative that dominated the landscape was privileged, white, male, and Anglo/American or British, based on a nineteenth-century English educational curriculum of the time and derived from knowledge of a specialized field in that curriculum.

A similar story characterized Moses Levy’s claim at Micanopy. In 1822 Levy acquired 2,000 acres of land in the heart of Alachua territory abandoned by the Seminoles as they were driven further south. The Seminoles, in turn, had occupied it after the native Florida Indians were decimated during the Creek raids of the mid-1600s to 1700. On this land Levy worked to develop “Pilgrimage Plantation” as a refuge for European Jews fleeing persecution.⁸⁸ The native names or Seminole names for the site, if they were known, were not part of the naming process. Levy chose the English word “Pilgrimage”—suggesting a long journey of moral or spiritual significance—for its legacy of literary and religious connotations which would resonate with European Jews seeking haven in a new and foreign land.

The site of Volusia was shaped by historical events, economic influences, and technological change. It was undoubtedly an important native Florida Indian crossing long before European exploration of the St. Johns River. A native village of Mayaca or Mayarca appears on the 1591 De Bry and Le Moyne Map of Florida and Cuba located roughly south of a large lake that could be present-day Lake George. The map was based on a Le Moyne drawing done during a French expedition upriver circa 1564 and (possibly)

⁸⁸ Jerry Klinger, “Moses Elias Levy,” *Jewish Magazine* (2015): 14, http://www.jewishmag.com/2015/moses_elias_levy//moses_elias_levy.htm (accessed 16 July 2019).

reconstructed from his memory after he settled in London. In 1566, Gonzalo de Gayon, a river pilot for Pedro Menendez de Aviles, was sent south from St. Augustine to ransom some Frenchmen said to be held by a Chief Mayaca. Gayon's records situate the native village of Mayaca, head of the province of Mayaca, on the river at or near present Volusia. Two temporally-distinct Spanish missions were built here in the mid-1600s, one named San Salvador de Mayaca which appeared on the 1655 mission list drawn by Juan Diez de la Calle.⁸⁹

In 1774 William Bartram stocked up on supplies and lodged for several weeks at Spaldings Upper Indian Trade Store located at or near present-day Astor across the river from Volusia.⁹⁰ When the trading firm of Panton, Leslie and Company bought out Spalding, they established a new Upper Store across the river at the site that would become Volusia. Dexter's plantation of Volusia began to appear on maps in 1823 at the river crossing where several native transpeninsular trails came together. The "Road of Chocochate Settlement" leading from the river crossing to Seminole territory in the southwest of the peninsula is seen on the 1819 Spanish land grant survey map of Moses Levy's 14,500-acre tract located south of present-day Astor across the river from Volusia.⁹¹

On this claim, Levy developed a settlement and sugarcane plantation called Hope Hill which in 1822 was described by Charles Blacker Vignoles as "a good tract of land and settling with much enterprise."⁹² This did not last, however, as Levy set up a trading post in direct competition with Dexter's store across the river, violating the frontier rule of "one trader, one town" and creating serious conflict. Dexter, leading his Indian allies, had once threatened Levy with violence, infuriating Levy. An accident soon occurred to the overseer's houses, and Dexter was implicated.⁹³ In April of that year, Thomas Murphy wrote to Dexter, "I am sorry for the

89 Bonnie G. McEwan, ed., *The Spanish Missions of La Florida* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993): 112-114, 133.

90 Daniel L. Schafer, Florida History Online, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL, https://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Plantations/plantations/Spaldings_Upper_Store.htm (accessed 18 July 2019).

91 Survey map depicting confirmed Spanish land grant of Moses E. Levy, in Box 12, Folder 12 of Confirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, 1763-1821 (Series S990), State Archives of Florida, <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/232763?id=140> (accessed 20 July 2019).

92 Vignoles, 68, <https://archive.org/details/observationsupon00vign/page/68> (accessed 26 July 2019).

93 C. S. Monaco, *Moses Levy of Florida: Jewish Utopian and Antebellum Reformer* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2005) 100-101.

accident that has occurred to Mr. Rutan's [the manager's] houses and [???] it has not been done by design. Anything of that kind is [allowed/allotted?] to the injury of the Indians more than anything else."⁹⁴ Hope Hill seemed to be deliberately destroyed, probably by fire. Levy incurred heavy losses and was forced to abandon the plantation.

Levy later confronted Dexter in St. Augustine, calling him "an assassin, an incendiary, a scoundrel and a rascal." Dexter claimed he had been falsely accused, denying any involvement in "murder" and "house burning". He sued Levy for slander, seeking \$10,000 in damages.⁹⁵ It is worth noting that Dexter's anger towards the proprietors of the Arredondo grant together with increasing competition for the Indian trade later motivated him to plan to join his Indian supporters in burning down the incipient settlement of Micanopy.⁹⁶

Horatio Dexter's plantation at Volusia was an important crossing for the Seminole Indians and a strategic riverboat landing where his trading post provided supplies, labor, boats, and horses to settlers and traveling officials. There was still a trading post at Volusia when it was surveyed in 1834.⁹⁷ The U.S. Survey Field Notes for 1834 mark the "Volusia Indian trading and Indian crossing" site with a dwelling icon.⁹⁸ During the Second Seminole War, it was the site of Forts Call and Volusia, and Fort Barnwell/Columbia.⁹⁹ Riverboats and, later, steamboats brought supplies, mail, and passengers upriver from Jacksonville in return for shipments of fish, oranges, cotton, and animal pelts. After the Civil War, steamboat traffic increased, bringing tourists and settlers to the communities along the river south of Lake George. By the 1890s, railroads began taking

94 Letter of Thomas Murphy to Horatio Dexter, 1822, Horatio S. Dexter Correspondence, 1821-1823, 14, James David Glunt Collection, 1797-1930, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida Digital Collections, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00016873/00005/14> (accessed 17 August 2019).

95 Monaco, 101; Horatio Dexter v. Moses Levy [1824], folder 31, box 134, Civil Cases St. Johns County, SAHS.

96 Monaco, "A Sugar Utopia on the Florida Frontier: Moses Elias Levy's Pilgrimage Plantation," *Southern Jewish History* (2002):5, 112, https://www.jewishsouth.org/system/files/sjh_v._5_2002_monaco.pdf (accessed 17 August 2019).

97 Gibson, *Annals of Volusia*, 31.

98 U.S. Survey Field Notes and Maps, Volume 60, Section 29, T15S, R28E, State of Florida Dept. of Environmental Protection, Bureau of Survey and Mapping, Title and Land Records Section; State of Florida Township Maps, T15S, R28E, State of Florida Dept. of Environmental Protection, Bureau of Survey and Mapping, Title and Land Records Section.

99 Gibson, 36.

shipping away from the steamboats, but logging, naval stores, citrus, and fishing remained major industries.¹⁰⁰

After WWI, buses and trucks began to take over transportation, and the population of Volusia declined.¹⁰¹ But the area gained new life when it was later discovered by tourists and became a popular fishing, hunting, and boating resort. In 1980 a new Astor Bridge was constructed between Astor and Volusia on State Road 40 facilitating travel on the main route to Ocala and Gainesville going through the Ocala National Forest.

Volusia today is an unincorporated community of several hundred homes and a river resort with seafood restaurants, waterside inns, campgrounds, marinas, and vacation rentals. To the northeast is Pierson, a major fern-growing center; to the south is Lake Dexter; to the east is Barberville; and to the west are Astor, Lake County, and the Ocala National Forest.

Who assigned the names Volusia and Vibia to these historical tracts of land along the St. Johns River?

Joseph Rattenbury, James Alexander, and Horatio Dexter all had the knowledge and the legal standing to name them. Or Peter Mitchel, whose heirs, two of his brothers, are named in an Alachua County abstract as Octavius and Hector,¹⁰² pointing to a family who revered classical history and literature. These men were highly educated and worldly, with far-reaching business interests—Rattenbury as a merchant and lawyer in London with high-level and governmental contacts in England, the United States, and Spanish East Florida; Horatio Dexter as a prominent merchant in St. Augustine whose business took him to New York, Charleston, and Havana, Cuba, and who had close contact with Spanish and U.S. Territorial governmental officials; Peter Mitchel as a partner with his brothers in the Savannah-based Carnochan and Mitchel firm with commerce in Charleston, Pensacola, and Havana. In 1817 the firm of Carnochan and Mitchel bought most of the massive Forbes Land Grant in the Florida Panhandle. Of attorney James Alexander, it is known only that he conducted business in New York and Philadelphia and died of fever in 1820 in St. Augustine. Each of these men had motive, means, and opportunity to name these sites. Of course, it is entirely possible that the sites could have been named

100 Gibson, 57-59.

101 Gibson, 67.

102 Abstract of Title, Lot 5 Maple Hill, Alachua County, FL, page 5, <http://www.genedavisfamily.com/family/abstract/ABSTRACT.pdf> (accessed 18 August 2019).

by a landowner previous to Rattenbury, but it is unlikely that this person would own or claim the land of both the Volusia and Vibilia tracts concurrently as did Rattenbury.

Horatio Singer Dexter was born in 1785 in Grafton, Massachusetts, to a large and prosperous family who valued education. His middle name is that of his father's revered tutor, and Horatio had probably also been privately tutored. In 1802, seventeen-year-old Horatio was living with family members either in Pawtucket or Newport, Rhode Island.¹⁰³ That year a trio of full-rigged East India ships carrying valuable cargo foundered in a terrible winter storm off nearby Cape Cod, resulting in heavy loss of life and financial damage. The ships were the *Ulysses*, the *Brutus*, and the *Volusia*, which was partially saved. The storm and the wrecks were widely reported in the New England news and also in London media. Dexter may have experienced the storm and, in the maritime culture of the area, would have had certain knowledge of the event and the name *Volusia*.

In 1807 as a young merchant residing in Newport, Rhode Island, Dexter married Abby Dennis, also of Newport.¹⁰⁴ Abby's father and grandfather were famous sea captains and owners of sailing ships, some engaged in the East India trade, one ship with Edward Wanton's father as master.¹⁰⁵ She would have grown up in a family familiar with the tradition of naming ships for figures from antiquity, and it is possible that the idea for the plantation names came from her. By 1813 or 1814, Horatio was a trader on the St. Marys River, the eastern portion of the Florida-Georgia border.¹⁰⁶ As a land dealer and businessman in East Florida, he traveled to New York; Charleston, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia, and presumably back to Rhode Island for family visits and had access to the best bookstores and libraries, or, more likely, had his own reference collection.

Dexter knew Latin and referenced the *Lex Talionis* in describing Seminole culture. He wrote polished, informed letters to government officials, and his report to Secretary of War John Calhoun

103 Susan Wildemuth, "Quilt History Stories: Elgin, Illinois; Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Dexter Yarn Company Story," Bk 4, <https://www.illinoisquilthistory.com/dexterlineage.html> (accessed 18 August 2019).

104 Vital Record of Rhode Island. 1636-1850. XVII, Rhode Island Historical Society, 245.

105 "To James Madison from Samuel Vernon, Jr., 7 December 1805 (Abstract)," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/?q=%20Author%3A%22Vernon%2C%20Samuel%20Jr.%22&cs=1111311121&sa=vern on&cr=1> (accessed 18 August 2019).

106 Turner, 3.

on the state of the Indians called “Observations on the Seminole Indians” (1823) is scholarly and well written. He possessed a special talent in learning languages and forming relationships with the Seminoles through interpersonal communications.

Greco-Roman names from antiquity were popularly used for nineteenth-century sailing vessels. The *Vibilia* was a brigantine built in 1818 in the north of England. Joseph Freeman Rattenbury, his father, or brother is listed in a Plymouth, England city directory of 1812 as a ship broker.¹⁰⁷ Through this connection, Rattenbury may have had knowledge of the ship and the name.

Rattenbury was a witty and urbane writer, steeped in the classics, and fluent in Latin and French. He practiced law in London, was by his own account a “considerable traveller on the continent of Europe,”¹⁰⁸ and wrote extensively on international politics. He had access to the best English libraries and bookstores. His 1819 narrative includes quotes in Latin from Cicero, a Roman statesman and orator; Syrus, a Latin writer; and Seneca, a Roman philosopher, quotations which are found in *A Dictionary of Select and Popular Quotations published in London 1803 and Philadelphia in 1810*.¹⁰⁹ Rattenbury referenced the Romans in expressing his disillusionment with General Simón Bolívar, “whose devotion and *amor patria* we had been taught to admire as a splendid imitation of the heroic and noble Romans of the best ages of that commonwealth”¹¹⁰; Rattenbury’s descriptions in the narrative also reference Greco-Roman mythological figures such as Morpheus [Greek God of Dreams]; “the god of day”; and “Neptune [Roman God of the Sea] and his tritons.”¹¹¹ In a seemingly unrelated endnote to the narrative, he includes Plutarch’s story of Eponia [Epona] and Sabinus.¹¹²

In 1822 Rattenbury published *Edgar and Ella: A Legendary Tale of the Sixteenth Century in Three Cantos and Other Poems*, a book of Romantic poetry harshly panned by a contemporary critic. The poetry contains references to Homer’s “rosy-fingered dawn”

107 *The Picture of Plymouth* (Plymouth, England: Rees and Curtis, 1812), 205, <http://web.archive.org/web/20111125202945/http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~terryw/plydirec/plym1812/plymouth/norrich.jpg> (accessed 18 August 2019).

108 [Rattenbury], 133.

109 David Evans Macdonnell, *A Dictionary of Select and Popular Quotations, which are in Daily Use: Taken from Latin, French, Greek, Spanish, and Italian* (London 1803; Philadelphia 1810).

110 [Rattenbury], 43.

111 [Rattenbury], 141, 14, 34.

112 [Rattenbury], 329 (misnumbered as 159).

from the *Odyssey* and “Bright Phoebus,” Greek God of the Sun, from Homer’s *Iliad*.¹¹³ Two of Rattenbury’s poems celebrating women and wine are written in the style of the ancient Greek poet Anacreon.¹¹⁴

Rattenbury, especially, and Horatio Dexter would seem to be foremost among the contenders for the title of name-giver. However, the former does not show much apparent interest in his own project. In October of 1818 he turned over half interest in his claim to James Alexander and by 1819 was back in London writing his memoirs. Perhaps Rattenbury named the tracts before he left East Florida. Dexter, on the other hand, had immediate personal possession of the Volusia tract for eight years and was also closely involved with the site of Vibilia/Vybrillia for many years as the supplier for settlers landing there and heading to Alachua. This would lend credibility to Dexter as the name-giver of the sites.

In the end, all of Rattenbury’s land claims and those of his grantees were rejected by the U.S. Board of Land Commissioners set up by Congress to determine the validity of land grant claims. Upon ratification of the Adams-Onís Treaty in 1821, control of Florida passed to the United States which agreed to honor any valid land grants made under Spanish rule if they were verified through documentation and testimonials. As one legal analyst put it, the U.S. faced a dilemma: on the one hand, the U.S. government wanted to obtain title over as much of the Florida territory as it could for its own use and purposes; on the other hand, the federal government was committed to treating private property owners justly, even when their claims arose under Spanish authority. The two parties came to an agreement that January 24, 1818, would be a cut-off date. If the Spanish Crown, or other lawful Spanish authority in Florida, made a grant before that date, then the U.S. agreed to recognize the legitimacy of claims to land arising thereunder. If a Spanish land grant was made after January 24, 1818, however, such a grant would be “null and void,” and the U.S. would end up owning the land covered by grants of this latter type.¹¹⁵ Ratten-

113 Ralph and G. E. Griffiths, eds., *The Monthly Review, or Literary Journal, Enlarged* XCVII, January to April 1822 (London 1822), 436-38, <https://books.google.com/books?id=s6zQAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA436#v=onepage&q&f=true> (accessed 18 August 2019).

114 Doyle, “Unmasked,” 200.

115 Glenn Boggs, “The Case of Florida’s Missing Real Estate Records,” *The Florida Bar Journal*, V. LXXVII, No. 9 (October 2003), 10, <https://www.floridabar.org/the-florida-bar-journal/the-case-of-floridas-missing-real-estate-records/> (accessed 18 August 2019).

bury's claim was rejected, first, because it was determined that he had not complied with the conditions and the spirit or intent of the grant, and second, because it was made after the cut-off date.¹¹⁶

Nonetheless, Rattenbury was later able to use his experience in East Florida to represent several English peers in their own claims. In 1823, he would write from London as an attorney for, among others, Lord John Rolle, who had succeeded his father, Denys Rolle, as MP for Devonshire, to record a claim for the 20,000-acre site of Rollestown.¹¹⁷

In 1823 Horatio Dexter submitted a claim for the 2,000 acres at Volusia which he stated Rattenbury had conveyed to him, and Peter Mitchel submitted a similar claim for the 3,500 acres he had acquired from Rattenbury. Both claims were rejected, Dexter's because he was considered to be more of a business partner with Rattenbury than an objective and independent memorialist.

Volusia and its companion tract of Vibilia encompassed major Indian crossings on the St. Johns River. Volusia was the site of Panton, Leslie and Company's Upper Store which closed in 1817 when the company ceased operations in East Florida, but Horatio Dexter maintained an important trading post at that location. From 1819 until about 1828, Volusia was a successful sugarcane plantation and a supply depot for Indians, settlers, and traveling government officials. During the Second Seminole War, several U.S. Army forts were established in the area, opening up trails and bringing in steamboat transport. Volusia developed into a busy river landing exporting local goods to northern markets. In 1854 the new Florida county of Volusia, formed from Orange County, took its name from the community of Volusia. After the Civil War, major steamboat lines visited Volusia Landing, bringing in increasing numbers of tourists and settlers. Railroads eventually diverted much of the traffic from the river, taking tourists to the interior and further south. After WW2, roads and highways made it easier to access places like Volusia, giving it new life as a residential community and recreational resort for boating, camping, and fishing.

116 *American State Papers, Public Lands* 4: 398, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsp&fileName=031/llsp031.db&recNum=408> (accessed 18 August 2019). *Public Lands* 6: 421, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsp&fileName=033/llsp033.db&recNum=444> (accessed 18 August 2019).

117 United States. Works Projects Administration. *Historical Records Survey. Spanish Land Grants in Florida*. (Tallahassee: State Library Board, 1942) 1: 270, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE221353 (accessed 18 August 2019).

Vibilia, commonly known as “Vybrillia,” first appears in the records in 1819 as a small agricultural development supervised by Horatio Dexter. When Dexter was asked to help start a settlement in Alachua, he partnered with Edward Wanton, Dexter acting as an Indian agent for the territorial government and Wanton devoting himself to the Alachua grant, supervising the development and trading with the Indians. The site of “Vybrillia” served as a supply depot, trading post, and “port” or landing for the Alachua settlement, bringing goods and people into the interior of the peninsula.

In 1827, as Charles Vignoles had suggested, the postal route from Pensacola to St. Augustine was rerouted through “Vybrillia,” now known as Palatka. At this time, the U.S. Army constructed warehouses where provisions were deposited for further shipment along the river and into the interior. Seminole Indian unrest began in 1826, causing the influx of settlers to reverse itself, and the post office was closed in 1829, due to the decrease in population.¹¹⁸

During the Second Seminole War, Palatka was attacked and burned, sending residents of the entire St. Johns River Valley fleeing to St. Augustine. In 1838, the U.S. Army established Fort Shannon at Palatka as a garrison, supply depot, and hospital for forts in the area. By the mid-1800s, lumber and citrus industries flourished, and tourism increased, making Palatka the hub of river transport into and out of central Florida. In 1849, Palatka was named Putnam County seat, and it was incorporated as a town in 1853.¹¹⁹

After the Civil War, Palatka became known as “The Gem City of the St. Johns” when steamboats brought tourists to its several world-class hotels and to the tributaries of the St. Johns, particularly the Ocklawaha River. Palatka prospered, eventually rivalling Jacksonville as the major port on the St. Johns River.¹²⁰ By 1885, seven steamboat lines operated out of Palatka. However, the railroads increasingly expanded into the interior and freight was shipped directly by rail. During the 1880s, Palatka attracted five new railroad lines and established itself once again as central Florida’s

118 “A Brief History of Palatka,” Putnam, FL Historical Society, <http://putnam-fl-historical-society.org/Historic/Historical%20Documents/PALHIST.html> (accessed 25 July 2019).

119 Ben Brotemarkle, “Palatka: Small Town with a Long History,” *Florida Frontiers*, Florida Historical Society, Dec. 17, 2017, <https://myfloridahistory.org/frontiers/article/188> (accessed 27 July 2019).

120 “About Palatka,” <https://palatka-fl.gov/274/About-Palatka> (accessed 26 July 2019).

transportation center.¹²¹ But, as with Volusia, railroads caused steamboat transport to decline, and Palatka's days as a major tourist resort ended. Modern Palatka has a large downtown business district and is known for its Riverfront Park, area paddling trails, cultural arts venues and festivals, and two nationally-designated historic districts.

Volusia and Vibilia should be understood within the context of their shared provenance: as ancient river crossings at the convergence of native Florida Indian, Seminole, and Spanish trails; as Spanish land grant claims of London entrepreneur Joseph Freeman Rattenbury; and as properties co-developed by Horatio Dexter and, until his death in 1820, James Alexander, with Dexter taking ownership of Volusia while supplying settlers arriving at the port of Vibilia. Strategically located, the settlements had similar histories as sites of U. S. Army forts during the Second Seminole War; as important river landings for steamboat transport of freight and passengers with Palatka becoming a major winter tourist resort; as exporters of citrus and timber to northern markets with Palatka growing into a major shipping port; and, in this century, as popular destinations for recreational and ecological tourism with Palatka also being known for its architectural preservation and heritage tourism.

The key to the relationship between Rattenbury's companion plantations on the St. Johns River lies not only in their shared history. The key is to be found primarily in their names—in their harmonious and lyrical quality, in their ancient origins in “*la lingua romana*,” and in their genesis in the classical mythology of possibly the earliest days of the Roman Empire. Volusia and Vibilia—timeless Roman goddesses who once presided at the portals to the heartlands of Spanish and Territorial East Florida.

121 “A Brief History of Palatka,” Putnam, FL Historical Society, <http://putnam-fl-historical-society.org/Historic/Historical%20Documents/PALHIST.html> (accessed 25 July 2019).

The Making of Florida's "Criminal Class": Race, Modernity, and the Convict Leasing Program, 1877-1919

by Connor Donegan

“**T**o degrade a white man by physical punishment is to make a bad member of society and a dangerous political element,” so declared the report of the three person committee appointed by the delegates to Florida’s 1865 constitutional convention.¹ Their charge was to facilitate the drafting of a new legal code in conformity with the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude except as punishment for a duly convicted crime. The criminal code enacted in the legislative sessions of 1865 and 1866 embodied the conviction of the formerly-Confederate lawmakers that the State of Florida would continue to uphold and enforce the legal and economic dominance of whites. Among the new laws, known as the Black Code, was a provision allowing juries to prescribe up to thirty-nine lashes, an hour in the pillory, or both as an alternative to jail or the imposition of a fine. This sprung from their view that, in contrast to white offenders, “[t]o fine and imprison a colored man...is to punish the State instead of the criminal.”² The

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1 Jerrell H. Shofner, “Custom, Law and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida’s ‘Black Code,’” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1977): 283.

2 Ibid.

nature of the Black Codes passed in Florida and across the South during the administration of President Andrew Johnson provided radical Republicans in the US Congress the political momentum to dissolve the new state governments, initiating the period of Congressional Reconstruction.

With the US military enforcing the voting rights of freedmen Harrison Reed was elected Florida's first Republican governor alongside Florida's first multi-racial legislature. On January 26, 1871, nearly three years after the federal government granted to the state an abandoned arsenal in remote Chattahoochee, Florida, for use as a penitentiary, Governor Reed signed into law "An Act to Establish and Maintain a State Prison."³ The institution remained severely underfunded while able-bodied prisoners were intermittently leased out to private railroad interests as forced laborers.⁴ By 1876 prison labor had transformed the ruined building and surrounding acreage into a productive prison farm, arguably advancing towards the goal of self-sufficiency.⁵ When Florida's Reconstruction government fell to the Democratic "Redeemers" in the election of 1876, so too did the penitentiary. Despite its severe shortcomings, the imprisonment of black offenders had embodied a role for government which stood in direct contrast to the more coercive and austere vision proffered by Redeemers and the legislature of 1866. On March 2, 1877, however, the legislature authorized funding to convert the penitentiary at Chattahoochee into a public asylum for the insane; the following day the legislature approved an act granting the governor the power to lease the prison population to private interests on terms deemed favorable to the state.⁶ "Spend nothing unless absolutely necessary," Governor

3 Florida Senate, *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Florida at the Fourth Session of the Legislature* (Tallahassee, FL: Charles H. Walton, State Printer, 1871), 199, archive.flsenate.gov (accessed August 21, 2019).

4 Florida Adjutant General's Office, *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of Florida with the Report of the Warden of the State Prison for the Year Ending December 31, 1874* (Tallahassee, FL: The Floridian, 1875): 3-4. <http://edocs.dlis.state.fl.us/fldocs/dma/ar/index.htm> (accessed August 21, 2019).

5 Ibid; Marcellus Stearns, Message to a joint assembly of the Florida Legislature of January 16, in *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Florida at the Eighth Session of the Legislature* (Tallahassee, FL: Charles H. Walton, State Printer, 1875), 35, archive.flsenate.gov (accessed August 21, 2019).

6 Florida Adjutant General's Office, *Biennial Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of Florida for 1877-8* (Tallahassee, FL: C. E. Dyke, Sr., State Printer, 1879), 6-11.

George Drew exclaimed.⁷ Under the new system of convict leasing, black criminals would no longer “punish” the state by way of the financial burden of food, housing and guard; instead, private individuals and corporations were to pay the state to take full possession of the entire prison population while exploiting the labor of prisoners, at the pain of the lash, in their private industrial or agricultural enterprises. By the end of the convict leasing system in 1919 approximately 14,000 Floridians and visitors had served sentences in a sprawling network of private labor camps located throughout the state.⁸

At least since Alex Lichtenstein’s pioneering work historians have linked convict leasing to the New South coalition of elites that sought a quasi-modernization of the southern economy. Convict leasing enabled an industrialization process that would preserve the power and wealth of the planter class, Lichtenstein argued, by siphoning some agricultural workers into nascent industries while solidifying plantation labor relations by providing “a powerful sanction against rural blacks.”⁹ The plantation economy is removed as the central focus of more recent research. As Sarah Haley summarizes, “convict labor was a system of gendered racial terror that maintained and propagated race/gender logics in the face of economic and social shifts including industrialization, urbanization, explosions of white women’s wage work, and black migration.”¹⁰ Indeed, while Georgia is the focus of Haley’s study, administrators of the Florida prison system at times articulated their own understanding of convict leasing in terms of enforcing labor discipline and deference to whites specifically in a context of black urbanization and inter-state labor migration. While Florida’s state prisoners amounted to only a small portion of the labor force in extractive

7 George Drew, “Governor’s Message” of January 11, in *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Florida at the Ninth Session of the Legislature* (Tallahassee, FL: C. E. Dyke, Sr. State Printer, 1877), 37, archive.flsenate.gov (accessed August 21, 2019).

8 For regional histories of convict leasing see Matthew Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866-1928* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996) and Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery By Another Name: the Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Random House, 2008).

9 Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (New York: Verso, 1996), 13.

10 Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 256; cf. Talitha L. LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

industries such as lumber and turpentine, this article analyzes decades of prison reports and sentencing data to explore how the penal system functioned as a labor market institution that contributed to wage repression and tyrannical labor relations. The twin practices of convict leasing and debt peonage were, as Jerrell Shofner described, "often overlapping, sometimes practically merging, but always operating at the expense of laborers."¹¹

The repressive character of convict leasing stemmed in large part from the arbitrary authority invested in the courts which, according to prevailing constitutional theory of the time, were not bound to provide due process to criminal defendants in state and local courts. The well-known result is that white women were almost never sentenced to prison, black women routinely were, and the vast majority of prisoners were black males. This article uncovers another pattern—the seemingly systematic sentencing of persons with disabilities. According to prison physician's reports from 1905 and 1907 a remarkable thirty percent of Florida's prison population were identified as disabled, aged, or afflicted with disease upon their entry to the prison. This article explores the shifting narratives of the prison administrators and lessees as they attempted to explain the prevalence of disability and disease among prisoners as well as high prison mortality rates. Florida prison officials' efforts to save convict leasing from its political opposition by promoting a process of penal reform are particularly important to this history. In addition to entrenching existing attitudes towards race and crime, in official reports and professional networks Florida's prison officials trafficked in the latest, pseudo-scientific theories of racial hierarchy in a concerted attempt to recast the brutal institution as not just acceptable for modernizing Florida but as particularly suitable for repressing the state's increasingly non-agricultural black working class.

The Administration of Justice in Post-Redemption Florida

Even before the passage of Jim Crow laws criminal defendants in the United States were explicitly denied the right to due process. The legal basis for the denial of due process to criminal defendants was the doctrine of dual federalism under which federal and state governments were each said to have sovereign authority within their

11 Jerrell H. Shofner, "Forced Labor in the Florida Forests, 1880-1950." *Journal of Forest History* 25, no. 1 (1981): 14.

respective jurisdictions. Writing for the majority in *United States v. Cruikshank* (1876), Chief Justice Morrison Waite argued, "The same person may be at the same time a citizen of the United States and a citizen of a State, but his rights of citizenship under one of those governments will be different from those he has under the other."¹² As criminal defendants were overwhelmingly tried in lower courts for violation of state and local law they were not guaranteed the privileges delineated in the Bill of Rights.¹³ The direct result of the Supreme Court's refusal to enforce the rights of defendants was, in the words of Judge Emory Speer of the Federal District Court of Southern Georgia, that local officials were "entrusted by the state with practically arbitrary power to impose cruel and infamous punishment for offenses of the most trivial" nature.¹⁴ The predictable outcome was persecutory and prejudice-driven sentencing: African Americans comprised between 76 and 97 percent of annual state prison sentences during the convict leasing program though they accounted for less than 44 percent of Florida's population. While most prisoners were black men, a total of at least 338 black women were also sentenced to state prison while just eighteen white women were sentenced in the same period.¹⁵ Critically, the debased legal practices scorned by Judge Speer extended beyond the backcountry and into the State Circuit Courts of Florida.

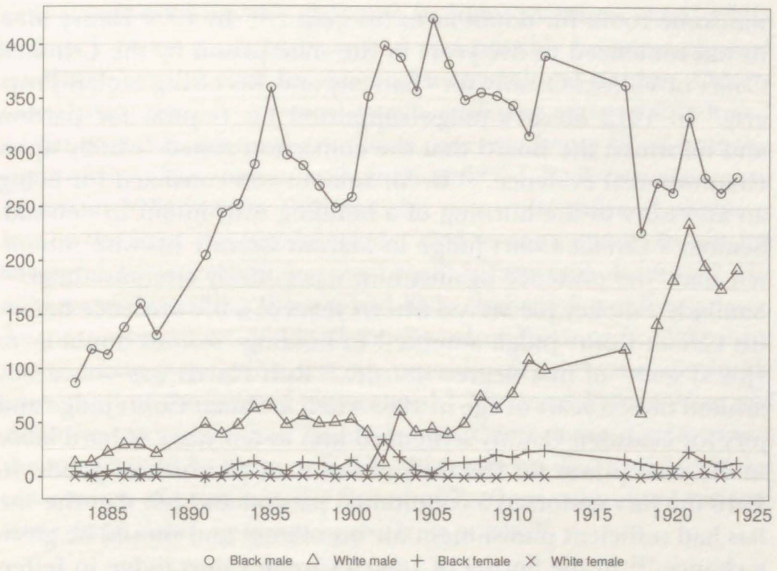
The conditional pardon served as a means of redress for unfair sentencing in Florida, though it was woefully inadequate. The Board of Pardons was the closest thing defendants could find to an institutional check on the whims and raw prejudices of the judiciary. Successful applications for conditional pardon often had the support of local officials including the applicant's judge, the arresting sheriff, members of the jury, perhaps a County Solicitor or public attorney as well as the required citizen's petition. R. W.

12 *United States v. Cruikshank*, 92 542 (U.S. 1876).

13 David J. Bodenhamer, *Fair Trial: Rights of the Accused in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); James Gray Pope, "Snubbed Landmark: Why *United States v. Cruikshank* (1876) Belongs at the Heart of the American Constitutional Canon," *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 49 (2014): 385.

14 Brent J. Aucoin, *A Rift in the Clouds: Race and the Southern Federal Judiciary, 1900-1910* (University of Arkansas Press, 2007), 50; Timothy S. Huebner, "Emory Speer and Federal Enforcement of the Rights of African Americans, 1880-1910," *American Journal of Legal History* 55, no. 1 (2015): 34-63.

15 Author's calculations based on data collected from Department of Agriculture of the State of Florida, "Prison Division," in *Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, FL: State Printer, Various years) Hereafter BRCA.



State prison sentences by race and gender, 1883-1925

Moore, an investigator for the Florida Board of Pardons, wrote in 1896 that “the convict has but little chance to look after...such petitions” and that he himself never received adequate resources to copy evidence from files, to visit the various counties, and circulate the petition. “In many cases in which I think the parties deserve the clemency of the board the evidence was not taken down even in capital cases,” Moore reported, “and I have found it quite difficult to get a statement of fact upon which to base an opinion”¹⁶ Between 1900 and the end of the convict leasing program in 1919 44.4 percent of white convicts received a pardon compared to 10.8 percent of black convicts.

While prisoners and their loved ones lobbied the Board of Pardons, pardon investigators like Moore sought to obtain written statements from judges confirming that the defendant was unfairly tried. Ralph W. Daniels, an African American resident of Duval County, was given a twenty-year sentence for arson by the Circuit Court. After nine years of hard labor in state prison camps Daniels’ judge endorsed a statement proclaiming “that such conviction was entirely upon circumstantial evidence, and that there

16 BRCA 1897, 54.

was some room for doubt as to his guilt..."¹⁷ In 1909 Henry Meritt was sentenced to five years in the state prison by the Criminal Court of Volusia County for "Larceny and Receiving Stolen Property." In 1912 Meritt's judge supported his request for pardon and informed the Board that the conviction rested "wholly upon circumstantial evidence."¹⁸ D. M. Semour was convicted for being an accessory to the burning of a building with intent to defraud. Semour's Circuit Court judge in Marion County likewise submitted that "the evidence against him was entirely circumstantial."¹⁹ Similarly, Smokey Joe served fifteen years of a life sentence before his Circuit Court Judge admitted to holding "serious doubt as to [Joe's] guilt" of first degree murder.²⁰ Ruff Harris was only a boy around fifteen years of age in 1903 when a Circuit Court judge and jury for Gadsden County sentenced him to ten years of hard labor in the state prison for the theft of less than \$2 worth of goods. In 1910 the jury endorsed a conditional pardon and felt that the "he has had sufficient punishment for his offense and should be given a chance."²¹ In the Spring of 1890 a Circuit Court judge in Jefferson County gave Sherod Love, Rachel Love, and Lucy Thompson (their races were recorded as "Yellow," "Yellow," and "Brown") life sentences for "Breaking and entering a building with intent to rob and robbery." All three received pardons on May 21, 1896.²²

John C. Ulmer, on the other hand, was released thanks to being "a young white man who had, prior to his trouble, lead an exemplary and industrial life." His effort was aided by "a petition signed by a large number of white citizens of Leon County." He and other young white men and boys who had, in the eyes of the pardon board, been "tempted" or "fell into trouble" could hope to be shown leniency.²³ Ulmer was also known to be very sick, which was another common trait of recipients of the conditional pardon.²⁴ Hugh Armstrong, "a white boy now 19 years old" was "practi-

17 Florida Board of Pardons, "Minutes, 1909-1942, 1961-1965" (Vol. A), 88, .S 187 Box 1, State Library and Archives of Florida.

18 Ibid., 208.

19 Florida Board of Pardons, "Minutes, 1909-1942, 1961-1965" (Vol. B), 64, .S 187 Box 1, State Library and Archives of Florida.

20 Ibid., 30.

21 Florida Board of Pardons, "Minutes, 1909-1942, 1961-1965," Vol. A, 90.

22 Florida Board of Pardons, "Minutes, 1869-1909" (Vol. 2), 210-12, .S 158, State Library and Archives of Florida.

23 Florida Board of Pardons, "Minutes, 1909-1942, 1961-1965," Vol. A, 116; Florida Board of Pardons, "Minutes, 1909-1942, 1961-1965," Vol. B, 29..

24 LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence*, 168-171, 184-186.

cally paralyzed from the exposure incident to prison work” while Arthur J. Jackson was in “very bad and possibly hopeless physical condition” at the time he received a conditional pardon. Others were “worn out,” “a physical wreck, suffering with tuberculosis,” or “in wretched physical condition, one eye being blind and the sight of the other being badly impaired.”²⁵ J. B. Brown was exonerated in 1913 for the 1901 murder of a white railroad engineer but by the time the legislature decided to compensate Brown for wrongful incarceration he was “aged, infirm and destitute.” His alibi notwithstanding, Brown had little chance of avoiding prison. As the prosecution informed the Board of Pardons in 1902, “the entire white population, except republicans [sic], are absolutely convinced of the guilt of the accused.” The local *Palatka News and Advertiser* exclaimed that “Brown is a worthless negro. Guilty or not the town would be better off rid of him and his ilk.” Faced with the uncertainty of evidence, the Board of Pardons commuted his sentence from death by hanging to life in prison.²⁶

“A dumping ground”

A substantial amount of evidence points to a persistent over-representation of persons with disabilities in the prison population during this period. However, evaluating the evidence is complicated by the extent of the disabling violence that occurred inside the camps as well during arrest, pre-trial confinement, and transportation to state authorities, and further still by the vested interests of the lessees and the state in exculpating themselves of responsibility for the deaths of prisoners in their custody. Claiming that prisoners were disabled or sick *before* entry served those ends and would tend to exaggerate the frequency of such an event. Yet the weight of the evidence suggests that there was such an over-representation of persons with disabilities in the state prison system, raising new questions pertaining to disability in Florida’s social history and in the construction and enforcement of racial and class hierarchies. As we will see, just how to manage such a system of forced labor in which perhaps 30 percent of workers were disabled at their time of

25 Florida Board of Pardons, “Minutes, 1909-1942, 1961-1965,” Vol. B, 30, 36.

26 State Library and Archives of Florida, “Harry Wesson and J. B. Brown: Justice in Early Twentieth Century Florida,” *The Florida Memory Blog* (blog), February 15, 2017, <https://www.floridamemory.com/blog/2017/02/15/harry-wesson-and-j-b-brown-justice-in-early-twentieth-century-florida/>; Florida Board of Pardons, “Minutes, 1869-1909,” 415.

entry would become central to prison “reform” efforts in the early twentieth century.

Prior to the period of penal reform beginning in 1901, lessees and sub-lessees confined prisoners in their private mines and pine-forest turpentine camps with scant supervision. Lessees were responsible for self-reporting conditions in their camps and their official correspondence with prison administrators in the Department of Agriculture was uniformly positive. The “general health” of the prisoners “has been good,” “very good,” “quite good” if not “exceptionally good.” The high incidence of mortality among prisoners in their custody—from gun violence, disease, or unreported causes—was continually shrugged off.

E. B. Bailey, a planter of Monticello with new investments in phosphate mining, tersely reported to Commissioner of Agriculture L. B. Wombwell on the health of prisoners in his custody:

Dear Sir—The general health of the convict camps for the past two years has been exceptionally good. I should say the dead list numbering 33, contains 3 accidentally killed, and a large majority of the others were due to diseases contracted prior to their arrival at the state penitentiary, and were absolutely incurable.

Yours Truly,

E. B. Bailey²⁷

Perhaps the three “accidentally killed” is a reference to that year’s work-related deaths—Jesse Spear was reportedly crushed to death by a collapsed wall in a phosphate mine; John Council killed by a “falling tree”; and Warren Greenleaf died from the cryptically reported, “Compression of the brain.” As for the others, he blames their own poor health. While obdurate and self-serving, his comments represent something other than mere fabrication. Prison Physician Dr. S. H. Blich registered emphatic complaints of the sorry condition of the incoming prisoners or “recruits” who were “IN NINE CASES OUT OF TEN IN SUCH A FILTHY, UNSANITARY AND DEBILITATED CONDITION THAT THEY WERE NOT FIT, WITHOUT THOROUGH RENOVATING AND REMOVAL OF VERMIN, TO COME IN CONTACT WITH THEIR

²⁷ BRCA 1893, 132.



State prison mortality, 1883-1925. Source: author's calculations and *BRCA*

FELLOW PRISONERS.”²⁸ Arrest, confinement, and transportation to the “headquarters” camp were debilitating ordeals.

In 1907 Dr. Blicht reported more thoroughly on the health of prisoners at the time of entry to the penal system. Blicht reported that seventy percent of prisoners were “in good health and good physical condition.” Of the remaining new prisoners half were “in good health, but are slightly maimed” by some injury “in the past” or otherwise “are of a frail physical condition about whom an abundance of care must be used to avoid a collapse, and the possibility of the subject becoming a wreck and only fit for the hospital.” Twelve percent of those in poor health were “hospital subjects” suffering from syphilis, tuberculosis, Bright’s disease (involving kidney inflammation), rheumatism, and heart disease while three percent of them were “chronic cripples and aged persons who are unable to perform hard manual labor.”²⁹ This is a remarkable thirty percent of state prisoners counted as “frail,” “maimed,” “crippled,” or “aged,” representing a distinct subset of prisoners not fully accounted for by the jail system. Similarly, in his 1905 address to the National Prison Association, Blicht reported that 23 percent of roughly 500 black prisoners and 65 percent of around 50 white prisoners were, “owing to previous excesses and ravages of disease incapable of manual labor at their time of entrance into prison.”³⁰

28 *BRCA* 1905, 324. Capitalization original.

29 *BRCA* 1909, 47.

30 In the same address Blicht went on to brag of how many of the initially disabled prisoners were at work by year’s end; as we will see, this speaks less to their state of health than to the state’s prerogatives. S. H. Blicht, “The Open

Lessees also commented on the prevalence of disabled and afflicted prisoners. As Bailey coarsely remarked in 1897,

the penitentiary seems to be a dumping ground for men likely to prove a burden on the charitable institutions of the State. In many cases men are sent here in the last stages of disease, some afflicted with mental disorders, others not thirteen years of age, and others absolutely inadequate for work. This seems especially the case from counties who have chain gangs.³¹

Bailey seems to conflate the chain gangs (which were common) with public welfare institutions (which did not exist at the time). Another lessee similarly reported that the “general health of our camps is good and death rate very small,” given “the number of invalids, cripples and old chronics that were forced on us in the general division of January, 1898...”³² To the consternation of administrators, the Chattahoochee Asylum for Indigent Lunatics (located on the site of the Reconstruction-era penitentiary) regularly received persons who were indigent but not considered “lunatics.” Rather, they were “in the last stages of chronic diseases, or those infirm and helpless by reason of extreme age.”³³ The absence of effective social welfare institutions in an economy that rested on a class of impoverished manual laborers left the sick, disabled, elderly, young, and orphaned highly vulnerable to the state’s overzealous legal system. Questions remain, not least of which is the extent to which a particular discrimination or devaluation of persons with disabilities was at work or, instead, if such prisoners were simply trapped in the legal dragnet designed to enforce an axiom of labor discipline they could not possibly meet.

Migration and Coercion in Florida’s Extractive Industries

Throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century Florida experienced waves of immigration from other states as well as

Versus the Close Penitentiary System,” in *Proceedings of the Annual Congress of the National Prison Association of the United States*, Albany, New York, September 15 to 20, ed. American Correctional Association (Indianapolis, IN: WM. B. Burford, 1906), 167–172.

31 BRCA 1897, 81.

32 BRCA 1899, 96.

33 A. Mosely, “Report of State’s Prison for Years 1887 and 1888,” in *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the Regular Session of the Legislature of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, FL: N. M. Bowen, 1889), 50, archive.flsenate.gov (accessed August 21, 2019).

internal migration, urbanization, and labor scarcity in remote forested areas across the state. These changes engendered conditions that tend to favor those who would challenge poverty wages and racial oppression. When the prison population bulged between 1901 and 1905, prison officials pointed to migrant forest workers as the cause and defended the convict leasing system as an instrument for insulating the strictures of white supremacy and enforcing labor discipline. While Lichtenstein described convict leasing in Alabama and Georgia as a controlled means of transferring labor from the established agricultural economy to the growing industrial sector, in Florida sentencing rates were *lowest* in the plantation belt, corroborating other sources from the time that describe state prisoners as typically urban black residents and migrant workers in the lumber and turpentine industries. The disciplinary effects of convict leasing, then, also fell hardest on those tens of thousands of black migrant workers and others whose life circumstances were illustrative of the modernizing forces transforming the state.

By 1910 lumber and turpentine industries formed Florida's largest area of industrial employment, together comprising over 37,000 wage earners or 65 percent of manufacturing employment.³⁴ The work was arduous and pay was low and typically issued in company scrip. Turpentine (also known as naval stores) was extracted from longleaf pine trees by cutting gashes in the trunks, eliciting the trees to produce a protective gum. Diagonal cuts in the tree then guided the gum into boxes, from which it was gathered and then distilled into rosin and spirits of turpentine. The work, as one manager explained, "is severe to a degree almost impossible to exaggerate, and it is very difficult to control a sufficient quantity of free labor to properly cultivate any great number of trees."³⁵ Debt peonage and violence against workers were commonplace in both the lumber and turpentine industries.³⁶ As railroad lines cut

34 United States Census Bureau, "Supplement For Florida," in *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 642.

35 Robert B. Outland III, *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 68–76, 163.

36 Michael David Tegeeder, "Prisoners of the Pines: Debt Peonage in the Southern Turpentine Industry, 1900-1930" (PhD diss. University of Florida, 1996); Robert N. Lauriault, "From Can't to Can't: The North Florida Turpentine Camp, 1900-1950," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (1989): 310–28; Aaron Reynolds, "Inside the Jackson Tract: The Battle Over Peonage Labor Camps in Southern Alabama, 1906," *Southern Spaces*, January 21, 2013, <https://southern-spaces.org/2013/inside-jackson-tract-battle-over-peonage-labor-camps-southern-alabama-1906> (accessed August 21, 2019)..

ever deeper into the pine forests, lumber and turpentine operators fanned out around them. Surrounded by wilderness, workers attempting to flee would be chased by armed overseers on horseback known as woodsriders. Apart from white woodsriders and, for a brief window of time, trafficked European immigrants, the workforce was largely black and male.³⁷ Meanwhile, contract law “effectively legalized debt peonage.”³⁸ While advances of supplies or provisions were common, Florida’s “false-pretense” law rendered it illegal for a worker to quit without first repaying any debts owed to the employer.

The workforce was no less migratory than the industry itself.³⁹ Sapping trees to death in a few years and clear cutting kept the industry moving, decimating pine forests all the way from North Carolina to Florida. By clamping down on workers’ freedom of movement with anti-vagrancy and false-pretense laws, debt, and surveillance employers made migrant workers vulnerable to arrest—particularly if between jobs—and ultimately incapable of turning labor scarcity and industrial expansion into wage increases. Indeed, despite intense competition for workers over two decades of rapid expansion, wages in the turpentine industry remained largely flat.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, the largest lumber and turpentine corporations began to outbid and politically overshadow previous lessees in the phosphate industry. For lessees like the Florida Pine Company and Florida Naval Stores and Commission Company the prison labor force became one more resource to lease out to the hundreds of small lumber and turpentine operators scattered over the state. Cash-strapped small and medium-sized operators already relied on the large lumber companies and factorage houses for everything from land rental to financing, equipment, and product purchases.⁴¹ By 1905 the powerful and well-financed forest industry was well on its way to becoming the sole lessee of state prisoners.

The early history of convict leasing, particularly as it relates to struggles over black agricultural labor in the wake of emancipation, suggests that sentencing rates would be highest in the plantation belt. Lichtenstein proposed that convict leasing was “a

37 Reynolds, “Inside the Jackson Tract”; Tegeder, “Prisoners of the Pines,” chap. 3.

38 Tegeder, “Prisoners of the Pines,” 106.

39 Outland, *Tapping the Pines*, 164–168.

40 Outland, 172.

41 Tegeder, “Prisoners of the Pines,” 46–49.

method of forced proletarianization" benefiting mining companies in Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. There, convict leasing siphoned workers out of the agricultural sector and into nascent industry while still disciplining and cordoning in the agricultural workforce.⁴² By contrast, most Florida prisoners were from outside of the plantation belt and, moreover, were often already laboring in the industrial sector. For the duration of Florida's convict leasing program most individuals sentenced to state prison—59 percent of them—had out of state origins though in 1910 such residents comprised just 35 percent of Florida's population. Rapid growth of the forest industries, Commissioner Benjamin E. McLin reported in 1905, "has caused an influx of a floating population that follow this class of work. From Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina, the turpentine and lumbermen have been followed by this undesirable and expensive class of people."⁴³ These migrant forest workers, together with urban blacks, he claimed, accounted for the swelling of the prison population after 1900.

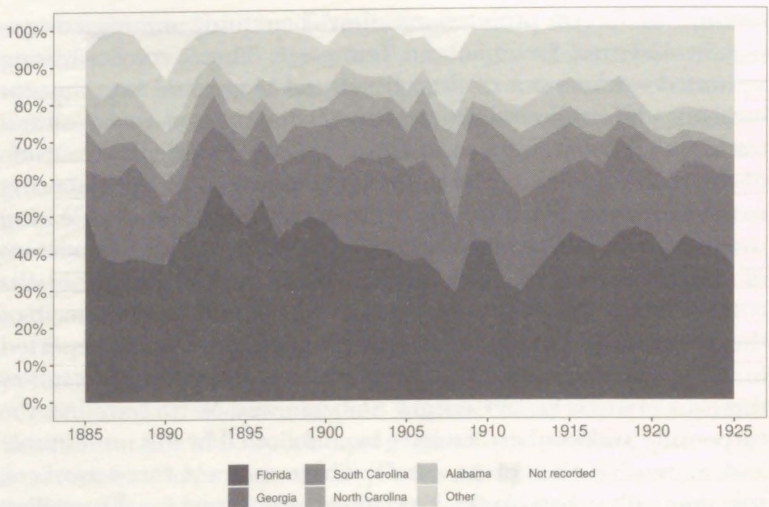
Patterns in the place of sentencing further indicate that the relative risk of sentencing was *lowest* inside the plantation belt and highest in certain urban and non-agricultural rural areas. While county-level sentencing data is unfortunately not disaggregated by race, we can obtain a strong sense of the spatial distribution of sentencing risk by way of standardized sentencing ratios (SSRs, also known as relative risk ratios in epidemiology).⁴⁴ Sentencing data can be standardized by dividing the observed counts (O_i) by an expected count of sentences (E_i) given basic demographic information ($SSR_i = O_i/E_i$). The expected counts were in this case obtained by taking aggregate sentencing rates for blacks and whites respectively for the designated time period and multiplying them by the total estimated population count (person-years) for each of two racial groups (white and non-white) in each county.⁴⁵ Ratios

42 Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor*, 83-87.

43 *BRCA* 1905, 318.

44 If left raw or unadjusted, sentencing rates would mislead due to differences in racial composition of county populations.

45 The sentencing rate for blacks was 1.1 in 1,000 while the rate for whites was 0.1 per 1,000. For a county with 5,000 white residents and 4,000 black residents the SSR would be $.0011 * 4,000 + .0001 * 5,000 = 4.9$. If 6 sentences were recorded then the SSR would be $6/4.9 = 1.2$. Ratios for low-population areas are thus highly unstable as small changes to the numerator can have a substantial impact on the result. This motivates the use of the empirical Bayes estimator. Population estimates were obtained through linear interpolation between the 1900 and 1910 decennial census counts.



Origins of persons sentenced to state prison, 1885-1925. Source: Author's calculations and *BRCA*.

less than one indicate low relative risk of sentencing while the converse holds for ratios greater than one. Since Florida's county boundaries were stable between 1900 and 1910 but undergo significant changes throughout the subsequent decade the analysis is limited to the first five years for which data is available (1905-1910). To guard against instability of ratios in low-population areas (where small, random variation in the numerator can have substantial impact on the estimated SSR) the local empirical Bayes estimator was employed. This will "shrink" extreme values towards a geographically circumscribed average to the extent that the underlying population counts (amount of evidence) is too low the justify such an outlying value.⁴⁶

Figure 4 maps the resulting SSR estimates for each Florida county and highlights the approximate boundaries of the plantation belt. The plantation economy was concentrated in the fertile Tallahassee Hills, extending from Jackson County eastward into Columbia County and running south just into Marion County.⁴⁷

46 Noel Cressie, "Smoothing Regional Maps Using Empirical Bayes Predictors," *Geographical Analysis* 24, no. 1 (1992): 75-95; Roger Bivand and Gianfranco Piras, "Comparing Implementations of Estimation Methods for Spatial Econometrics," *Journal of Statistical Software* 63, no. 18 (2015): 1-36.

47 Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2017), 11.

Jefferson (0.27), Madison (.30), Leon (0.57), Gadsden (0.65), Jackson (0.68), Columbia (0.72), and Alachua (0.77) Counties—all in the plantation belt—had below their expected number of sentences given their share of the black population. Holmes County, on the northwest edge of the plantation belt, has an estimated SSR of 1.32. Meanwhile, Dade County saw 2.5 times as many sentences as expected given its share of the black population, Duval County and neighboring Clay counties had SSRs of 2 and 2.3 respectively, and Saint John's County, just south of Duval, had 3.5 times the expected number of sentences in this period (see Table 1). Overall, low SSRs were clustered within the plantation belt while high SSRs clustered around Duval County and further down the Atlantic coast.⁴⁸

Commissioner McLin made the case himself that violence against prisoners was intended to reinforce industrial labor discipline and white supremacy among migrant and urban black populations. Urban blacks, he claimed, disrupt the smooth functioning of the prison camp since they “have never learned the lesson of obedience, are indisposed to labor and are more insolent... Nothing but corporal punishment, sometimes repeated and more severe, will have any effect on them.”⁴⁹ “He is placed in prison,” McLin wrote in his official capacity, “to learn the lesson of obedience, submission and energetic effort, or labor”⁵⁰ for it was his belief that, “this class should labor, should be wealth-producers in our out of prison.”⁵¹ The spatial and demographic sentencing patterns uncovered here indicate that McLin was not at all alone in seeking to target urban and migrant blacks, or what he termed the “criminal class”⁵² While no reliable data was ever collected on county convicts, it is possible that the lower state prison sentencing rates found in the plantation belt were the result of a preference among local officials for making direct leasing arrangements with nearby employers. The overall picture painted by the data and Florida officials is one in which the state penal system was deployed specifically and disproportionately against blacks in the non-agricultural workforce. That is, against those who were outside of the

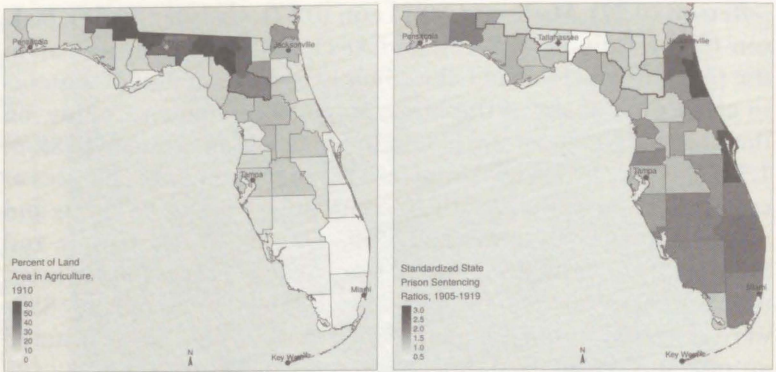
48 Author's calculations and *BRCA*; United States Census Bureau, “Supplement For Florida”; Lincoln A Mullen and Jordan Bratt, “USAboundaries: Historical and Contemporary Boundaries of the United States of America,” *Journal of Open Source Software* 3, no. 23 (2018).

49 *BRCA* 1905, 302.

50 *Ibid.*, 314.

51 *Ibid.*, 309

52 *BRCA* 1905, 308-309.



Agricultural production and standardized sentencing ratios (1905-1910), highlighting the boundaries of the plantation belt. Source: Authors's calculations and *BRCA*; United States Census Bureau, "Supplement For Florida"; Lincoln A Mullen and Jordan Bratt, "USAboundaries: Historical and Contemporary Boundaries of the United States of America," *Journal of Open Source Software* 3, no. 23 (2018).

forms of personal control and supervision already solidified in the plantation economy.

Saving the System: Penal Reform in the Progressive Era

Among the formerly Confederate states, all but Virginia were leasing state prisoners by 1880. By 1900 the political tide seemed already to have turned against convict leasing and towards public road work and state-run farms. Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana had all abolished the lease. Georgia soon followed suit, ending convict leasing in 1908. Riding a growing wave of public sentiment against monopoly power and corruption was Florida Democratic gubernatorial candidate William Sherman Jennings (cousin of the populist Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan). Jennings promised to fill the public coffers by breaking the cartel of lessees who were colluding in the bidding process and to improve the treatment of prisoners at the same time.⁵³

Jennings' populist message for white voters proved effective. Among his first accomplishments as Governor was to negotiate

⁵³ Noel Gordon Carper, "The Convict-Lease System in Florida, 1866-1923" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1966), 129-134; Anne Haw Holt, "Men, Women and Children in the Stockade: How the People, the Press, and the Elected Officials of Florida Built a Prison System" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2005), 72-78.

a new leasing contract with the rising monopsony Florida Naval Stores and Commission Company. Annual revenue increased from \$21,000 in 1901 to \$138,588 the following year, with all excess funds over administrative expenses distributed to the counties. The administration immediately expanded the prerogatives of the Department of Agriculture to include administering the hiring process for prison guards, photographing prisoners, and requiring lessees to publicize \$100 rewards for the return of escaped prisoners. They standardized the strap used for whippings, limited the number of "licks" allowed, mandated that a single "whipping boss" be appointed for each camp, and collected monthly punishment reports from lessees. The new "Rules and Regulations" also required that lessees furnish each camp with "a building to be used as a hospital" to include "a single bed with springs, mattress, pillow, etc., also net to keep flies away, and such food as the physician shall prescribe" for all convicts requiring medical attention.⁵⁴ To enforce the new rules Commissioner McLin shut down an unreported number of camps and, he claimed, discharged guards and captains deemed irresponsible.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, the Florida Naval Stores and Commission Company invested \$30,000 to build a central hospital on a newly purchased tract of farm land in Ocala, known as the the "Marion Farms." By contract, the hospital "shall be fully equipped" with the same requirements as the labor camps—a stockade, garden, iron cot bedstead with "good clean mattress and pillow," and at least two well-trained bloodhounds. Hospitals, though, were also to have mattresses with "good, comfortable springs" and be "thoroughly equipped with a dispensary, operating room and all the necessary drugs, surgical implements and other equipment and supplies incident to a modern first class hospital."⁵⁶

Dr. S. H. Blicht was hired as the first State Prison Physician and Surgeon at the hospital. "The aged, maimed and those suffering from such chronic diseases have furnished a perplexing problem to solve," he explained. Numerous prisoners "need more careful nursing and more constant attention of a capable physician than is practicable, distributed as our prisoners are in so many camps." Many such prisoners who were "forced upon the lessees" were not only "incapable of rendering any service" but were also "a heavy

54 *BRCA* 1903, 64-68.

55 *BRCA* 1905, 300.

56 *BRCA* 1911, 515-516.

expense [for lessees] to care for."⁵⁷ With the reforms came a new sense of confidence among defenders of convict leasing. Official reports, professional presentations, and public commentary combined an open malice for blacks with pronouncements on the supposed benefits that the reformed system brought to them. Commissioner McLin reported that prisoners "are better provided for from a sanitary standpoint, than if running at large, dependant [sic] upon their own resources"⁵⁸ while Supervisor of State Convicts R. F. Rogers claimed more specifically that, "the death rate is less" among prisoners than among "free citizens in any section of the South."⁵⁹

Such views reached a national audience among prison administrators thanks to Dr. Blicht who was elected President of the Surgeons and Physicians' Association of the National Prison Association. At the Association's annual gathering Blicht lectured his colleagues on the merits of convict leasing in light of the "serious and deplorable" deterioration in black morals. Whereas enslaved blacks were, he claimed, "free from care, worry and responsibility," freedom had brought only calamity. Now "he crowds into the cities" and is "given over to indulgences, licentiousness and crime." "His degeneration has been so rapid," he continued, that "the 'good negro' is the exception now rather than the rule." Blicht's seething disdain for African Americans, and particularly for his own imprisoned patients, colored his bilious lecture, "The Negro Criminal in the Open Air":

Fifty percent of him is the progeny of licentiousness and vice, conceived among surroundings of the filthiest kind and among breeding places of disease, from diseased parents, in the moment of the most virile lust and passion and born out of wedlock, incapable of finer feelings...and incapable of learning right from wrong.⁶⁰

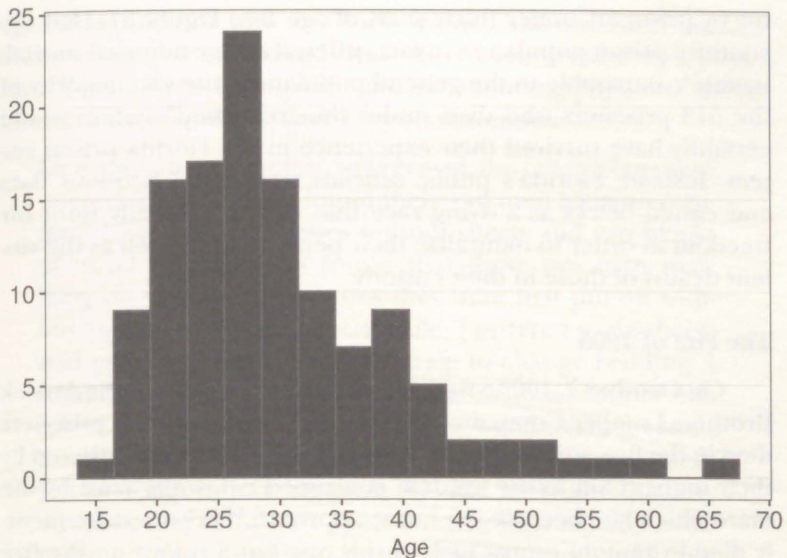
Whereas closed confinement in jail would only quicken the pace towards extinction, "we are striving to better his conditions" and employment in Florida's "open air" prison system would "at least allow his tendencies to degenerate, to lie dormant." Convict leasing was thus one of the "small factors" in some supposed

57 *BRCA* 1903, 54.

58 *Ibid.*, 52.

59 *Ibid.*, 69-70.

60 *BRCA* 1907, 339.



Florida state prison deaths by age, 1905-1909. Source: author's calculations and BRCA.

“movement” to protect blacks from the repercussions of emancipation. Nothing less than the putative “salvation of the negro race in America” was at stake.⁶¹

Blicht's lecture merely extended the arguments of Frederick Hoffman's *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* regarding impending black extinction to suit his own institutional interests. Like Hoffman, Blicht and his colleagues carelessly abused available data.⁶² Mortality statistics published by the Department of Agriculture continued to show that prisoners were dying at rates far higher than the general population. The mortality rate in Florida was just 0.66 percent in 1905 (near 0.6 percent for whites and 0.7 percent for blacks) while the mortality rate in the prison system that same year was 2.74 percent or more than four times greater than the state.⁶³ Worse still, most prison mortality was accounted

61 BRCA 1907, 340.

62 Frederick Ludwig Hoffman, “Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro,” *American Economic Association* 11 (1896); W. E. B. Du Bois, “Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro. By Fredrick L. Hoffman,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 9 (1897): 127–133; Khalil G. Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

63 BRCA 1907, 38-42.

for by prisoners under thirty years of age (see Figure 5). Had the youthful prison population in fact suffered an age-adjusted mortality rate comparable to the general population, the vast majority of the 513 prisoners who died under the "reformed" system would certainly have survived their experience in the Florida prison system. Instead, Florida's public officials referenced fictitious data and casted blacks as a dying race that was congenitally unfit for freedom in order to naturalize their persecution as well as the violent deaths of those in their custody.

The Fire of 1905

On October 7, 1905 a fire consumed the stockade at the Aycock Brothers Lumber Company in Washington County. Nine prisoners died in the fire, some escaped, and at least two were left tethered by their night chain to the window, consumed below the waist by the blaze which had become too hot to approach.⁶⁴ Prisoners frequently died in remote camps such as this one but a report on the fire by Superintendent of State and County Convicts Charles D. Clark appears to be among the only surviving records that details the conditions under which injured and dying prisoners were attended to by physicians. With "reformers" from the Jennings administration arguing that the prison system could be simultaneously lucrative, punishing, professional, and "healthful," the fire exposes just how little had changed inside the private camps.

How the fire began remains disputed but Superintendent Clark's investigation pointed to "gross neglect" of the Aycock brothers and to Troy Longino, a county convict "trustee" who was appointed as the night guard. Troy Longino got drunk and smashed an oil lamp after a late-night poker game in the guards' room. Having stamped out the fire with his feet he left with a friend to kill a trapped opossum. He later returned to find the fire consuming the stockade along with his brother, Jim Longino, who worked as the regular night guard but had passed out after drinking alcohol.

Superintendent Clark arrived on November 3rd, twenty-seven days after the fire. The prison camps, like most turpentine camps, were rugged outposts, often insulated from society by miles of forest.⁶⁵ Clark found two convicts upon arrival at the mill, "both with

64 Charles D. Clark, "Statement of Superintendent of State and County Convicts" (n.d.), .S 42 Convict lease program subject files, 1890-1916, box 6 folder 3, State Library and Archives of Florida.

65 *BRCA* 1909, 443.

legs cut off and one with foot badly burned and one badly burned all over. Some of the wounds had never been dressed by a physician." Yet the Aycock camp did have an "attending physician" as the state contract required. Clark's report continues:

One man, in my opinion, will recover, the other lying there unconscious will die. I found these two men lying on common [illegible] mattresses without sheets and two blocks of wood for pillows. I found that these two men were lying on the same mattresses they were first put on without any change having been made. I ordered some sheets and new mattress and secured help to change bedding. I found, when beginning to move unconscious prisoner that his wounds had stuck to the mattress and moving causes intense pain. Upon examination I found that wounds were full of maggots. Judging from the size, looks and quantity of them, they must have been there at least ten days... We made another examination of prisoners and found that wound on underside of prisoners was completely in a work with maggots.⁶⁶

The camp physician claimed that he kept the prisoner on one side "to keep the burned side up, but we found that the underside of prisoner was considerably the worse burn from the beginning."⁶⁷ Had the unnamed prisoner received proper care, Clark believed, he would have survived following the amputation of his leg. No charges came of the incident and as far as Clark's report indicates, the burned men were left as they were inside the camp.

Hospital Prisoners for Lease

In 1910 officials implemented a set of policies that leaped across the fictitious boundary that supposedly distinguished court-ordered servitude from the kind of abusive behaviors that violated the new list of "Rules and Regulations." As the prison hospital reached capacity with injured and disabled prisoners, officials sought to make use of those patients who were "unfit for regular service" but could still "perform some remunerative service."⁶⁸ By adjusting the cost and intensity of labor for "hospital subjects,"

66 Clark, "Statement of Superintendent of State and County Convicts."

67 Ibid.

68 *BRCA* 1911, 529-530.

officials and lessees could continue forcing labor from the prisoners until they finally reached a state of complete debilitation.⁶⁹

The new policy of leasing hospital subjects began with an evaluation which consisted of no more than coarse guesswork with a veneer of medical expertise. Such prisoners were to be examined quarterly by the state prison physician and “placed on a pay roll based upon the physical condition of each prisoner separate and apart.” By then placing them under the care of some “responsible person who could use them,” such “hospital prisoners” would remunerate the state “to some extent” and “prevent an overloading or congestion of the hospital.” The physician’s standard report explains that “a man graded $\frac{1}{2}$ is in my judgment capable of doing half as much work as an able-bodied worker, and cases of 00, the prisoner is not capable of doing any manual labor.”

The physician’s reports consisted of the prisoner’s identification number, name, debility, and the physician’s grade. Traumatic injuries, such as the following sample, were common:

5085 Kid Wright:	
Had heel chopped off, and physically weak.	$\frac{1}{3}$
5960 Julius Goodwin.	
Gunshot wound in the left arm	$\frac{1}{2}$
9829 Jon Johnson	
Fractured skull	$\frac{1}{4}$
9585 W. T. Turner	
Throat cut; weak minded	$\frac{1}{4}$
9804 Charlie Wilson	
Gunshot wound through the face	00
1909 Will Johnson	
Gun-shot wounds both legs	$\frac{1}{3}$

Missing limbs, rheumatism, organic heart disease, kidney disease, “general debility,” syphilis and combinations such as “Syphilitic Rheumatism” or “Rheumatism and kidney disease” were also

⁶⁹ LeFloria finds that Georgia’s disabled prisoners engaged in “light farmwork and domestic duties” at the state farm. LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence*, 167.

common diagnoses.⁷⁰ Soon such “hospital prisoners” would be found working for turpentine and lumber companies throughout the state. Of the fourteen camps reported to have leased “hospital prisoners” in 1913, most notable were the Hall Lumber Company in Terrell which sub-leased at least twenty-five disabled prisoners, Riverland Turpentine Company which was working at least sixteen “hospital prisoners” that year, and Rogers-Tiller Company which leased at least forty “hospital prisoners” at once for its turpentine operation. The discounted prisoners were “frequently” sent back to the hospital as they “do not always make the improvement that is hoped for them.”⁷¹ Dr. Willis returned Charlie Wilson to the central hospital after being “disappointed to learn that this prisoner does not improve from the gun-shot wound.”⁷²

The depraved policy arose following the construction of a second hospital, which was becoming insufficient to accommodate all patients. In its first full year of operation the hospital in Ocala accommodated 77 prisoners whom Blich described as “the decrepit, chronic, and otherwise worn-out prisoners of the State Prison of Florida.”⁷³ Besides condemning dozens of these would-be patients to the labor camps, the effect of the policy was to open the door to bargaining between lessees and the state over the grade of the prisoners. In March of 1914, J. G. Boyd of the Boca Grande Investment Company and President of Herty Turpentine Cup Company, “was surprised to find the situation so bad relative to the real ability of the men” serving out prison sentences at his turpentine camp. He requested that Dr. Blich visit the camp that very week, confident that the doctor “will class somewhere between fifteen to twenty of these men as hospital subjects.” It was supposedly “not fair to us to pay for men who are not able to do the work required of them... and really it is not fair to the men” who are required to perform the

70 State Prison Physician Dr. R. A. Willis to Commissioner of Agriculture W. A. McRae Reporting on Hospital Prisoners at Rogers-Tiller Company, September 25, 1913; State Prison Physician Dr. R. A. Willis to Commissioner of Agriculture W. A. McRae Reporting on Hospital Prisoners at Hall Lumber Company, June 26, 1913; State Prison Physician Dr. R. A. Willis to Commissioner of Agriculture W. A. McRae Reporting on Hospital Prisoners at Riverland Turpentine Company, October 1, 1913, .S 42 box 5 folder 5, State Library and Archives of Florida.

71 *BRCA* 1911, 530.

72 State Prison Physician Dr. R. A. Willis to Rodgers Tiller Naval Stores Company, May 24, 1913, .S42 box 5 folder 5, State Library and Archives of Florida.

73 *BRCA* 1905, 324.

work of able-bodied men. Boyd continued, apparently in his own defense,

I am inclined to think that your criticism in regard to our camp doing too much punishing is due to the fact that these men are classed as able bodied men while they should really be classed as No. two men, and the Captain has been demanding first class work of number two prisoners. Now we want to be fair and explicit to you and to the Board and say that these men who are hospital subjects we want to treat them as such...but when they are classed as able bodied men and first class, we naturally expect them to be able to do a day's work.⁷⁴

The motivations for the grading scheme were clear—it increased the intensity of labor exploitation, cut down on time spent ‘loafing’ in the hospital, and attended to the concerns of lessees who had a strong preference against continuing to pay full price for laborers with disabilities including those they had beaten, shot, or worked to shambles.

White Prisoners and the End of the Lease

In 1895 eleven young white men traveled to Marion, County Florida to enjoy the hunting and fishing. They were quickly arrested, sentenced as “vagrants,” and leased to a nearby turpentine camp for thirty days of hard labor. “They were chained to negroes,” the *Florida Times-Union* reported, “and ordered to do tasks which were impossible.” After ten days they were afforded the opportunity to plead their case before a circuit court judge. “Faint from hunger and with backs bloody from repeated lashings,” some nearing death according to the *Times-Union*, they described being stripped naked, tied to logs, and lashed after failing to complete their daily task. Infuriated residents threatened to storm the camp and free the men but were quelled by the judge’s own order for their release.⁷⁵ The sentiments evinced by news of whites being treated like black men underscores how unsustainable the system was. As Florida’s population grew so too did the white majority and as a result the penal system was increasingly scandal prone. At the same time, public road construction appealed both to proponents

74 J. T. Boyd to G. T. Whitfield, March 24, 1914, .S42 box 6 folder 7, State Library and Archives of Florida.

75 Carper, “The Convict-Lease System in Florida, 1866-1923,” 88–89.

of the abolition of convict leasing and those favoring incremental change. After convict leasing was ended, most prisoners would continue to labor at gunpoint but directly under public authority.

Meanwhile, there was growing belief that female and disabled convicts ought to have alternative arrangements. In 1909 the Florida legislature ordered the purchase of 500 acres of land for a penitentiary-farm (not unlike the Chattahoochee penitentiary), in 1911 the land for what would become the Raiford Penitentiary was purchased, and in 1913 the legislature finally provided funds for construction.⁷⁶ The legislature's unheeded 1909 order for all disabled and female convicts to remain at the hospital notwithstanding, the first substantive legislative reform came in 1914 when Governor Park Trammell launched an unsuccessful bid to abolish the lease. Having failed to obtain majority support for a new system of public road work, Trammell fought for a fully segregated system.

Under Trammell's reform only black males or "Grade 1" convicts would be leased while the revenue was to be invested in the new penitentiary. Women and disabled convicts were again ordered to be housed at Raiford, while white males and any black males with at least ten years of prison labor behind them were employed in public road work or else housed at Raiford.⁷⁷ As of January 1, 1919, there were still 471 black males leased to private interests, 166 state prisoners working in county road camps, 127 in state road camps, and 444 at the prison farm. There were also two prisoners in the insane asylum and nine at the state's new "Girl's Industrial School."⁷⁸

It would take two more scandal-driven investigations before convict leasing was ended at all levels of government. The first followed the public admission by prison physician Dr. Robert Kennedy that "hospital subjects consist mostly of men who have been beat up or worked to death...on turpentine...Some are physical wrecks and can never again hope to enjoy sound health."⁷⁹ Kennedy's statement contradicted decades of official reports and sparked a new round of investigations and disturbing revelations. Finally, the State of Florida's convict leasing program was abolished by Chapter 7833 of the legislature, effective December 31st, 1919. Seventy-five able bodied male convicts were to remain at "The State Farm"

76 *BRCA* 1913, 14; *BRCA* 1915, 25-31.

77 *BRCA* 1917, 19.

78 *BRCA* 1921, 51.

79 Carper, 297-99.

together with women and disabled prisoners. The rest were set to work building Florida's public roads and highways.⁸⁰

Conclusion

This article has sought to expand our understanding of the role of convict leasing in the New South in large part by piecing together a more detailed picture of the prison population based on where they were from and where they were sentenced. The prison population was skewed towards urban, non-agricultural, and especially migrant black workers from out of state. Prison officials expressed every intention of using the penal system to stifle the potential for blacks to leverage migration and urbanization for their own social and economic advancement, but sentencing patterns were of course not under their control—they were the product of the interests and outlooks of white judges, law enforcement officers, and juries across Florida as they responded to socio-economic change unrestrained by federal civil rights enforcement. That “practically arbitrary power to impose cruel and infamous punishment” exercised by local government officials infused itself into the labor market, reinforcing the unchecked power of employers in the lumber and turpentine industries in particular.

The sentencing patterns uncovered here also raise questions that only further research can answer. In particular, to what extent was the over-representation of persons with disabilities driven specifically by persecution of the disabled? Whatever it was that linked disability to conviction, prisoners entered a maelstrom of violence against persons with disabilities, disabling violence, and endless labor at the pain of the lash. As opposition to this system mounted, Governor Jennings and prison officials forged a new public image for the penal system and its wards. The system could be both just and profitable, they argued, if only punishment was measured and properly administered. The hollow and malevolent nature of the Jennings “reforms” were eventually revealed but the theories, associations, and rank excuses propagated by Florida officials of innate black criminality, disease, lust, and—the supposedly inevitable result—youthful death endured.

80 *BRCA* 1921, 88-90; Carper, 141-52.

Covert Cross-Racial Mobilization, Black Activism, and Political Participation Pre-Voting Rights Act

by Loren Collingwood and Benjamin Gonzalez-O'Brien

Between 1944 and 1965, the Southern Black vote steadily grew in size and relevance. Yet little research has sought to untangle the ways in which Southern White candidates mobilized these voters, and whether Southern Whites played any role in advancing Black political participation prior to the Voting Rights Act. This paper examines the impact of cross-racial mobilization on African American political participation in the context of 1950s Florida and the covert means by which candidates courted the Black vote in the pre-Voting Rights Act (VRA) period. We define cross-racial mobilization (CRM) as conscious race-targeted mobilization of blocs of voters of one racial group by politicians and campaign operatives of another racial group. However, we maintain that during the pre-VRA period cross-racial mobilization was often done in an indirect fashion in the South to avoid

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the alienation of White voters who still dominated the electorate. We define this form of indirect mobilization as covert cross-racial mobilization (CCRM). Candidates engaged in CCRM through three different channels: by providing monetary support to labor and other groups who would in turn mobilize the Black vote, by giving speeches in Black churches, and through communication with the Black community via African-American radio and newspapers.

Traditional models of Black political behavior during the Civil Rights era do not incorporate cross-racial mobilization; rather they tend to highlight a few broad factors in explaining African American participation in the South. First, prior to the implementation of the VRA, Blacks who lived in places that were especially racially hostile (i.e., the Black belt) tended to be registered at lower levels relative to their counterparts in less racially hostile counties.¹ Second, institutional barriers, such as the White primary, poll taxes, and literacy tests, tended to retard Black registration.² Third, Blacks who lived in places with strong social organizations (e.g., Black churches, large NAACP memberships), and higher socio-economic status tended to have greater resources resulting in higher rates of registration.³ A fourth, more elusive variable, which has received but passing attention⁴ is the electoral mobilization of Black voters by White candidates and White interest groups (i.e., cross-racial mobilization). This paper delves into this fourth vari-

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- 1 William A. Gamson, *The Strategy of Social Protest* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1975); V.O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949); Richard M. Valelly, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Wayne A. Santoro, "The Civil Rights Movement and the Right to Vote: Black Protest, Segregationist Violence and the Audience," *Social Forces* 86, no. 4 (June 2008): 1391-1414.
 - 2 Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," *American Political Science Review* 57, no. 2 (June 1963): 355-367; Matthews and Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," *American Political Science Review* 47, no. 1 (1963): 24-44; Robert W. Mickey, "The Beginning of the End for Authoritarian Rule in America: *Smith v. Allwright* and the Abolition of the White Primary in the Deep South," *Studies in American Political Development* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 143-182; David C. Colby, "The Voting Rights Act and Black Registration in Mississippi," *Publius* 16, no. 4 (Autumn 1986): 123-137.
 - 3 Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, *Negroes and the New Southern Politics* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1966); Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
 - 4 Alfred B. Clubok, John M. De Grove, and Charles D. Farris, "The Manipulated Negro Vote: Some pre-Conditions and Consequences," *Journal of Politics* 26, no. 1 (February 1964): 112-129; Matthews and Prothro, "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South."

able. We proffer a framework for the analysis of covert cross-racial mobilization across the South by looking at one specific Senate race in Florida and the strategies employed by candidates to mobilize African-Americans ahead of the election. The introduction of covert cross-racial mobilization as a variable in Black political participation in the period following the *Smith v. Allwright* decision allows a more nuanced analysis both of what led to increases in Black voter participation in the pre-VRA South and the strategies developed by candidates when Black voters became a potentially valuable bloc in Southern politics.

To assess our theoretical framework, we employ a mixed-method design. We use archival data and secondary sources to unmask each candidate's cross-racial mobilization strategy vis-à-vis African American voters in an extremely high-profile U.S. Senate race in 1950s Florida. One candidate, Claude Pepper, quietly worked with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) to financially and organizationally support Black registration drives in four counties across the state.⁵ As such, the numerical growth in Black participation leading up to the election in these counties was significantly greater than other localities across the state. We suggest and show that covert cross-racial mobilization is an important variable in explaining variation in Black political participation prior to the massive social and racial upheaval of the mid-1960s. While previous research has hinted at the relevancy of this variable,⁶ scholarship has not included covert cross-racial mobilization in models of Black participation, perhaps because of the difficulty of measurement.

We analyze Black political participation in Florida for two reasons. First, Florida has unique demographic and sectional variation, where on the one hand some counties exhibit historical trends similar to the old South, while other counties demonstrate much different patterns.⁷ In other words, Whites in some parts of the state—namely in the North—share similar racial views as Whites in Georgia, Alabama, and other Deep South states. But the racial views of Whites in other parts of the state—notably South Florida—reflect a more racially moderate temperament as Whites in the North. This attitudinal cleavage should theoretically lead to

5 The Pepper campaign tried to keep this cross-racial mobilization quiet, but eventually his opponent discovered the machinations and exploited it to his advantage.

6 Matthews and Prothro, "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South"; Matthews and Prothro, *Negroes and the New Southern Politics*.

7 Clubok, Grove, and Farris, "The Manipulated Negro Vote."

variation in outcomes of minority political incorporation, so county level analysis can be conducted. In other states, such as Mississippi or Alabama, White intimidation and repression was so suffocating that Black political incorporation (registration) by 1950 was essentially null. Second, and more practically, Florida is one of the only Southern states that collected concrete voter registration data by race in 1950. This analysis is simply not possible in most Southern states prior to 1960.

In the next section we summarize the history of Black voting rights in the period preceding passage of the Voting Rights Act before reviewing the literature on Black political participation in the South and specifically Florida during this period. Next, we lay out our covert cross-racial mobilization framework followed by a review of the racial tactics used in the 1950 Senate Democratic primary race between Claude Pepper and George Smathers. Here, we present evidence indicating that Pepper engaged in various covert cross-racial mobilization tactics, including supporting a CIO Black registration drive; whereas Smathers attempted to suppress the Black vote and used race as a wedge issue. We next present our empirical findings, which support our qualitative account and interpretation. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the implications of this research and the need to expand our analysis to more states and a broader time period.

The Historical Setting

In this section, we briefly discuss the events leading up to the *Smith v. Allwright* decision, and why this decision had such an impact on cross-racial mobilization.⁸ Drawing on this discussion, we pose some questions regarding how *Smith* may have affected Black participation in the South.

With the end of the Civil War, and the enactment of the 14th and 15th Amendments, Blacks were technically given the right to vote. And indeed, across the South during the Reconstruction Era, Blacks did enjoy some voting rights.⁹ But by the late 1890s, Southern

8 For a more detailed analysis of the events leading up to *Smith*, see Darlene Hine, *Black Victory: The Rise and Fall of the White Primary in Texas* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1979); Charles L. Zelden, *The Battle for the Black Ballot: Smith v. Allwright and the Defeat of the Texas All-White Primary* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004); or Mickey, "The Beginning of the End of Authoritarian Rule in America."

9 Richard G. Smolka, review of *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910*, by Morgan J. Kousser, *History: Reviews of New Books*, 3, no. 4 (1975): 90.

Democrats regained control of all aspects of government in the South and systematically disfranchised Black voters.¹⁰ Using the Jim Crow tactics of poll taxes, intimidation and physical violence, and notably the All White Democratic Primary, Blacks were excluded from influencing politics across the Southern states. But tensions between the races grew on the eve of *Smith*, as World War II catalyzed changes to the racial status quo.¹¹ As some have argued, prior to *Smith*, tensions between Whites and Blacks sometimes exploded in racial violence, resulting in increases in White threat of Black violence. While the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other legal and activist organizations had long been fighting for Black voting rights, it was not until the *Smith V. Allwright* Supreme Court decision in 1944 that the All White Primary was ultimately abolished and the White authoritarian hold on politics began to unravel.

While White politicians generally maintained their stranglehold on power relations in Florida, the inexorable tide of Black participation moved at a quick pace. With the exception of Georgia, which had a concentration of Black political power in Atlanta, Texas, where the end of the All White Primary obviously had the most immediate impact (since the case originated in Texas), and Louisiana, where the Huey Long faction tended to involve more poor Blacks in politics,¹² increases in registration and raw figures in Florida place it near the top of Southern states for Black registration. Registration figures are presented in Table 1, which is sorted by raw growth.

The *Smith V. Allwright* decision was a watershed moment in voting rights that is often overlooked as the beginning of the end of Southern racial segregation and Table 1 clearly shows black voter registration improving across the South but noticeably in Florida. This is because, in part, the time period is conflated with the return of Black soldiers from World War II.¹³ While WWII certainly had a massive structural impact, we are specifically concerned

10 Ibid.

11 Michael J. Klarman, "How Brown Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 1 (June 1994): 81-118; Christopher S. Parker, "When Politics Becomes Protest: Black Veterans and Political Activism in the Postwar South," *Journal of Politics* 71, no. 1 (January 2009): 113-131.

12 V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: AA. Knopf, 1949); M.L. Kurtz and M.D. Peoples, *Earl K. Long: The saga of uncle Earl and Louisiana politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

13 Parker, "When Politics Becomes Protest."

Table 1. Increase in Black registration post Smith v. Allwright, Southern States.

State	1947	1952	Growth	Percent Growth
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	110,000	1100
Texas	100,000	181,916	81,916	82
Florida	49,000	120,900	71,900	147
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	30,000	60
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	25,000	33
Virginia	48,000	69,326	21,326	44
Alabama	6,000	25,224	19,224	320
Georgia	125,000	144,835	19,835	16
Mississippi	5,000	20,000	15,000	300
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	14,413	31
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	5,000	6
Totals	595,000	1,008,614	413,614	70

Source: Lawson, *Black Ballots*.¹⁴

with how the reduction in electoral barriers increased the chances of political participation among Blacks. By most accounts, scholars have shown that intense massive White resistance did not set in until after the *Brown V. Board* decision in 1954,¹⁵ so in the years immediately following *Smith*, some candidates did tread tepidly towards Black incorporation, as was the case with Claude Pepper of Florida.

Indeed, as Klarman claims, “the pattern of response to Brown was consistent: Race became the decisive focus of Southern politics, and massive resistance its dominant theme.”¹⁶ In his extensive review of Florida politics, Price argues that prior to the desegregation of public schools, the effect of race on the voting behavior of Whites in the South, and Florida in particular, was relatively soft

14 S.F. Lawson, *Black ballots: voting rights in the South, 1944-1969* (New York: Lexington Books, 1976).

15 Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizen's Council* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Francis M. Wilhoit, *The Politics of Massive Resistance* (New York: G. Braziller, 1973); Clive Webb, *Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

16 Klarman, “How Brown Changed Race Relations,” 97.

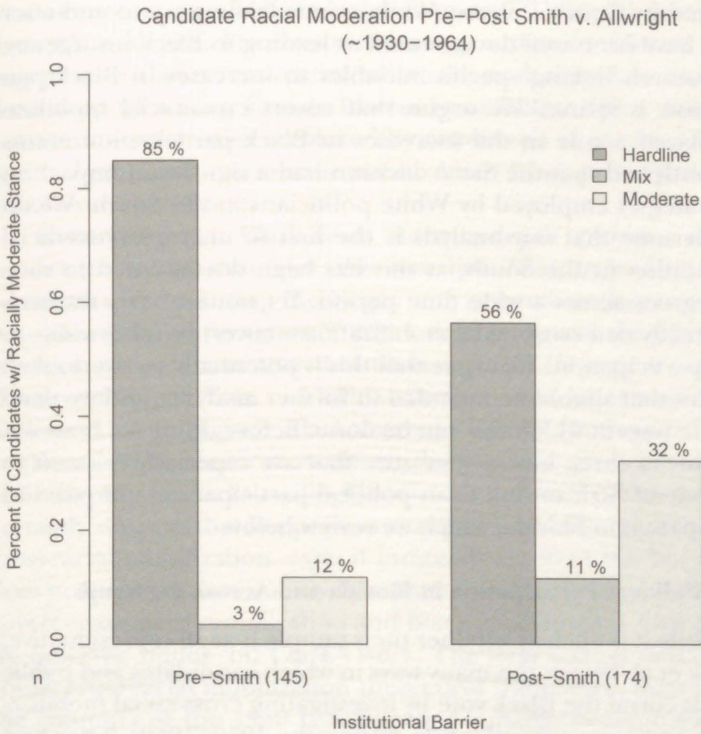


Figure 1. Cross-Racial Mobilization Pre-Post *Smith v. Allwright* shows that candidates were much more likely to pitch themselves as moderates once the All White Primary was eliminated. Source: Collingwood (2019).¹⁷

compared to later years of massive White resistance.¹⁸ The *Smith v. Allwright* decision made Blacks in the South a potentially valuable voting bloc in close elections if they could be mobilized covertly. While Democratic politicians had to be careful in how Blacks were courted (i.e., they had to be covert), after *Smith v. Allwright* it became clear that many White Southern Democratic politicians were interested in capturing the growing Black vote.

In the wake of the *Smith v. Allwright* decision, some Southern candidates began adopting a more moderate image on race, as

17 Loren Collingwood, *Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: When and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

18 Hugh Douglas Price, "The Negro and Florida Politics, 1944-1954," *Journal of Politics* 17, no. 2 (May 1955): 198-220.

reflected in Figure 1 above. While events leading up to and after Smith have been well documented as leading to Black insurgency, the research linking specific variables to increases in Black participation is sparse. We argue that covert cross-racial mobilization played a role in the increases in Black participation across the South and that the *Smith* decision had a significant impact on the strategies employed by White politicians in the South. We do not presume that our analysis is the first to uncover cross-racial mobilization in the South, as this has been documented to varying degrees across a wide time period. Yet none of this research has directly tied cross-racial mobilization—covert or otherwise—to Black participation. We argue that this is potentially an overlooked measure that should be included in further analyses, and we demonstrate ways in which this can be done. Before doing so, however, we point to three bits of literature that are especially relevant to the study of African-American political participation and political participation in Florida, which we review below.

Black Political Participation in Florida and Across the South

While it is unclear whether their sample is at all representative, Clubok et al. lay out the many ways in which candidates and public officials corral the Black vote by investigating cross-racial mobilization in six towns across Florida during the 1950s-1960s. They find cross-racial mobilization rampant in local politics: “In five of the six towns...Negro registration and voting was or had been encouraged, facilitated, and, to varying degrees, organized by members of the White political structure.”¹⁹ However, Clubok and colleagues do not systematically examine the relationship between White cross-racial mobilization targeted at Black voters and variation in Black political participation. Their findings, while instructive, are largely qualitative and not specific to Black participation. Moreover, they do not assess the covert nature of the political mobilization/outreach.

In his investigation of Florida politics post *Smith V. Allwright*, Hugh Price shows that it was a fairly common strategy for [White] Florida candidates to mobilize African Americans. Regarding the 1950 Florida Senate Democratic primary—the same election we analyze—Price states: “The Negro vote is too large for conservative candidates to risk indulging in undiluted Negro-baiting, but neither do liberal candidates dare expose a too pro-Negro program

19 Clubok, De Grove, and Farris, “The Manipulated Negro Vote,” 117.

or make too open a bid for Negro support.”²⁰ Without providing in-depth evidence, Price seems to suggest that candidates were engaging in covert cross-racial mobilization designed to increase their support among Florida Blacks. Nonetheless, Price does not examine the strategies employed by candidates to increase Black political participation, nor the predictors of Black participation in a multi-variate context.

Historian James Clark finds more in-depth evidence of the candidates’ racial strategies: the *New York Times* notes that both candidates “are courting the Negro vote as much as they can without offending White voters.”²¹ Clark further details the CIO registration campaign, noting that there was a “CIO report entitled ‘Survey of Negro Vote in Florida’ showing that labor organizers were working to register Black voters in Florida for Pepper.”²² He continues: “The registration effort...did produce greater numbers of Black voters in Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa.”²³ This evidence certainly suggests that Pepper was engaged in at least some form of cross-racial mobilization, even if indirectly via the CIO, but Clark does not provide close county-by-county details or linkages between covert cross-racial mobilization and Black participation. Our analysis, however, builds off Clark’s work. The next section develops a covert cross-racial mobilization theoretical framework, then traces the contours of the 1950 U.S. Senate campaign between Claude Pepper and George Smathers. Using archival evidence, we show that Pepper supported a CIO Black registration campaign, whereas Smathers conducted a largely anti-Black campaign in his attempt to win moderate to conservative White voters worried about the specter of Black political participation.

Of course, covert cross-racial mobilization alone does not explain increases in Black participation in the post-*Smith v. Allwright* period. Matthews and Prothro wrote two articles in 1963 examining county-level Black voter registration across the South.²⁴ Using data mostly from the late 1950s and early 1960s, these scholars find that both socio-economic and political variables contrib-

20 Price, “The Negro and Florida Politics, 1944-1954,” 217.

21 *New York Times*, April 8, 1950.

22 James C. Clark, *Red Pepper and Gorgeous George: Claude Pepper’s Epic Defeat in the 1950 Democratic Primary* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 139.

23 *Ibid.*, 140.

24 D.R. Matthews and J.W. Prothro, “Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South” *The American Political Science Review* 57(2), 355-367; D. R. Matthews and J.W. Prothro, “Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South,” *The American Political Science Review* (57(1), 24-44.

ute to variance in Black registration. Key among socio-economic variables is the percent Black, which tended to depress Black voter registration across the South during the late 1950s, because, it has been argued, White repression and intimidation was highest in these areas. Matthews and Prothro²⁵ also find that Black education and Black income are positively correlated with Black registration, although these correlations decline when accounting for percent Black.

Among the political characteristics, Matthews and Prothro²⁶ find the largest variation in Black voter registration at the state level, with Mississippi on the low end and Tennessee on the high end. That is, the state itself is the political variable that best captures variations in Black political participation. These findings suggest that analysts should examine Black participation separately by state or via multi-level modeling. Given the paucity of candidate-level data, we choose the former.

Matthews and Prothro²⁷ find that institutional barriers (i.e., poll taxes and literacy tests), party factionalism, and Black activism contributed to variation in Black registration. In the former, poll taxes disproportionately disfranchised Blacks as African Americans were less likely than Whites to have the money for the tax. Literacy tests essentially gave the registrar of voters arbitrary power to determine voter qualifications; thus, the registrar could discriminate with relative abandon. In 1950, Florida had neither a poll tax or literacy tests, suggesting that the state should have relatively high Black registration rates.²⁸ Regarding Black activism, these scholars also find that local Black organizations, such as the Progressive Voter's League and the NAACP are associated with increases in Black participation.

Matthews and Prothro²⁹ find that Democratic party factionalism also tends to produce higher levels of Black registration. Under a multi-faction system, it is argued that candidates are more likely to make racial appeals to Blacks as a means of defeating their opponents. While these scholars are careful to note that Black voters can usually discern candidates more favorably disposed to them and

25 Matthews and Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors."

26 Matthews and Prothro, "Political Factors."

27 Ibid.

28 For an excellent account of the fight to end the poll tax see Charles D. Farris, "The Re-Enfranchisement of Negroes in Florida," *Journal of Negro History* 39, no. 4 (October 1954): 259-283.

29 Matthews and Prothro, "Political Factors."

that this may affect Black participation, Matthews and Prothro have no measure of cross-racial mobilization or candidate outreach to Blacks. Adding this measure into the study of Black political participation in the pre-VRA period is our primary contribution. Finally, for obvious reasons, variables such as White violence and hostility tend to depress Black registration, but only in counties that are the most hostile.

Establishing Cross-Racial Mobilization

In this section, we first outline our theoretical framework, which explains why candidates varied in their method of covert cross-racial mobilization. This framework helps explain theoretically why Claude Pepper engaged in covert cross-racial mobilization via donations to the CIO to help mobilize Black voters; and why his opponent did not. Following David Mayhew,³⁰ we assume that each candidate is a rational actor where election, re-election, or ascension to a higher office is his or her central purpose. In other words, explanations for why a candidate courts certain blocs of voters, takes a certain policy stance, or sets a specific tone vis-à-vis race relations is largely a political decision driven by electoral goals. While this may not explain all political actors, as some actors may be solely motivated by ideological pursuits, we argue that the vast majority of serious candidates realize the necessity to get elected or re-elected in order to pursue their ideological goals.

With rational choice as their guiding motivation, candidates assess various geographic, demographic, and political characteristics of their political jurisdiction to determine whether to engage in cross-racial mobilization and the specific strategies that should be used in doing so. One characteristic concerns the racially dominant group. Candidates will assess the degree to which White backlash is a threat to their electoral coalition and electoral chances. If a candidate envisions White backlash or hostility as high, the candidate either will engage in anti-Black cross-racial mobilization,³¹ no mobilization, or covert cross-racial mobilization. In the latter case, the candidate hopes to benefit from the minority vote, but distances him or herself from a public association with the minority

30 David R. Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

31 Negative cross-racial mobilization occurs when a candidate goes out of their way to campaign against Black voters in order to court the "Negrophobe" White vote.

group. However, if a candidate determines they can eschew White backlash by courting minority groups quietly, then the candidate is likely to engage in positive covert cross-racial mobilization through either donations to outside groups, speaking in Black churches, or reaching out to Black voters via African-American radio or newspapers. In the modern era, candidates can conduct cross-racial mobilization more freely,³² but during times of racial unrest, white racial threat is more active and hence poses a bigger challenge to candidates.³³

A second factor is minority group characteristics. A White candidate should be more likely to court a minority bloc if that group is a large or potentially large pool of the electorate and socially organized. The key here is that the pool of registered voters has to be large enough to swing a close election. Candidates also assess the likelihood of a close election; if so, one or both candidates may be more likely to court the Black vote. Finally—and crucial to the present analysis—candidates assess their main opponent(s) political reputation. If the opponent—through their policy positions and past record—is perceived as a racial moderate, for instance, then the candidate is likely to take a racially conservative stance when it comes to cross-racial mobilization, and vice-versa. This is because candidates attempt to distinguish themselves from each other to the extent that voter groups are responsive to candidates' positions on the issues. During the 1950 Senate race in Florida all these factors, save for the latter, were the same for both candidates. Thus, the key variable that a-priori separates these two candidates' cross-racial mobilization stances is political reputation.

In 1950 Florida, White hostility was relatively high, as *Smith V. Allwright* and President Truman's civil rights program had begun to shake the White South's customs and traditions. However, several Black organizations—namely the NAACP and the Progressive Voter's League—were organizing around the state. By 1947, Florida had nearly 50,000 registered Black voters—not a huge margin, but large enough to sway the election outcome in a close contest.

32 Loren Collingwood, Matt A. Barreto, and Sergio I. Garcia-Rios, "Revisiting Latino Voting: Cross-Racial Mobilization in the 2012 Election," *Political Research Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (September 2014): 632-645.

33 D. Stephen Voss, "Beyond Racial Threat: Failure of an Old Hypothesis in the New South," *Journal of Politics* 58, no. 4 (November 1996): 1156-1170; Marylee C. Taylor, "How White Attitudes Vary with the Racial Composition of Local Populations: Numbers Count," *American Sociological Review* 63, no. 4 (August 1998): 512-535.

Furthermore, the trajectory was continued growth. And indeed, both candidates and the media perceived the election as competitive since Pepper had only won the 1944 contest by a 10,000 vote margin. Finally, with Pepper's relatively liberal/moderate record on race and foreign policy, a relatively unknown candidate like George Smathers could transform himself into a race-baiter and successfully capture a large portion of the racially disaffected White voter. Thus, a priori, we expect Smathers to run an anti-black CRM campaign and Pepper a covert CRM campaign. In the next section we show this to be the case; followed by an analysis showing that black political participation and voter registration were higher in areas that had the backing of Pepper's covert cross-racial mobilization.

The 1950 Senate Race Between Claude Pepper and George Smathers

In the pre-Voting Rights Act period in the South, we argue that cross-racial mobilization could not be conducted openly. Previous analyses looking to uncover CRM therefore may have looked past occurrences of politician's cross-racial behavior because such behavior was mostly covert. Candidates who openly campaigned for the Black vote or appeared too liberal on racial issues risked alienating the White voters who were needed to win. Alabama governor Jim Folsom lost the 1962 gubernatorial election in part because he was perceived as a racial liberal in a state that was openly hostile towards the African American community.³⁴ Therefore, where cross-racial mobilization occurred in the period preceding the VRA, it was often done covertly. Candidates sought to attract the Black vote covertly and often would praise segregation on the one-hand while funneling resources to the Black community—which was then used to signal to Black voters that they were ultimately one of the friendly candidates. Beyond Claude Pepper in Florida, examples of candidates who sought to mobilize the Black vote on their behalf, include, but are not limited to, Earl Long and Chep Morrison of Louisiana, Leroy Collins of Florida, Ellis Arnall of Georgia, James Coleman of Mississippi, and Terry Sandford of North Carolina.

³⁴ Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff, *Big Mules and Branchheads: James E. Folsom and Political Power in Alabama* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008).

The 1950 U.S. Senate Democratic primary pitted two-term incumbent Pepper against Miami Congressman George Smathers, who announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate in early January, 1950, by giving a speech in Orlando's coliseum to over 3,000 people.³⁵ In the South at the time, the Democratic primary was tantamount to election, which meant that both candidates had but four months to fully campaign until election day on May 5, 1950. Over the course of his two terms, Pepper had taken relatively liberal stances on the Russia and Black questions. It was quite clear early on that the campaign would be a referendum on Claude Pepper as Smathers went on a two-prong attack: Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) and Civil Rights; Communism and Pepper's support for the Soviet Union.³⁶

Why had Pepper taken relatively liberal stances on racial policy matters prior to the 1950 senate election? He was born in Alabama and lived in Tallahassee, which was located essentially in Florida's Black Belt.³⁷ Based on this alone, it would be tempting to expect Pepper to act like other Black Belt politicians: as a race-baiter. However, Pepper had national aspirations for office, as evidenced by his brief candidacy at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. Pepper had first sought to nominate Eisenhower in an attempt to unseat Truman but Eisenhower refused the nomination. Pepper then nominated himself, though his candidacy lasted only one day and he attracted but six and a half delegates.³⁸ The aspirations of Pepper to higher office meant that he had to consider the national viability of his policy positions, including on the Black question. Outside of the South, Blacks could both play a larger role in elections and the question of Black rights was not quite as one-sided as it was in Southern states. Pepper's more liberal stance on Black issues was thus likely due, in part, to national electoral considerations.

Newspaper accounts, archival data, and interviews with those involved in the campaign do paint a mixed picture with respect to the two candidates' racial strategies. Newspaper accounts intimate

35 Election outcomes in the South during this time period were determined in the primaries as any serious contender was a Democrat. Republicans essentially had zero party organization and no funding so could not run competitive campaigns in the general election.

36 Clark, *Red Pepper and Gorgeous George*.

37 Tallahassee is in Leon County, which contained 39.5% Black population in 1950.

38 *Orlando Sentinel*, November 29, 1992; Brian Lewis Crispell, *Testing the Limits: George Armistead Smathers and Cold War America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999).

that both candidates campaigned for the Black vote. A *New York Times* article a month before election day acknowledged this: "Both candidates are courting the Negro vote as much as they can without offending White voters."³⁹ In an interview several decades after the campaign, Smathers claimed that neither candidate spent much if any time discussing civil rights:

See, in 1950 the state was very conservative. Pepper had been very liberal, so he did not want to talk about it. I, being from Miami, was somewhat liberal myself. I didn't particularly want to talk about it. The result was that he and I did not discuss civil rights. I don't think he ever made a speech in which he referred to me as either strong or soft on civil rights. I know I never made a speech about him and his advocacy of civil rights. He was a strong civil rights guy. I was sort of strong civil rights, coming from Miami.⁴⁰

However, the bulk of archival evidence suggests that Pepper engaged in significantly more covert cross-racial mobilization than did Smathers, and that Smathers almost completely used race as a wedge issue to try and win racially disaffected White voters. Below, we present each candidate's campaign strategy vis-à-vis Black voters to demonstrate that the dynamics of cross-racial mobilization played a central role in the election and that Pepper financially and logistically helped various groups register Blacks primarily in Miami-Dade, Duval (Jacksonville), Hillsborough (Tampa), and Volusia Counties (Daytona Beach).

Claude Pepper

Given his past statements and positions that were ostensibly supportive of Black interests, campaign documents from both candidates' archives reveal that Pepper was the clear favorite among African American voters. Through constituency mail and advocacy, the Black community made it clear to Pepper that they supported his re-election efforts. For instance, in a letter to Pepper, Black newsman Edward D. Davis states, "Florida's colored voters appreciate the statesmanship you have displayed and they are unanimous in their determination to unite forces in helping to return you to

39 *New York Times*, April 8, 1950

40 http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Smathers_interview_2.pdf, p. 38

Washington.”⁴¹ In another communication, Davis said: “Once members of our racial group are qualified, they can be safely counted in your column.”⁴² Another Black leader, Herman Williams of the 20th Century Club, pushed Pepper to participate in the electoral mobilization of African Americans:

The purpose of this communication is to determine if I may come to Washington... to hold a conference with you relative to the matter of organizing and mobilizing the voting strength of Negro citizens of Florida...the mobilization of scores of social clubs, who are able to influence young and old through a unique ‘family like’ contact...if you are interested in another term, and we pray to God you are, we believe we can be the winning team to put you over.⁴³

Based on his reputation as the more liberal of the two candidates, Pepper was openly courted by Black leaders, making the covert mobilization of Black voters that much easier for his campaign. Since leaders within the Black community were reaching out, Pepper could much more easily engage in covert-CRM while still campaigning on a segregationist platform when speaking to White audiences. In the end, the African American constituency, along with organized labor, comprised the 1950 Pepper coalition. Thus, even though the bulk of White voters did not support greater Black inclusion in the political process, Pepper had an electoral incentive to expand the African American vote.

Pepper engaged in cross-racial mobilization in two ways. The first is a more broad form of mobilization in that it was targeted at all Blacks, not just Blacks living in a particular jurisdiction or of a socio-economic class. Pepper sent cues to African American voters primarily through his earlier policy stances.⁴⁴ He favored an end to the filibuster in the U.S. Senate, arguing that it was undemocratic, and that it was used as a way to minimize the electorate (a cue to Southern Blacks). During this time period, African Americans

41 Letter from Edward D. Davis to Claude Pepper, June 9, 1949, Claude Pepper Papers, FSU Special Collections and Archives Repository.

42 Ibid.

43 Letter from Herman Williams to Claude Pepper, September 3, 1949, Claude Pepper Papers, FSU Special Collections and Archives Repository.

44 Michael K. Fauntroy, *Republicans and the Black Vote* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008) discusses four categories that parties use to court Black voters: policy initiatives, political activities, state and local Black organizations that work with parties, and national African American organizations that work with parties.

widely believed, correctly, that the filibuster was used to stall civil rights legislation. Pepper also opposed the poll tax, supported anti-lynching legislation, and supported President Roosevelt's FEPC wartime measure. The latter produced explosive reactions among Southern reactionaries, as it was seen as federal encroachment in the workplace. During the campaign, Pepper tried to distance himself from the FEPC, but Smathers nonetheless used the FEPC as his primary racial attack. Taken together, these policy stances made Pepper very popular among African Americans, as indicated by hundreds of supporting letters from Black constituents and from Black organizations, such as the Progressive Voters' League.⁴⁵ However, while morally correct, these policy-backed CRM efforts were a tactical mistake for Pepper as he ended up losing the election in part because he was perceived as a racial liberal by a large chunk of Florida's White voters.

The second way Pepper engaged in cross-racial mobilization was via the covert support of a large Black registration campaign led at the local level by African Americans with union organization help. Pepper's support was quiet so as to minimize the likelihood of White voters hearing about the effort. While Pepper was not an architect of the scheme, his campaign was loosely affiliated (financially) with the registration drive, which targeted Blacks primarily in the large cities of Florida. Indeed, registration campaign organizers contacted Pepper ten months prior to the 1950 primary, seeking his input.⁴⁶

That same summer (1949), the record indicates that George L-P Weaver of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)—a major union—visited several Black communities in Jacksonville, Miami, Tampa, and Daytona Beach to gauge African American sentiment towards Pepper. Weaver selected these counties not because their percent Black was the highest in the state, but rather the size of their Black population was among the highest. Weaver concluded: "In each city that I visited, after talking with innumerable negro leaders, I found a general enthusiasm and, without exception, sentiment expressed in favor of Senator Pepper's re-election." Weaver continues, "it was agreed that in view of the low CIO membership in the state of Florida, the best method to increase the Negro

45 Letter from Harry T. Moore to Claude Pepper, April 14, 1949, Claude Pepper Papers, FSU Special Collections and Archives Repository.

46 Letter from Edward D. Davis to Claude Pepper June 9, 1949, Claude Pepper Papers, FSU Special Collections and Archives Repository.

registration and vote would be by aiding the existing organizations that are geared to political action in these several communities... This aid could take the form of contributing toward the payment of salaries and expenses incidental to a registration drive and organization to get the vote out on election day."⁴⁷ In other words, Weaver would secure funding for the registration campaign, which would be implemented by actors at the local level.

The findings of Weaver's investigations were communicated to Pepper associates. In another letter from Weaver to fellow intriguer, Ira Davis, Weaver states that the Pepper folks support the plan: "A copy of this report was sent to Senator Pepper, and I have had a chance to talk to the Senator and Mr. Clement, his political secretary, since my return...They [Pepper] are still desirous of selecting a Negro to be quietly put on Senator Pepper's payroll, in order to represent him in the state and help coordinate the activities. I would appreciate it if you would send me two or three recommendations for such a person."⁴⁸

Pepper's Executive Assistant, Jim Clements, met with Edward Davis, the Black newspaper man, to discuss Pepper's financial support for the registration plan. Based in part on a two day meeting with the Pepper campaign, Black leaders put together a plan for a targeted registration drive in Duval, Hillsborough, Volusia, and Miami counties. A "Committee for Full Registration" was set up to bring their plan to fruition, and Pepper's campaign covertly sent the committee about \$4,000 to help fund the drive—which was run primarily by local Blacks on the ground.⁴⁹

In the final analysis, the Pepper campaign did not—on the surface—appear to mobilize the Black community, beyond his policy stances from previous years. Pepper did not unabashedly court the Black vote like some White candidates did in later years. The fears and racial hostility of White voters were simply too high in 1950 to allow Pepper to out-and-out court that constituency. As such, Pepper refrained from supporting or really even discussing civil rights issues while on the stump, claimed to be a supporter of segregation when talking to White audiences, and claimed to oppose the

47 Memorandum from George L-P Weaver to Jack Kroll, dated June 24, 1949, Claude Pepper Papers, FSU Special Collections and Archives Repository.

48 Letter from George L-P Weaver to Ira Davis, July 7 1949, Claude Pepper Papers, FSU Special Collections and Archives Repository.

49 Letter from Edward Davis to Mr. Clements, September 22, 1949, Claude Pepper Papers, FSU Special Collections and Archives Repository.

Federal Employment Practices Commission (FEPC).⁵⁰ Other than taking a variety of ostensibly pro-Black policy stances over the years, Pepper's cross-racial mobilization was entirely covert, consisting of working through back channels to register African American voters. While it is impossible to know for sure whether the registration campaign would have been successful without Pepper's covert assistance, the fact that Pepper's campaign did not dissuade the registration campaign—as did Smathers—and actually contributed to it financially as well as logistically is strong evidence of CCRM. In reality, the nexus between Black leaders, the Black community, along with the covert assistance of White leaders who stood to benefit from enhanced Black registration, formed much of the impetus behind changes in Black registration immediately preceding the 1950 Democratic primary election.

George Smathers

George Smathers took the completely opposite tact with respect to mobilizing the Black vote. While he was not a defender of White supremacy in the vein of Southern demagogues Theodore Bilbo or Eugene Talmadge, Smathers used Pepper's relative racial and economic liberalism against him to appeal to the disaffected White, upscale, and rural vote. Smathers tapped into Southern fears about Black voter registration, civil rights, and government encroachment. Indeed, he concluded his standard stump speech by asking White audiences if they "like the idea of Florida elections being controlled through the Negro vote."⁵¹

Because of Pepper's reputation prior to the 1950 election, electorally there was little incentive for Smathers to also engage in cross-racial mobilization. Even if Smathers bent left on racial concerns, it would be hard to win over the Black vote since that vote was already fairly enthusiastic about Pepper. Instead, it made sense for Smathers to campaign to move to the right on racial matters, as Pepper was already going to receive most of the Black vote given his past policy stances and reputation within the Black community. This meant that despite Smathers later thinking of himself as a "strong civil rights guy" (quotation added) his campaign had a heavy incentive to criticize Pepper's stance on Black issues and to

50 Clark, *Red Pepper and Gorgeous George*.

51 Taken from Smathers stump speech, campaign trail 1950. The George A. Smathers Collection, Special Areas Studies Collection. Box 319, Campaign Files - 1950 Election 1934-1958.

stake out a position as the candidate for White supremacy in the election.

His racial point of attack focused primarily on the Federal Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), which he used as both a racial and small government (i.e., freedom to discriminate) appeal. This approach can be seen in a typical press release:

George Smathers, currently campaigning in West Florida for U.S. Senator, is maintaining a slashing attack on Claude Pepper's record on legislation to set up a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission... 'Stripped of all its honeyed words,' Smathers says, 'FEPC is nothing more than an attempt by Northern radicals to break down segregation...If they can pass a law to say whom you may hire and fire, they can pass one to say whom your daughter will marry.'⁵²

Smathers attacked Pepper on the FEPC and civil rights on radio, newspapers, magazines, and in brochures. Indeed, Smathers attacked Pepper on the FEPC in nearly every single speech, and he often brought up how the FEPC would bring down "our Southern traditions."⁵³

Given his general approach, it is no wonder that Black voters remained weary of Smathers—as indicated by his lack of support among Black-heavy precincts in Miami-Dade County and Duval County.⁵⁴ Smathers did not launch or support any Black registration campaign, because these voters would be unlikely to vote for him. Instead he warned Blacks against voting if they were ineligible to register, as an attempt to reduce the electoral impact of the Black vote.

We have now laid out an account of the two candidates' strategies regarding the emerging Black vote. Both candidates were concerned with the rise of the Black vote; however, just one candidate, Pepper, seriously engaged the bloc by covertly supporting a Black registration campaign held primarily in four counties. The other candidate took the opposite tact and spent essentially no time or effort mobilizing the Black vote. Indeed, he took the opposite tact

52 Pepper's FEPC Record, Press release by Smathers' campaign. The George A. Smathers Collection, Special Areas Studies Collection.

53 Smathers speech transcripts. The George A. Smathers Collection, Special Areas Studies Collection. Box 319, Campaign Files - 1950 Election 1934-1958.

54 Precinct results from Duval County reveal similar findings to Miami-Dade. Claude Pepper Papers, FSU Special Collections and Archives Repository.

and employed threats against Black voters by questioning the legality of their registration. The next section presents a brief data analysis that supports the implications of our case study—that Claude Pepper’s covert CRM may have helped bring about greater Black political participation.

An Empirical Analysis of the Pepper-Smathers Race

The historical documents support that Claude Pepper did engage in covert cross-racial mobilization in 1950 through financial contributions to the CIO, who in turn sought to register Blacks in Florida. As we have argued, this makes perfect sense in a race that was close and where the Black vote could potentially tip the scales in favor of Pepper, as African-Americans were no longer excluded from participation in the Democratic primary as a result of *Smith v. Allwright*. However, our qualitative analysis does not provide any evidence that the attempts at CCRM were in any way successful in increasing Black political participation. For that, we must turn to an empirical analysis of the change in Black participation in Florida in the wake of the 1950 election. If Pepper (and the CIO) were successful in increasing Black participation we would expect greater Black registration in those counties where the CIO was actively engaged in mobilization of the African-American community than in those where this did not occur.

As Figure 2 shows, there was indeed a significant difference between those counties in Florida where the CIO was engaged in Black registration drives and those where they were not. For those counties without cross-racial mobilization, there was a significantly smaller increase in Black registration between 1948 and 1950 than in those counties where CRM occurred based on the findings of our qualitative analysis of the Pepper-Smathers race. This suggests that not only did the Pepper campaign engage in covert cross-racial mobilization but also that this was successful in increasing Black participation.

To further examine the effect of cross-racial mobilization on Black participation, we collected theoretically relevant census variables, voter registration statistics, and other relevant variables around 1950 to evaluate predictors of Black registration for a regression analysis. The dependent variable is the total number of Blacks registered prior to the 1950 primary minus the total number of Blacks registered prior to the 1948 primary. Thus, we evaluate the change in Black registration in the two years prior to the

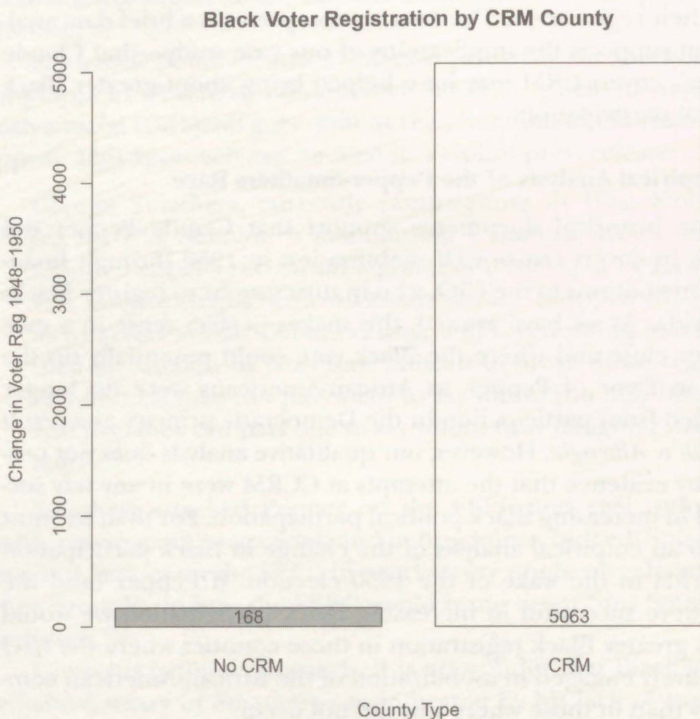


Figure 2. Black voter registration increases 1948-1950 in counties targeted by Pepper allies.

election—the time period when candidates would begin thinking about the election. The independent variables consist of a few broad categories: Black characteristics, White characteristics, and electoral characteristics.⁵⁵

We ran three different models to assess the effect of cross-racial mobilization. The first model is the “Black agency” model where we only include Black characteristic variables in addition to control variables. One Black characteristic variable emerges as statistically significant: the number of NAACP members within a county. This makes sense because counties that have high levels of NAACP membership are places where Blacks are organized politically and therefore better equipped to challenge barriers to voter registration. In 1950 Florida, income, mobility, percent Black, and education did

⁵⁵ For a detailed description of the variables included in the models, see Appendix 1.

not have a statistically significant effect on the change in Black registration between 1948-1950. It could be that these variables—on the whole—are structural measures and that their relationship to Black registration is more long-term as opposed to short term.⁵⁶ That said, Black education nears statistical significance at the .10 level and is substantively quite large. If we had the data to replicate this analysis across the entire South during this time period, surely the larger number of observations would deem the variable significant.

Model two adds the additional White characteristic variable of White violence. As expected, the coefficient is negative indicating that fewer Blacks in violent localities registered between 1948-1950. However, the variable is not statistically significant, which is supportive of the findings from Matthews and Prothro: the effect of White violence diminishes with the presence of Black race organizations.⁵⁷ It may be that by 1950, White violence—or the threat thereof—was no longer a major deterrent to Black registration. Model three adds in the covert cross-racial mobilization measure. This variable is both large and statistically significant, indicating that Blacks living in counties with the Pepper-supported CIO registration drive are much more likely to register to vote between 1948-1950 than their counterparts in other counties. Finally, we note that model fit only increases substantially once we account for the covert cross-racial mobilization variable, as the adjusted R^2 moves from 0.3 to 0.55.

To aid interpretation, we present predicted values plots (Figure 3) of our two statistically significant variables from model three. According to the model, controlling for other variables, the impact of NAACP membership on Black registration has a significantly larger effect as we move from minimum-to-maximum on the range of the NAACP membership variable. Indeed, the change is approximately 2,700 new Black registrants. Finally, using the same approach, covert cross-racial mobilization's effect is approximately 3,900 new Black registrants. Thus, covert cross-racial mobilization and Black agency—as measured via NAACP membership—work in tandem to produce relatively high levels of Black registration at the

⁵⁶ We checked this argument and it holds for Black education but not the other variables.

⁵⁷ Matthews and Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors"; Matthews and Prothro, "Political Factors."

Table 2. Predictor of Black Registration 1948–1950.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Black Registration Change		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Number of NAACP Members	2.25*** (0.57)	2.26*** (0.57)	1.59*** (0.47)
Percent Black HH less than 500/year	2.48 (25.58)	3.21 (25.86)	-1.44 (20.55)
Percent Black Mobility	-1.20 (3.07)	-1.17 (3.10)	-0.80 (2.46)
Percent Black	8.26 (18.61)	9.14 (18.93)	4.56 (15.05)
Black Median Education	487.93 (304.46)	510.87 (314.19)	95.02 (259.04)
White Violence		-118.37 (351.15)	26.33 (279.88)
Covert Cross-Racial Mobilization			3919.69*** (657.15)
Electoral Competition 1944 Senate	-8.18 (11.88)	-8.88 (12.15)	-9.03 (9.65)
Constant	-2213.95 (2140.39)	-2299.78 (2171.36)	-22.80 (1765.90)
Observation	67	67	67
R ²	0.36	0.36	0.60
Adjusted R ²	0.30	0.28	0.55
Residual Std. Error	1397.93 (df = 60)	1408.37 (df = 59)	1118.30 (df = 58)
F Statistic	5.61*** (df = 6; 60)	4.75*** (df = 7; 59)	11.04*** (df = ; 5)

Note:

*p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

county level. These are important findings because the former has not yet been demonstrated in verifiable ways.

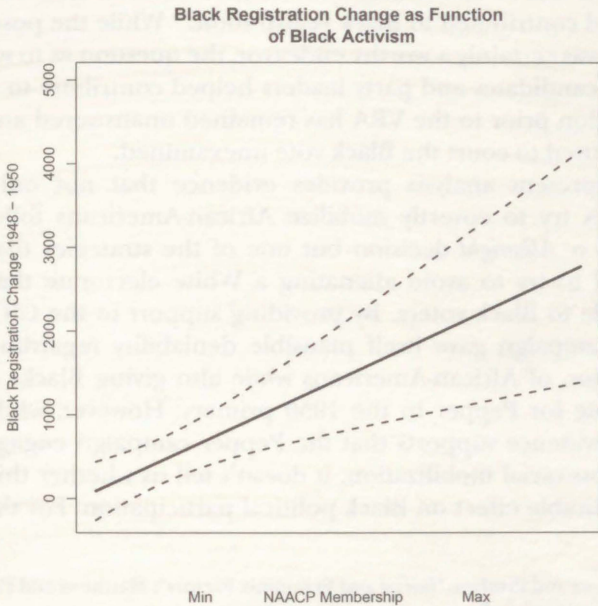
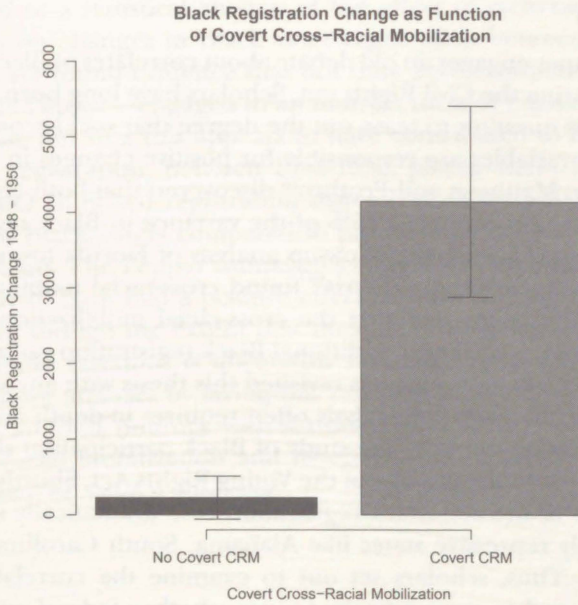


Figure 3a and 3b. Covariates covert cross-racial mobilization and Black activism are both associated with increases in Black registration between 1948 and 1950.

Conclusion

This paper engages an old debate about correlates of Black registration during the Civil Rights era. Scholars have long been interested in this question to tease out the degree that socio-economic or political variables are responsible for positive changes in Black registration. Matthews and Prothro⁵⁸ discovered that both types of variables account for about 25% of the variance in Black registration, respectively. In their follow-up analysis of Florida towns and cities, Clubok, Grove, and Farris⁵⁹ found cross-racial mobilization rampant. They suggested that the cross-racial mobilization phenomenon may account for additional Black registration variance.

However, no one since has revisited this thesis with any sort of rigor, in part because the analysis often requires in-depth archival data. In addition, though, the study of Black participation shifted dramatically with the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Shortly after the passage of the act, Black registration rose dramatically in the most racially repressive states like Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi. Thus, scholars set out to examine the correlates of these shifts and to see county-by-county, whether federal examiners indeed contributed to Black registration.⁶⁰ While the post-VRA research was certainly a worthy endeavor, the question as to whether White candidates and party leaders helped contribute to Black participation prior to the VRA has remained unanswered and the methods used to court the Black vote unexamined.

The present analysis provides evidence that not only did candidates try to covertly mobilize African-Americans following the *Smith v. Allwright* decision but one of the strategies that was employed to try to avoid alienating a White electorate that was still hostile to Black voters. By providing support to the CIO, the Pepper campaign gave itself plausible deniability regarding the mobilization of African-Americans while also giving Blacks a reason to vote for Pepper in the 1950 primary. However, while the archival evidence supports that the Pepper campaign engaged in covert cross-racial mobilization, it doesn't tell us whether this had any measurable effect on Black political participation. For that we

58 Matthews and Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors"; Matthews and Prothro, "Political Factors."

59 Clubok, De Grove, and Farris, "The Manipulated Negro Vote."

60 Thompson, "The Voting Rights Act in North Carolina"; Colby, "The Voting Rights Act and Black Registration in Mississippi"; Daniel, "Negro Political Behavior."

turned to a statistical analysis of the effect of cross-racial mobilization on changes in Black voter registration between 1948 and 1950. We found evidence that not only were candidates—namely Claude Pepper—engaged in an indirect form of cross-racial mobilization, but that this appears to have contributed to increases in Black registration. Between 1948-1950, places where Pepper and the CIO launched registration drives had about 3,900 more registered Black voters compared to places with no CIO registration campaign. The Pepper campaign's attempts to mobilize Blacks do appear to have had a positive effect on African-American participation, though the extent that these findings generalize to other states and elections is uncertain. This paper provides a baseline for future analyses by laying out research methodology that combines archival findings with statistical data to better understand cross-racial mobilization and its effects throughout the South in the wake of *Smith v. Allwright*.

Appendix: Variable Construction

Regarding the Black characteristics variables, we include a measure for Black median education from the 1950 Census. Counties with higher Black education rates are expected to contain higher percentages of Black registrants. We include a measure for Black income, which is the percent of Black household that make less than \$500 per year. Since this is the lowest income category, we expect a negative coefficient. We include a variable to measure Black mobility, which is the percentage of Black households that moved within the last year. It is expected that voter registration will decrease as Black mobility rises because residential mobility tends to depress political participation.⁶¹ Percent Black—the variable deemed key by scholars⁶²—is measured as the percentage of all county residents who are Black. This variable is expected to take on a negative coefficient because Whites in these areas are most wedded to White supremacy. Finally, we include a measure of NAACP membership to capture Black social organization. This variable is a count of the total number of NAACP members by county for the year 1947 when the NAACP enumerated county memberships across the United States. The coefficient for this variable is expected to take on a positive value because counties with strong NAACP organizations are more likely to have the infrastructure to begin challenging the status quo by legal and organizational methods.

Turning to the White group characteristics, we include a White violence variable where the value indicates the number of acts of racial violence against Blacks inside the county. This variable was created by Matthews and Prothro and is a combination of the Tuskegee Institute's lynching of Blacks between 1900 and 1931⁶³ and the Southern Regional Council's list of violent acts between 1955-1960. We treat this variable as a measure of latent White violence within the county, and expect a negative coefficient value because greater racial violence and intimidation within a county may deter many Blacks from registering to vote.

61 Raymond E. Wolfinger, and Steven J. Rosentone, *Who Votes?* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980).

62 Matthews and Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors": Matthews and Prothro, "Political Factors"; Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*.

63 Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Lewis Wade Jones, B.H. Junker, E.S. Marks, P. Valien, and E. R. Embree, *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties: Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic indices of 1104 Southern Counties* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941).

Our key independent variable is covert cross-racial mobilization, which we measure as a dummy variable where Volusia (Daytona Beach), Hillsborough (Tampa), Miami-Dade, and Duval (Jacksonville) counties receive a one and all other counties a zero. These are the four counties where the CIO and Pepper launched their Black registration campaign. It is expected that the change in Black registration will be higher in these counties than elsewhere; thus the coefficient should be positive.

Finally, to measure electoral competition, we use the closeness of the 1944 U.S. Senate contest. This variable is measured as $100 - (\text{absolute}(\text{candidate 1} - \text{candidate 2}))$. The variable is measured in such a way that higher numbers are indicative of greater competition. We expect this variable to take on a positive coefficient.

Book Reviews

Key to the New World: A History of Early Colonial Cuba. By Luis Martínez-Fernández. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2018. Acknowledgements, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. pp. xiv, 219. \$74.95 cloth.)

Luis Martínez-Fernández has devoted his academic career to the study of the Spanish Caribbean, with particular focus on Cuba and Puerto Rico in the nineteenth century. In the present volume he shifts his scholarly gaze toward a much earlier period to write what he calls a general history of Cuba from before the arrival of Europeans in the Caribbean to the end of the seventeenth century. For most people, possibly including some scholars of modern Cuba, this period of the island's history is relatively unfamiliar. In general, scholarship on the early Spanish Caribbean in English has been fairly sparse, although in recent years growing interest in the history of the Atlantic world has encouraged scholars to pay greater attention to the Caribbean. Soon after Europeans arrived the Caribbean quickly became not only a kind of microcosm of the Atlantic world but also crucial to the functioning of that expanding world. While in certain ways the author's choice to focus on Cuba alone suggests a traditional approach along the lines of single-country histories that were the bread-and-butter of older historiography, in another sense, given the difficulties of studying early Cuba, he should be commended for taking on the challenge of studying a place and time that can be difficult to access.

Martínez-Fernández's history of early Cuba is balanced, perceptive, well written, and for the most part accessible to a range of readers, although at times some of the language might seem overly academic to those outside the academy. Especially welcome is a theme he emphasizes throughout the book, that of the "two

Cubas,” which he sees as starting to emerge as early as the mid-sixteenth century. One is the Cuba of Havana and its hinterland. Although Santiago, on the southern coast, functioned as Cuba’s first capital, after 1550 Havana would become the most important port and city, the center for commerce and institutions, with a hinterland that produced staple foods, sugar, and livestock. The “other” Cuba, of the island’s central and eastern regions, remained rural, poor and relatively sparsely populated. It was also, as he suggests, “transgressive and rebellious” (3)—and often involved in contraband trade.

The author readily admits that the book is a work of synthesis that relies heavily on existing secondary works, two of which have long been of considerable importance to anyone interested in early Cuba, namely Irene A. Wright’s *The Early History of Cuba* (1916), closely based on her extensive research in the Archive of the Indies in Seville; and Levi Marrero’s multi-volume *Cuba: economía y sociedad* (1971-1988). Martínez-Fernández is a thorough-going scholar who makes use of a wide range of secondary sources, including such important recent works as Alejandro de la Fuente with César García del Pino and Bernardo Iglesias Delgado, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century* (2008) and David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Caribbean, 1570-1640* (2016) as well as printed primary sources and recent archaeological work. One might wish that he had consulted directly the primary sources available in the Archive of the Indies, where virtually all the extant documentation for the Spanish Caribbean in the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century is housed. Much of that material is now accessible remotely through the *Portal de Archivos Españoles*, and, while often challenging to consult, it affords incomparable insights into Cuba’s turbulent history in the period.

Martínez-Fernández gives due attention to the island’s indigenous people and the arrival of Europeans in the Caribbean and what he called the “foundational decades... characterized by continuous power conflicts among numerous actors and interest groups” (81). He also addresses the introduction of African slaves, the emergence of a complex multi-ethnic society, and the early phase of the sugar industry, which has been studied by de la Fuente. Although scholars who seek to delve more deeply into these developments inevitably will find themselves turning to Wright, Marrero, and, of course, the Archive of the Indies, Martínez-Fernández’s

book offers a solid, readable, and thoughtful introduction to Cuba's early history.

Ida Altman

University of Florida

Bernardo de Gálvez: Spanish Hero of the American Revolution. By Gonzalo M. Quintero Saravia. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. Acknowledgements, illustrations, afterword, appendix, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xii, 616. \$38.00 cloth.)

Bernardo de Gálvez, the eighteenth-century governor of Spanish Louisiana and the conqueror of Pensacola during the American Revolution, is the subject of this full-scale biography, the first ever written about this important historical figure. The author is a scholar from Spain who has served in various diplomatic posts over recent decades including at the United Nations. He has previously written several books dealing with Spain in the eighteenth century and served as a Fellow at the Weatherhead Center of Harvard University. This volume had its genesis in a 2015 doctoral dissertation he wrote at the *Universidad Complutense* in Madrid. It is now published in an augmented version. This study firmly places Bernardo de Gálvez within the context of his times as a significant bureaucratic and military leader of seminal importance in the administration of Spain's colonial empire in North America. The author adeptly traces the history of the Gálvez family and the beginnings of Bernardo's rise to prominence. In so doing, he places an appropriate amount of emphasis on the origins of the family, whose members rose from relatively obscurity to become important counselors and royal advisors at the court of Spanish King Charles III. Bernardo's father, Matias, and several of his brothers, including José de Gálvez, all became influential ministers, administrators, or military commanders in service to the Spanish King, with their heyday being from the 1760s until the 1780s. Both Matias and his son Bernardo would serve as Viceroys of New Spain, the highest governmental posts in Spanish North America. Uncle José de Gálvez served as Spanish colonial minister.

This adroitly-written biography follows a chronological narrative from Gálvez's youth in Macharaviaya, Spain, through his early military training that included French martial influences, to his

participation in the invasion of Algiers (1775) before his arrival in the Viceregency of New Spain. He came to Mexico when his uncle José became the Visitor, an official sent by the King to inspect the government, recommend reforms, and implement them. Young Bernardo served as an officer on the northern frontier where he commanded a detachment fighting Apaches and other troublesome horse culture Indians. Distinguishing himself in these endeavors, he thereafter went to Spanish Louisiana where he became the governor of that province, no doubt due to the positive influences of his important father and uncle. Bernardo de Gálvez became a champion of the rebel cause during the American Revolution, permitting supplies to be shipped up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to forces led by the Continental Congress. Once Spain entered the conflict, he commanded the Spanish forces which took Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola. The latter battle, taking place in May of 1781, proved to be the most significant for him. This volume accordingly gives much attention to what took place at Pensacola, with the author providing the best treatment of that military action written to date. King Charles rewarded the victory at Pensacola by making the intrepid conqueror the Conde de Gálvez, placing him firmly in the Spanish nobility. After taking Florida, the new Count Gálvez turned his attention to leading an expedition against British held Jamaica, a military action which never took place because the war ended. After a time as Captain General of Cuba, Gálvez replaced his father as Viceroy of New Spain. This volume provides a full overview of his attempts to reform the viceregency, efforts that enjoyed a success cut short by Bernardo de Gálvez's untimely death in November, 1786.

This study manifests three attributes which insures it will long remain an enduring and definitive work. First, it is squarely based on an exhaustive amount of research conducted in the archives of Spain, Great Britain, and the United States. It would not be an exaggeration to observe the author has currycombed in great detail dozens of collections in an impressive effort to locate primary source material dealing with Gálvez's life, his activities, and the historical events in which he participated. Second, this study also places its narrative firmly within the existing historical literature dealing with Spain in the late eighteenth century, the Wars of American Independence, the Spanish borderlands, and the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Third, the author provides a tremendous amount of background detail and thick description of the myriad

governmental and military matters Gálvez dealt with in his career. Those who read this volume will gain a deepened understanding of Gálvez's career and his role as seminal Spanish figure of the era. Bernardo de Gálvez has found in the author of this timely volume his literary champion and, after far too long a time, the literature dealing with the American Revolution finally contains a biography worthy of one of its most important military figures. If, as some scholars have contended, Bernardo de Gálvez constituted the unknown hero of the Wars of American Independence, such will no longer be the case for those who read this fine biography.

Light Townsend Cummins

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Slave No More: Self-Liberation before Abolitionism in the Americas. By Aline Helg. Translated from French by Lara Vernaud. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Introduction, figures and graphs, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 1, 352. Paper, \$19.95)

Slave No More: Self-Liberation Before Abolitionism in the Americas explores how enslaved people created possibilities for freedom by analyzing and comparing various modes of self-liberation during the first 250 years of colonization. Aline Helg situates the enslaved person's quest for freedom within demographic, economic, political, and ideological contexts covering a wide breadth of time and space. Helg's study builds on the rich scholarship of hemispheric comparative slavery such as Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* and Orlando Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death: a Comparative Study*. *Slave No More: Self-Liberation Before Abolitionism* illuminates how enslaved people "expressed their rejection of captivity" in challenging the legitimacy of enslavement.

Helg organizes this comprehensive, geographically expansive study into four parts: an introduction outlining the major phases of the transatlantic slave trade (Part I), an account of slavery's expansion within and across the Americas (Part II), a discussion of the impact of the Seven Years' War and other conflicts among European sovereigns (Part III), and an analysis of liberation strategies in the aftermath the Haitian Revolution (Part IV). An epilogue examines freedom-making as it developed during the years

following general emancipation in the British Colonies from 1838 through the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888. Because of the array of colonial interests involved in the transatlantic slave trade, each chapter engages the machinations of Dutch, English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese engaged in maximizing profit by extracting labor from enslaved people while exploiting resources from newly colonized locales across the Americas.

The slave trade enterprise was a significant source of European wealth. Helg's study reveals how the numerous extractive industries across the Americas perpetuated the continued trade in human bodies from the African continent. From the gold and diamond mines of Brazil to sugar plantations of the Caribbean and tobacco or cotton cultivation in North America, enslaved laborers in these extractive enterprises needed to weigh options largely outside of their direct control to find an opportunity to break free. Whether through flight or marronage, emancipation through self-purchase or manumission, military service, or revolt, enslaved people attempting to liberate themselves had to assess how the environments they labored in helped or hindered their efforts toward freedom.

As early as the 1520's," Helg writes, "regions of Veracruz, Jalapa, Cordoba, Oaxaca, the island of Hispaniola, Florida, Panama and Santa Marta in Colombia were sites where enslaved African captives fled to outlying wilderness areas." Helg provides examples of enslaved people's successful efforts at marronage such as the 1553 rebellion in the San Felipe region of Venezuela led by Miguel, an enslaved African captive.

Other examples of marronage include locales in the Peruvian province of Vilcabamba, the Cartagena region, and the ill-fated but largest maroon community of Palmares in Pernambuco, Brazil, where it was reported that two hundred maroons committed mass suicide rather than be taken by the Portuguese army. Those who remained were captured and sold back into slavery.

Of the self-liberation tactics of manumission, self-purchase, or military service, Helg informs us that such pathways to freedom often demonstrated an individual or familial resistance mechanism that utilized "existing legislative frameworks to escape the condition of servitude" (64). Despite the existence of some legal processes for acquiring freedom, manumission and self-purchase were not always available for enslaved people. "Huge disparities existed between enslaved people from Spanish and Portuguese colonies where the right to enslaved self-purchase was nominally allowed,"

Helg points out, "as opposed to British, Dutch, and French colonies where the right to purchase one's freedom grew increasingly limited over time" (72). Enslaved people seeking to emancipate themselves through military service ran the risk of not only their lives in times of conflict, but of colonizing forces not honoring the freedom promised.

Helg contributes significantly to historiographical debates surrounding enslaved people's degree of agency providing evidentiary rigor to the range of opportunity to resist enslavement. By comparing enslaved people's self-liberation tactics across a variety of colonial sites, while highlighting the forced modes of commodity exploitation characterizing their labor processes, a metanarrative emerges in Helg's book: enslaved people's search for freedom resulted in the discovery of uncolonized territory where such freedom was undeniable. Yet despite the promise of finding potential refuge sites along the peripheries of cities or in hinterland wilderness areas, Helg argues, "maroon communities unknowingly contributed to the conquest of new frontiers by indirectly serving as [unwitting] scouts for territories that European colonists would eventually appropriate" (45). The quest for freedom could be repurposed as an extension of colonial territorialism.

Slave No More engages a wide range of secondary sources on slavery and freedom across the Americas. These sources, in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese, provide a vast interpretation of the history of the institution from many colonized nations and territories. Helg informs that conducting archival research was impractical for a study chronicling three centuries, but her book in fact consults and comments on a great number of primary sources. Helg also consults *The Trans-Atlantic and Intra-American Slave Trade Database* to underwrite her discussions of the scale and impact of the slave trade on enslaved captives' dispersal across the Atlantic, visually illustrating the numerical toll of racialized forced migration to the Americas.

Slave No More is a trenchant comparative analysis of enslaved people's self-liberation strategies in the New World. It distills the vast historical interpretation of slavery and freedom across the Americas and makes available to students and scholars alike the continuity and rupture of slave societies as enslaved people expanded their opportunities to pursue freedom. Scholars of slavery, empire, and diaspora will find this book an essential companion to more localized studies of slavery as it integrates transnational currents affecting the

institution into one setting. This study reveals that enslaved people's efforts at making freedom represent a considerable victory over the institution of slavery, while affirming their inherent humanity in a time hostile to the notion of enslaved personhood

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Game of Privilege: An African American History of Golf. By Lane Demas. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvii, 384. \$30.00 cloth.)

When thinking of African American golfers, many go to Tiger Woods. While Woods has certainly influenced the sport, Lane Demas has given us a groundbreaking history of African Americans and golf. Demas focuses on the numerous African Americans, both professional players and everyday individuals, who played golf before Woods and helped develop the modern game.

Demas divides *Game of Privilege* into six chapters, which record the history chronologically. He moves the reader through different periods of American history that reflect the African American story, including slavery, the Great Migration, the Harlem Renaissance, the Civil Rights Movement, and Black Power. Using a variety of primary and secondary sources, Demas uses newspaper, organizational records, and governmental papers to understand the sport and its connection to the larger society.

In the first chapter, "Real Democracy is Found on the Links," Demas focuses on African Americans and the origins of golf. Demas speculates that the connection between African Americans and golf goes back to the Slave South. Enslaved people may have served as caddies for their masters. After the first recorded golf course was established in 1884 in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, blacks joined a growing sport as more than caddies. George Franklin Grant, the first African American to become a faculty member at Harvard's dental school, innovated a reusable tee, although most credit William Lowell, a white dentist. Demas also discusses access to golf clubs and championship tournaments in this chapter as well as the women who played golf during this early period.

In the second chapter, "One Hears of Negro Country Clubs," Demas examines golf and the larger social changes of the Great

Migration and the Harlem Renaissance. The African Americans who left the South after World War I created a demand for access to golf courses and tournaments in their new locations. As the Harlem Renaissance provided a center for African American arts and culture, a private black golf club in New Jersey, the Shady Rest Country Club, was a place for Harlem's elite golfers to play. Private and public golf clubs developed in the South, which included Lincoln Country Club in Jacksonville, Florida, the West, which included Parkridge Country Club, in Corona, California, and other regions as well. The popularity of miniature golf grew concurrently as did the demand for equal access to facilities by African Americans.

In the next chapter, "Our Masters," Demas describes the development of the United Golfers Association (UGA), founded by African Americans during segregation. With the United States Golf Association (USGA) and Professional Golfers' Association of America (PGA) segregated, the UGA sponsored tournaments that gave black amateur and professional golfers the opportunity to participate in competitive tournaments across the country. The original twenty-six clubs in the association grew to ninety in the 1960s. The yearly events of the UGA included a tournament at the Miami Springs Golf Course in 1967. Demas argues that the UGA offered visibility to black golfers and developed a fan base that would eventually bring integration to the PGA.

In "I Will Take Your Own Golf Stick and Wham the World" Demas explored the connection between the Civil Rights Movement and golf. During World War II, the UGA canceled events and wartime service of African Americans provided an opportunity to change segregationist practices. The NAACP's Legal Defense Fund initially viewed cases to overturn segregation at golf courses and clubs as only providing access to a sport only a few doctors played, but the organization soon recognized the popularity of the sport and the need for legal cases to challenge restricted access to public courses. In *Holmes v. Atlanta* (1955), the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the policy of a municipal course in Atlanta that opened to different races on different days. Between 1941 and 1969, there were at least twenty-eight significant course cases related to the desegregation of golf facilities. Those cases included lawsuits in Miami (*Rice v. Arnold* and *Ward v. City of Miami* in 1950 and 1957, respectively), Pensacola (*Augustus v. City of Pensacola* in 1956), Fort Lauderdale (*Moorehead v. City of Fort Lauderdale* and *Griffis v. City of Fort Lauderdale* in 1957 and 1958, respectively), Jacksonville

(*Hampton v. City of Jacksonville, Florida* in 1962), and St. Petersburg (*Wimbash v. Pinellas County, Florida* in 1965).

Chapter Five focuses on a changing community and the relationship of black power and golf. Black Nationalist leaders and anticolonial movements increased involvement in the sport and protests against segregation. In the United States, a new generation of golfers challenged racism more directly. As the sport became more international, it had to confront issues like apartheid when organizing tournaments in South Africa. Victories included the integration of the Masters' in 1975.

In the final, and shortest, chapter, "Thai People Don't Get Hate Mail," Demas examines Tiger Woods. A golfer with a unique, self-described "Cablinasian" heritage, Woods, part of the post-civil rights era, rejected the traditional definitions as race and a role as a civil rights hero.

In *Game of Privilege*, Demas has written an accessible, detailed history of African Americans and the history of golf. Demas challenges the accepted ideas of who has traditionally played golf and the popularity of the sport among various classes, races, and genders before recently successful Tiger Woods. The participation of African Americans in golf, as well as other sports, demonstrates the importance of sport in understanding the history of society as well as the important and pioneering connections between sports and civil rights.

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The Remarkable Kinship of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and Ellen Glasgow. By Ashley Andrews Lear. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2018. Acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, images, notes, works cited, index. Pp. xi, 251. Cloth \$29.95.)

Unless one is listing twentieth-century female authors with both a regionalist bent and Pulitzer prizes in fiction to their credit, Ellen Glasgow and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings seem an unlikely pair. Partly this stems from their different focus: Glasgow set almost all her novels in her native Virginia while Rawlings most often used her adopted home in the north Florida backwoods as the locale for her stories and novels. Moreover, the more than twenty years that separated the two women in age made them appear exemplars of

different generations. Glasgow, who never married and was too delicate –emotionally and physically – to attend school, seems Victorian compared with the younger Rawlings, who graduated from the University of Wisconsin, worked as newspaper writer, and remarried after divorcing her first husband.

Nonetheless, as Ashley Andrews Lear documents in her new book, a relationship grew up between the two writers, who believed that they shared similar authorial visions. To be sure, other authors have indicated this and other female friendships in Glasgow's life; Pamela Matthews has described it and has also published an edition of letters that Glasgow exchanged with Rawlings and other literary women. Lear undertakes a detailed examination of the ways in which Rawlings and Glasgow interacted as well as how their lives and writings intersected and diverged. Some may point out the relatively short duration of the friendship between Rawlings and Glasgow—they only met once and corresponded mainly over a six-year period. Lear makes a compelling case that each came to admire the other and to feel that they shared a special bond. In 1941 Rawlings experienced an especially vivid dream of Glasgow piling pieces of ice by a cold roadway which she soon shared with Glasgow: "I told you that from now on I should take care of you, and you must not do strenuous things, such as cutting the ice in the roadway." Glasgow replied: "Ever since you came to see me, so strong and warm and vital, I have felt very near to you, and you have had your own chosen place in my life, just as I had in the house of your dreams." (13, 19)

Lear also adds new insights to our understandings of Glasgow and Rawlings. Most valuable in this respect is her chronicle of Rawlings's attempt to write the first biography of Glasgow after the latter's death in 1945. Because Glasgow herself as well as her surviving family members destroyed so much of her correspondence, Rawlings turned to interviews of family and friends to unearth Glasgow's complicated personal life. Rawlings found this research unexpectedly difficult and confided that "I have felt myself a hypocrite and a sneak" (16). Rawlings' untimely death left the book unwritten, but her research notes have been invaluable to later Glasgow biographers. The empathetic relationship that Lear delineates between these two female authors makes the modern reader wish that Rawlings had lived to finish that biography.

Voices of Civil Rights Lawyers: Reflections from the Deep South, 1964-1980. Edited by Kent Spriggs. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017. Foreword, acknowledgements, contributors, index. Pp. xvi, 413. \$45.00 cloth.)

Kent Spriggs's edited collection of the accounts of civil rights lawyers, *Voices of Civil Rights Lawyers*, is a valuable contribution to the growing scholarship on the role of lawyers in the civil rights movement. Rather than presenting the experiences of civil rights lawyers in narrative form, Spriggs lets such lawyers tell their own experiences. The result is a powerful collection of their stories in their own voices. Spriggs's interventions in the text are minimal, providing only a brief five-page introduction and then dividing the twenty-six people's narratives into four different sections. The book's first section describes how this disparate group of men and women—some black and some white, some from the South and some from the North—became civil rights lawyers. Sections two and three then examine lawyers' experiences and participation in the mid-twentieth-century Civil Rights movement. Finally, section four discusses how civil rights litigation informed later litigation after the 1960s.

Spriggs's book adds to a growing literature on black and white lawyers' civil rights litigation in the post-Civil War and Civil Rights-era U.S. South, including J. Clay Smith Jr.'s *Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844-1944* (1993) and W. Lewis Burke's recent *All for Civil Rights: African American Lawyers in South Carolina, 1868-1968* (2017). His book contrasts with this other scholarship, however, by presenting the lawyers' own words, rather than fitting their experiences into a narrative.

In a number of ways, Spriggs's different approach succeeds very well. For one, the book's format serves to highlight the diversity in the experiences of lawyers who took part in the civil rights movement. The lawyers in the book range from black southern-born lawyers such as Fred Gray and Barbara Phillips to white southern lawyers such as Jack Drake and Laughlin McDonald and lawyers who grew up in the U.S. North, such as Armand Derfner. They all have very different stories of how they became involved in the Civil Rights movement. Gray's desire to become a lawyer originated from his experiences on segregated buses in his hometown of Montgomery, Alabama. He decided to go to law school "to destroy everything segregated I could find" (11). Phillips got her start in the civil rights movement as "one of four Black kids to desegregate

R.J. Reynolds High School in Winston-Salem, North Carolina” and then worked as a community organizer before deciding to become a lawyer (18). In contrast, Drake recounts that during his childhood his white southern parents and relatives “often used racial epithets, told racial stories, and adamantly defended segregation” but at university, he came to believe that racial discrimination needed to be challenged (28). Derfner, on the other hand, was born in Paris to Jewish parents who escaped to America just before the invasion of the German army. When his Washington D.C. law firm asked for volunteers to help with civil rights law suits in the South, he put himself forward—eventually moving to Mississippi to work full-time on civil rights litigation. During the civil rights movement, too, the narratives make clear some of the different experiences of white and black lawyers in the U.S. South.

Spriggs’s approach also vividly conveys the risks that civil rights lawyers took. Several narratives recount threats of violence or tell about lawyers being arrested or attacked in the courtroom. Larry Aschenbrenner, who played a role in winning the first damages judgment against the KKK in Mississippi, describes receiving a note in his mailbox saying “Get out of Mississippi or you, wife, and children die” (80). Similarly, we see the difficulties that civil rights lawyers faced, including issues with jury selection, jury members, and hostile local white citizens. Even after gaining judgments, lawyers saw civil rights decisions not being fully implemented.

Another key theme throughout the book is the central contributions that lawyers made to the civil rights movement. Many lawyers who tell their histories practiced with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund; others practiced with the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee and the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. In their narratives, we see them playing both defensive and offensive roles in the movement. Gray, for instance, explains how he filed a lawsuit, *Hosea Williams v. George C. Wallace*, to “[require] Governor Wallace and the State of Alabama to protect the marchers as they marched from Selma to Montgomery demanding the constitutional right to vote” (72). The court order that he obtained allowed the Selma march to go forward.

A limited portion of the book directly addresses the civil rights movement in Florida. One of the twenty-six narratives is that of Spriggs himself, who details different civil rights actions he was part of in Florida. His account includes his firsthand observations of a boycott of public schools in Leon County during the 1966-1967

school year, and his part as a lawyer in employment discrimination cases in North Florida in the 1970s. He focuses in particular on the fight against employment discrimination in Port St. Joe, including legal action against the local paper plant, where all the jobs were segregated by race, with the most dangerous jobs being done by African Americans. In the end, the paper mill settled with black employees, distributing a lump sum of back pay and allowed some black employees to transfer to new jobs.

In the end, this book is a useful resource for both teaching and research. The vividness of the narratives in this book makes them a powerful resource for students to read to understand the role of lawyers in the civil rights movement. The narratives also provide important new oral histories for civil rights scholars and are useful primary sources to examine Americans' formative experiences with race as children and teenagers in the mid-twentieth century. While the book does not put these stories within a larger narrative, it opens the way for other scholars to use these histories to rewrite the role lawyers played in the civil rights movement.

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Drying Up: The Fresh Water Crisis in Florida. By John M. Dunn, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2019. Acknowledgements, sources, photo credits, index, Pp. 1, 298. \$24.95, cloth.)

The Florida peninsula is inundated by subtropical rains in the summertime. These rains often flood streets and damage property in Tampa, Orlando, Gainesville, and other communities throughout the state. To make matters worse, hurricanes sometimes bring even more fresh water to soggy and saturated summertime Florida, especially south Florida. This flooding, whether it is sparked by torrential storms or tropical cyclones, is a series fresh water problem Floridians have dealt with for generations. There is, however, another water crisis percolating under Florida's surface, the severity of which some residents are unaware, and John M. Dunn's *Drying Up: The Fresh Water Crisis in Florida* is an accessible and thoroughly researched book designed to tell curious readers all about it.

Drying Up examines the fresh water problems Florida's growth and development have caused, and it offers potential solutions for a cleaner and more sustainable fresh water future. The book's early

chapters outline Florida's contemporary water supply problems and the impact of twentieth- and early twenty first-century population growth. Although Florida does not suffer the "economic water scarcity" of certain communities in Sub-Saharan Africa, or even the water scarcity issues facing present-day California, Florida water experts predict regional shortages by 2023, and Dunn calls for action before it is too late.

The book outlines three issues that have created Florida's freshwater crisis. The first is Florida's booming population and the 100 million tourists that annually visit the state. The second is the sometimes wasteful ways we use water. For example, Dunn points out that 50% of Florida's freshwater is used to irrigate lawns, and that billions of gallons more are flushed down toilets. Thirdly, Dunn describes how land use changes, like the filling-in of wetlands and building of suburbs, "disrupt, alter, or even obliterate natural hydrological systems" that for centuries have recharged the Florida aquifer and other water sources (13).

After outlining these issues, the book provides a brief history of Florida development and water use. These chapters cover a large swath of time, ranging from the Paleoindian migration into Florida all the way to contemporary global warming and related sea-level rise. In between, Dunn examines the draining of the Everglades, the extensive pumping of Florida ground water for home use, the Water Wars of the Tampa Bay area that pitted counties against one another, and several other historic happenings that have impacted Florida's fresh water sources. Those who are familiar with the state's history will not find much new here, but Dunn also examines more recent water engineering feats and legal battles that have received far less attention. For instance, he describes Tampa Bay Water's desalination plant and the Rick Scott Administration's decision to slash the budgets for Florida's pollution enforcement agencies. This recent water history is particularly valuable for those interested in contemporary water policy.

Dunn's final chapters offer solutions to Florida's water problems. For example, Dunn argues that Floridians should implement a "soft-path" approach to water conservation, which involves residents and businesses being more thoughtful of water use. Do we need to ritualistically water our lawns and use flush toilets? Can we use drought-resistant ornamental plants? Can we "implement new storm-water treatment systems that restore or preserve natural hydrologic functions" (215)? These are all soft-path approaches

Dunn promotes. Like most environmental advocates, in the end Dunn argues that collective action, which in his opinion needs to happen now rather than five years from now, can help ensure a healthy freshwater future for Florida.

Drying Up is extensively researched, and Dunn deserves much credit for drawing on a variety of sources. The interviews he conducted are particularly wide ranging. He took the time to get the opinions of water treatment officials, politicians, and environmental activists, and these testimonies add valuable context to this environmental work. *Drying Up* also references technical environmental reports, decades old histories, and even well-known works of Florida fiction. Dunn successfully weaves these diverse sources together.

My primary criticism of the book is of its structure and organization. The book is written in a conversational style. It has short paragraphs, does not follow a strict chronological order, and approximately every two pages Dunn lists a new subchapter heading. Basically, *Drying Up* jumps from conversational point to conversational point for 250 pages. This makes for interesting reading at times, but it can also be disorienting. For example, in one chapter Dunn writes about Rush Limbaugh's Citrus Commission endorsement deal, air conditioning pioneer John Gorrie, and Haitian and Cuban immigration to Florida, all within a span of a few pages. This makes for a flowing and conversation-like narrative, but I found this leapfrogging to be jarring at times.

The breadth of the book is dizzying and ambitious. I do, however, wish that Dunn had written more about the link between Florida property values, landscaping, and suburban lawn watering and fertilizer use. He rightly points out that a huge swath of Florida's freshwater is sprinkled onto Floridians' yards, and that the environment would be better off if we collectively agreed to kill our beloved St. Augustine and Zoysia grass. But the thing is green grass adds value to Florida homes. Just ask any realtor. Or the internet. And for millions of Floridians, their home is their biggest financial asset. Thus, if they allow their grass to brown they undermine their biggest investment. This conundrum has pitted the environment vs. middle-class financial incentive for, at the very least, the last few decades. Not surprisingly, this has been a hard problem to remedy, and it would be interesting for a historian to outline the Florida version of this story, in hopes that a better historical understanding can help us find a way out of this intractable problem. There

are serious financial and environmental stakes at play here, not to mention neighborhood aesthetic standards to consider. I'm sure I'm not the only Floridian living in a middle-class neighborhood that has caught flack for championing an unfertilized and, in the eyes of my neighbors and family members, lack-luster lawn. But perhaps this is more about my frustration with suburban home-owner capitalism than a critique of Dunn's work, which already covers a wide swath of water issues.

In the end, *Drying Up* is a well-written work of environmental history that offers solutions to Florida's water scarcity. *Drying Up* rightfully joins Cynthia Barnett's *Mirage: Florida and the Vanishing Water of the Eastern U.S.*, Jack Davis's *The Gulf: The Making of an American Sea*, and other works that over the past two decades have drawn needed attention to Florida's waters. If you are an environmental historian or you are interested in Florida's water ecology, get a copy of *Drying Up* for your bookshelf.

Brad Massey

Tampa Bay History Center

End Notes

In Memoriam
Dr. Robert E. Snyder
March 27, 1943-April 26, 2019



The Florida Historical Society regrets to announce the passing of Dr. Robert E. Snyder, one of its staunchest supporters and respected past presidents. Bob, as he was known to members and officers of the Society, served on the Board of the Florida Historical Society from 1999-2018, and as FHS president from 2009-2012.

Dr. Snyder was born in Amsterdam, New York to now-deceased parents, Clara M. (Trzaskos) and Richard E. Snyder. It was in high school that he met Joan Marie Unchur, with whom he would share a devoted marriage of fifty-seven years. In addition to his bereaved wife, Dr. Snyder is survived by his children, Dylan Snyder and Kristin Tonelli, and grandchildren, Thomas, Matthew, and Allie Tonelli, and Cristina and D. J. Snyder. In addition to his devotion to family,

[481]

Bob Snyder liked sports. He was a longtime New York Yankee baseball enthusiast, and once he moved to Tampa, he soon became a fan of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers and the Tampa Bay Lightning.

Although sports provided enjoyment to Bob, his second love outside family was academics. He graduated in 1961 from Wilber H. Lynch High School in Amsterdam, New York, after which he pursued three degrees in higher education. He received a B.A. in History from Union College in 1967, an M.A. in American Studies from Union College in 1971, and a Ph.D. in Social Studies from Syracuse University in 1980. While at Syracuse, Bob served as a Teaching Associate. In 1980, Bob joined the teaching faculty of the University of South Florida in Tampa.

From 1980 until his retirement in 2018, Professor Snyder climbed the academic ranks at USF and distinguished himself as a dedicated teacher and productive scholar. He served as an assistant professor from 1980-1984, an associate professor from 1984-1990, and a full professor from 1990 until his retirement. Professor Snyder taught principally in the American Studies Department and focused on the specialty fields of the American South, popular culture, film and photography in American culture, and the vigilante tradition. Dr. Snyder won several teaching awards at USF and directed a number of exemplary graduate theses. He was also a productive scholar. Over his career, Bob had published six chapters in anthologies, sixteen review essays, sixty plus book reviews, and read scholarly papers at over twenty-five conferences. His book publications included *Pioneer Commercial Photography: The Burgert Brothers of Tampa, Florida*, with Charlton Tebeau in 1992 and rereleased by the Florida Historical Society Press in 2007, and *Cotton Crisis* in 1984. His publications and professional work resulted in numerous awards and honors.

In recalling the contribution of Dr. Robert E. Snyder to the Florida Historical Society, former FHS president, Dr. José B. Fernández, perhaps best captured the feelings of Bob's friends and colleagues in the organization, "We have lost a stellar member and great friend. What I admired most about Bob was his character and integrity. We were on the Board for a number of years and I would say that when Bob spoke people listened. He is certainly going to be missed."

Dr. Irvin D. S. Winsboro
Board Member,
Florida Historical Society

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (FHSAI)

The Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI) continues more than a century of support for archaeology in the state that includes the collection, preservation, and public display of artifacts; educational outreach, research, publication, and the promotion of complimentary work by other organizations. FHSAI is based at the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science in Cocoa. Archived editions of the annual full color FHSAI magazine *Adventures in Florida Archaeology* are accessible at www.myfloridahistory.org/fhsai.

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

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society celebrates its tenth anniversary in 2019. Broadcast on public radio stations throughout the state, this half-hour radio program explores a wide range of Florida history topics. Produced and hosted by FHS executive director Ben Brotemarkle, the program also features commentary from FHS director of educational resources Ben DiBiase, and segments from University of Central Florida public historian Holly Baker. The program is edited by FHS director of media production, Jon White. Check the schedule of your local NPR affiliate for airtimes. The program is also available as a podcast, and is archived on the web at www.myfloridahistory.org/frontier/radio/program/list.

FLORIDA FRONTIERS TELEVISION

The public television series *The Florida Historical Society Presents: Florida Frontiers* is being broadcast from Key West to the Panhandle. Each episode is a half-hour documentary focusing on a different topic related to Florida history and culture. The program is written, produced, and hosted by Ben Brotemarkle. Field production, post production, and editing are by Jon White. Production assistance is provided by Jerry Klein. Check the schedule of your local PBS affiliate for airtimes. Archived episodes of the program are accessible and available for viewing any time at www.myfloridahistory.org/frontiers/television/episodes.

**FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AWARDS
PRESENTED MAY 16, 2019,
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING AND SYMPOSIUM
RADISSON RESORT AT THE PORT, CAPE CANAVERAL**

2019 CHARLTON TEBEAU AWARD

For a general interest book on a Florida history topic

BRUCE HOROVITZ

Gamble Rogers: A Troubadour's Life
(University Press of Florida)

2019 REMBERT PATRICK AWARD

For a scholarly book on a Florida history topic

MICHELE CURRIE NAVAKAS

*Liquid Landscape: Geography and Settlement at the Edge of Early
America*
(University of Pennsylvania Press)

2019 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

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

Arthur Ashe: A Life
(Simon and Schuster)

2019 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

MICHELE CURRIE NAVAKAS

*Liquid Landscape: Geography and Settlement at the Edge of Early
America*
(University of Pennsylvania Press)

2019 HAMPTON DUNN BROADCASTING AWARD

For electronic media such as radio and television, recognizing outstanding work expanding knowledge of Florida history

JULIAN CHAMBLISS

HOLLY BAKER

Every Tongue Got to Confess Podcast
(WPRK, Rollins College)

2019 HAMPTON DUNN INTERNET AWARD

For “new media” utilizing computerized production and distribution, recognizing outstanding work expanding knowledge of Florida history

JULIAN CHAMBLISS

ROBERT CASSANELLO

The Florida Constitution Podcast
(University of Central Florida)

2019 GOVERNOR LEROY COLLINS AWARD

For the most outstanding thesis or dissertation on Florida history produced by a postgraduate student in a master’s or doctoral program

PORSHA RA’CHELLE DOSSIE

“The Tragic City: Black Rebellion and the Struggle for Freedom in Miami, 1945-1990”
(University of Central Florida)

2019 ARTHUR W. THOMPSON AWARD

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

ERIN L. CONLIN

“‘Work...or be deported’: Florida Growers and the Emergence of a Non-Citizen Agricultural Workforce”
Volume 96, No. 4, (2018): 435-467.

2019 DAVID C. BROTEMARKLE AWARD

For creative expressions of Florida history

KRISTINA TOLLEFSON

JODI OZIMEK

Too Much is Not Enough: The History in Harriett's Closet

(Florida Historical Society Press)

2019 MARINUS LATOUR AWARD

For an outstanding volunteer in a local historical society, library, museum or other Florida history-related program or organization

GREGG SEITNER

Florida Historical Society

Volunteer of the Year

**2019 CAROLINE P. ROSSETTER AWARD FOR
OUTSTANDING WOMAN IN FLORIDA HISTORY**

DR. LORI C. WALTERS

In recognition of her extraordinary efforts to preserve the history of Florida's role in the Space Program

2019 DOROTHY DODD LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

WILLIAM "BILL" GARY

For his dedication to history through his work to establish the Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Cultural Complex

2019 JILLIAN PRESCOTT MEMORIAL LECTURESHIP

WINSTON SCOTT

Former NASA Astronaut

From the Cape into Space: The Adventures of a NASA Astronaut

2019 PRESIDENTIAL CITATION

SENATOR BILL NELSON

For his exemplary service to and participation in Florida history

Florida Historical Quarterly News

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* has entered a new era of media. Dr. Robert Cassanello, Associate Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and a board member of the *FHS*, coordinates podcast productions. In conjunction with the Public History programs at UCF, Dr. Cassanello produces 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 free and available on iTunes and the complete archive is available to the public at <http://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhqpodcastproject/>.

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 Wesley 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.

Dr. Christopher Meindl and Andrew Fairbanks were interviewed for the Spring 2013 (Volume 91, no. 4) podcast on their article (with Jennifer Wunderlich). They talked about environmental history and the problems of garbage for Florida's environment.

Dr. Samuel Watson was interviewed about his article, "Conquerors, Peacekeepers, or Both? The U.S. Army and West Florida, 1810-1811," Volume 92, no. 1 (Summer 2013). His article challenged some of the work published in the Fall 2010 special issue on the

West Florida Rebellion. In his interview Dr. Watson spoke about the discipline of history and the way in which the field advances as historians debate larger interpretative issues.

Richard S. Dellinger, Esq., attorney with the Orlando firm of Lowndes, Drosdick, Doster, Kantor & Reed and Vice President for the 11th Circuit Court, was interviewed for the Fall 2013 Special Issue on the 50th Anniversary of the United States District Court, Middle District of Florida.

Dr. Jane Landers, guest editor for Volume 92, no. 3 (Winter 2014) on seventeenth century Florida, the second issue in the 500 Years of Florida History series of special issues.

Dr. Matt Clavin, an Associate Professor of History at the University of Houston was interviewed for Volume 92, no. 4 (Spring 2014) on his article "An 'underground railway' to Pensacola and the Impending Crisis over Slavery."

Dr. Lisa Lindquist Dorr's article "Bootlegging Aliens: Unsancioned Immigration and the Underground Economy of Smuggling from Cuba through Prohibition" was the topic for the podcast on Volume 93, no. 1 (Summer 2014).

Dr. C.S. Monaco was interviewed on his article "'Wishing that Right May Prevail': Ethan Allen Hitchcock and the Florida War" which appeared in Volume 93, no. 2 (Fall 2014).

Dr. Sherry Johnson, special issue editor for the 18th Century in Florida History, was interviewed for the Volume 93, no. 3 (Winter 2015) podcast.

Dr. Robert Cassanello was interviewed for the Volume 93, no. 4 (Winter 2015) podcast. He talked with Dr. Daniel Murphree about the career of urban historian Dr. Raymond A. Mohl, a long-time member and friend of the Florida Historical Society and contributor to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Mohl passed away in Birmingham, Alabama, on January 29, 2015.

Dr. Laura E. Brock was interviewed for the Volume 94, no. 1 (Summer 2015) podcast. She spoke with Dr. Daniel Murphree about her article "Religion and Women's Rights in Florida: An Examination of the Equal Rights Amendment Legislative Debates, 1972-1982."

Dr. John Paul Nuño was interviewed for the Volume 94, no. 2 (Fall 2015) podcast. He spoke with Dr. Daniel Murphree about his article, "'República de Bandidos': The Prospect Bluff Fort's Challenge to the Spanish Slave System" which appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

Dr. James Cusick was interviewed for Volume 94, no. 3, 19th Century Special Issue (Winter 2016) podcast. Dr. Cusick spoke with Dr. Daniel Murphree about the 19th Century Special issue of the *Quarterly* and his role as guest editor.

Brad Massey, Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Florida and Instructor of History at Polk State College was featured in the Spring 2016 podcast. He spoke to Dr. Daniel Murphree about his work on the *FHQ* article "The Hammer, the Sickle, and the Phosphate Rock: The 1974 Political Controversy over Florida Phosphate Shipments to the Soviet Union," which was published in Volume 94, no. 4 (Spring 2016): 637-667.

Kathryn Palmer was interviewed for the Summer 2016 podcast and discussed her article "Losing Lincoln: Black Educators, Historical Memory, and the Desegregation of Lincoln High School in Gainesville, Florida," which appeared in Volume 95, no. 1 (Summer 2016): 26-70.

Judith Poucher was interviewed for the Fall 2016 podcast and discussed her article "The Evolving Suffrage Militancy of May Nolan," which appeared in the Volume 95, no. 2 (Fall 2016): 221-245.

Gary Mormino, the guest editor for the final special issue commemorating 500 years of Florida history, was interviewed for the Winter 2017 podcast. His historiographic essay, "Twentieth-Century Florida: A Bibliographic Essay," appears in volume 95, no. 3 (Winter 2017): 292-324.

Keith D. Revell was interviewed for the Spring 2017 podcast. His article "The Rise and Fall of Copa City, 1944-957: Nightclubs and the Evolution of Miami Beach" appears in Volume 95, no. 4 (Spring 2017): 538-576.

Derek R. Everett was interviewed for the Summer 2017 podcast. His article "The Mouse and the Statehouse: Intersections of Florida's Capitols and Walt Disney World" appears in Volume 96, no. 1 (Summer 2017): 63-94.

Cynthia L. Patterson was interviewed for the Fall 2017 podcast. Her article "Catching the Spirit: The Melrose Ladies Literary and Debating Society, 1890-1899" appears in Volume 96, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 174-200.

R. Boyd Murphree was interviewed for the Winter 2018 podcast. His article "As the General Lay Dying: The Diary of a Confederate Officer's Florida Odyssey" appeared in Volume 96, no. 3 (Winter 2018): 300-327.

**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. The *FHQ* has 3-year window between print publication and availability on JSTOR. 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.

**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 who are engaged in open source peer review should watermark any manuscript available through an open source site as "Draft Under Consideration."

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*. Use the reference feature to create footnotes rather than the superscript button.

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, PO Box 161350, 12790 Aquarius Agora Dr., Suite 551, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350, by email to Connie.Lester@ucf.edu, or by phone at 407-823-0261.

Please note the addition of Guidelines for e-FHQ Publication.

GUIDELINES FOR e-FHQ PUBLICATION

Publication of material on the *Florida Historical Quarterly* website (e-FHQ) is viewed as supplemental to the print journal and not a separate publication. Publication falls into four categories.

1. e-Appendices. This is primary source material that informs an article published in the print journal. It may include audio or video files that were used in the research and informed the interpretation of the article. e-Appendices will be published on-line at the time of the print publication. The print publication will include a reference to the website. Determination of the inclusion of e-Appendices will be made by the editors in collaboration with the author and the referees who evaluated the original manuscript.
2. e-Documents and Notes. This is primary source material that includes a significant number of images and/or audio-video material that precludes print publication. As with the print journal version of documents, this publication will include a descriptive essay of the material that indicates its importance to Florida history. Decisions regarding the publication of e-Documents and Notes will be made by the editorial staff with advice from appropriate scholars.

3. e-Reviews. These are critical, scholarly analyses of born-digital projects (electronic archives, multimedia essays/exhibits, teaching resources, etc.) hosted by academic institutions, museums, and archives. Projects produced by commercial interests are not eligible for review. E-reviews will published in the print edition and may also appear in the online-e-FHQ to facilitate access to interactive/multimedia content.
4. e-Articles. This category refers to the growing body of non-traditional, born-digital scholarship and multimedia essays/exhibits hosted by academic institutions, museums, and archives. Materials falling within this category may be submitted for editorial review by the lead author, with permission of co-authors. Submissions must include a 750- to 1000-word introduction and a stable URL for publication in both the print edition and online e-FHQ. Submissions will undergo the same double-blind review process that other submissions to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* receive.

Process for e-FHQ submission:

All materials for consideration should be submitted electronically to the editor **and** digital editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*:
 Connie L. Lester, editor: Connie.Lester@ucf.edu

Citation of material published electronically:

Materials published as e-FHQ primary source material, reviews, or articles should be cited as follows:

Author, Title, e-FHQ, date of publication, www.fhq.cah.ucf.edu/fhqonline/

Reviewer Guidelines

The *Quarterly* solicits reviews of scholarly books, museum exhibitions, history-oriented movies, and digital sources (websites) related to Florida history and culture. Accepted reviews may appear in both the *FHQ* and *e-FHQ*. See specific guidelines for evaluating works in each category below.

The *Quarterly* gives its reviewers complete freedom except as to length, grammar, the law of libel, and editorial usages of

punctuation, capitalization, spelling, etc., required to conform to *FHQ* style.

All reviews should be double-spaced, between 800 and 1000 words in length, with parenthetical citations for all quotes. Please save reviews as a Microsoft Word document and submit them as email attachments.

For Book Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the volume and indicate its place in the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the author succeeded in his or her purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and expressed the narrative
- Evaluate the book as history for the potential reader and purchaser. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change
- Refrain from listing typographical or minor errors unless these materially affect quality

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

The editor wishes to receive for review non-fiction books relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review books on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send books for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Connie.Lester@ucf.edu

For Museum Exhibition Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the museum exhibition and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the curator succeeded in his or her purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and depicted the historical topic being addressed
- Evaluate the museum exhibition as history for the reader and potential audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

The editor wishes to receive for consideration notices of museum exhibitions relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review museum exhibitions on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send notices of museum exhibitions eligible for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Connie.Lester@ucf.edu

For Movie Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the movie and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the movie succeeded in its purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, and depicted the historical topic being addressed

- Evaluate the movie as history for the potential reader and audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

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For Digital Source Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the digital source and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the source succeeded in its purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and depicted the historical topic being addressed
- Evaluate the digital source as history for the reader and audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change

- Refrain from listing typographical or minor errors unless these materially affect quality

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

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*The
Florida Historical
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Cumulative Index: 2018-2019 (Volume 97)

A

Adams, Mikaëla M., review by, 345.

“All Disquiet on the Home Front: World War I and Florida, 1914-1920,” by Gary R. Mormino, 249.

Altman, Ida, review by, 464.

American Sectionalism in the British Mind, 1832-1863 by Peter O'Connor, 360.

B

Bernardo de Gálvez: Spanish Hero of the American Revolution by Gonzalo M. Quintero Saravia, reviewed, 466.

Bossy, Denise I., ed., *The Yamasee Indians: From Florida to South Carolina*, reviewed, 221.

Boucher, Christophe J.M., “The Greatest Dissemblers in the World’: Timucas, Spaniards, and the Fall of Fort Caroline,” 143.

Bryan, William D., review by, 117.

Burke, Michael, Tyler Campbell, Kayla Campana, “The Sunshine State in Darkness: A Digital Approach to Florida and World War I,” 330.

[498]

C

- "Camp Blanding in World War II: The Early Years," by George E. Cressman Jr., 35.
- Campana, Kayla, Michael Burke, Tyler Campbell, "The Sunshine State in Darkness: A Digital Approach to Florida and World War I," 330.
- Campbell, John, review by, 223.
- Campbell, Tyler, Michael Burke, Kayla Campana, "The Sunshine State in Darkness: A Digital Approach to Florida and World War I," 330.
- Censer, Jane Turner, review by, 473.
- Collingwood, Loren, and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, "Covert Cross-Racial Mobilization, Black Activism, and Political Participation Pre-Voting Rights Act," 435.
- "Covert Cross-Racial Mobilization, Black Activism, and Political Participation Pre-Voting Rights Act," by Loren Collingwood and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, 435.
- Cravero, Geoffrey Vernon, review by, 226.
- Crawford, Martin, review by, 360.
- Cressman, George E., "Camp Blanding in World War II: The Early Years," 35.
- Crowley, John E., review by, 348.
- Cummins, Light Townsend, review by, 466.

D

- Davis, Jennifer, review by 357.
- Dawson III, Joseph G., review by, 110.
- Demas, Lane, *Game of Privilege: An African American History of Golf*, reviewed, 471.
- The Desegregation of Libraries in the Jim Crow South: Civil Rights and Local Activism*, by Wayne A. Wiegand and Shirley A. Wiegand, reviewed, 229.
- Donegan, Connor, "The Making of Florida's 'Criminal Class': Race, Modernity, and the Convict Leasing Program, 1877-1919," 408.
- Drying Up: The Fresh Water Crisis in Florida* by John M. Dunn, reviewed, 477.
- Dubcovsky, Alejandra, *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South*, reviewed, 345.
- Dunaway, Finis. *Seeing Green: The Use and Abuse of American*

Environmental Images, reviewed, 127.

Dunn, John M., *Drying Up: The Fresh Water Crisis in Florida*, reviewed, 477.

E

Edelson, S. Max, *The New Map of Empire: How Britain Imagined America before Independence*, reviewed, 348.

Endgame for Empire: British-Creek Relations in Georgia and Vicinity by John T. Juricek, reviewed, 107.

England, Joseph, review by, 233.

Essington, Amy, review by, 471.

F

Feldman, Glenn. *The Great Meddling: War, the Dixiecrat Rebellion, and the Southern Model for America's New Conservatism*, reviewed, 122.

Frederickson, Kari, review by, 365.

Friend, Lani, "Volusia and Vibilia: Companion Plantations on the St. Johns River in Spanish and Territorial East Florida," 379.

Frontiers of Science: Imperialism and Natural Knowledge in the Gulf South Borderlands, 1500-1850 by Cameron B. Strang, reviewed, 352.

G

Gamble Rogers: A Troubadour's Life, by Bruce Horowitz, reviewed, 226.

Game of Privilege: An African American History of Golf by Lane Demas, reviewed, 471.

Garcia, José Manuel, *Voices from Mariel: Oral Histories of the 1980s Cuban Boatlift*, reviewed, 362.

Gifford, Laura Jane, review by, 122.

The Great Melding: War, the Dixiecrat Rebellion, and the Southern Model for America's New Conservatism by Glenn Feldman, reviewed, 122.

"'The Greatest Dissemblers in the World': Timucuas, Spaniards, and the Fall of Fort Caroline," by Christophe J.M. Boucher, 143.

The Gulf: The Making of an American Sea, by Jack E. Davis, essay review, 95.

H

Hancock, Jonathan, review by, 221.

Haveman, Christopher D. *Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Relocation, & Ethnic Cleansing in the American South*, reviewed, 112.

Helg, Aline, trans.by Lara Vernaud, *Slave No More: Self-Liberation before Abolitionism in the Americas*, reviewed, 468.

Horovitz, Bruce, *Gamble Rogers: A Troubadour's Life*, reviewed, 226

Huse, Andy, "War, Fear, and Bread in Tampa, 1917-1918," 300.

Hyman, Christy, review by, 468.

I

J

Jackson III, Harvey J., review by, 125.

Jose Marti: A Revolutionary Life, by Alfred Lopez, reviewed, 115.

Juricek, John T. *Endgame for Empire: British-Creek Relations in Georgia and Vicinity* reviewed, 107.

K

Key to the New World: A History of Early Colonial Cuba by Luis Martínez-Fernández, reviewed, 464.

Krause, Robert. "New Deal Public Works in the Florida Panhandle, 1933-1940," 1.

L

Lear, Ashley Andrews, *The Remarkable Kinship of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and Ellen Glasgow*, reviewed, 473.

Lechner, Zachary J., *The South of the Mind: American Imaginings of White Southerners, 1960-1980*, reviewed, 365.

Lofton, Alexander Lucas, and Roy Williams III, *Rice to Ruin: The Jonathan Lucas Family in South Carolina, 1783-1929*, reviewed, 357.

Lopez, Alfred. *Jose Marti: A Revolutionary Life*, reviewed, 115.

M

"The Making of Florida's 'Criminal Class': Race, Modernity, and the Convict Leasing Program, 1877-1919," by Connor Donegan,

408.

Manganiello, Christopher J. *Southern Water, Southern Power: How the Politics of Cheap Energy and Water Scarcity Shaped a Region*, reviewed, 117.

Martínez-Fernández, Luis, *Key to the New World: A History of Early Colonial Cuba*, reviewed, 464.

Massey, Brad, "Tampa's Multi-Purposed Waterway: An Environmental History of the Hillsborough River, 150-1980," 191.

Massey, Brad, review by, 477.

McRae, Elizabeth G., review by, 231.

McSwain, James B., *Petroleum & Public Safety: Risk Management in the Gulf South 1901-2015*, reviewed, 233.

Meindl, Christopher F., review essay by, 95.

"Men of the West: Entrepreneurs and the American Expansion in the East Florida Borderlands, 1812-1845" by Matthew Saionz, 167.

Milewski, Melissa, review by, 475.

Miller, Karl. "The Path to No-Fault: Florida Automobile Insurance to 1971," 70.

Molloy, Marie S., *Single, White, Slaveholding Women in the Nineteenth-Century South*, reviewed, 355.

Monaco, C.S., *The Second Seminole War and the Limits of American Aggression*, reviewed, 223.

Mormino, Gary R., "All Disquiet on the Home Front: World War I and Florida, 1914-1920," 249.

N

Nash, Roderick Frazier, review by, 127.

"New Deal Public Works in the Florida Panhandle, 1933-1940," by Robert Krause, I.

The New Map of Empire: How Britain Imagined America before Independence by S. Max Edelson, reviewed, 348.

Norris, Sara E., review by, 229.

O

O'Brien, Benjamin Gonzalez, and Loren Collingwood, "Covert Cross-Racial Mobilization, Black Activism, and Political

Participation Pre-Voting Rights Act," 435.

O'Connor, Peter, *American Sectionalism in the British Mind, 1832-1863*, reviewed, 360.

P

"The Path to No-Fault: Florida Automobile Insurance to 1971," by Karl Miller, 70.

Paulett, Robert, review by, 107.

Peacekeepers and Conquerors: The Army Officer Corps on the American Frontier, 1821-1846, by Samuel J. Watson, reviewed, 110.

Petroleum & Public Safety: Risk Management in the Gulf South 1901-2015 by James B. McSwain, 233.

Q

Queering the Redneck Riviera: Sexuality and the Rise of Florida Tourism, by Jerry T. Watkins III, reviewed, 125.

R

The Remarkable Kinship of Marjorie Kennan Rawlings and Ellen Glasgow by Ashley Andrews Lear, reviewed, 473.

Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989 by Stephanie R. Rolph, reviewed, 231.

Rice to Ruin: The Jonathan Lucas Family in South Carolina, 1783-1929 by Roy Williams III and Alexander Lucas Lofton, reviewed, 357.

Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Relocation, and Ethnic Cleansing in the American South, by Christopher D. Haveman, reviewed, 112.

Rolph, Stephanie R., *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989*, reviewed, 231.

S

Saravia, Gonzalo M. Quintero, *Bernardo de Gálvez: Spanish Hero of the American Revolution*, reviewed, 466.

The Second Seminole War and the Limits of American Aggression by C. S. Monaco, reviewed, 223.

Seelye, Jr., James E., review by, 112.

Seeing Green: The Use and Abuse of American Environmental Images, by

- Finis Dunaway, reviewed, 127.
- Shields, David S., *Southern Provisions: The Creation & Revival of a Cuisine*, reviewed, 120.
- Sicius, Francis J., review by, 115.
- Single, White, Slaveholding Women in the Nineteenth-Century South*, by Marie S. Molloy, reviewed, 355.
- Skop, Emily, review by, 362.
- Slave No More: Self-Liberation before Abolitionism in the Americas*, reviewed, 468.
- Snow, Whitney, review by, 355.
- The South of the Mind: American Imaginings of White Southerners, 1960-1980* by Zachary J. Lechner, reviewed, 365.
- Southern Provisions: The Creation & Revival of a Cuisine*, by David S. Shields, reviewed, 120.
- Southern Water, Southern Power: How the Politics of Cheap Energy and Water Scarcity Shaped a Region*, By Christopher J. Manganiello, reviewed, 117.
- Spriggs, Kent, *Voices of Civil Rights Lawyers: Reflections from the Deep South, 1964-1980*, reviewed, 475.
- Strang, Cameron B., *Frontiers of Science: Imperialism and Natural Knowledge in the Gulf South Borderlands, 1500-1850*, reviewed, 351.

T

U

V

- Vernaud, Lara, trans. for Aline Helg, *Slave No More: Self-Liberation before Abolitionism in the Americas*, reviewed, 468.
- Voices from Mariel: Oral Histories of the 1980s Cuban Boatlift* by José Manuel Garcia, reviewed, 362.
- Voices of Civil Rights Lawyers: Reflections from the Deep South, 1964-1980* by Kent Spriggs, reviewed, 475.
- “Volusia and Vibilia: Companion Plantations on the St. Johns River in Spanish and Territorial East Florida,” by Lani Friend, 379.

W

- “War, Fear, and Bread in Tampa, 1914-1918,” by Andy Huse, 300.
- Watkins III, Jerry T. *Queering the Redneck Riviera: Sexuality and the Rise of Florida Tourism*, reviewed, 125.
- Watson, Samuel J. *Peacekeepers and Conquerors: The Army Officer Corps on the American Frontier, 1821-1846*, reviewed, 110.
- Wiegand, Shirley A., and Wayne A. Wiegand, *The Desegregation of Libraries in the Jim Crow South: Civil Rights and Local Activism*, reviewed 229.
- Wiegand, Wayne A., and Shirley A. Wiegand, *The Desegregation of Libraries in the Jim Crow South: Civil Rights and Local Activism*, reviewed, 229.
- Wilhelm, Chris, review by, 352.
- Williams III, Roy and Alexander Lucas Lofton, *Rice to Ruin: The Jonathan Lucas Family in South Carolina, 1783-1929*, reviewed, 357.

X

Y

- The Yamasee Indians: From Florida to South Carolina*, ed., Denise I. Bossy, reviewed, 221.
- Young, Ashley Rose, review by, 120.

Z

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