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THE

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FLORIDA

Spring 2018

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An Incident at Canal Point: Filipinos and Florida's Role in American Imperialism

by Stephanie Hinnershitz

On July 25, 1932, Florida Governor Doyle Carlton received a highly unusual telegram from United States Secretary of War Patrick Hurley. Telegrams from the War Department rarely passed across Carlton's desk. Unexpectedly, the telegram did not concern defense expenditures or other military operations but instead expressed Hurley's concerns about a small community of Filipino migrants. "Press dispatches from West Palm Beach, Florida allege in substance that Filipinos working in Canal Point-Pahokee district were on July 23rd ordered by residents of that district to leave not later than today and that, as result, thirty Filipinos had hurriedly left on July 23 and others were preparing to leave," Hurley informed Carlton via Western Union.¹ Hurley's telegram referred to the violence that beset Canal Point (a small farming community located near West Palm Beach on Lake Okeechobee) on Saturday July 23, when a mob of over 200 white farmers threatened to burn down the homes of forty-five Filipino farmers and their families unless they left the area. Fearing for their safety, the Filipinos fled to nearby Indiantown. By Monday, news of the attack on the Filipinos of Canal Point had reached the *New York Times* and

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1 Patrick Hurley to Doyle Carlton, telegram, July 25, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Record Group 102, Series 204, Administrative Correspondence, Governor Doyle E. Carlton Records, 1929-1932 (hereafter referred to as Carlton Records), State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida.

the *Atlanta Constitution*. Hurley requested that Carlton investigate the matter immediately “in order that an accurate statement of the facts may be communicated to the government of the Philippine islands and in view of the special relation of the War Department to that government.”²

Although Hurley was concerned about the potential consequences for the colonial and military relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines, as news of the incident spread Americans from all walks of life along with numerous other government and diplomatic officials urged Governor Carlton to confront the violence against Filipinos in his state and used Canal Point to draw attention to violence against Filipinos in the United States more generally. In January of 1930, mobs of white men had set fire to and destroyed the Filipino sections of Watsonville, California (in the heart of the state’s inland agricultural center) over a three day period and viciously assaulted the Filipinos who tried to escape, injuring many and killing one man, Fermin Tobera. Whites in Watsonville and throughout California argued that the mob’s actions were a justified response to both Filipino criminality (prior to the riot police had found a Filipino man with sixteen-year-old and eleven-year-old white girls in his bed—indications to locals that Filipinos engaged in “perverse” sexual behavior) and to the unfair labor competition that accompanied Filipinos who settled on the West Coast. Others noted the mob’s focus on a Filipino-run taxi dance hall in Watsonville that employed local white women and argued that it was white male jealousy of white women’s preference for Filipino men that contributed to the attacks.³ Filipinos on the other side of the Pacific cited racial prejudice as a cause for the violence when they learned of the lack of arrests in Tobera’s death. Whatever the cause, the Watsonville Riots (as they came to be known in the media) reflected the discrimination and dehumanization that Filipinos living on the West Coast faced on a daily basis while the violence directed towards the Filipinos living in Canal Point confirmed that such reactions to the “little brown brothers” were not isolated incidents. The War Department’s response to the Canal Point incident was more immediate and firm than the reaction to the events in Watsonville, reflecting the Department’s desire to

2 Hurley to Carlton, telegram, July 25, 1932, Carlton Records.

3 Frederick F. Forbes, “Golden State Again Goes Anti-Oriental: Filipinos the Latest Victims,” *New York Times*, February 2, 1930, 52.

rectify past and prevent potential incidents of anti-Filipino violence in the United States.⁴

The Canal Point incident made Florida a site of tension in the imperial relationship between the United States and the Philippines. Violence against Filipinos on the West Coast was, unfortunately, a common occurrence by the early 1930s, but when such actions occurred in Florida where Filipinos were a minority, it signaled larger troubles. While historians have connected Florida to California by emphasizing their similarities in agricultural, business, and tourism development, Filipino violence in the Sunshine State draws a more troubling and violent parallel between the two coasts.⁵ The Canal Point attacks drew nationwide attention to both the violation of Filipino rights as colonial subjects residing in the United States and Florida's influence on the future of American colonial undertakings after the Watsonville Riots. This was not the first time that Florida was involved in an international imbroglio following the improper treatment of immigrants within its borders.⁶ However, the nationwide responses to the attack on the Filipinos at Canal Point make this incident crucial for understanding the significance of Florida in discussions of Filipino rights and a colonial system that was becoming increasingly unfavorable by the 1930s. A number of Americans (including Governor Carlton) demanded justice for the Filipinos whose rights were violated at a time when African Americans rarely received similar treatment following racial violence—a fact that speaks to the ability of diplomacy to trump accepted racist practices in Jim Crow America. More importantly, this is a story about the connections between racial violence and imperialism that presented avenues of redress to Filipinos that were not available to other immigrant and minority groups. The responses of both the Florida government and the nation to the violence directed towards Filipinos in Canal Point are

4 See Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 407-430 and Michael P. Showalter, "The Watsonville Anti-Filipino Riot of 1930: A Reconsideration of Fermin Tobera's Murder," *Southern California Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 341-348 for more on the Watsonville Riots and their aftermath.

5 See Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes: California, Florida, and the Selling of American Paradise, 1869-1929* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida: 2013) for more on the commercial and agricultural development of Florida and California.

6 See Jerrell H. Shofer, "Murders at Kiss-Me-Quick: The Underside of International Affairs," *Florida Historic Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (Winter 1984): 332-338.

crucial, yet overlooked incidents in the longer history of imperial and Florida history.

Filipinos found themselves in Florida during the early decades of the twentieth century for the same reasons that many others did: economic opportunities. When railroad magnate Henry Flagler first realized in the 1890s that land development could go hand-in-hand with the expansion of his railroad operations, he recruited various “pioneers” who would travel to Florida and transform the scrub and swamp-ridden terrain into arable plots of land and potential tourist destinations for the wealthy.⁷ Flagler recruited Japanese farmers with knowledge of pineapple, cucumber, and tomato cultivation to settle in the area around current-day Boca Raton and clear the land for a railroad connecting Jacksonville to the southern coast.⁸ During the 1920s, land speculators flocked to southern Florida to build resorts and homes in hopes of making a quick fortune.⁹ Speculation did not go as planned and the land bubble “burst” by the time the Depression hit beginning in the early 1930s. However, Florida’s bountiful crops and longer growing season still held employment opportunities (albeit often with deplorable working conditions) in migratory agricultural labor. Bahamian and African Americans performed the low-paying and back-breaking work of harvesting and planting sugarcane in areas like Belle Glade before moving on to other jobs on the East Coast, but by the Depression, hungry and desperate workers of all racial

7 See Les Standiford, *Last Train to Paradise: Henry Flagler and the Spectacular Rise and Fall of the Railroad that Crossed an Ocean* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2003); Seth Bramson, *The Greatest Railroad Story Ever Told: Henry Flagler and the Florida East Coast Railway’s Key West Extension* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011); and Gregg M. Turner, *A Journey into Florida Railroad History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012) for more information on the history of the Florida East Coast Railway.

8 “Yamato,” *Spanish River Papers*, Volume VI, 1 (October 1977), 3. See also “Brief History of Bocca Raton,” *Spanish River Papers*, Volume II, 2 (May 1973), 6-7 and “Yamato and Morikami: The Story of the Japanese Colony and Some of its Settlers,” *Spanish River Papers* Volume XIII, 3 (Spring 1985), 7-11.

9 See Barry Eichengreen, *Hall of Mirrors: The Great Depression, the Great Recession, and the Uses—and Misuses—of History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 17-19, 24, 28, 31-33, and 64. See also Barry Nolan, *Fifty Feet in Paradise: The Booming of Florida* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), Jack Emerson Davis and Raymond Arsenault, eds., *Paradise Lost?: The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), and Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005) for more on general Florida history and development.

and ethnic backgrounds (including poor whites from neighboring states and as far as away as Oklahoma) came to Florida for work.¹⁰

Filipinos were among those who sought economic gains in Florida. Filipino students (or *pensionados*) who were sons and daughters of the Filipino colonial elite were some of the earliest to arrive in the United States beginning in 1903, but by the 1920s, more self-supporting, male students and laborers (or *manongs*) migrated to Hawaii and the West Coast for education and agricultural opportunities. Many also traveled to Alaska for summer work in the salmon canning industries, including students who would return at the beginning of the academic year to continue their studies. According to the writings of famed Filipino laborer Carlos Bulosan and other manongs, Filipino men came to the United States in hopes of a better future while believing that they were American and therefore deserving of the very best the United States had to offer.¹¹ As colonial subjects (or officially American nationals), Filipinos were allowed to enter the United States when other Asian groups such as Chinese and Japanese were excluded by a string of discriminatory laws targeting Asians and later the sweeping Immigration Act of 1924.¹² As a result, Filipinos often identified as a unique ethnic group with American rights. Also, Filipinos were raised under the American system of colonial rule that embraced benevolent assimilation and American-style public schools. As a result, Filipinos expected to live in the United States with relative ease; however, that was rarely the case. Along the West Coast, Filipinos

10 See Jacqueline Jones, *The Dispossessed: America's Underclasses from the Civil War to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 233-267, and Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 114-116.

11 See Carlos Bulosan, *America is in the Heart: A Personal History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014, reprint) for a classic, semi-autobiographical account of a Filipino migrant laborer's experiences along the West Coast.

12 The political status of Filipinos during American rule were a product of the Insular Cases, a series of court cases relating to citizenship in American colonies and territories (primarily Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines) brought before the Supreme Court during the early twentieth century. Generally, the Insular Cases established the principle that the rights of American citizenship did not necessarily "follow the flag." See Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); and Christina Duffy Burnett and Burk Marshall, ed., *Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001) for more on the unique political status of Filipinos.

encountered signs with the message “No Filipinos Allowed” that barred them from employment and public services and also faced brutal violence and discrimination. They quickly learned that they were not Americans, but rather “yellow,” simply one more component of an unwelcome and unwanted racial minority in the U.S.¹³

Despite their less-than-ideal reception, many Filipino laborers remained in the United States, including the small community that made its way to Canal Point in Okeechobee County.¹⁴ Canal Point (known by a number of earlier names including New Town, Long Beach, and Nemaha until the completion of the West Palm Beach Canal in 1917) benefitted from the Southern States Land and Timber Company, which planted several varieties of sugarcane in the area in 1917 as an experiment to determine the potential monetary value of the crop. The experiment proved successful and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) constructed a Sugarcane Field Station and assisted local farmers with sugarcane production. Lake Okeechobee’s climate for sugarcane growth appealed to private business owners as well as the government. In 1922 English-born immigrant Frederick E. Bryant (who had encouraged the USDA to consider Canal Point as the site for its station) partnered with E.T. Anderson to establish the Florida Sugar and Food Products Company and constructed a sugar mill in Canal Point. Canal Point’s location on the West Palm Beach Canal, which connected to the Florida East Coast Railway, and proximity to recently constructed highway completed in 1924 a few miles north allowed small-scale sugarcane farmers as well as the larger corporations to ship their crops to out-of-state markets. By the early 1930s, sugarcane growers transformed Canal Point from an uninhabited swamp to an agricultural center with diverse crops. While the 1928 “Killer Hurricane” inflicted some damage on Canal Point, the town was spared from severe devastation and continued to develop, creating a need for agricultural labor. As a result, poor white and African American families moved from northern Florida and surrounding areas during the late 1920s to work in sugar cane production.

13 See Rick Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Migration and Empire in Filipino America, 1898-1946* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Dorothy Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919-1941* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Angelo Ancheta, *Race, Rights, and the Asian American Experience* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006) for more on the Filipino experience.

14 Little is known of the background of the Filipinos of Canal Point save that they came to Florida from California during the late 1920s.

The Depression saw a more diverse influx of migrants, including Filipinos. By the time of the Canal Point incident, Filipino sharecroppers (an anomaly for southern Florida) had resided in Canal Point for three years after a white resident with 2000 acres of sugar cane in nearby Pahokee recruited help for the production of the labor-intensive and time-consuming crop.¹⁵ Eventually, more Filipinos migrated to the area, following the demands for labor that accompanied the different planting and harvesting seasons. Some (such as those who would be driven from Canal Point) were able to become tenant farmers and begin “truck farming” (as referred to in the sources, although market gardening is more appropriate in this case).

Unfortunately, the varied racial make-up of Canal Point by the 1930s proved fertile ground for racial strife. Florida’s reputation for racial conflict spread nationwide following the Rosewood Massacre of 1923, when local whites set fire to the black community of Rosewood (located in Levy County on the Gulf Coast near Gainesville) and brutally murdered many of its inhabitants. Rumors that a black man from Rosewood had raped a white woman prompted the violence, but an alarmingly high rate of lynching in Florida during the early twentieth century fueled the racial tension in the region.¹⁶

But white violence was also directed at immigrant communities in the Sunshine State. On the morning of November 28, 1932, police in Cedar Key, a Gulf fishing community located ten miles west of Rosewood, discovered the local jail burnt to the ground and found within the remains a pile of charred bodies. The bodies

15 There are few written accounts of Canal Point’s history apart from the write-up on the Palm Beach County Historical Society’s webpage < <http://www.pbchistoryonline.org/page/canal-point> > (accessed June 8, 2016).

16 For more on anti-black violence in Florida during the late nineteenth through the twentieth century, see Maxine Jones, “The Rosewood Massacre and the Women Who Survived It,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 76 (Fall 1997): 193-208; Thomas R. Dye, “The Rosewood Massacre: History and the Making of Public Policy,” *The Public Historian* 19 (Summer 1997): 25-39; David R. Colburn, “Rosewood and America in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 76 (Fall, 1997): 175-192; Michael Lee Correia, “African Americans and Chinsegut Hill,” *Tampa Bay History* 20 (Fall/Winter 1998): 51-63; Robert Cassanello, “Violence, Racial Etiquette, and African-American Working Class ‘Infrapolitics’ in Jacksonville during World War I,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 82 (Fall 2003): 155-169; Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), and Gilbert King, *Devil in the Grove: Thurgood Marshall, the Groveland Boys, and the Dawn of a New America* (New York: Harper, 2013).

belonged to George Georgicu, Stathis Johanaunon, and Theodore Smarkos, three Greek sailors who lived in Tarpon Springs (near Tampa) and made a living gathering sea sponges. The three men found their way to Cedar Key during a fishing expedition. On November 27, Cedar Key Justice of Peace T. W. Brewer and special constable Thomas Booth arrested the three men for suspected theft. The county coroner conducted a special investigation into the deaths of the three Greeks and ruled that blows to the men's skulls revealed that they had been beaten and were dead before the fire destroyed the jail. State Attorney General C. Adkins and Governor Doyle Carlton, called for the removal of Brewer from his post and both Brewer and Booth were placed on trial at the Levy County Court in Bronson, Florida, in December. Testimony from the trial and witnesses revealed that Brewer and Booth (who were known to give ethnic minorities a "hard time") were drunk when they arrested the Greeks and robbed them of money before throwing them in jail.¹⁷ The prosecution argued that Brewer and Booth set fire to the jail to cover up their murder of the Greeks. While the court was conducting the trial, the Italian Consulate in New Orleans placed pressure upon Carlton to carry through with justice, including paying restitution funds to the victims' surviving family members because, while they were Greek, they had sailed under the Italian flag and had lived in Italy before arriving in the United States. Following the lynching of eleven Italians in New Orleans in 1891, the Italian Consulate became heavily invested in protecting Italian citizens across the United States, as did national and Florida-based Greek associations.¹⁸ For decades, Italians and Greeks had received discriminatory treatment from white southerners, and for many Greeks, the Cedar Key incident was another outrage in a longer line of atrocities. There was a modicum of justice for the Greek community when Brewster and Booth were found guilty of premeditated murder, served limited jail terms, and were later removed from their positions. However, as Carlton would soon discover, he and the state of Florida would become

17 J. B. Richardson to Doyle Carlton, undated, File Folder 7, Carton 52, Series 2014, State Archives of Florida.

18 See Alan G. Gauthreax, "An Inhospitable Land: Anti-Alien Sentiment and Violence in Louisiana, 1891-1924," *Louisiana History: Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 51, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 41-68 for more on the New Orleans lynching. For information on Italians in Florida, see Stephano Luconi, "Tampa's 1910 Lynching: The Italian-American Perspective and Its Implications," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 88, no.1 (Summer 2009): 30-53.

embroiled in yet another international predicament when the racial and ethnic violence that existed in Florida created a hotbed of unrest in Canal Point.¹⁹

Similar to the Cedar Key murders, investigations into the Canal Point incident began with uncertainties. Who first learned of the threats to Filipinos in Canal Point remains unclear. As early as July 24, one day following the attack, newspapers outside of Florida had picked up the story. The *New York Times* ran a small column providing the basic details, but the *Atlanta Constitution* published a longer account that delved into the deeper racial background of Canal Point and attempted to establish a cause for the violence.²⁰ The *Constitution* reported that “200 irate white residents” had ordered thirty Filipinos out of their community after “an episode that involved a Filipino man and a white girl,” presumably an incident that was sexual or romantic in nature. Chief of Police F.R. Harrison from Pahokee (near Canal Point) reported to the *Constitution* that “one of the colonists had admitted to him his guilt in the affair with the white girl” and this incident, coupled with a “resentment of longstanding against the presence of the Filipino farmers,” had been “brought to a fevered heat by reports that 2,000 more Filipinos were coming in [to Florida] from California.”²¹ The settlement of Filipinos in Canal Point “rendered white Everglades growers fearful that their section in the future might have to cope with racial agricultural problems as have been experienced in parts of California,” referencing the Watsonville Riots and other incidents of violence directed towards the Filipinos on the West Coast.²² As a result, “200 white residents of the Canal Point-Pahokee district went to the little Filipino colony and emphatically ordered inhabitants to be gone” by Monday, July 24. After the white residents had “emphatically ordered” the Filipinos to leave (save fifteen who were permitted to remain and harvest the crops they had previously planted), the Filipinos fled to nearby Indiantown while others were making plans to go to Cuba.²³ Despite the forced evacuation of Filipinos from their homes, Harrison managed to address a crowd of fifteen white men on the afternoon of July 24 and after doing so “was convinced that

19 For more on the Cedar Key case, see Shofner, “Murders at Kiss-Me-Quick: The Underside of International Affairs.”

20 “Filipino Colonists Quit Florida Farms,” *New York Times*, July 26, 1932, 8.

21 “White Farmers Oust Filipinos in Florida,” *Atlanta Constitution*, July 24, 1932, 12B.

22 “White Farmers Oust Filipinos,” 12B.

23 *Ibid.*

danger of any outbreak of violence was passed." Per the Watsonville Riots, conflicts over land, race, and sex were believed to be at the root of the Canal Point raid on the Filipino community.²⁴

Soon after the *Constitution* article appeared, concerns and questions from government officials and politicians poured into Governor Carlton's office. In addition to Secretary of War Patrick Hurley's demand for an investigation of the attack, William Simons of the New York chapter of the Anti-Imperialist League of the United States sent a telegram to Carlton on July 25 calling for more information as well as protection for the Filipinos of Canal Point and Florida more generally. First founded in June of 1898 during the Spanish-American War as the American Anti-Imperialist League, the organization included such high-profile members as Mark Twain, William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie, and others who argued both against America's involvement in an imperialist war and the annexation of the Philippines. When the war ended and the Philippines became part of the American empire, the League continued to protest American imperialist goals in pamphlets and other publications, arguing that imperialism soiled America's patriotic ideas, led to economic dependency, fueled further war, and created opportunities for the breakdown of the Anglo-Saxon make-up of the United States. The League's popularity declined following the end of the Philippine-American War in 1902 and although the League officially disbanded as the anti-imperialist organ that focused on the Philippines by 1920, it continued to function (although as a lesser form of its robust early years) in a decentralized fashion as smaller chapters of the renamed Anti-Imperial League of the United States popped up across the country. However, members' continued interests in anti-imperialism and the rights of Filipinos brought the Canal Point incident to their attention.²⁵

The cable from Simons revealed concerns for the negative impact of imperialism on Filipinos living in the United States. He

24 Ibid.

25 See Edelwina C. Legaspi, "The Anti-Imperialist Movement in the United States 1898-1900: With Special Emphasis on the Role of the Anti-Imperial League," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 33, no. 3/4 (1968): 209-314; Jim Zwick, "The Anti-Imperialist League and the Origins of Filipino-American Oppositional Solidarity," *Amerasia Journal* 24, no. 2 (1998): 64-88; Berkeley Tompkins, "The Old Guard: A Study of the Anti-Imperialist Leadership," *Historian* 30, no. 3 (Summer 1968): 366-388; and Paul Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 117-123 for more on the League, its mission, and its influence on policy and ideas towards imperialism and colonialism.

“protest[ed] against [the] driving out Filipinos from Canal Point” and demanded “they be allowed to return with reimbursement of all losses at Florida’s expense.”²⁶ Simons also relayed the League’s demand for “punishment of those who drove them out.”²⁷ These demands were not drastically different from many of the other telegrams and resolutions sent to Carlton that would follow; however, Simons’ emphasis on using the Canal Point incident to demand “immediate unconditional independence [for the] Philippine Islands and social, political, and economic *equality* for Filipinos in the United States” went beyond concerns for imperialism to include concerns for the treatment and reception of Filipinos in Florida, making the state an important example of imperial injustices.²⁸

Simons’ response to the Canal Point incident represents the different reactions to the plight of Filipinos in Florida and Watsonville. In the days and months after the violence in Watsonville and surrounding areas in California, calls from West Coast politicians for independence for the Philippines grew. Rather than a genuine concern for the sovereignty of the Philippines, many of these calls came from legislators and others who wished to curtail Filipino migration to the United States. If the Philippines were to receive its independence, then Filipinos would no longer be nationals and would be held to the same restrictions as other Asian immigrants. Limiting the number of Filipinos who came to the United States would limit the number of encounters between Filipino men and white women and between Filipinos and whites more generally. Many who claimed to be anti-imperialists during the early twentieth century used Watsonville as proof that Filipinos who came to the United States unrestricted would only add to the nation’s existing racial tensions.²⁹

When much of the violence targeting Filipinos was concentrated in California, it was relatively easy to regard such attacks as a California problem that stemmed from the varied racial and ethnic makeup of the region and its history of anti-Asian sentiments. But when violence against Filipinos in Florida began to make news, it became apparent to Americans that this was a problem that reached beyond the West Coast and spoke to the larger concerns of

26 William Simons to Doyle Carlton, telegram, July 25, 1932, File Folder 12, Carlton 66, Carlton Records.

27 Simons to Carlton, telegram.

28 *Ibid.* Emphasis mine.

29 See Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 407-414, 428-432.

imperialism and colonialism. Not only were Filipinos racial minorities in Florida, but their status as colonial subjects made them vulnerable to attacks and exploitation. Simons touched on this issue when he demanded Filipinos receive full protection—not because they were colonial subjects, but because they were “people who deserved the rights and protections regardless of their political standing or race.”³⁰ His calls for justice to be meted out to those who drove the Filipinos from their homes and for the state of Florida to pay for the suffering the Filipinos endured was not an argument on behalf of Filipino *subjects* but rather on behalf of Filipinos as people living within the jurisdiction of the United States and entitled to the same protections as citizens. Carlton assured Simons in a letter dated July 26 that he had “directed the officials of the territory in which these citizens are located to give every possible protection to these people.”³¹

Nationwide interest in the Florida Filipinos prompted Carlton to push for an investigation to uncover exactly what happened and who was responsible for the violence in Canal Point. On July 25, Carlton sent a telegram to West Palm Beach Sheriff Robert Baker seeking more details on the event. Ever the responsible governor concerned for his state’s economic and agricultural development, Carlton closed his telegram to Baker with a reminder that “it is unfortunate that this should arise at a time when the federal government is aiding the Everglades Project,” referring to the government’s subsidies for sugarcane growth and production in Canal Point and surrounding areas.³² Carlton’s sympathy for the Filipinos was difficult to gauge, but his concerns for the relationship between his state and the War Department as well as that between the federal government’s subsidies and Florida sugarcane were clear. For Carlton, this was a matter of political embarrassment, a bungle on behalf of the local law enforcement that allowed this event to create negative press for Florida.

Carlton and Hurley’s reactions to the Canal Point violence reflect the peculiar place of Filipinos in Florida and in the South more generally. Within the state of Florida, lynchings, attacks, and even the Rosewood Massacre garnered little outrage from the state government. Carlton, however, personally responded to those

30 Simons to Carlton, telegram, July 25, 1932.

31 Doyle Carlton to William Simons, telegram, July 26, 1932, File Folder 12, Carlton 66, Carlton Records..

32 Ibid.

from across the nation who wrote in demanding he do something to address the violence at Canal Point. Why would the attack on forty-five Filipinos (a relatively isolated group in Florida and in the South at the time—911 were reported in the 1930 census) receive a flurry of outrage from politicians when reports of lynched African Americans were commonplace at the time?³³ As Hurley suggested in his telegram, Filipinos in the United States were an extension of the colonial relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines; any wrongdoing to them might have severe consequences for the colonial system. The Canal Point incident (and its accompanying media attention) was an opportunity to perhaps correct past wrongdoings during the Watsonville Riots. Also, in Carlton's response to the Anti-Imperialist League, he referred to the Filipinos as "citizens" rather than subjects—an indication that addressing the rights of Filipinos and their protection was the proper way to handle this particular incident. Hurley was concerned that Canal Point might negatively affect the colonial relationship while Carlton in turn worried that the War Department's disapproval of his handling of the affair would curtail federal spending in Florida. A mix of economics and imperialism shaped Carlton's response to Canal Point, which was more than Governor Cary Hardee invested in the Rosewood Massacre. Hardee established a special investigative committee for the violence against African Americans, but was otherwise largely disinterested in the massacre. Few incidents of violence directed towards African Americans in Florida received extended calls for protection from southern state governors or officials, but the Filipinos of Florida were at the top of Carlton's list of priorities.

On July 26, 1932, Carlton's requests for more details on the incident from the West Palm Beach Police Department arrived in the form of a vague report from Chief Deputy Sheriff W.H. Lawrence. Lawrence maintained that his office did not learn of the unrest in Canal Point until news came across his desk from a local paper, at which point he went straight to Canal Point to speak with Filipinos who remained in the area. When he arrived, however, locals informed him that all of the Filipinos had fled to nearby Indiantown after about 200 white residents "told them to vacate the section." Lawrence did manage to find six Filipinos who were "in hiding" outside of Canal Point and claimed they stated, "no threats were made [by whites]; that there was no disorder; that none of the parties appeared to be armed; and that no reason was assigned for

33 U.S. Census, 1930, Volume 2, Table 6, 103.

the request that they vacate.” In other words, why forty-five Filipinos (many of whom had been there for three years by that point) had suddenly decided to leave their homes on the request of local citizens was a mystery to Lawrence. He assured Carlton, however, that his office had “offered protection to the Filipinos if they desire[d] to return” and that “their lives and property are not jeopardized in any way and that they are given the protection under the law.”³⁴

The following week, Carlton received a letter from Philippines Commissioner Camilo Osias that touched more directly on the imperial relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines. As a Congressional representative of the Philippines, Osias had formally protested the treatment of Filipinos in the United States by submitting resolutions to Congress calling for the protection of his countrymen following the Watsonville Riots. In the days after the Canal Point incident, Osias learned of the violence against Filipinos in Florida not from Carlton or any formal representative of the Florida government, but from the press and concerned American citizens, including one Floridian who assured Osias that “Filipinos on the whole in Florida have been good farmers and attend strictly to their own business.”³⁵ Osias contacted Carlton to learn more of the factors leading up to the forceful evacuation and what measures were being taken to ensure the protection of other Filipinos in Florida. “My main purpose in addressing you at this time is to plead for increased protection of my countrymen resident in Florida not only in the interest of right and justice, but for the sake of the proper relations between Americans and Filipinos here and in the Philippines,” Osias informed Carlton in a letter from August 4.³⁶ Similar to Hurley, Osias used the colonial relationship between the Philippines and the U.S. to urge for understanding and prevention of further violence. The language of Filipino rights may not have appealed to a southern governor like Carlton, but potential difficulties in the imperial relationship had more of an effect than discussions of racial justice. On August 18, Carlton replied to Osias with a firm guarantee to “secure protection” for any Filipinos residing not just in Canal, but in all of Florida.³⁷

34 Deputy W.H. Lawrence to Doyle Carlton, July 26, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

35 Captain W.R. Moore to Doyle Carlton, August 8, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

36 Camilo Osias to Doyle Carlton, August 4, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

37 Doyle Carlton to Camilo Osias, August 18, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66,

Others from Florida, such as police Captain W.R. Moore of Gomez (located approximately forty miles from Canal Point near West Palm Beach), called for protection of the Filipinos not because they were part of a larger colonial system, but because they deserved basic rights. When Moore learned of the violence against the Filipinos a week after the event, he immediately dashed off a letter to Carlton demanding an answer as to why this “tragedy” occurred and a promise to secure justice. Moore was so moved by the Filipinos who were hiding in nearby Indiantown that on July 28 he drove over from his farm to “see them about coming over to farm on my place.” A group of Filipinos accepted the Captain’s offer and decided to work on Moore’s farm where they proved to be “good workers, quite [sic] and well behaved”—Moore and his wife “liked them very much.”³⁸ Unfortunately, as Moore explained in a letter to Carlton dated August 8, not everyone in Gomez shared he and his wife’s affection for the Filipinos, if more for their agricultural labor than anything else. Moore recalled, “Yesterday, a man told me that they would run them out of here and another party told me that he had heard talk of the same thing.”³⁹ But Moore would hear nothing of it and turned to Carlton for help. Moore considered the Filipinos “citizens of the U.S.” and rejected the notion that “any common drunken bums have any business driving them out of the country.”⁴⁰ Likewise, Moore promised to “protect them as far as I can.” Moore closed his letter by begging Carlton to urge the West Palm Beach Sheriff to take a greater stand against the harm done to the Filipinos, but also suggested that Carlton “ask the Attorney General to write an article that I can give to the papers to publish and make the men that talk of violence see things a little different, please.”⁴¹ For Moore, the Filipinos were not just colonial subjects—they were citizens and laborers. They deserved basic protections and rights through their political status as well as their hard work and cooperation.

Moore’s letter was the only one from a resident of Florida received by Carlton that argued in favor of the Filipinos. Moore was perhaps a minority based on correspondence with the governor on the Canal Point incident; however, his description of Filipinos as

Carlton Records.

38 W.R. Moore to Doyle Carlton, August 8, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

39 Moore to Carlton, August 8, 1932.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

citizens was a testament to the confusing political status of Filipinos who lived in the United States. The Canal Point incident forced Carlton to grapple with the rights of Filipinos in his state and their relationship to labor and the economy.

Meanwhile, resolutions from various Filipinos, workers, and civil rights organizations from across the nation flooded Carlton's office. The news of the Canal Point incident travelled far and wide once the Associated Press picked up the story and garnered cries for justice and restoration of the Filipinos' violated rights. On August 22, 1932, the Florida Riot Committee (a special group formed by the Philippines Barristers Association of California, a group of Filipino lawyers and law students) forwarded a petition to Carlton outlining their views on the violence and whom they believed to be the perpetrators. The Filipinos were evicted from their homes "for no other apparent reason than race prejudice" and the "mob action" was "sanctioned by the Sherriff and other officers," an act that was "not only a betrayal to their duty, but a repudiation of organized government."⁴² The Committee argued that the actions of the mob were violations of "the constitutional rights of these men for their lives, liberty, and property," and because Filipinos "were not aliens, but nationals of the United States," they were entitled to the same "rights, immunities, and privileges accorded to American citizens."⁴³ Furthermore, the Committee likened the presence of Filipino workers in the state of Florida to "the presence of American businessmen, American investors, and American citizens enjoying all the rights, privileges, immunities, and protections of their properties under the laws of the Philippines Islands."⁴⁴ The Committee called for the "immediate punishment" and removal of all who had been involved, including the law officers who stood by and allowed the attacks to happen. If not, the Committee warned, "the toleration of such mob action against Filipinos by either the State or the Federal authorities invites a possible retaliation on the part of the Filipinos towards the Americans," an ominous warning of what would happen if the tables turned in the United States when Filipinos rioted in America or in the Philippines.⁴⁵ The California-based Committee of the Filipino Community also argued in a petition to Carlton that the "race discrimination manifested

42 Resolution from Florida Riot Committee, August 22, 1932, File Folder 12, Carlton 66, Carlton Records.

43 Resolution from Florida Riot Committee.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

against the Filipino laborers was an attempt to disrupt the growing unity, better understanding, and the good Filipino-American relationship of the working class."⁴⁶ Whether or not working relations between Filipinos and Americans of the working-class were truly improving was questionable (considering the previous incidents in Watsonville); however, the Committee clearly identified the Canal Point incident as a setback.

The responses of Filipino rights organizations to the Canal Point incident reflect what the violence meant for rights, race relations, and empire in Florida and beyond. Not only did the War Department identify what happened to Filipinos in Florida as a serious threat to U.S.-Philippine relations (already somewhat strained after the Watsonville Riots), but Filipinos argued that Canal Point was a manifestation of a nationwide problem of discrimination against their fellow countrymen. The experiences of Filipinos in Canal Point and the surrounding region drew the attention given to the plight of Filipinos away from California and connected southern problems with race relations to those on the West Coast and imperialism and colonialism more generally. The West Coast did not have a monopoly on anti-Filipino violence; such incidents occurred even in Florida and there was potential for similar events to occur wherever Filipinos settled, even in smaller numbers. The experiences of Filipinos in Florida were proof that American imperialism was a cancer that affected race relations in the United States.

Leftist organizations also argued that the violence at Canal Point was a larger attack on racial minorities and workers more generally. The Sacco and Vanzetti Memorial Meeting based in Santa Barbara, California, argued in a petition to Carlton that "this forcible eviction of these Filipino families is a blow at the whole American working-class."⁴⁷ Furthermore, the "race discrimination manifested against these workers we see as an attempt to disrupt the growing unity of the working-class in the face of the drive by the bosses against the workers' standard of living."⁴⁸ This was not an attack solely on Filipinos, but rather a government-sanctioned attack on workers more generally, a strong message during the early years of the Depression and rising labor activism. The meeting members also held Carlton "responsible for the lives of these

46 Ibid.

47 Resolution from Sacco and Vanzetti Memorial Meeting, August 31, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

48 Ibid.

Filipinos and their families...and see in a legally-sanctioned act the first step of a drive to expel our Filipino fellow-workers from Florida, and the beginning of a nation-wide drive of discrimination against Filipino workers."⁴⁹ Although the Watsonville Riots occurred two years before the Canal Point incident, the members of the Sacco and Vanzetti Memorial Meeting believed that the local law enforcement's reluctance to become involved in the mob violence was unique in that neither they nor Carlton took any action to protect the Filipinos in the aftermath.⁵⁰ In this way, the Canal Point incident was perceived as a turning point in a national movement to use government to sanction attacks against Filipinos.

Unfortunately (for both the Filipinos of Florida and Carlton), the situation grew worse in September when locals attacked the Filipinos who earlier fled from Canal Point to Indiantown for safety. On September 8th, Osias received a telegram that read: "We Filipinos driven from Canal Point. We are at Indiantown. People burned houses. We need Help—signed B.C. Asistin."⁵¹ Osias was astounded that yet another attack on Filipinos within the same area had occurred with no notification from the governor or any other law officials. Osias immediately sent a telegram to Carlton pleading for the governor to remain true to his promise to "extend protection to the Filipinos of Florida" and to "kindly take steps to prevent recurrence of destruction of property belonging to them."⁵² This time, Osias also took matters into his own hands and personally contacted Sheriff William McGee of Indiantown, seeking an explanation for what had happened and looking for details beyond the vague description provided by B.C. Astin in his telegram. After receiving Osias' letter, McGee contacted Carlton, anticipating Osias' turn to the governor for assistance.

Sheriff McGee's explanation attempted to present a clear description of what occurred in Indiantown. McGee informed Carlton that on September 4th, a severe storm rolled through central Florida and local watchmen displayed the storm signals in Indiantown warning residents to seek shelter. At some point that evening, B.C. Asistin, John Smile, Maurice Cabanayan, Alberto

49 Ibid.

50 Following the outbreak of the Watsonville Riots, Sherriff Nick Sinnott placed the remaining Filipinos in the area under protective custody while police set out to prevent further violence.

51 Quoted in telegram from Osias to Carlton, September 8, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

52 Osias to Carlton, telegram, September 8, 1932.

Cabarloc, and Willie Asistin (Filipino sharecroppers) “were warned to get away from Indiantown, which they did, going to their friends at Gomez, Florida.”⁵³ Who “warned” the Filipinos and in what tone remained a mystery. However, when the Filipinos returned to Indiantown the following day, McGee discovered that “some person or persons unknown to me, went to the Philippines Camp and burned it up, destroying provisions, etc.,” prompting the telegram from B.C. Astin to Osias.⁵⁴ McGee assured Carlton, “In the meantime, I shall do all in my power to give the Philippinos [sic] the protection they are entitled to in this country, and I should like to have you advise me regarding the matter.”⁵⁵ Carlton responded on September 13, instructing McGee to “make a thorough investigation of this matter to the end that justice may be done to all.”⁵⁶

Following the second attack on the Filipinos of Indiantown and subsequent news dispatches, the Los Angeles chapter of the International Labor Defense (ILD) became interested in the plight of the Filipinos and what the attack meant for all workers and minorities. Founded in 1925 as the legal arm of the Communist Party of the United States of America, the ILD frequently engaged in protecting minorities, workers, and radicals in various labor and legal cases, most notably Italian immigrants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti and later the Scottsboro Boys of Alabama in during the 1930s.⁵⁷ On September 16, 1932, Elaine Black (secretary of the Los Angeles chapter of the ILD) penned a letter to Carlton with an accompanying petition with signatures from “forty-four workers, of whom some are American Negroes, Japanese, and some Filipinos” who protested against “the forcible eviction of Filipino farmers from Canal Point.”⁵⁸ “The International Labor Defense fights against every form of race discrimination and is determined to

53 William McGee to Doyle Carlton, September 8, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Doyle Carlton to William McGee, September 13, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

57 For more on the Scottsboro Boys and their place in a larger history of race, sex, and justice in the South, see Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007); and James A. Miller, *Remembering Scottsboro: The Legacy of an Infamous Trial* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009). For more on the Sacco and Vanzetti case, see Moshik Temkin, *The Sacco-Vanzetti Affair: America on Trial* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).

58 Petition from International Labor Defense, Los Angeles Chapter, September 16, 1932, File Folder 12, Carton 66, Carlton Records.

expose to the workers the means taken by the boss class to terrorize all militant workers," Black explained. The attack on Filipinos in Canal Point was not just racially motivated, but also class motivated as the planters and the police colluded to push the Filipinos off the land and jeopardize potential solidarity between the workers of various races and ethnicities. Black, Japanese, and white workers from the Los Angeles area signed the petition demanding that the "workers be allowed to return to their farms and that the State of Florida pay their return fare" and "the punishment of all involved in the mob and the removal from office of the police officers who, by refusing to take any steps to prevent the mob action, sanctioned it."⁵⁹ The petition concluded with the signees pledging "to fight against all manifestations of race discrimination."⁶⁰

For workers' rights organizations like the ILD, the Filipinos of Canal Point were caught between anti-labor practices in the United States and imperialism abroad. Although American Federation of Labor leader Samuel Gompers was a noted anti-imperialist, his arguments stemmed from a fear that Filipinos and other peoples of annexed territories would create labor competition for the white, working-class man in America.⁶¹ Such attitudes were common among other labor unions, but as a more radical organization, the ILD argued against imperialism for the damage it caused to labor relations and the rights of workers, specifically minority laborers. An attack on Filipino workers was an attack on American labor and solidarity as a whole, and the Canal Point incident served as an example of the negative impact of American imperial relations on the treatment of Filipino laborers in the United States. Consistently seen as racial and political others because of their status as colonial subjects and Asian immigrants, employers could easily manipulate and mistreat Filipinos. While many racial and ethnic minorities received similar treatment in the United States, the positions of non-citizen laborers were more precarious. Filipinos certainly experienced poor treatment on the West Coast and in Alaskan canneries; however, the problems the Filipino migrant laborers, truck farmers, and sharecroppers faced in Florida were also part of a racial system that did not recognize their rights as

59 Petition from International Labor Defense, September 16, 1932.

60 Ibid.

61 For more on Samuel Gompers, labor, and anti-imperialism, see Julie Green, *Pure and Simple Politics: The American Federation of Labor and Political Activism, 1881-1917* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), n. 57..

American nationals (if not American citizens).⁶² The ILD identified the plight of the Canal Point Filipinos as a larger indication that the imperial relationship between the United States and the Philippines resulted in an attack on workers' rights as well as civil and human rights for all and an undermining of potential racial solidarity in labor organizing.

Despite the attention the Filipinos of Canal Point received from the media, rights groups, and the Florida and federal government, there is little information on the outcome of the incident. It is unclear what happened to the Filipinos who remained in Indian-town following the threats and violence or those who looked to flee to Cuba for protection. No further attacks on Filipinos in Canal Point or elsewhere in Florida were reported, but it is difficult to correlate this to any additional protection of Filipinos provided by local law enforcement as promised by Carlton. There is also no mention in state records of any removal of officers or sheriffs as demanded in numerous resolutions sent to the governor's office and as occurred earlier with the murder of the Cedar Key Greeks.

Although justice may not have assumed many concrete forms in Canal Point, the violence directed toward Filipinos in Florida did not go unnoticed. During the 1930s, the issues of race dovetailed with the issues of imperialism in Florida as the imperial relationship between the United States and the Philippines began to change. Following more cries for independence after the Watsonville Riots amid growing concerns of American responsibility in the Philippines and increasing, racist fears of a "Filipino invasion" in the United States, Congress enacted the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934. Under this new legislation, the Philippines became a commonwealth that was still technically under control of the United States, but whose subjects were now added into the group of Asians excluded from entering the United States since they were no longer considered colonial subjects with special privileges. The Tydings-McDuffie Act also placed the Philippines on a ten-year transition period for gaining independence following the creation of a Filipino Constitution in 1935. As Paul Kramer argues, the transition from colony to commonwealth and an increasing demand for Filipino independence from Americans came not from a desire to

62 See Stephanie Hinnertshitz, "We Ask Not for Mercy, but for Justice: The Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union and Filipino Civil Rights, 1927-1937," *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 132-152 for more on Filipino working conditions on the West Coast and in Alaska.

promote Filipino sovereignty, but rather from a fear of yet another racial problem. Based on this interpretation, racism and discrimination placed Filipinos on the path to independence.⁶³

The Canal Point incident complicates this narrative and highlights communications between various U.S. and Filipino representatives, Filipino rights, and racism in the United States. Although these topics may not have had a direct impact on Congress's decision to enact the Tydings-McDuffie Act and move towards Filipino independence, the incidents in Florida prompted Americans to take note of the violence aimed at Filipinos in the United States. The topic of Filipino rights received growing attention among activist groups following the incident in Canal Point and government officials viewed the violence as an opportunity to provide protection to Filipinos in order to preserve the imperial relationship rather than end it. The West Coast was not the only region of concern for those dedicated to protecting Filipino and minority rights or for those who worried about how the Canal Point incident would affect diplomacy between the United States and the Philippines. Although the Filipinos of Canal Point rarely appear in the history of American imperialism, their experiences and America's reactions to them made Florida a crucial component in the later years of American imperialism in the Philippines.

⁶³ The Philippines officially gained independence from the United States on July 4 of 1946. See Kramer, *Blood of Government*, 416-18.

“Work...or be deported”: Florida Growers and the Emergence of a Non-Citizen Agricultural Workforce

by Erin L. Conlin

In the 1920s Florida began promoting itself as the nation's winter garden. The rise of industrial agriculture throughout the United States led to significant questions about labor, namely—who would do the work and what would the emergent labor system look like? This article explicitly examines the role of private agricultural employers in developing the modern farm labor system, both historically and today, in order to illuminate labor transitions over time.¹ Historically, agricultural workers in Florida were seasonal, or migrant, low-wage workers living on the margins of society with few rights or protections. Under the modern farm labor system, those attributes persist, though many contemporary workers are now falsely documented or undocumented predominantly Latinx labor, lacking the rights and protections associated with citizenship due to their immigration status.² Like their prede-

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- 1 I use the terms agricultural producers, employers, farmers and growers interchangeably to describe those who employed fieldworkers, farmworkers, or farm laborers.
- 2 At the time of publication, the term “Latinx” was gaining more widespread usage because it allowed writers to avoid using the more gendered terms of “Latino” and “Latina.”

cessors, however, even legal workers still generally lack basic rights and protections due to their low incomes and generally marginalized status in society. I argue agricultural growers played a pivotal role in developing the modern farm labor system by skillfully creating and manipulating a decades-long foreign labor importation scheme from the Bahamas, and when that finally terminated, successfully tapping into Florida's changing demographics to cultivate a new exploitable workforce.

A careful analysis of the Bahamian temporary labor program in Florida, which operated from 1943 to 1966, reveals how agricultural producers successfully crafted the modern farm labor system that dominates the state and the East Coast at large. Throughout the twentieth century, Florida growers and their allies promoted a series of agricultural labor systems as they responded to external changes. Each system, however, was based on the idea that farmworkers existed outside the parameters of citizenship and the benefits associated with it; and, more often than not, when national ideological interests conflicted with economic interests of Florida growers, the economic interests ruled the day.

I situate this article at the intersection of scholarship on agricultural labor, immigration, and policy development and implementation. I add to the literature by bringing these threads together to analyze how Florida cultivated a labor system that allowed growers nearly complete control of the workforce. Examining labor and immigration history together reveals how the modern farm labor system emerged. Cindy Hahamovitch's definitive works on World War II era and contemporary guestworker programs, *The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945* and *No Man's Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor*, specifically inform and guide this analysis.³ Hahamovitch closely examines the role of the state in crafting these systems, and the semi-free and unfree status of guestworkers. Like Hahamovitch, David Griffith's *American Guestworkers: Jamaicans and Mexicans in the U.S. Labor Market* details how temporary guestworker programs operate in the United States, while also examining how these

3 Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Hahamovitch, *No Man's Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

programs impact the United States and sending communities.⁴ As Hahamovitch and Griffith note, guestworkers stepped into a landscape shaped by labor exploitation and abuse. Jerrell Shofner has written extensively about forced labor in Florida's turpentine and lumber industries from the end of the Civil War through the 1940s.⁵ Like Shofner, Raymond A. Mohl, Melanie Shell-Weiss, and Roberto Suro illuminate Florida's labor landscape by considering not only the conditions for domestic workers, but also how guestworkers and immigrants experienced and shaped the state's labor practices.⁶ Expanding the purview beyond Florida and agricultural labor, Hahamovitch, Kitty Calavita, Kelly Lytle Hernández, and Aristide Zolberg illustrate American policy development and implementation, often focusing on the role of the state.⁷ This article brings these various threads together by specifically examining the role Florida growers played in shaping the East Coast's modern agricultural labor system.⁸

To explain the state's labor evolution, the article focuses on agricultural producers' influence on labor transformations from the 1890s through the modern era. It begins with an overview of Florida's agricultural development and the state's long history of Bahamian labor migration. I examine how this history, combined with a decline in convict leasing and debt peonage, coupled with restrictive national immigration policies, forced emerging industrial agricultural producers in Florida to develop a labor system

4 David Griffith, *American Guestworkers: Jamaicans and Mexicans in the U.S. Labor Market* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

5 Jerrell H. Shofner, "The Legacy of Racial Slavery: Free Enterprise and Forced Labor in Florida in the 1940s" *Journal of Southern History* 47, no. 3. (August 1981): 411-426; Shofner, "Forced Labor in the Florida Forests," *Journal of Forest History* 25, no. 1. (January 1981): 14-25; Shofner, "Postscript to the Martin Tabert Case: Peonage as Usual in the Florida Turpentine Camps," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 2. (October 1981): 161-173.

6 Raymond A. Mohl, "Black Immigrants: Bahamians in Early Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no.3 (January 1987): 271-297; Melanie Shell-Weiss, *Coming to Miami: A Social History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009); Roberto Suro, *Strangers Among Us: How Latino Immigration Is Transforming America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

7 Kitty Calavita, *Inside the State: The Bracero Program, Immigration, and the I.N.S.* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Aristide Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

8 The workers themselves also played an immensely important role in challenging exploitative labor conditions, but their experiences are largely outside the purview of this piece since they are more complex than can be addressed in a few sentences.

reminiscent of the old regime but within the legal boundaries of a changing nation. I then show how growers and their political allies succeeded in codifying this system during World War II with the importation of thousands of Bahamian workers. To illustrate the origins of the modern farm labor system, I demonstrate how growers in the postwar period continued to exert political influence by transitioning the wartime emergency farm labor importation program into a routine, privately managed labor operation. I conclude by explaining the Latinization of the Florida agricultural workforce, linking the rise in Latinx workers to the decline in Bahamian temporary workers.

Developing the Nation's Winter Garden and Cultivating a Compliant Workforce

Florida's economic viability initially came from a variety of industries including the harvesting of marine life (fish, turtles, sponges, etc.), building and railroad construction, tourism, and domestic service jobs. It became a significant agricultural producer with the rise of commercial truck farming and the state's ability to grow "every kind of garden produce at a season of the year when no other part of the United States is producing green vegetables."⁹ Although this claim stretched the truth, it articulated the unbounded enthusiasm Florida promoters felt in the 1920s and how the state framed itself as the nation's winter garden.

Florida dramatically increased agricultural production starting in the 1920s. Turpentine and logging operations had long utilized the state's natural resources, and exploited local laborers to do so. In the 1920s, though, the sugar industry looked to the state's interior, with its black "muck" soil, as a potential Garden of Eden. Growers quickly discovered that the soil was not naturally well suited to growing sugar because it required significant fertilization and it took years to figure out the proper combinations. In the meantime, many sugar operations went bankrupt.¹⁰ Those that succeeded, however, inspired citrus and truck farmers to snap up large swaths of inland Florida. Over time, growers in the state would cultivate over two hundred and fifty different crops.¹¹

9 Frank Parker Stockbridge and John Holliday Perry, *Florida in the Making* (Kingsport, TN: Kingsport Press, 1926), 59.

10 John A. Heitmann, "The Beginnings of Big Sugar in Florida, 1920-1945." *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (Summer 1998), 45-46.

11 Heitmann, "The Beginnings of Big Sugar in Florida," 52. Stockbridge and

It took significant time and effort to grow crops in Florida. Both the natural environment and existing labor practices made the state a challenging place to farm. Many farmers failed, resulting in the rapid consolidation of vegetable truck farms under corporate ownership. Large-scale industrial farming relied heavily on a sizeable pool of available local and migrant labor to harvest crops during a given season. Historically, Florida employers in agricultural and forestry industries relied on the state's impoverished black population, both free and incarcerated, to do this work. Debt peonage and convict leasing schemes were rampant in Florida after the Civil War, and employers in many industries, like turpentine, logging, and agriculture, relied on their labor.¹² By the late 1910s and early 1920s, however, convict leasing and debt peonage came under greater scrutiny by federal officials and farmers had to find an alternative labor scheme. World War I, increasing immigration restriction, and the Great Migration forced a re-structuring and re-imagining of the farm labor force. Drawing on a long history of Bahamian migration, agricultural employers looked to the island nation to solve its labor woes.¹³

Bahamian migrants arriving in the 1890s had played a pivotal role in developing Florida. As one South Floridian explained, "all of our heavy laborers were Bahamian negroes."¹⁴ In addition to providing much-needed labor, Bahamians imparted knowledge about how to farm the land and they physically reshaped the landscape by bringing with them the islands' trees, vegetables, and fruits that

Perry also provide a nice overview of Florida crop production in *Florida in the Making*, pages 48, 62-71, 111-12, and 116. See also the Federal Writers' Project, *The WPA Guide to Florida: The Federal Writers' Project Guide to 1930s Florida* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1939), 79-82, 84.

- 12 See Jerrell Shofner's extensive works on the turpentine and logging industries for detailed analysis.
- 13 For an extensive analysis of early Bahamian/Florida interactions, see Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 271-297.
- 14 Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 273, 282. Migrants in the 1890s were considered the "second wave," the first being in the 1830s when Bahamians migrated to the Florida Keys seeking employment primarily in fishing, sponging and turtling in the 1830s. As Florida developed a variety of industries, including lumber, turpentine, and agriculture, employers hoped to take advantage of the influx of European immigrants traveling to America in the last half of the nineteenth century. Their hopes were quickly dashed since most Europeans found Florida's climate insufferable and left the region at the earliest opportunity. However, migrants from the Caribbean Basin did take advantage of the growing demand for foreign labor and many shifted from seasonal migration to Central American countries to the lower east coast of Florida. See Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 272-273; Shell-Weiss, *Coming to Miami*, 13.

would flourish in Florida fields. These Bahamian laborers actively participated in circular migration, traveling back and forth seasonally. By the early twentieth century, steamships reduced the amount of time and money needed to travel between the islands and the United States, thus increasing the flow of Bahamian migration to Florida.¹⁵ Many moved back and forth between the Bahamas and Florida on a regular basis, though some became naturalized U.S. citizens and chose to remain in Florida. Few white Floridians initially took issue with the system; they relied on the Bahamian labor and they knew most workers would return to the islands once they earned enough money.

Between 1900 and 1920 approximately ten to twelve thousand Bahamians, or one-fifth of the entire population, left the islands for Florida, the majority of which were engaged in seasonal or "livelihood" migrations.¹⁶ These able-bodied individuals (often men) arrived in such large numbers that news reports described them appearing like waves rushing the shore. Eyewitnesses said vessels traveling from the islands to Florida were so packed with people there was barely standing room on the decks.¹⁷ The large-scale movement of workers, built upon older patterns of temporary labor migrations between Florida and the Bahamas, provided critical support for burgeoning agricultural production. This circular migration continued well into World War I, and only began to decline with more stringent immigration restriction.¹⁸

Reduced European migration during World War I fundamentally altered U.S. economic and labor trends. Declining immigration and the expanding industrial economy in the North created new, high-paying jobs in war industries for domestic workers. The Great Migration north of well over a million African Americans drastically altered Southern labor dynamics.¹⁹ Black Floridians saw wartime employment as a way to escape their current situation, even though employers working with state and federal legislators tried to keep them in their place. Some workers found the North

15 Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 279.

16 *Ibid.*, 273, 275-277, 279. Mohl introduced the term "livelihood migration" to describe complex patterns of temporary Caribbean migration that were firmly established by the early decades of the twentieth century, which allowed impoverished families and communities to survive.

17 *Nassau Tribune*, December 2, 1911, quoted in Howard Johnson, "Bahamian Labor Migration to Florida in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *International Migration Review* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 90, 93.

18 Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 282.

19 Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor*, 80.

was no oasis and instead opted to use the East Coast migrant stream as a way to maximize employment opportunities while still retaining roots in their southern home communities. Growers never entirely overcame the fear, however, that this new domestic migration trend would fail them. Drawing on the long established and equally important historical Bahamian labor scheme, farmers concluded that the most tractable (and therefore desirable) workers under this new labor system were both mobile and *foreign*. Growers eventually argued that not only were foreign workers the preferred solution, but truly the *only* solution, to the state's complicated labor needs.

Some Florida farmers, during World War I, began calling for a formalized labor importation program that would be less susceptible to external pressures like war drafts and industrial job opportunities. The chairman of the Florida State Council for National Defense supported growers' efforts by working with the state's elected federal officials to waive immigration laws so that Florida growers could import Bahamians to replace African Americans. The labor vacuum created by World War I resulted in an uptick in Island migration; between 1916 and 1920, Bahamian and West Indian Caribbean peoples totaled almost five percent of all immigrants to the United States.²⁰ At the same time, however, anti-immigration advocates implemented policies designed to reduce migration. Examining the informal relationship between the Bahamas and Florida in the wake of World War I, especially in the context of Americans' increasing wariness of foreigners, demonstrates how growers' emerging vision of an exploitable and deportable labor force collided with the realities of a nation embracing restrictionist immigration laws. Restrictionists eventually won the battle over controlling the nation's borders and passed hostile immigration laws like the Immigration Acts of 1917, 1921, and 1924, but these policies yielded mixed results.

Nativists hoped the new immigration legislation would eliminate black Bahamian and Caribbean migration. It did not. It reduced access to the United States, but state and local pressures mitigated the worst restrictionist efforts. Florida politicians realized that the State's development required access to cheap labor, much

20 Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 286. Officials exempted Bahamian contract workers in 1918 and 1919 from the restrictive legislation, but the practice tapered off with the close of the war. Once the head tax was paid, the Department of Labor could issue importation permits. Shofner, "Florida and the Black Migration," 274.

of which was supplied by the very people federal officials hoped to ban from entering the country. Anticipating that restrictionist policies could produce dire economic consequences for South Florida, Florida growers lobbied officials to create a loophole that would exclude Bahamian/Caribbean workers from the harshest provisions of the 1917 act.²¹ Growers wanted access to foreign workers, believing the workers' economic instability would make them more docile or deportable if necessary.

In 1921 and 1924, restrictionists passed new immigration laws, closing many of the old loopholes and threatening to crack down on Bahamian migration with a quota system.²² Florida farmers, whose business ventures were beginning to play an important role in the state's economic development, redoubled their lobbying efforts, leading Congress to exempt Caribbean and Latin American migrants from the quota-based system in 1921. As a result, migration to the U.S. from Mexico and the Caribbean increased during this period. Economic interests outweighed ideological ones; so Bahamians continued to reshape the labor market as they flowed in and out of the state. Nativists won victories limiting Bahamian/Caribbean access in 1924, but migrants continued to access the United States by using Great Britain's substantial and unfilled quota, since Bahamians and many Caribbean peoples were subjects of the British Empire.²³ In the case of Florida, nearly 6000 Baha-

21 Shell-Weiss, *Coming to Miami*, 73. If domestic labor supplies were deemed insufficient, the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the act allowed the Secretary of the Department of Labor to grant exemptions for unskilled foreign workers to enter the country. The proviso facilitated workers' entrance by exempting them from literacy tests, head taxes, bonds, and the 1885 ban on contract workers. U.S. Congress, Statutes at Large, "An Act to Regulate the Immigration of Aliens to, and the Residence of Aliens in, the United States." 64th Congress, 2nd Sess., Chapter 29, Section 3 (Feb. 5, 1917), 878. (<http://library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/39%20stat%20874.pdf>)

22 The 1921 Emergency Quota Act introduced the quota system and set a numerical cap on immigration, but the drastic reduction in numbers came with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 (also known as the Johnson-Reed Act). This law aimed to maximize Western European immigration and minimize it from regions deemed inferior (particularly Asia, Africa, and Southern and Eastern Europe). To accomplish these goals, the legislation set a numerical cap at 150,000 with admissions apportioned according to the number of inhabitants of each "national origin" present in the continental United States as of 1890. This policy became known as the quota system and was scheduled to go into effect in 1927. The act favored family reunification and immigrants over the age of twenty-one who were skilled in agriculture, and accorded non-quota status to Latin American countries in the Western Hemisphere.

23 Shell-Weiss, *Coming to Miami*, 74.

mians per year, or about 10.3 percent of the population, legally migrated to the state throughout the 1920s.²⁴

Immigration decisions in the 1920s both shaped and reflected American attitudes towards future immigration policy, immigrants themselves, and what it meant to be "American." The period reflected increased national concerns about American identity; but those discussions were about a white American identity, and fears that poor, undesirable migrants would undermine the racial purity nativists' sought to cultivate.²⁵ U.S. Border Patrol reports reveal they were much more concerned about interdicting illegal Jewish and Eastern European migrants than "mostly colored farm laborers coming for seasonable employment in the truck fields in and about Miami."²⁶ In places like Florida and much of the South, black laborers were seen as a necessity, desirable or not. Local employers therefore sought to maintain their ability to enter the United States and Border Patrol attitudes reflected those pressures. African American out-migration from the state also exacerbated labor concerns.

The Department of Labor published rough estimates on African American movement from 1922 to 1923, noting nearly a half million people "forsook their abodes and occupations in thirteen southern states."²⁷ Georgia lost the greatest number and Florida tied with Alabama for second with an estimated 90,000 migrants. The percentages, however, tell a different story. While Georgia lost the largest number of African Americans, this was only 9.9% of their total black population. In Alabama's case, their loss of ninety thousand workers was also approximately 9.9% of the African American population.²⁸ While these numbers are certainly significant, Florida lost almost three times that: the departure of 90,000 African Americans in 1923 meant that the state lost roughly 27.3% of its population—a staggeringly large number.²⁹

24 Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 290.

25 Zolberg, *A Nation by Design*, 245.

26 Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 290.

27 1923, Negro Migration Nears Half-Million Mark During Year, RG 174 Department of Labor, NC-58 Entry 1: General Records, 1907-1942, Chief Clerk's Files, Box 18: 9/92-8/102-C, Folder: 8/102, Migration of Negroes North and East, St. Louis Riots, 1917-1926. National Archives at College Park, MD. (NACP)

28 1923, Negro Migration Nears Half-Million Mark During Year, RG 174, NACP. Georgia's population was approximately 1,206,365 and Alabama's was 900,652. The population numbers used in the Department of Labor chart are from the 1920 U.S. Census.

29 1923, Negro Migration Nears Half-Million Mark During Year, RG 174, NACP.

The significant decline in unskilled domestic labor sources, coupled with seasonal Bahamian migration, explains why state growers and their elected officials could successfully pressure local, state, and federal officials to mitigate the most severe restrictionist legislation targeting Bahamian/Caribbean migration. Although demands for Bahamian labor declined in the late 1920s and early 1930s due to economic depression, patterns established in the earlier boom years facilitated employers' demand for access to foreign labor in the 1940s and beyond.

The 1920s and 1930s were a bleak period for farmers and farmworkers in the United States. A crisis in agricultural production began even before the start of the Great Depression.³⁰ It displaced thousands of domestic farmworkers; a trend that continued throughout the 1930s. Displaced laborers followed the harvests searching for work along migrant labor flows that had taken root and gained strength during World War I and the postwar years. The Great Depression cemented these paths so that today they seem a natural part of America's agricultural landscape. An estimated eighty percent of the transient workers Florida supported in 1934 came from outside the state.³¹ Farm laborers' desperate search for work led many to Florida's winter garden where, for a while, their numbers obviated the need for significant foreign labor.

The short-lived New Deal Civil Works Administration (CWA) also complicated Florida's depression-era labor regime. CWA projects sought to substitute work relief for direct cash payments.³² Employers in labor-intensive industries, like agriculture, feared workers would abandon their jobs in favor of CWA programs and pressured the agency to amend the program so that "persons who refused employment in private industry could not be certified for relief work," trapping many workers in their current jobs.³³ This steady supply of workers with no viable alternative temporarily suspended the need for imported temporary workers. World War II, however, disrupted the domestic labor supply again, sparking a renewed sense of crisis.

30 Agricultural prices soared during World War I, but by 1920 the market rate had fallen by thirty-three percent compared with the previous year. By July 1921, they dropped eighty-five percent. Reynold M. Wik, "Henry Ford and the Agricultural Depression of 1920-1923." *Agricultural History* 29, no. 1 (January, 1955): 15.

31 Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Miami, FL: University of Miami Press, 1971), 403.

32 *Ibid.* The CWA functioned in Florida in early 1934.

33 *Ibid.*

Creating and Managing a Temporary Foreign Labor Importation Program

World War II upset the balance of power between farmers and workers by providing many African Americans with the opportunity to demand better pay for agricultural work or in rare cases to leave the fields for higher-paying industrial jobs.³⁴ Growers, consequently, employed the rhetoric of labor scarcity and greater production demands—both of which were affected by the war—to push Congress to organize and execute a foreign labor importation program that effectively granted growers complete control over their labor supply.

Farm owners in places like Florida struggled to control local labor, and their failure to do so often manifested itself as complaints of “labor shortages.” As Cindy Hahamovitch notes, in Florida and throughout much of the South, any reduction in a surplus of labor was considered a supply shortage because it undermined growers’ ability to control and exploit workers.³⁵ Actual farm labor numbers were nearly impossible to quantify—few employers kept detailed records because Social Security and labor protection legislation excluded farmworkers. The migratory practices of many workers also made it challenging to track their movements in a given year.³⁶ Consequently, a seemingly endless debate ensued about when and where “real” shortages existed. In the context of policy implementation, the difference did not really matter. Farm owners’ perceptions became their reality, and they pressured elected officials to legislate according to those perceptions. Florida producers sought

34 Nan Elizabeth Woodruff examines this trend among cotton workers in “Pick or Fight: The Emergency Farm Labor Program in the Arkansas and Mississippi Delta during World War II.” *Agricultural History*, 64, No 2 (Spring, 1990), 76. For a full history, see Woodruff’s book, *American Congo: The African American Freedom Struggle in the Delta* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.)

35 Hahamovitch, *No Man’s Land*, 37.

36 Reflecting the challenges of tracking farmworkers, the Florida Extension Service (FES) reported in 1947 that were “no estimates of the number of migrants who winter in Florida.” For the Atlantic Coast migration, estimates ranged from 10,000 to 40,000 over a six-year period. FES estimated the 1946 season at approximately 35,000. 1/3/47, Letter to Margaret J. Harris, FL Supervisor of the Ministry to Migrants; From CWE Pittman, Southeastern Area Director, Recruitment & Placement Division of Extension Farm Labor Program, RG 33 (Extension Service), NC-117, Entry 3A, General Correspondence 1945 to 1949, Box 35: 1946-1947, Farm Labor 10-1, NM, NY to Farm Labor, MA, Folder: Farm Labor Florida. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Southeastern Region (Atlanta).

(and secured) legal measures that would enable them to tightly control their workers and extract the most labor possible.

Government studies concluded paying higher wages would remedy the situation, but this was not the solution growers wanted to hear. They preferred a labor system based on access to a large surplus of desperate, underpaid workers. Thus, when this supply became less reliable or available, growers advocated for importing foreign workers. Even when offered domestic workers from other regions of the United States, employers refused. Farmers, unenthusiastic about domestic migrant workers, firmly believed “that the sound practical solution of the shortage of farm help in this area is to import farm negroes from the Bahama Islands.”³⁷

The deficits resulting from domestic workers pursuing higher wages elsewhere, and the inability of women, children, volunteers, and POWs to fulfill farmers’ needs, highlights how growers employed the language of labor scarcity to reach their goal of creating a controllable workforce. By arguing there was (or would be) a labor shortage, they manipulated Congress in two key ways. Farmers first convinced Congress to issue draft deferments to agricultural workers to ensure a larger local supply of labor. And then, when that local supply proved difficult to control, East Coast growers leveraged their newfound power to persuade Congress that greater numbers of foreign laborers were essential to harvest crops needed to fuel the war effort.³⁸

Following a February 1943 *Miami Daily News* article about Florida crops wasting in the fields, James Palmer, the Regional Administrator for the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), stated that, to date, attempts to alleviate labor shortages through the Farm Security Administration (FSA) had failed. Palmer claimed that even the War Manpower Commission conceded that imported Bahamian labor was the only solution to this problem.³⁹ Within a

37 ES-274, Labor Market Report for Miami, 11/15/42, RG 183 (USES), Entry 88 Labor Market Survey Reports, Box 62 Florida, Folder: Jacksonville, Miami (2nd folder), NACP.

38 Florida agricultural producers gained significant political strength during the Second World War due to the premium placed on food production. Lizzie Collingham, *Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* (New York: Penguin Books, 2011) and Charles D. Chamberlain, *Victory at Home: Manpower and Race in the American South during World War II* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003) analyzed how the war changed southern labor dynamics.

39 Letter from James Palmer, Regional Administrator, USDA to CW Kitchen, Deputy Director, Food Distribution Administration, USDA, 2/13/43, RG 224 Office of Labor (OL), PI 51 Entry 1-General Correspondence, Mar-July 1943, Box 14: Farm Labor 2 thru Farm Labor 3-1, Bahamas, NACP.

month federal officials changed course and imported over 3000 Bahamians to help with U.S. agricultural harvesting. This decision reshaped Florida's agricultural labor regime by commencing a formal guestworker labor importation system.

In spite of the many challenges foreign labor advocates faced, or perhaps because of them, by the mid-1940s they had firmly established the ideological and practical foundations of a formal guestworker program. Rather than being something totally new and a "break with past policy" as some scholars would suggest, the new guestworker program was the result of ongoing modifications to existing labor practices present since the end of the Civil War.⁴⁰ The long, hard-fought struggle resulted in the formally sanctioned British West Indian (BWI) Temporary Labor Program of World War II. Although technically not part of the British West Indies, employers and U.S. government officials often included Bahamians and British Hondurans under the "BWI" label.

The United States government began importing thousands of unskilled laborers to support the war effort by working in America's fields. Two programs emerged, the Bracero and the Bahamian/BWI Temporary Foreign Labor Programs. Mexican braceros were employed in large numbers primarily in the West and Midwest, and Bahamian/BWI laborers were typically found in Florida and along the East Coast.⁴¹ The federal government managed the Bahamian program from its inception in 1943 until 1947. From 1947 to its termination in 1966, the program operated according to contracts negotiated between private grower associations and the Bahamian government, rather than as government-to-government contracts as it had during the war and immediate postwar years.

Between 1943 and 1966, Florida growers implemented a new labor system reliant on foreign labor that granted them nearly absolute control of the workforce. From 1943 to 1947 they had the support of the U.S. federal government in this venture, but from that time onward it was managed solely by private farmers

40 Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens & the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 137.

41 West Coast growers imported roughly 219,546 Mexicans temporary workers to the United States through the Bracero Program (1942-47). The Bahamian/BWI Program, in contrast, imported just under 70,000 (1943-47). Of these BWI workers, 15,241 were from the Bahamas, 3,995 from Barbados, and 50,598 from Jamaica, and a negligible number from British Honduras. Wayne D. Rasmussen, *A History of the Emergency Farm Labor Supply Program, 1943-1947*, Agricultural Monograph No. 13 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1951), 199.

and growers associations in the United States. This new labor system was a regime premised on allowing thousands of individuals to enter the country temporarily to work, yet completely denying them access to citizenship and the rights associated with it. Like most of the agricultural South, labor control was the crux of the matter for Florida growers.⁴² Farm owners, however, rarely admitted this sentiment outright. Instead, they publicly highlighted more mundane, practical reasons why British West Indian workers could solve their labor woes. Luther L. Chandler, a Florida grower and vocal proponent for foreign labor in Florida, saw World War II as an opportunity to reinvigorate and legally codify the migratory flow between the Bahamas and Florida. Chandler imagined a system with changes that would directly benefit growers. As Cindy Hahamovitch notes, rather than returning to “the days when Bahamian men and women came and went at will, Chandler envisioned migrant Bahamians who could be immobilized and deported at growers’ will.”⁴³ East Coast farmers preferred Caribbean labor: the workers were English-speakers, the islands (especially the Bahamas) were geographically closer, and there was adequate labor immediately available and willing to work.⁴⁴

Reasons for requesting Bahamian/BWI labor, though, were not always benign or practical. Racism and racial stereotypes shaped many growers’ attitudes and preferences. In 1942 Chandler testified before the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration that Bahamians were a much more reliable group of workers than African Americans. He argued that unlike local blacks, Bahamians were “of a lesser law breaking type.”⁴⁵ L.L. Stuckey, Chairman of the Vegetable Committee of the Florida Farm Bureau, stated in a

42 Nan Elizabeth Woodruff, “Pick or Fight,” 76-77. Likewise, Cindy Hahamovitch argues “What occurred in the South during World War II was less a dearth of labor than a seismic shift in the balance of power between growers and farm laborers,” and that in areas where labor supplies declined, farmworkers pushed for improved wages and working conditions. Hahamovitch, *No Man’s Land*, 23.

43 Hahamovitch, *No Man’s Land*, 25.

44 U.S. Congress. Senate. Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary, *The West Indies (BWI) Temporary Alien Labor Program: 1943-1977*, 95th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), 3-4. Mexico refused to grant permission to enough men to fill West Coast demands; therefore, growers were correct in stating that Mexico could not fill East Coast demands.

45 U.S. House. Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. *Hearings*, 12, 817.

1942 letter to Governor Spessard Holland that Bahamian labor was preferable to other sources because it had been used for years in South Florida communities and Bahamians easily assimilated into the community life of local African Americans.⁴⁶ In a December 1942 letter to Governor Holland, Chandler relayed a similar sentiment with less ambiguous language. As U.S. citizens, some saw Puerto Ricans as a natural fit for the program. But Chandler argued that Bahamians were preferable to Puerto Ricans on two grounds. First, Puerto Ricans were racially incompatible with Florida communities. He argued that Puerto Rico was “negroid in its racial structure very largely” but “treats itself and insists on being recognized as white.”⁴⁷ Thus, Chandler claimed that it would be impossible to house such workers because they did not see themselves as black, yet white Americans would not accept them as white. To Chandler, although Puerto Ricans possessed American citizenship, they would never be Americans because they were not “white.” Chandler then added one of the most telling reasons why growers preferred British West Indians to Puerto Ricans: Bahamians “can be forced to work a regular work program or be deported.”⁴⁸

Chandler was not the only grower hoping to capitalize on Bahamian workers’ inability to leave their employers without fear of repatriation. Numerous government and grower communications demonstrate that labor control was one of the primary reasons why farmers continuously requested foreign labor and resisted congressional attempts to appease them with Puerto Rican workers. Growers wanted a source of labor that could be deported if it did not work according to their demands, and Puerto Ricans could not be repatriated because they were U.S. citizens.⁴⁹

46 L.L. Stuckey, Chairman of the Vegetable Committee Florida Farm Bureau Federation, to Governor Spessard Holland, 1942, RG 102, Series 406, Box 66, Folder 2: Gov. Holland Labor Problems (con’t) 1942. FDS, State Archives of Florida. This assessment is questionable at best, since documentation from the period notes tensions—often resulting from competition over women and work—between Bahamian/Caribbean workers and African Americans.

47 L.L. Chandler, President of Gould Growers, Inc., to Governor Spessard Holland, Dec. 9, 1942, RG 102, Series 406, Box 66, Folder 2: Gov. Holland Labor Problems (con’t) 1942. FDS, State Archives of Florida.

48 Ibid.

49 The inability of growers to deport Puerto Ricans if they caused growers trouble is cited in numerous sources including: Rasmussen, *A History of the Emergency Farm Labor Supply Program, 1943-1947*, 234; 1942 letter from L.L. Chandler to the War Power Commission, RG 102, Series 406, Box 66, Folder 2: Gov. Holland Labor Problems (con’t) 1942. FDS, State Archives of Florida; and Edwin

In addition to fears that Puerto Rican workers could not be repatriated at will, a report from the meeting of the State Defense Council's Committee on Agriculture and Processing Labor found that Puerto Ricans tended to "scatter" upon arrival.⁵⁰ The War Manpower Commission reported, "approximately 60 percent of the workers left their contract employment prior to expiration, 25 percent completed their contracts, and only 15 percent returned to Puerto Rico."⁵¹ As citizens, they could break their contract and seek more desirable employment without fear of deportation.⁵² Eventually, the Congressional Appropriations Committee also responded to growers' concerns by rewording the legislation funding labor importation so that eligible workers had to be foreigners rather than citizens.⁵³ Consequently, the Emergency Farm Labor Supply Program providing Puerto Rican labor ended almost as soon as it began and Florida agricultural producers succeeded in securing a deportable Bahamian labor force.⁵⁴

Florida growers' interests converged with those of Bahamian officials in the years leading up to the war. In response to threats of labor unrest at home (and following intense prodding by L.L. Chandler), the Duke of Windsor, Governor of the Bahamas, approached the U.S. government about creating a temporary labor program.⁵⁵ By the early 1940s, the Bahamian government was seeking ways to

Maldonado, "Contract Labor and the Origins of Puerto Rican Communities in the United States." *International Migration Review*, 13, no. 1, Special Issue: Caribbean Migration to New York (Spring, 1979), 110.

50 10/21/43, Meeting of the State Defense Council's Committee on Agriculture and Agricultural Processing Labor, RG 191 (FSDC), Series 419, Box 3, Folder: USDA (1941-1944). FDS, 3; State Archives of Florida.

51 Maldonado, "Contract Labor and the Origins of Puerto Rican Communities in the United States," 111.

52 To encourage both Puerto Rican and foreign guestworkers to return to their home countries, the program implemented a mandatory savings plan under which a portion of a workers' earnings were sent directly to a bank in the Islands, and that money could not be accessed unless the worker returned home. Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor*, 178.

53 Maldonado, "Contract Labor and the Origins of Puerto Rican Communities in the United States," 112.

54 Hahamovitch, *No Man's Land*, 25. Additionally, "The practice of marking a red 'X' in the passports of any workers who returned home in less than six months, refused work, or committed a crime served as an informal blacklist." Hahamovitch, *No Man's Land*, 43, see Note 64; David Greenberg, "The Contract, 'The Project,' and Work Experiences," in *Strangers No More: Anthropological Studies of Cat Island, the Bahamas*, edited by Joel S. Savishinsky (Ithaca, NY: Ithaca College, 1978), 173.

55 T.L. Thompson, "Remembering 'The Contract': Recollections of Bahamians," *The International Journal of Bahamian Studies* 18 (2012): 7.

address its high unemployment rates. As a result the idea of exporting the Islands' unemployed population gained widespread support.

Overall there was minimal opposition to the Bahamian/BWI Labor Importation Program because most growers and consumers benefited from the presence of foreign labor. By framing the labor debate in terms of scarcity and the need to import foreign workers, East Coast growers secured a labor force that they were better able to control. Foreign workers were generally pleased to participate because it enabled them to earn money during a period characterized by widespread economic hardship throughout the Caribbean. Concerns for those who suffered most—the thousands of poor domestic workers who previously harvested the majority of Florida food crops—went largely unnoticed. Lack of political representation or collective bargaining power associated with unionization meant that the foreign labor importation program continued to flourish even when concerns about conditions arose.⁵⁶ As non-citizens, foreign workers could not organize unions or demand rights associated with unions because individuals seeking better wages or conditions were labeled “troublemakers” and deported.⁵⁷

Growers and government officials found ways to extend the temporary labor program even after the wartime “labor crisis” ended. Originally the program was approved under Public Law 45 (and then Public Law 229 which temporarily extended the former), which expired on December 31, 1947. Its expiration, however, did not end the program; the program simply returned to the ninth proviso of the Immigration Act of 1917, which had first granted permission to U.S. companies to import foreign labor.⁵⁸

56 Historically agricultural workers in Florida have failed to unionize due to several factors. The migratory nature of the labor makes it difficult to establish a reliable organized base. Further, Depression-era federal labor laws, like the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 (which allowed for collective bargaining) and the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (that provided workers the right to unionize), excluded agricultural and domestic workers. These two groups were also excluded from the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), which established the minimum wage and set maximum working hours. These measures excluded domestic and agricultural workers—roughly sixty-five percent of the African-American population—as a concession to southern Democrats; it upheld white supremacy by keeping African Americans economically unstable and dependent on white employers. Furthermore, in 1944, Florida adopted “right-to-work” language in its constitution, which made unionization in general more difficult.

57 Hahamovitch, *No Man's Land*, 98-99.

58 U.S. Congress, Senate. Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary. *The West Indies (BWI) Temporary Alien Labor Program: 1943-1977*, p. 9. For a detailed analysis of the World War II era program, see Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor* and David Griffith, *American Guestworkers*.

At this time, the program shifted from government-to-government negotiated and executed contracts to government-to-private employer contracts. The U.S. government terminated its formal position as a labor contractor but allowed growers and growers' associations to recruit, transport, and manage foreign workers. The Department of Labor continued to require employers to show the U.S. government they needed to import foreign labor, but as with the wartime years, the bar was set low and growers could manipulate the system to their advantage, often by offering wages so low Americans refused to accept the jobs.

During the war years, the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association (FFVA) and U.S. Sugar Corporation played pivotal roles in shaping the state's evolving farm labor regime. Both organizations were politically powerful entities: FFVA was (and remains) a grower association dedicated to promoting the interests of Florida fruit and vegetable farms. The association provided a collective voice for Florida growers, which generated significantly more political power than they could have garnered independently. American farmers had spent decades arguing access to foreign workers would solve their labor troubles, but they envisioned a particular kind of labor importation—an unlimited, unregulated supply of workers they could hire and dismiss at will. Bahamian and American authorities, however, fashioned a much more regulated system. Responding to government-imposed limitations, farm owners eventually embraced the proposed program and quietly set about shaping it to meet their needs.

For growers, a successful farm labor importation program required a steady flow of qualified workers. For twenty-three years, the Bahamas provided Sunshine State growers with the seasonal labor they demanded. However, that labor flow was not always steady or smooth. Sometimes Bahamian government officials encouraged the program; at other times, they expressed concern over its impacts on the island nation and its people. Labor quality also varied greatly within the new farm labor program. Growers wanted skilled, efficient workers that would perform the necessary tasks with little complaint or disagreement. For farm owners, this meant a quality worker not only possessed the technical know-how needed to perform a given task, but that he also accepted his role in the South's racial hierarchy. Rarely did workers possess these skills or act with such docility. Consequently, Florida growers and U.S. government agents scrambled to figure out how to maximize

worker efficiency and force laborers to conform to the type of behavior expected of farmworkers in the region.

The U.S. government ceased actively recruiting and transporting offshore workers in 1947, when they privatized the program.⁵⁹ FFVA worked with private companies to transport workers at a round-trip rate of \$28.50, including a \$0.50 head tax on travel to the United States.⁶⁰ FFVA advanced workers the money for the arrival fare to the United States, and then deducted repayment for the cost of the trip from their earnings once they began working. This meant that workers footed that bill as part of their arrival transportation fees.⁶¹ If a worker did not complete his contract, he would have to pay his return fare, whereas if he worked through the end of the contract FFVA paid his return fare. This payment scheme created an additional monetary incentive to complete a contract even if conditions were less than ideal. With privatization, workers also had a more difficult time challenging employers who violated their contracts.

Both the American Department of Labor and British West Indian Central Labour Organization (BWICLO), the Bahamas/BWI agency that had helped manage the program in the United States, were responsible for making sure employers did not violate worker contracts during the government-run era program. In the wake of privatization, however, the responsibility for "evaluating employer compliance with terms of the written contract" shifted from the U.S. Department of Labor solely to BWICLO.⁶² This shift

59 The end of World War II led to the concurrent abolition of the Office of Labor and the War Food Administration in 1945. Since Congress continued to authorize the Emergency Farm Labor Program until 1947, however, many of the OL/WFA responsibilities returned to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Peter Kramer describes the transition to private transportation contracting in *The Offshores*. Nationwide Air Transport Service won the new transportation contract. Eventually Nationwide merged with Resort Air and the new company continued the work of recruiting transporting workers. Kramer, *The Offshores*, 26, RG 174, UD Entry 2: Records of the Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, 1962-1969, Box 372: Farm Labor, July-December 1966, Folder: ES-2-6-1 Farm Labor, Aug. 11-20, 1966. NACP.

60 Nationwide Air Transport Services took over the task from 1947-53. Then, William H. Meranda, a former pilot for the company, created the Meranda Company, which contracted Pan Am to transport the workers. According to Kramer, *The Offshores*, 26-28, RG 174, NACP, they used Pan Am exclusively from 1956 until the program's shuttering in 1966.

61 Kramer, *The Offshores*, 27, RG 174, NACP.

62 7/1/59, Report by the U.S. Department of Labor for James Roosevelt. Office Memorandum, U.S. Government; To Under Secretary, From Robert C. Goodwin; Subject: Information Concerning the Annual Worker Plan, RG 174,

meant fewer resources were available to workers. There were fewer administrators available to investigate claims, and they had to cover larger geographic territories based on how dispersed workers were throughout the East Coast at any given time. Additionally, BWI-CLO's primary goal was to keep the program running smoothly. When this mandate conflicted with worker claims of contract violations, there was no guarantee that workers would see justice.⁶³

At various points in time, between 1947 and 1966, when the program was privately operated, the Department of Labor hoped to dismantle the program arguing it undermined the welfare of American workers. In an attempt to develop "policy and procedure which would assure domestic workers job preference in agriculture," the Labor Department put together an Annual Worker Plan, starting in 1949, to facilitate domestic labor flows and provide continuous employment to migrant families by finding better ways to move workers from regions of labor surplus to those with labor scarcities.⁶⁴ Around the time the Department of Labor developed this plan, it also re-opened the Puerto Rican labor importation program to encourage employment of U.S. citizens.⁶⁵ The Labor Department evaluated the program for five years before making it national in 1954.⁶⁶ President Dwight D. Eisenhower also tried to make it more expensive to import workers, hoping this would encourage growers to hire domestic workers instead. While the U.S. government made some gains in increasing domestic employment in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Korean War temporarily

NC-58 Entry 36, Box 293, 1959 Alpha-Numeric Subject Files, ES-2-6-1—ES-2-6-1, Folder: Subfolder: ES-2-6-1. NACP.

63 Kramer, *The Offshores*, 88, RG 174, NACP.

64 The plan, formerly known as the Eastern Seaboard Plan, came about following the return of the Farm Placement Service from the U.S. Department of Agriculture to the U.S. Department of Labor in 1948. The plan was conceived of in 1948, implemented in 1949, and evaluated for five years. 5/25/59, Office Memorandum, U.S. Government; To Under Secretary, From Robert C. Goodwin; Subject: Information Concerning the Annual Worker Plan, RG 174, NC-58 Entry 36, Box 293, 1959 Alpha-Numeric Subject Files, ES-2-6-1—ES-2-6-1, Folder: Subfolder: ES-2-6-1. NACP.

65 Ibid.

66 Federal program administrators, states, and crew leaders had to coordinate efforts and follow specific rules for the program to succeed. 7/1/59, Report by the U.S. Department of Labor for James Roosevelt, RG 174, NACP. This created challenges, since crew leaders tended to pursue whatever course of action would earn them the most money, and state officials often caved to pressures presented by their constituencies, which left federal administrators attempting to implement national policy at a local level with minimal support. The result was local employers having an easier time claiming labor shortages and demanding access to foreign labor.

limited its success. Once again, the U.S. government placed a premium on food production and Florida growers took advantage of their position as major food producers. During immigration debates of the early 1950s, agricultural proponents were again able to secure exemptions for workers. In 1952, the Immigration and Nationality Act formally codified the existing Bahamian/BWI program in law. Section H-2 provided the modern legal grounding for the importation of nonimmigrant foreign labor for seasonal agricultural employment.⁶⁷ (For this reason, modern agricultural guestworkers are referred to as H-2A visa holders.)

Increased agricultural demands during wartime again provided growers with opportunities to claim they needed access to greater numbers of workers. Similar to the World War II era, many African-American former farmworkers refused to work in the fields for paltry wages, insisting on pay increases and threatening to look elsewhere for work. Growers, refusing to pay the higher wages, claimed labor shortages and demanded access to a reliable supply of foreign labor. Their lobbying efforts were successful; guestworkers continued entering the United States. By the 1960s, however, conditions changed both in the United States and abroad and the Bahamian program began to decline.

The Emergence of the Modern Farm Labor System

"The 85th Congress was a humanitarian Congress," declared Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz in his statement discussing the termination of the Mexican Bracero Program in 1964.⁶⁸ Wirtz contextualized the program's end by noting America's changing climate due to passage of the Civil Rights and the Economic Opportunity Acts.⁶⁹ He argued that ending the Mexican guestworker program,

67 Employers had to pay a bond for imported Bahamian/BWI workers, but it was substantially less than the amount they would have to pay for other agricultural workers, say from Canada, the Philippines, or Hawaii. (12/24/52, Operations Instructions I. Bond Schedules for nonimmigrants admitted under Section 101(a)(15)(H) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and 8 CFR 214h.2, RG 85 (INS), Entry 9, Subject Correspondence Files, 1906-1939, Box: 21403, Folder: 5636/214H Pt. 1 [screened 2/2000] [Folder 3 of 3]. NAB.)

68 12/19/64 Statement by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz on the Termination of Public Law No. 78, Ms 14, RG 1, Series 4: Subject Files, 1961-1984, Box 96, Folder: Labor, Costs and Regulation, 1963-1966, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida (UF), Gainesville, Florida. Public Law No. 78 authorized the Bracero Program.

69 The 1964 Civil Rights Act made it unlawful for employers to discriminate based on an individual's "race, color, religion, sex, or national origin." Public Law

which he characterized as “a system that had too often disregarded human values,” was central to the mission of fulfilling the American public’s demand for social, economic, and political improvements.⁷⁰ Wirtz acknowledged farmwork—and “stoop labor” in particular—was “unquestionably hard and unpleasant,” but he pointed out that lots of jobs are “just as hard and just as objectionable,” yet people do them because the wages offered make it worthwhile.⁷¹ Noting the four million unemployed citizens in the United States, he argued that, if workers received just wages and had decent working conditions, Americans could take these positions and growers would not need foreign labor. The Bracero Program, however, negated this possibility by keeping wages low and working conditions so terrible that only foreigners would accept these agricultural jobs.

After successfully terminating the Bracero Program in 1964, Secretary Wirtz set his sights on the Bahamian and BWI temporary worker programs. He did not, however, state outright his desire to end these programs. While Wirtz noted that the 15,000 workers present in the United States under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (Public Law 414) would not be affected by any “administrative extension” of the law ending the Bracero Program, he did say that he would administer the program in strict accordance with the new regulations, which specified terms and conditions that must be offered to domestic workers before certifying admission for foreign labor.⁷² In the months following the Bracero Program’s termination, Wirtz focused his attention on the Bahamian/BWI programs, seeking to improve conditions for workers and make it prohibitively expensive for growers to hire foreign labor.⁷³

88-452, known as the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act (sometimes referred to as the Anti-Poverty Bill), provided funds for job training, adult education, and small business loans in an effort to combat the root causes of unemployment and poverty in America.

70 12/19/64 Statement by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz on the Termination of Public Law No. 78, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF. In 1951 Public Law No. 78 replaced Public Law No. 45, the original law authorizing the Bracero Program.

71 Ibid.

72 12/19/64 Statement by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz on the Termination of Public Law No. 78, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF, 2. 12/19/64 Statement by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz on the Termination of Public Law No. 78, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF.

73 Cindy Hahamovitch, “‘The Worst Job in the World’: Reform, Revolution, and the Secret Rebellion in Florida’s Cane Fields,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 35, Issue 4 (2008):772.

The decline of the Bahamian temporary foreign labor program was the result of interconnected domestic and international factors. First, Secretary Wirtz wanted it to end during his tenure, which lasted from 1962 to 1969, so he put significant effort into reducing growers' access to foreign workers by limiting the available supply of labor. Second, the Department of Labor's pressure to end the formal foreign labor program coincided with changing demographics in Florida resulting from an increase of Mexican and Central American migration into the region, and these new workers' presence decreased the need for domestic and Caribbean workers. At the same time, conditions in the Bahamas also changed dramatically. Tourism's resurgence, coupled with an increasing rights consciousness at home, led to economic rejuvenation and the foreign labor program's collapse. Taken together, these domestic and international changes set the stage for a shift in Florida and East Coast agriculture away from domestic and Bahamian workers towards a largely migrant, often undocumented/falsefully documented Latin American workforce.

Florida agricultural producers long argued that ending foreign labor importation would undermine American food production and harm consumers financially. Nevertheless, following in the footsteps of previous labor secretaries, Wirtz remained strong in his conviction that it was in the best interest of American workers to eliminate the program in most cases. By the mid-1960s, he had successfully prevented most growers and their associations from importing large numbers of workers by making the program costly and by actively recruiting domestic workers to fill open positions.⁷⁴

A 1965 memo between executives of Chase & Company in Florida illustrates the effectiveness of Wirtz's efforts. The company was a major player in the citrus and celery industries and it often compared its labor situation between the two crops to identify impending changes. According to new regulations, employers hoping to obtain foreign labor would have to submit individual requests (as opposed to group requests through their association, the FFVA) indicating the number of workers they believed they would need to harvest their crops. Furthermore, the Citrus Industrial Council reported that the new contracts stated employers would have to

74 As noted, Florida's sugar industry continued importing workers with little opposition. However, by restricting foreign labor usage almost exclusively to sugar, Secretary Wirtz succeeded in minimizing Bahamian participation in the program since that country had essentially banned the use of Bahamian laborers in sugarcane harvesting from the beginning.

pay “foreign workers at a rate not less than the prevailing wage rate or the established adverse effect wage rate, whichever is higher.”⁷⁵ In an attempt to circumvent the legislation’s intent, the Council suggested its members strike the latter provision from the contract since the adverse effect wage rate had not yet been established in Florida for the season. If they did this, growers would not be legally bound to pay the adverse effect wage if it went into effect and it would give an employer the opportunity to decide “whether or not he wishes to employ supplemental foreign workers and domestic workers at this rate.”⁷⁶ If they signed the contracts without striking the provision, they would be bound to pay it once it was established.

The labor situation was not so dire in Florida that employers would hire offshore workers at any wage rate. Rather, growers carefully monitored labor costs in order to determine which employment option was most cost-effective. The Labor Department’s efforts to reduce foreign labor were working. By forcing employers to pay adequate wages to foreign workers, the Department reduced demand for guestworkers. Realizing ideal conditions for employing offshore labor were disappearing and that the more stringent requirements applied to the Citrus Council contract were becoming the norm, the Florida Fresh Produce Exchange (a group of celery growers to which the Chase Company belonged) decided it would “not attempt any such contract as the Citrus Council proposed” because it felt that if “that was the best arrangement that could be made in order to obtain foreign labor, the celery crowd would simply drop it.”⁷⁷

Growers marshaled their political strength to try and maintain fairly open and easy access to foreign labor, but the tide was turning against them. Former Governor Spessard Holland, a long-time agricultural advocate and now a U.S. Senator for the state, attempted to alleviate pressures on Florida growers and increase their power by suggesting Congress amend the 1965 Farm Bill so that statutory responsibility for recommending approval of foreign workers would shift from the Secretary of Labor to the Secretary of

75 2/25/64, Citrus Industrial Council Newsletter. Ms 14, RG 1, Series 4, Box 91, Folder: Chase & Company. Citrus Department. 1964, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF.

76 Ibid.

77 9/28/65, Memo from R. Chase to S.O. Chase, Jr. and Frank W. Chase, Ms 14, RG 1, Series 4, Box 91, Folder: Chase & Company. Citrus Department. 1965, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF.

Agriculture. Vice President Hubert Humphrey's tie-breaking vote defeated this effort.⁷⁸ Holland's proposal harkened back to earlier efforts to wrest control of the farm labor program away from the Department of Labor, since the department traditionally represented laborers' interests. Holland's goal was to place the program under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, which advocated policies supporting farmers and agricultural production.

Throughout 1965, the Department of Labor continued to push back against growers' labor shortage claims. When leading Florida growers like the Wedgworth and Chase families petitioned directly to the Secretary of Labor, they met with little success or sympathy.⁷⁹ Wirtz told representatives of the two companies they "hadn't done anything to help" themselves on the labor front, noting that they had not improved their housing or raised wages to become competitive with other industries.⁸⁰ During this meeting Wirtz did approve offshore workers in sugarcane, but argued it was unnecessary in vegetables. When the delegation pointed out the crop losses suffered over the past year because growers lacked sufficient labor to harvest it, Wirtz countered that it was not a labor issue that ruined production, but rather poor market conditions.⁸¹

78 10/14/65, FFVA Labor Bulletin, No. 246/65-66. Ms 14, RG 1, Series 4, Box 96, Folder: Labor, Costs and Regulation, 1963-1966, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF.

79 The Wedgworth family, which was headed by Ruth S. Wedgworth in 1942, owned and operated several farms, a packing plant, and a fertilizer plant in Florida. Combined, these enterprises were part of the H.H. Wedgworth estate. By 1965, Ruth's son George took over managing the family businesses. United States Congress House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, National Defense Migration Hearing Part 33 (Tolan Hearings), 77th Congress, 2d Session, 1942 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942); Florida Legislature, Legislative Council and Florida Legislature Legislative Reference Bureau, *Migrant Labor in Florida, A Summary of Recent Studies*, Tallahassee, 1961; 10/28/65, Memo from J.C. Hutchinson to Randall Chase, SO Chase Jr., & Lee P. Moore, Manager & Chief Executive Officer of Chase & Company, starting August 1, 1965.

80 10/19/65, Memo from J.C. Hutchinson to Randall Chase, SO Chase Jr., & Lee P. Moore, Ms 14, RG 1, Series 4, Box 91, Folder: Chase & Company, Citrus Department. 1965, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF.

81 10/19/65, Memo from J.C. Hutchinson to Randall Chase, SO Chase Jr., & Lee P. Moore, Ms 14, RG 1, Series 4, Box 91, Folder: Chase & Company, Citrus Department. 1965, Chase Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF. The speaker took offense to Wirtz's implication that he was lying about the matter, and Wirtz had the exchange stricken from the written record. However, he did not apologize or recant his assertion that shortages were due to market rather than labor conditions.

Wirtz continued to hold the line on foreign labor importation, even in the face of stiff opposition. The *Orlando Sentinel* reported that in December of 1964, Senator Holland was so furious that he “vowed he would start efforts to have Wirtz impeached,” claiming Wirtz’s policies would destroy the Sunshine State’s citrus industry.⁸² However, the paper declared in December of 1965, “Wirtz out of Doghouse, Citrus Industry Finds Enough U.S. Pickers.”⁸³ The *Orlando Sentinel* reported that in the previous season, 2,845 foreign laborers worked in citrus but that during the current year there were none. The paper attributed the availability of domestic labor to increased wages, in-migration from other southern states, free-wheelers who were not part of the formal recruitment program, and local farm labor made available by flooding in other crops.⁸⁴ Building on this successful usage of domestic labor, Wirtz expanded the role of the U.S. Employment Service the following year to recruit more domestic labor. Although the Department of Labor’s policies forced many vegetable growers to utilize domestic labor, these alone did not facilitate the Bahamian program’s closure. The Labor Department’s policies proved to be at odds with other government agencies, like the Immigration and Naturalization Service and Border Patrol, which had long protected growers’ interests in the West by carrying out strategic immigration raids or employing employer-friendly border patrol measures.⁸⁵ As a result of government action and changes in western agricultural production, farm laborers from Mexico and Central America, mainly Guatemala, gradually worked their way into the Florida labor market, and fundamentally reshaped the labor market by the 1970s. In order to understand the transition from black Bahamian or African

82 12/28/65, “Wirtz Out of Doghouse, Citrus Industry Finds Enough US Pickers,” *Orlando Sentinel*, Box 79, Folder: Legislation, Labor: Migratory Farm Labor, Current File, Charles E. Bennett Papers, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF. By 1961, Florida produced roughly 69 percent of the United States’ citrus tonnage. Florida Statistical Reporting Service, “Fourteenth Annual Citrus Statistical Summary,” Florida Department of Agriculture and Florida Citrus Commission, April 1962, 1. http://www.nass.usda.gov/Statistics_by_State/Florida/Publications/hist_sum_pdf/citrus/cs/florida%20citrus%20fruit%20annual%20summary-1961.pdf

83 12/28/65, “Wirtz Out of Doghouse, Citrus Industry Finds Enough US Pickers,” *Orlando Sentinel*, Box 79, Folder: Legislation, Labor: Migratory Farm Labor, Current File, Charles E. Bennett Papers Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, UF.

84 Ibid.

85 Kitty Calavita, *Inside the State*, 32.

American labor to Latinx, however, we need to look more closely at national agricultural trends in the preceding two decades.

Throughout the 1950s and 60s, southern and western agricultural workers in the United States lost their land and/or jobs due to mechanization, bracero guestworkers, and undocumented farm laborers. Historian Kitty Calavita noted that “mechanization continued at a rapid pace, reducing the total number of farm workers by an unprecedented 41 percent between 1950 and 1960, while agricultural output expanded.”⁸⁶ She also found “the average number [of braceros] entering annually between 1951 and 1959 was *ten times* higher than the number admitted during the wartime program of 1942-1947, when a labor emergency had been declared.”⁸⁷ During this same period, the number of undocumented immigrants entering the United States also increased.

Undocumented Mexican workers excluded from the formal Bracero Program exploited immigration enforcement loopholes and growers’ desires for labor. As Calavita argues, “illegal immigration was not simply a byproduct of the Bracero Program, but was encouraged by INS enforcement policies.”⁸⁸ Along the border, growers exerted pressure on officials to allow unmitigated migration since it supported their business needs. Many Mexicans migrated to the United States illegally and, with the blessings of the INS and the Border Patrol, “touched back” over the border, and then reentered immediately as newly certified bracero workers. INS proposed this plan in response to complaints by growers that the official process was too expensive and time-consuming.⁸⁹

The new touch back practice was in direct conflict with the intent of official labor recruitment strategies and regulations promoted by the Department of Labor, but it enabled struggling government agencies like the INS and the Border Patrol to cope with increasing illegal immigration.⁹⁰ The practice, however, came at a cost. Over time, the number of undocumented workers outpaced that of legal workers since employers could hire the former for

86 Calavita, *Inside the State*, 71.

87 *Ibid.*, 141.

88 *Ibid.*, 33. Border Patrol formed in 1924 in response to the National Origins Act because government officials knew migrants would seek alternative entrance routes when formal paths were closed to them. Hernández, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*, 32.

89 Calavita, *Inside the State*, 2-3.

90 Calavita notes that “By 1950, the number of Mexicans ‘legalized’ and ‘paroled’ to growers as braceros was five times higher than the number actually recruited from Mexico.” Calavita, *Inside the State*, 2.

less money and with little fear of penalty. Even during Operation Wetback, a controversial U.S. government attempt to reduce the number of illegal immigrants in the country in 1954, INS officials coordinated with employers of undocumented workers along the Mexico/U.S. border by letting employers know when they were planning to deport their workers, and making sure new legal workers were immediately available if necessary. Border Patrol proved notoriously reluctant to deport illegal farmworkers during the harvest season.⁹¹ Growers' ability to shape labor policy and practices at all levels—from the perpetuation of the Bracero Program at the federal level to undermining local enforcement of federal immigration policy—highlights their power in creating a new labor system that favored their interests alone. As a result, braceros, undocumented workers, and mechanization forced legal foreign and domestic workers out of the job market starting in the 1950s.⁹²

Responding to changing labor conditions, immigration policies and anti-Mexican attitudes in the Southwest, Latinx families began moving to places like Florida in the 1950s, but their numbers remained small until the 1980s. In their study on the Latinization of the Florida workforce, Leo C. Polopolus and Robert D. Emerson found that in 1971, over 50 percent of all hired workers were African American, and only 6.4 percent were Mexican.⁹³ By the late 1980s, researchers found the reported percentage of African Americans in the horticulture workforce dropped precipitously, making up less than 15 percent. In contrast, Mexican participation increased and now made up almost two-thirds of the total

91 Ibid., 53.

92 David Griffith, *American Guestworkers: Jamaicans and Mexicans in the U.S. Labor Market* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 186. Although the Cuban Revolution took place in 1959, relatively few Cubans entered the agricultural workforce given their preferential treatment as immigrants fleeing communism during the Cold War. For more details see Melanie Shell-Weiss's *Coming To Miami*, 178. Even those arriving in 1980 as part of the Mariel Boatlift, or those who arrived after, did not enter agriculture in significant numbers (roughly four percent). Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, "Unwelcome Immigrants: The Labor Market Experiences of 1980 (Mariel) Cuban and Haitian Refugees in South Florida," *American Sociological Review*, 50 (August 1985): 498.

93 Leo C. Polopolus and Robert D. Emerson, *The Latinization of the Florida Farm Labor Market* (Gainesville: Food and Resource Economics Dept., Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, University of Florida, 1994), 1-2. Of the remaining workers, 25.2 percent were Caucasian and 4.7 percent were simply identified as "Other." Many of the African Americans who left the fields took jobs in the service sector, an increasingly important part of the Florida economy.

horticultural workforce.⁹⁴ Although the estimates were based on horticulture, and not food crops exclusively, researchers concluded the trends fairly represented the Florida seasonal farm labor markets.⁹⁵

The domestic legislation and international events increased the flow of migratory labor in the 1980s and 1990s. The 1986 Immigration and Reform Control Act (IRCA) and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA, passed in 1993) solidified Florida's reliance on a farm labor workforce made up of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Guatemalans.⁹⁶ Additionally, since large numbers of the newly naturalized citizens under IRCA were male heads of household, upon receiving legal status they began the process of reunifying their families by bringing them to the United States. This resulted in new legal and illegal migratory flows.⁹⁷ Larger numbers of Guatemalans also began crossing the border in the 1980s, with and without proper documentation, as they were fleeing a violent civil war at home. Many moved to Florida where they joined the agricultural labor force.⁹⁸ By the 1990-1991 harvest season, Guatemalans made up 20 percent of the work force, and Mexicans/Chicanos made up an additional 49 percent. The remaining 30 percent of workers were split almost evenly between Haitian-born and African American workers.⁹⁹

Most scholars also agree NAFTA had a devastating effect on wages in Mexico. Rather than reducing the wage gap, it increased it. Small subsistence farmers could not compete with imported foodstuffs from the United States. As a result, NAFTA pushed many Mexicans north to look for work in the United States.¹⁰⁰ As

94 The estimates provided are averages across the agricultural sector. They found differences among various crops, like strawberries and tomatoes which Latinx workers dominated by the 1980s. Polopolus and Emerson, *The Latinization of the Florida Farm Labor Market*, 3-4.

95 Ibid., 3.

96 Ibid., 1.

97 Suro, *Strangers Among Us*, 94.

98 For more information see Allan F. Burns, *Maya in Exile: Guatemalans in Florida*. (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1993), 108.

99 Polopolus and Emerson, *The Latinization of the Florida Farm Labor Market*, 8. Ibid., 9. Table 5: South Florida Vegetable Workers, 1990-1991 Season.

100 Hernández, *Migra*, 230. Raymond A. Mohl, "Globalization, Latinization, and the Nuevo New South," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 22, no. 4 (Summer, 2003): 35; James C. Cobb and William Whitney Stueck, *Globalization and the American South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 35; María Josefina Saldana-Portillo, "In the Shadow of NAFTA: Y tu mama también Revisits the National Allegory of Mexican Sovereignty" in *Legal Borderlands: Law and the Construction of American Borders*, ed. Mary L. Dudziak and Leti Volpp (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 165.

labor conditions began changing in the states just over the border, Mexican and Mexican American workers in those areas looked for opportunities in states further away. Florida, with its strong agricultural economy and position as an entry point to East Coast labor migration streams, became a destination for migrant workers. Whereas employers considered the Latinx workers of the 1950s and 1960s merely supplemental workers filling short-term vacancies, over time, they came to recognize them as an invaluable, and preferred, source of inexpensive and exploitable labor. Indigenous people from Mexico and Guatemala, who did not speak English or Spanish fluently, often suffered the worst abuse.¹⁰¹ Haitians also joined the Florida agricultural labor force in larger numbers starting in the 1980s when dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier lost power.¹⁰² Some put the current estimates of Haitian workers at about 35 percent of Florida's 400,000 farmworkers.¹⁰³

At the same time the Department of Labor was restricting legal labor importation and Florida was undergoing demographic shifts, the Bahamas underwent significant changes that would lead to the temporary labor program's demise.¹⁰⁴ Tourism rebounded and with it the Bahamas saw increased job opportunities in construction industries and service sector jobs.¹⁰⁵ This economic boom undermined the foreign labor program's previous appeal.¹⁰⁶ In the

101 The Coalition of Immokalee workers is best known for its worker-led efforts to improve agricultural worker wages and prosecute cases of modern-day slavery. Visit their website for more information. <http://ciw-online.org/slavery/>.

102 Many Haitians migrated to the United States following the devastating earthquake in 2010. They, and some of their predecessors, were granted Temporary Protective Status, which allowed them to work and not be deported. It was set to expire in 2018, but was extended through January 2019.

103 Voice of America, "It's a 'Hard Knock' Life for Haitian Farm Workers in Miami," April 21, 2010. <https://www.voanews.com/a/its-a-hard-knock-life-for-haitian-farm-workers-in-miami-91877569/163901.html>.

104 Klaus de Albuquerque and Jerome L. McElroy. "Bahamian Labor Migration, 1901-1963," *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 60, no. 3/4 Leiden (1986), 172. Bahamian scholars and political leaders, like Gail Saunders and Sir Clifford Darling, both noted that starting in the late 1950s, Bahamians developed a stronger race and labor consciousness. Gail Saunders, "The 'Race Card' and the Rise to Power of the Progressive Liberal Party in the Bahamas," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 41, no. 1/2. (January 1, 2007), 1-2, 60; Sir Clifford Darling, *A Bahamian Life Story. Vol. 1: The Years of Struggle, 1922-58.* (self-pub., Creative Edge), 62.

105 The unemployment rate in New Providence declined to four percent, and was only about six percent in the Family Islands. Kramer, *The Offshores*, 16, RG 174, NACP.

106 In the 1963 Annual Report, the Bahamas Ministry of Labor addressed reasons for the program's decline. Kramer, *The Offshores*, 16, RG 174, NACP.

waning years of the program, most participants were older Bahamians who had worked contracts in the temporary foreign labor program multiple times. An improved Bahamian economy negated the need for them to travel long distances to do arduous labor. Furthermore, the Bahamas Ministry of Labor noted that young men were either too inexperienced to "establish a solid niche in the foreign labor program or to cope with its conditions."¹⁰⁷ The ministry argued fewer young men grew up working in the fields, making jobs in the local construction industry more appealing. He also pointed out that with the boom, domestic wages increased to the point that they were competitive with, if not better than, wages offered in the guestworker program. In addition to a diminishing demand for migratory work among Bahamian men, the government also found the program economically unsustainable. From approximately 1962 onwards, growers had shifted the burden of paying for the program to the Bahamian government, which was essentially subsidizing the program.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

Throughout the twentieth century, Florida growers adeptly wielded their newfound political power to craft the emerging agricultural labor system in their favor. When faced with ideological challenges, like immigration restriction or border enforcement, growers highlighted the economic risk these new measures could cause the state. State politicians responded by supporting measures designed to mitigate the most stringent measures, resulting in decades of labor policy that favored employers over workers. Growers pushed state and federal officials to pass legislation that made it easy for employers to shift from forced convict and peon laborers, to impoverished domestic and non-citizen laborers. As domestic workers took advantage of better job opportunities outside agriculture, growers turned to foreign workers as the solution to maintaining a largely dependent and exploitable work force. This first took shape as the temporary guestworker program, which eventually morphed into a reliance on largely falsely/undocumented workers.

As African Americans left the agricultural labor market, and the formal Mexican and Bahamian guestworker programs became

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid.

more expensive and restrictive, growers turned to the larger number of falsely/undocumented, temporary, foreign migrants from Mexico and Central America. The H-2A guestworker program still exists today, but the number workers employed through this program are significantly lower in number compared to those who are falsely/undocumented.¹⁰⁹ As Kelly Lytle Hernandez has argued, along the U.S./Mexico border, “racialized notions of citizenship,” and the immigration policies designed to support these ideas, have been used to determine who can and cannot join the American public.¹¹⁰ Describing detained individuals “as ‘Mexican’ regardless of their formal citizenship status while seamlessly interchanging the terms of white and American” reveals how people of Mexican descent were marginalized and deemed “temporary outsiders within the region’s dominant social, cultural, political and economic systems.”¹¹¹ Employers along the border could utilize their labor while simultaneously supporting policies that excluded them from participating fully in American life.

In a similar fashion, growers in Florida made sure Bahamian workers were seen as “temporary outsiders.” They imported thousands of workers and whisked them away to the state’s interior. Few Floridians, and even fewer tourists, ever witnessed their presence. When they were seen, they were often identified simply as “black” workers, particularly in the Jim Crow South. Growers quickly realized that Bahamians’ marginalized status as black men in America, coupled with their inability to become citizens, made them the perfect workforce; a workforce that lacked the political or social capital necessary to push for better conditions. Recognizing Americans’ general desire for cheap food and disinterest in engaging the difficult issues of race, labor, and migration, Florida growers throughout the twentieth actively crafted a new narrative about farm labor in the American public’s imagination. By casting agricultural work as so difficult, low paying, and generally undesirable that no American would accept the job, growers shaped Americans’ ideas about the nature of farm work, and the people willing to do it—people who were impoverished, nonwhite, and noncitizens.¹¹²

109 Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor*, 201.

110 Hernandez, *Migrant*, 48.

111 Ibid.

112 Nano Riley’s *Florida Farmworkers in the Twenty-first Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003) provides an excellent portrait of the individuals and families laboring in the fields, and the challenges they have to overcome in their work.

The shift to mainly falsely/undocumented workers at the turn of the twenty-first century means growers in Florida and throughout the United States perpetuate a labor system based on the exploitation of low-wage workers on the margins of society. Under this new system, however, agricultural workers have even fewer means to legal recourse when their labor rights are violated than did their predecessors. As non-citizens, guestworkers and falsely/undocumented workers often feel they cannot adequately challenge unfair wages and working conditions because they risk deportation if they cause "trouble," and most Americans are not overly concerned about their plight.¹¹³ A close examination of the Bahamian guestworker program reveals how growers in states like Florida successfully created a system in which farmworkers exist outside the parameters of citizenship and the benefits associated with it.

113 Hahamovitch, *No Man's Land*, 165, 200.

James Megell Moss: The Life of a Bahamian American in Miami

By Nicole Brown and John T. Foster Jr.

Bahamians have played an important role in Miami's development throughout the city's history, and, in response, the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has published several articles exploring significant aspects of the group's presence in the city. This literature is warranted, given the number of Bahamians and their contribution to the community, yet there is a noteworthy omission: the *Quarterly* has never offered an account of an individual Bahamian life. By addressing this need, the authors hope to encourage increased depth and perspective. Bahamians constitute a distinct ethnic group, and individual biographies offer valuable insights into Bahamian character and influence.¹

Nicole Brown was a Visiting Instructor at Florida A&M University at the time this article was researched and written. Demonstrating Nicole Brown's intense interest in her Bahamian culture and heritage, this research was intricately linked to her life. It was paramount to her being and existence, prior to her unfortunate death of breast cancer (31), in 2016. John T. Foster Jr. is a Professor Emeritus at Florida A&M University. He is the co-author with Sarah Whitmer Foster of *Calling Yankees to Florida: Harriet Beecher Stowe's Forgotten Tourist Articles* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2011) and *Beechers, Stowes, and Yankee Strangers: The Transformation of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999).

- 1 Six articles in the *Quarterly* portray aspects of Bahamian life in Miami. See Paul S. George, "Colored Town: Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (April 1978): 432-447; Paul S. George, "Policing Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (April 1979): 434-450; Raymond A. Mohl, "Black Immigrants: Bahamians in Early Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (Winter 1987): 271-297; Eric Tscheschlok, "So Goes the Negro: Race and Labor in Miami, 1940-1963," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (Summer 1997): 43-67; Melanie Shell-Weiss, "Coming North to South: Migration, Labor, and Community-Building in Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 1

In conducting research for this biography, Nicole Brown interviewed both James Moss and his wife Patsy for several hours at the end of 2013. She recorded the interview with their permission and also photocopied many of the family's personal papers. After examining a written transcript of the interview and the photocopied family papers, Brown and John Foster asked James Moss a series of follow-up questions in August 2015. The combined materials form the foundation for this article. The portrait of Mr. Moss that emerges from these materials suggests that he shares many characteristics with other people who moved to Miami from the Bahamas, having worked for eighteen years as a janitor and then as a technician for a telephone company. While part of his career path was typical of thousands of men and women in Miami in the twentieth century—long on manual labor—beyond this occupational common ground emerge extraordinary differences that distinguish James Moss's life from those of most African Americans and African Bahamians.²

Bahamians were probably at Miami's founding as historian Paul George notes that "of the 368 persons who voted in the incorporation election, 162 were blacks." Such participation in 1896 did not last, as state laws soon eliminated non-whites from Democratic primaries. But for decades afterwards, people of color remained vital to Miami's economy. In his description of black life, George noted that "in addition to construction projects, blacks toiled... as hackmen at the railroad station, and as stevedores, hotel porters, mechanics, leather tanners, blacksmiths, domestics, tailors, gardeners, and farmers. Black women were prized as laundresses, nursemaids, cooks, and cleaners." Beyond economics, Miami's cultural life changed also as a result of Bahamian influences. In the period between 1896 and 1930, a variety of civic clubs appeared in Miami, including "local chapters of Bahamian clubs." Indeed, the volume of Bahamians present in Miami even led to the public celebration of "British holidays."³

In 1979, Paul George followed his first article on "Miami's Black Community" with a second about law enforcement in the city. He observed that differences appeared among the city's blacks in

(Summer 2005): 79-99; and Devin Leigh, "Between Swamp and Sea: Bahamian Visitors in Southeast Florida before Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 93, no. 4 (Spring 2015): 511-537.

2 George, "Colored Town," 439; James M. Moss Collection in the possession of John Foster Jr, hereafter cited as Moss Collection.

3 *Ibid.*, 433, 439.

Overtown, near the city's center, and in Coconut Grove to the south. In both locations, authorities charged with enforcing segregation viewed the Bahamians as problematic: "Many came at harvest time and worked in the South Dade groves. As temporary residents and British subjects, they were less servile towards whites than native blacks." George offered several explanations for the trend. Since a maritime journey from the Bahamas to Miami was short, Bahamians could easily leave Miami and return home. As a result, harsh treatment often led them to return to the islands. George also observed that, "Because numerous Bahamians preached racial equality, many whites regarded them as troublemakers."⁴

Almost a decade after George's work, Raymond Mohl focused specifically on Bahamians in early Miami, asserting that the city was a magnet for people from the islands throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Thousands of Bahamians traveled to Florida every year for short-term work and then returned home once the jobs had been completed. This activity peaked in 1937, with 13,947 workers leaving the islands and 13,466 returning home. These numbers are significant, as the total population for the Bahamas at the time was 66,908, suggesting that twenty percent of the island population traveled to Miami and returned to the Bahamas the same year. The lowest periods for this activity occurred in 1926, when the Florida Boom collapsed, and again in 1932 and 1933, during the Great Depression. Part of the ebb and flow was related to government policy. With the beginning of World War II, labor shortages grew in the United States. Consequently, Bahamians were actively recruited to work seasonally on farms. According to Mohl, "Some 3,000 to 6,000 Bahamians annually picked fruit and harvested vegetables in Florida," a pattern that continued beyond the war. Indeed, as late as 1951, American corporations were bringing in laborers from the islands.⁵

During the same era, thousands of Bahamians came to Florida with intentions of staying. Often settling in two separate areas of Miami, Overtown or Coconut Grove, Mohl noted that they created communities with their own identities: "The Bahamians had an impact on food ways, cultural patterns, work habits, educational aspirations, musical and artistic activities, and other social characteristics. They had several distinctively Bahamian churches and fraternal organizations, all of which conveyed the sense of a cohesive

4 George, "Policing Miami's Black Community," 444.

5 Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 292-293, 294.

ethnic community." A feeling of stability and a willingness to cooperate accompanied the arrival of these trends, resulting in a black population which, according to Mohl, resembled ethnic groups in large Northern cities: "The Bahamian immigration to the United States shared many of the characteristics of the more general European immigration of the early twentieth century."⁶

In 1997, Eric Tscheschlok traced the history of labor unions in Miami before 1963, asserting that the successful organization of unions had a distinct beginning: "The first large scale organization of black workers in Miami took place in the early 1940s in the commercial laundry industry." This movement grew through the efforts of James Nimmo, who also led a branch of Marcus Garvey's black nationalist organization. Nimmo focused his efforts on black laundry and dry cleaning workers, where "unionization certainly enhanced economic and occupational opportunities for hundreds of African Americans." It should not be a surprise that the man was a Bahamian immigrant and that much of his support came from his own ethnic community.⁷

In 2005, Melanie Shell-Weiss returned to the topic of Bahamians in Miami, offering a number of important observations, including, first, that even in its beginnings, the city included a significant Bahamian presence, noting that "by 1900, Miami was home to a higher concentration of Bahamians than any city outside of the Bahamas." Within a decade the city's population was over one-third black, with more than ten percent derived from the Bahamas and other islands. Indeed, during this time, Miami became "home to the largest percentage of black immigrants than any other city in the United States." This phenomenon appears to conflict with decades of federal efforts to limit immigration to America. In fact, the 1920s and 1930s saw the implementation of a rigid quota system designed to exclude Chinese, African, and Hispanic settlement in this country. Given the prominence of these federal policies, how did Miami's diverse groups continue to thrive? Shell-Weiss adds here a key piece of information: "As British citizens, Bahamians were not subject to migration restrictions." Or, as Raymond Mohl put it, "The quota law had little impact on the Bahamian migration to Florida. According to the law, British West Indians were included under the quota of Great Britain. But since Britain's generous

6 Ibid., 295, 296.

7 Tscheschlok, "So Goes the Negro," 49.

annual quota of 65,000 was never filled, Bahamians found little problem in obtaining permanent entry to the United States.”⁸

By the 1920s, Miami was known as a center for blacks who identified with Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican activist who encouraged creation of a “range of black-owned and black-operated businesses.” Among these enterprises, Garvey sought to establish a steamship company to link ports in the United States with the Caribbean and Africa. To initiate such an endeavor, the Miami chapter of Garvey’s organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), sought to link Miami with Nassau. Public knowledge of such plans led the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and local segregationists to target the UNIA. The group unraveled amid Garvey’s controversial behavior and indictment for fraud. Despite this outcome, a longer-term theme of self-reliance remained, and “Miami’s black communities, both native and foreign-born, long practiced Garvey’s doctrine of black self-help and economic and political independence.”⁹

In 2015, Devin Leigh reframed Miami’s past with research into the colonial origins of the Bahamas. After the decimation of the Native American population of the islands by the Spanish, the Bahamas were largely uninhabited until the seventeenth century, when settlers from Bermuda arrived in Eleuthra in 1648 and New Providence in 1666. According to Leigh, “By 1671, 913 residents lived on [an] island, which is located only 188 miles from present-day Miami.” This distance was negligible to a population composed of fishermen, sailors, privateers, and wreckers (men seeking to salvage anything of value from ruined ships). The Bahamas attracted people of heterogeneous backgrounds, including black slaves: “In 1671, slaves comprised 40.4 % of the total population of Eleuthera and New Providence.”¹⁰

The Miami area interested Bahamians for three reasons. First, with few natural resources, harvesting timber became an early source of revenue. Mahogany grew on the islands, offering wood of great beauty and remarkable strength. In an age of naval warfare, the use of woods such as mahogany in the construction of sailing vessels reduced damage to ships from cannon. As the supply of Bahamian mahogany was depleted, islanders turned to South

8 Shell-Weiss, “Coming North to South,” 82, 80, 99; Mohl, “Black Immigrants,” 292.

9 Shell-Weiss, “Coming North to South,” 92.

10 Leigh, “Between Swamp and Sea,” 520, 522.

Florida as a source of naval stores. Second green sea turtles were prized throughout the Caribbean and attracted significant market value as far north as Charleston, South Carolina. The search for these turtles, therefore, also brought Bahamians to Florida. Finally, the Spanish were known to send convoys of ships home at the end of summer, during hurricane season. Not all of these ships survived the journey, and shipwrecks containing vast potential rewards lined the coasts of Florida. While an "exact number of Florida shipwrecks is still unknown," significant losses occurred in "1695, 1715, 1733, 1741, 1769, and 1770." Given the three sets of circumstances described above, it is not surprising that in time a Bahamian settlement began on the north shore of the Miami River at Lemon City, an area that ultimately retained its own identity from 1870 until it was annexed by the city of Miami in 1925. These facts support a compelling case that Bahamians participated in the election to incorporate the city of Miami in 1896 because they were the area's first modern settlers.¹¹

While the *Florida Historical Quarterly* articles discussed above demonstrate that Bahamians have had a significant presence in South Florida, individual biographies of these people have yet to be published. To address at least a portion of this need, Raymond Mohl resorted to citing the autobiography of Sydney Poitier. Although the famous actor came from a Bahamian family of modest means, his stay in Florida was brief, thus leaving still unaddressed the subject of Bahamian settlement in South Florida in general and Miami in particular. In contrast to Poitier's story, James Moss arrived in the state as a teenager and lived in Miami for almost seventy-five years.¹²

James Moss was born in 1924 in Nassau and was sent as a small child to Crooked Island, a place where his family had lived for generations. The founding patriarch, a man named Baracoa or Baragu, was born in 1834 "in Nigeria on the West Coast of Africa to a tribe of Yorubas." The Yorubas at the time lived "near or survived off the sea and were expert navigators." As a result, the Portuguese found these Africans useful as sailors. Numbered among these sailors, the young Baragu served in the Portuguese merchant marine. Since the Portuguese possessed many trading posts on the coast of Africa and in the Caribbean, Baragu traveled widely. According to family lore, "He became knowledgeable of many areas and also

11 Ibid., 529, 532.

12 Mohl, "Black Immigrant," 294-295.

many languages. He was finally stationed in Baracoa, Cuba, as the head of a trade station which dealt in the goods of sponges, sugar, salt, and other agricultural commodities."¹³

On a journey to the Bahamas, Baragu visited Crooked Island and was struck by its resemblance to West Africa. When he returned to settle on the island, he selected property with great care, choosing finally "forty acres of land in the very center of Crooked Island." Hills surrounding the property made it easy to see people who approached his farm. As described by the family, "the property also has a natural water spring, which he [Baragu] named 'Old Jim Well.' There was also a natural cave which was ideal for shelter during stormy weather and also to hide from intruders." When Baragu bought land in 1870, slavery still existed in Brazil, and he was wary of the illegal traffic in human bondage, particularly since Crooked Island was much closer to Cuba than to British authorities in Nassau.¹⁴

In physical appearance, Baragu could confront any challenge, as he was "about six feet in height" and "known as a big man, physically, morally and spiritually." The future belonged to the formidable, and Baragu personified this important trait. Or, as a descendant put it, Baragu "not only served in an extremely harsh era, but he conquered and prospered in it, a trait which he passed on to his descendants."¹⁵

On Crooked Island, Baragu married Diana Moss, the daughter of former slaves who had assumed the name of their former Scottish owner. Baragu, in turn, adopted his wife's surname and called himself Thomas Moss. The couple had five children—Ancil, Timothy, Jerry, Cilla, and Sarah. The Moss family tree includes children of these people as well as their grandchildren, eventually running from Baragu and Diana across more than five generations. James Megell Moss, the subject of this biography, is one of the patriarch's great grandsons.¹⁶

James Moss was born to Clarence Moss and Aretha Lloyd and sent to live with his grandparents, Jeremiah and Aribella Moss. Some twelve years later, he returned to Nassau with his aunt Sarah

13 The name Baracoa may be derived from an area in Cuba founded by the Portuguese or from some variation of the Portuguese word for barracks or Barracon. "Who Are We?" p. 7, speech by Reverend Ledley O. Moss Sr., Moss Family Reunion, Detroit, Michigan, July 15-19, 1998, Moss Collection.

14 *Ibid.*, 8.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*, 8, 15.

Moss to attend trade school and high school. Another five or six years would pass before James arrived in the United States. In 1941 or 1942, his father sent for him to live in Homestead, south of Miami, but James actually visited for the first time slightly earlier. When he was fifteen, he sought employment as a "water boy" on an air base, an experience he approached "creatively." First, James lied about his age, and when the military police questioned him on this point, he claimed to be sixteen. Once on the job, Moss found his responsibilities taxing: "I signed on for the daytime shift, but it was so hot and the distance for water was quite long, until it put a strain on me. So I played like I was my own boss and changed to the night shift without the foreman's permission." To accomplish this change successfully, Moss relied on the help of a friend, "a white man from Indiana," who warned him when the foremen showed up. After several months, though, he was eventually caught and fired.¹⁷

Unemployed again, James learned about contract work picking vegetables in south Florida. The possibility delighted the teenager: "I was excited about having the opportunity to not only work, but to travel and have some new experiences. My father was also in the States, and I thought that I might get to see him."¹⁸

After flying to Miami, Moss and other workers were taken to a farm to pick tomatoes. Finding the fields half-flooded, the Bahamians "refused to work under those conditions." After objecting to the situation, the workers were sent back to a camp, where public officials responded by declaring that the Bahamians had "violated the contract" and began sending them home. James, however, escaped this fate. As he recalled, "I was unemployed, but not dumb." Claiming that illness prevented him from working in the wet field, Moss was sent to the Lake Okeechobee area for many weeks. Then he was transferred to Zellwood, Florida, where he had a horrible experience: "I stayed on a military camp which was used to house farm workers. I can't forget celery cutting because the mulch or dirt that the celery was planted in would get on the skin and eat you all up. All night, my skin was like on fire because of the irritation from the filth. I refused to work under those conditions, and they sent me home."¹⁹

17 James M. Moss, "Tribute to Contract Workers," A speech given at the College of the Bahamas at the Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the "Contract," 5-6, Moss Collection.

18 *Ibid.*, 6.

19 *Ibid.*, 6, 7.

James Moss arrived back in Nassau dead broke because he had lost his money at a company store that charged exorbitant prices, an experience that left him angry. Two additional irritants came from not finding his father in Florida and, once back in Nassau, having to walk home from the airport. But the arrival back at his aunt's house changed everything: "My homecoming was joyous. After two months away, it was something to see how happy friends and family were to see me, to receive me, to greet and accept me back home."²⁰

Looking back at the experience fifty years later, Moss offered a number of observations. First, he found "leaving home" both "exciting and frightening." While Moss witnessed some Bahamian workers subjected to "racism" and poor treatment, he nevertheless was delighted with the Bahamians' response. "Being a proud and educated people," Moss observed, Bahamians would not accept "bad working conditions" or "acts of racism." In the end, contract workers, as a whole, contributed significantly to the war effort and helped "perpetuate our way of living" and "end a brutal struggle." Bahamians in particular had helped the United States defeat Hitler.²¹

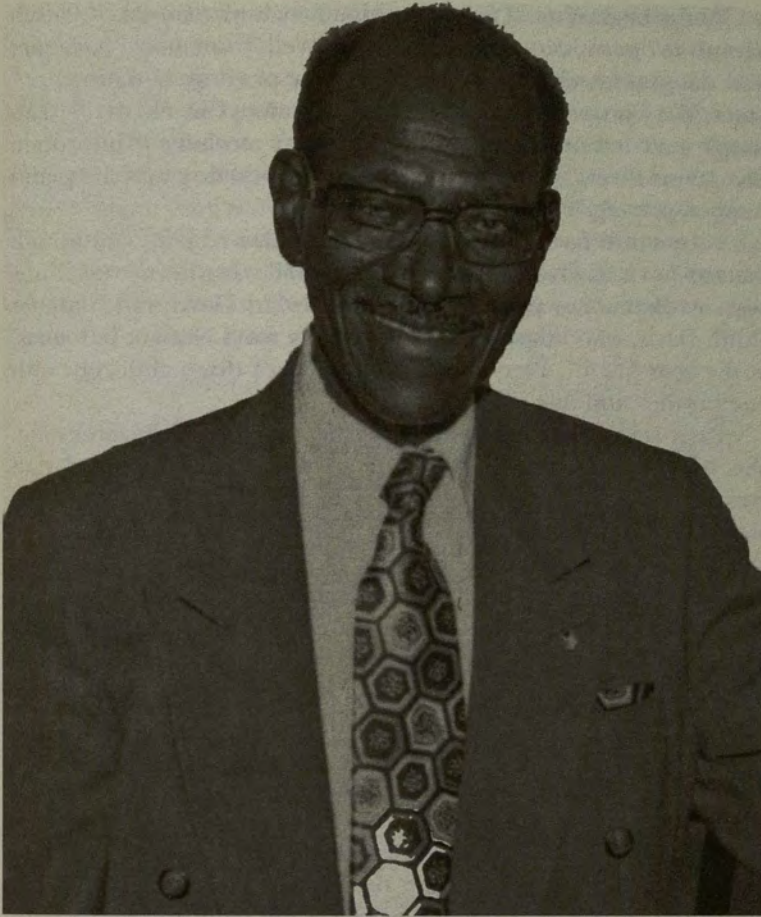
James Moss returned to the U.S. in the early 1940s to join his father in Homestead. He soon relocated to Miami and attended Northwestern Senior High. To support himself, James found a job as a janitor in the Jordan Marsh Department Store on Miami Beach. He also did janitorial work in a hotel leased to the military. In 1947, James began working for Southern Bell Telephone Company. With a position on the cleaning staff, he began to take an interest in electronics-related activities surrounding him. To further this interest, he took classes at Lindsey Hopkins, a technical school. His salary with Southern Bell was \$27 per week, and it remained at that level for years. One of his first purchases with the funds he earned was a saxophone, and Moss soon divided his spare time between practicing music and romancing a girlfriend who would one day become his wife.²²

In 1947, Moss directed a play at St. James Missionary Baptist Church, and it was here that he met Patricia "Patsy" Davis, a young woman who had just finished high school. She walked out on the stage, singing "God of All Fathers," and, as he recalled, "She had

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 8.

²² Moss Interview Transcript, 12, September 11, 2014, Moss Collection.



Photograph of James Moss (undated). Image courtesy of Gail Brown, PhD, mother of Nicole Brown.

big legs, and I was watching that walk.” Their courtship lasted a year. Patsy said James Moss liked “looking nice,” and he was “always in these fine suits.” The couple spent lots of time just chatting. As Patsy recalled, her strict grandmother told her, “You sit on that porch and you stay on the porch.” The older woman wanted to know where James Moss and his family were from and the type of people they were. According to Patsy, “She really put him through it.”²³

²³ Ibid., 18, 19, 20.

At the beginning of the courtship, the young man asked Patsy's parents for permission to date, saying, "Well, you know, I have met your daughter, and I would like to have the privilege of dating her." Later Moss proposed to her, as he "was always in charge." The couple married on May 26, 1948, in Patsy's mother's living room. The guests threw "so much rice during the wedding that the piano stopped playing."²⁴

Patsy's own background was similar to that of James, although she was born in Overtown in January, 1930. As she wrote, "I was born to Bahamian parents, William Edward Davis and Manette Smith Davis, who migrated to this country from Nassau, Bahamas, in the year 1919." Patsy was the youngest of three children, with one brother and one sister.²⁵

Patsy started working as a domestic on a Miami Beach estate. She remembered that it "was one of the biggest houses I had ever seen and was located on Pine Tree Drive." The dwelling was owned by Charles and Pearl Tager, "who had two children, and I also helped care for them." Miami Beach, at that time, was segregated. Moss remembers, "I was required, as all blacks were, to have a police identification card to enter or leave or even walk the streets of Miami Beach. Black people were not allowed the use of the public facilities or even the use of its beaches. To this very day I still have my Miami Beach I.D. card!" Later Patsy recalled the segregated wards in Jackson Memorial Hospital, including a white pediatrics ward and a black one. When integration began, white nurses came downstairs to help in the black ward: "They would cry. They did not want to handle black children."²⁶

Segregation placed a heavy burden on James Moss, locking him and a cousin to continued work on the janitorial staff. With his background and training, James and his relative applied for better jobs at Southern Bell Telephone Company. James remembers, "There were openings, so as we filed applications for those available jobs, we were turned down. And I remember two or three times finding the application in the trash can." He found them, "because I was cleaning up." To survive economically, Moss worked at a variety of jobs, including work as a carpenter and musician. For a decade or so, James Moss led a band that played in a variety

24 Ibid., 19, 20.

25 "Autobiography of Patricia D. Moss," 1, Moss Collection.

26 Ibid., 2; Moss Interview, 24.

of clubs and hotels. Patsy, in turn, found herself working and running a household.²⁷

The lack of resources helps explain the young couple's living arrangements. They began their marriage by living with relatives—first with a cousin in Overtown who had some space “in a grocery on the bottom, and they had the big rooming house on the top.” From there they moved to live with Patsy's grandmother, and in 1948, when Clarence, their first child, was born, the Mosses moved to the Liberty Square Housing Project. Their daughters, Janet and Sherri, were born in 1950 and 1955. After the birth of the youngest child, James and Patsy made a major decision.²⁸

My husband and I decided that it was time for me to pursue my dream of becoming a nurse. The two older children were in elementary and primary school, and my husband worked at night. He kept the younger child while I attended Lindsey Hopkins Vocational School in Licensed Practical Nursing. It was not an easy time for us. We worked and struggled, and I completed my course in 1956. I took the state Board Exam that at the time was given in Jacksonville, Florida. Several classmates and I boarded the Greyhound Bus. [We were] a little scared and very nervous, not knowing what the outcome of testing would bring. I took and passed my exams and received my Licensed Practical Nursing certificate. I started working at Jackson Memorial Hospital in September of 1956, in what was then known as “colored pediatrics.” During that time the wards were segregated, and there was no mixing of the races, not even when they were ill. I worked in all areas of colored pediatrics, which included surgical, medical, and oncological. All of these black children were mixed together, and I attended to them all. Then came integration in the 1960s, and [both the black and white units] were combined as one.

I did a lot of Oncology Nursing because we had so many children who had leukemia, and because we were not as advanced in medicine as we are today. [Many] children

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

died at an early age, and I did a lot of counseling with parents of dying and terminally ill children.²⁹

After Patsy began working at Jackson Memorial Hospital, her efforts conflicted with the rules of the housing project. Some neighbors heard that Patsy was employed and told the manager. He came to her and said, "I want my apartment [back] tonight."³⁰

In the 1950s, the couple purchased a lot for \$13,000, agreeing to provide payments of one hundred dollars a month. They had already started building a house on the land when James and Patsy were evicted from Liberty Square. For a period the family moved to the "Korea" area, near 12th Avenue. To enforce segregation in Miami, a wall had been constructed on the street to divide black and white areas. The name Korea was applied to the area in reference to the Korean War and the division of the Korean Peninsula. In the late 1960s, with the passage of Civil Rights legislation, the wall was removed—removed, but not forgotten.³¹

After their experiences in Liberty Square and "Korea," living in the new house excited the children. They each had their own room, and there was also a big yard. To afford such a place, the couple relied on public transportation. As Patsy remembered, "We were busing it, busing it. I was working at Jackson Memorial, and I would catch the bus right on the corner there."³²

After the children grew up, Patsy Moss returned to higher education in 1980:

I decided it was time for me to go back to the classroom to improve my education and work toward my R.N. Degree. I attended Miami Dade Community College, taking classes in the Nursing Program. Two years later after much studying and even harder work, I received my Associate in Science Degree in Nursing and passed the examination for a Registered Nursing License. I continued working at Jackson Memorial...and took on much more responsibilities in all areas of Pediatrics. Student nurses would come in for internships and would be trained under my supervision. After thirty-two years of nursing service to my fellowman and my community, I retired.³³

29 "Autobiography of Patricia," 3, Moss Collection.

30 Moss Interview, 22.

31 *Ibid.*, 24.

32 *Ibid.*, 28.

33 "Autobiography," 4.



Image of Patsy Moss (seated) at unnamed event. Image courtesy of Gail Brown, PhD, mother of Nicole Brown.

While Patsy Moss changed her life, so did her husband. The passage of federal civil rights legislation in 1964 ended some forms of blatant racism, allowing James Moss and his cousin Luther Moss to apply for new jobs at Southern Bell. Both men were offered exams, and both passed. Rather than getting a position in installation, James Moss “was offered an entrance position as a Frame Attendant in a central office.” According to Moss, this was a “beginner job that had been set aside especially for the white race.” Significantly, the job paid “\$40 per week more than I was making as a janitor for 18 years.”³⁴

Not content with the lowest of technical jobs, James Moss returned to Lindsey Hopkins Vocational School, redoubled his efforts, and earned certificates in DC and AC Circuit Analysis, thus clearing the path to further advancement. In a later tribute to his work, it was observed that, “After working for twenty-one months as a Frame Attendant, he was promoted to Central Office

³⁴ “A Tribute to Two Telephone Pioneers,” Moss Collection.

Technician (Switchman). He worked in that position for several years before requesting a transfer to Headquarters Building as a Layout Assigner. James continued to improve his education and graduated from Miami Dade Junior College with an A.A. Degree in Business Administration." Moss was not alone in advancing his position at Southern Bell, as his cousin Luther accompanied him in these accomplishments.³⁵

The transformation of Moss's life came with great pressure. The news of his and Luther's first applications for promotion created a stir in the lower ranks of Southern Bell. According to James, "A big crowd...came to see who these two were. This was something new. This was something different. So we got in there, and our supervisor was someone from the North. I guess he was more comfortable with the situation as it was [than most employees], because everybody seemed to be uptight about it. And [in the end] there was no violence." Obviously, the men in the Moss family possessed more than knowledge for advancing in technical positions. They combined knowledge with courage.³⁶

James Moss believes that men should be leaders in a variety of areas. With regard to the roles of Bahamian men in particular, he feels that education is crucial to their success as fathers. At the most basic level, they should also be sources of discipline for their children. He observed that one need not be heavy-handed with physical punishment. On the contrary, sometimes a "hard" look or stare was better than words. Beyond that, the father should be a leader based upon substance. As a leader, he should remember that, "without education you can't accomplish much. Without an education, you are in bad shape. Without an education, you can't progress too well. You can't do much for yourself. If you can't do too much for yourself, then you won't do much for your children."³⁷

Being a leader, according to James Moss, does not mean things will turn out right: "The Bahamian man in the household is to make sure that your children are educated and to make sure that your children are not involved in crime and all that kind of stuff... Do your best [but on the other hand] the child has to want to do things. If they don't want to do anything, nothing is going to happen." While some children go their own route in life, they are

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Moss Interview, 8.

³⁷ Ibid.; Moss Interview no. 2.

an exception. In a wider view, James feels that leadership must stress education; he was not alone in advocating this position. He claimed that these values are widely shared among Bahamians, making the islanders different from other people.³⁸

Patsy Moss obviously endorsed his promotion of education, and together their beliefs had a lasting effect on their children and grandchildren. For the Moss family, a secondary education is the rule, and many family members have graduated from community colleges and universities and even pursued graduate education. Son Clarence graduated from the University of Miami in computer science, and his daughter graduated from the University of Texas. Another grandchild holds a master's degree from Florida International University and is currently working on a Ph.D. Several grandchildren hold degrees from Miami Dade Community College.³⁹

Beyond education, the Moss family played a prominent role in social and religious organizations. It is not surprising that James is a "Life Member" of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). When he retired from Southern Bell in the 1980s, Moss was also a member of St. Matthews Missionary Baptist Church, the Atlas Elks Lodge, the Telephone Pioneers of America, and the Board of Directors of New Horizon Mental Health Center. Patsy Moss was also active in civic groups, writing in the 1990s, "I am involved with the American Red Cross, American Heart Association...and hold an office as treasurer of Nu Chapter, Chi Sorority." Like her husband, she was proud of her membership at St. Matthews' Missionary Baptist Church, stating, "I am dedicated to this work for my Lord and Savior."⁴⁰

Except for their church, the couple's activism focused primarily upon a different organization—the Bahamian American Federation (BAF), which James and Patsy joined in 1968. When founded in 1967 by a minister, L. L. Dean, the group identified a list of objectives that appealed to the couple:

1. To promote unity among Bahamians, Bahamian descendants, and permanent friends.
2. To stimulate the quest for knowledge of Bahamian American affairs.
3. To make a cultural contribution to the area.
4. To develop an awareness of our economic potential.

38 Ibid.

39 Moss Interview #1 Transcript, September 11, 2014, 73-74.

40 "A Tribute to Two"; "Autobiography of Patricia," 5.

5. To grant special aid to projects by participation in activities that are of service to the community.
6. To promote happiness, well-being and usefulness of the membership.⁴¹

The BAF had hardly begun operation when it invited a Bahamian leader, Lynden Pindling, to speak. In January 1967, Pindling formed a coalition government and unseated a white minority that had ruled the islands for three-hundred years. Then in April 1968, he and his Progressive Liberal Party won a landslide victory in the Bahamian Assembly. In the fall of 1968, Pindling spoke in Miami to the BAF and signaled that the Bahamas would not stop at internal self-government. He explained that the “islands are moving steadily toward independence,” but warned that the “task ahead [would not be] an easy one.” To accomplish the goal, Pindling believed that “all the resources of the people of [the] Bahamas will be needed to mold the approaching nationhood.” He assured the the BAF audience, “We do realize the challenge that we face.”⁴²

Pindling’s speech drew extraordinary news coverage across the United States, appearing in the Jefferson City, Missouri, *Daily Capital News* under the headline “Bahama Islands move toward Independence.” An Associated Press story appeared under various other titles, including “Premier Sees Free Bahamas” in the *Colorado Springs Gazette* and “Independent Bahamas Seen” in a Corpus Christi newspaper. Surviving BAF members still remember his address.⁴³ Pindling achieved his goal of an independent Bahamas in July 1973, when British rule ended; he became known as the “Father of the Nation.”

Long before these events took place in the Bahamas, the Miami BAF underwent an important sequence of leadership changes and accompanying additions to the organization’s activities. First, in the late 1960s, BAF founder L.L. Dean became ill and returned to Nassau to die. After a short interval, James Moss was elected President of the BAF and served as its leader for the next thirty-three years. Under his leadership the organization became associated with the awarding of annual scholarships to Bahamian-American

41 “Our Purpose” in description of the Bahamian American Federation. This is part of a flyer, “Bahamian American Federation, Inc.,” that also names the organization’s officers and activities. It was printed in 1989, Moss Collection.

42 *Daily Capital News*, November 20, 1968.

43 *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph*, November 18, 1968; *Corpus Christi Times*, November 18, 1968.

college students, highlighted during a banquet in their honor. The Scholarship Awards Dinner provided opportunities to feature significant speakers from the Bahamas. In 1993, for example, the special guest was the Honorable Hubert A. Ingraham, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. Two years later, the Prime Minister was followed by Sir Orville A. Turnquest, Governor General, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas.⁴⁴

The arrival of Orville Turnquest to the Scholarship Awards Dinner constituted a significant moment in the BAF's development. Turnquest possessed a distinguished background, first receiving a law degree with honors from the University of London and then admission to the bar in the Bahamas in 1953 and to the bar in England in July 1960. In politics, Turnquest served as a leader of the Progressive Liberal Party, which formed the base of support for Lynden Pindling. Turnquest eventually changed political parties and became a leader of the Free National Movement that drove Pindling from office. Of his list of accomplishments, Turnquest might prefer to be remembered as a delegate to the 1972 Bahamas Constitutional Conference in London.⁴⁵

Sir Orville Tunquest's arrival at the 1995 BAF annual benefit followed his induction into knighthood by Queen Elizabeth II. Befitting the occasion, Congresswoman Carrie P. Meek served as Honorary Chairperson. Meek herself was at the beginning of a distinguished political career, which eventually stretched from 1993 to 2003. While she was the first African American to represent Florida in Congress since the Reconstruction era, she is remembered for many achievements. In the wake of Hurricane Andrew, for example, Meek obtained \$100 million in federal aid for the Miami-Dade area. Decades before her congressional career, Meek served as a Vice President of Miami-Dade Community College and used her position to integrate the college in 1963.⁴⁶

The events hosting both Ingraham and Turnquest were formal affairs with "evening attire" specified for the first, and the second billed as "An Evening of Elegance to Remember." As President of the BAF, James Moss took an active role as Chairman of the Banquet Committee. His leadership both prior to and during these formal gatherings clearly demonstrates that the Moss family possessed a

44 "Scholarship Awards Dinner," 1993, Moss Collection.

45 "An Evening of Elegance to Remember," BAF Annual Scholarship Banquet, 1995, Moss Collection.

46 *Ibid.*

degree of sophistication and influence beyond that known to many African Americans.⁴⁷

This same period, the 1990s, also marked the high point in the number of scholarships granted by the BAF. At the end of 1993, twelve young men and women of island heritage received one-thousand-dollar scholarships. The schools they attended included the University of South Florida, University of Miami, Florida International University, Clark Atlanta University, Florida State University, Barry University, Florida A&M University, Temple University, and Bethune-Cookman College. To receive such grants, each student was required to complete a brief application. The selection process was available to the public.⁴⁸

Among the Moss papers are letters from recipients of the scholarships. One came from a student finishing a degree in electrical engineering who observed that the Bahamian American Federation had provided him valuable, caring support. "We all need to have someone in our corner when the chips are down," he wrote, someone who can say, "I believe in you, you can do it." The BAF had filled that need for him: "It has been that voice which has encouraged me." Another recipient wrote, "It is with a deep feeling of appreciation and much gratitude that I accept your kind consideration in awarding me your scholarship." This young person ended his letter with the hope that he would "prove worthy of your help," and "make some kind of contribution to this community."⁴⁹

To finance the scholarships, Moss sought donations from a list of organizations that included large regional and national firms, government agencies, and educational institutions. The list of 1995 donors included the Southern Bell Telephone Company, American Airlines, the Coconut Grove Local Development Corporation, City of Opa Locka, City of Miami, Miami Dade Community College, and Florida International University. The list of donors and the high profile speakers at the annual scholarship banquets demonstrate the local leadership role that the BAF played under the presidency of James Moss.⁵⁰

47 Ibid.

48 "Scholarship Awards," 9; Moss Interview, 58 in Moss Collection.

49 Correspondence of James Moss, Moss Collection. Letter from Nathaniel A. Wilson to the Officers of the BAF, July 12, 1996; Letter from Terrance Ferguson to James M. Moss, August 25, 1975,

50 Mr. Moss sent thank you letters to Veronica Lopez, Consumer Relations, American Airlines, Dec. 13, 1995; W. T. Holloway, Southern Bell Telephone Co., Dec. 13, 1995; Rozalia Davis, Director, Florida International University, North Campus, Dec. 13, 1995; Coconut Grove Local Development Corp., Dec. 13, 1995;

While the scholarship banquet became a major responsibility for James Moss, the BAF featured another event that benefited greatly from his efforts. Members celebrated their origins and organized events to honor their home, or—as Moss put it—to go back “home to see where our family, or our mother, or our father was born or came from.” In response to membership desires for stronger connections to the islands, Moss organized the “Back to the Rock Festival”—a brief annual journey to the Bahamas. The event always occurred on Labor Day weekend, “because it was a long holiday.” Each year a group of sixty to seventy-five Bahamian Americans flew to Nassau on Friday. Saturday often began with shopping and ended with free tickets to a live performance provided by the local office of tourism. Sunday morning started with a church service, followed by an afternoon banquet. A Bahamian official often spoke at the banquet. For many participants the priorities remained basic, “eating was number one,” and the time on the beach was second.⁵¹

At the end of the first interview with Nicole Brown, James and Patsy Moss were asked about their experience and the “American Dream.” By living beyond the blight created by segregation, they had found professional success, educated their children, and strengthened the Bahamian community in Miami. When asked about his achievements, however, James did not express contentment: “Young people always need help. They are a light that you can, you can make brighter.” Patsy Moss reflected, “What we have accomplished has been really magnificent. We have three children and five grandchildren, and we’ve always tried to show them the right way. They just took us as a guide. So we have always tried to live that life around them and support them in their endeavors, guiding them in the right way.”⁵²

From the account of James Moss’s life, Bahamian Americans seem distinct from many African Americans. For a scholar like Henry Louis Gates Jr., a “Holy Grail” in black genealogy is to know the name of an African ancestor and to know that ancestor’s place of origin. James Moss possessed that information as a child. Baragu was a remarkable person who remains an enduring source of inspiration. Moreover, Moss’s family can name the members of

City of Opa Locka, Dec. 13, 1995; J. L. Plummer, Commissioner, City of Miami, Dec. 13, 1995; Dr. Eduardo Padron, Miami Dade Community College; Dec. 13, 1995. Moss Collection.

51 Moss Interview, 49-51.

52 Moss Interview, 65, 67.

each generation since Baragu. A booklet for a 1998 family reunion ends with four-and-a-half single-spaced pages listing 182 relatives, including their names, telephone numbers, and home addresses. When asked if other Bahamian families have such complete genealogies, Moss answered in the affirmative, but added, "It's not something everyone wants to have."⁵³

By pursuing education in the 1940s and 1950s, both James and Patsy Moss were prepared for the opportunities that became possible with the end of segregation. Not willing to "wait for the world to change," they were ready to change their world through their work and their social activism. Once liberated into professional careers, the Mosses returned to school as adult students to enhance their credentials and advance to better jobs. They also found ways to assist others in their pursuit of a better life while developing relationships with Miami activists and donors and maintaining strong ties to their island homeland.⁵⁴

Historian Raymond Mohl correctly compared Bahamians in Miami to European immigrants who settled in northern cities. James Moss alluded to this in a speech he prepared for one of the Nassau banquets. "It is my sincere desire," he wrote, "that as the years pass the relationship between the Bahamians and Bahamian descendants will be equal to that of the Jewish descendants and the Jews in Israel." He expressed his hope for the future: "May the ties between the United States and the Commonwealth of the Bahama Islands be forever peaceful, genuine, and mutually profitable."⁵⁵

⁵³ "Who We Are," second Moss Interview.

⁵⁴ "Waiting for the World to Change," by John Mayer. The Song appeared on Mayer's third studio album, *Continuum*, August 1, 2006.

⁵⁵ Mohl, "Black Immigrants," 296; "Message from the President," handwritten speech for "Back to the Rock Festival," date.

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Liquid Landscape: Geography and Settlement at the Edge of America.
By Michele C. Navakas. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania
Press, 2017. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp viii,
248. \$49.95 cloth.)

It has been axiomatic that Florida, as a state, as a landform, and as a cultural phenomenon, is different, unique, special. Whether that is true or not is open to debate, but Michele Navakas' book builds on that truism in new, interesting, and provocative ways. *Liquid Landscape* examines Florida history from the perspective of geography and literature, providing a framework centered on its always changing, always shifting, contingent topography. Navakas, an assistant professor of English at Miami University in Ohio, concludes that "living in the absence of stable ground reveal [s] that Florida's porous landscape has always necessitated modes of settlement, attachment, and belonging that differ from, yet are not less durable than, those developed on firmer ground" (2). While many writers have used the works of William Bartram, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Zora Neal Hurston to provide insight into Florida, she uses their works (and those of other writers) to show how "Florida's combination of topographic instability, geographic indeterminacy, and demographic fluidity sustains *histories* and *stories* [author's emphasis] that could not elsewhere emerge" (157).

Navakas starts with an examination of Florida's unique place within the Anglo-American understanding of the meaning of land itself. According to philosophers like John Locke, land had value because of its productive capacity and the ability of people

to “divide, enclose, and cultivate” it (19). Florida’s land, watery, swampy, and often uninhabitable, did not fit that description and therefore led to a colonial and early national discussion over the value of property. According to Navakas, some writers called Florida “a hopeless deviation from the rest of North America” (21). But she focuses on other authors like William DeBrahm and especially William Bartram, whose works on the impermanency of the Florida landscape forced “many North Americans to imagine those who managed to establish themselves on shifting ground as the rightful possessors of the continent” (34).

The role of the Gulf of Mexico in the establishment of America’s “Southern Empire” has been well-documented in Jack Davis’ recent prize-winning work *The Gulf: The Making of an American Sea* (2017). Navakas builds on this notion by using James Fenimore Cooper’s 1848 novel *Jack Tier; Or, The Florida Reef* to describe the importance of Florida to this conception of a Gulf-based empire. She also elaborates on her analysis of the Florida Keys and the shoals that surround them as “geographically dispersed and topographically shifting” (90). The traditional means of continental expansion would not work on land (if it even could be called land) like the Florida Keys. Navakas sees wreckers, those individuals who inhabited the Keys and made a living by salvaging the cargo of ships smashed on the reefs, as not simply pirates but as individuals whose “understanding of and adaptation to the Reef” made them “worthy of emulation” (88).

In the most interesting and important part of the book, Navakas moves away from examining the contingent maritime fringes of the southern part of the Florida peninsula to analyze the role of geography in the battles between white Southern expansionists and Seminole Indians and runaway slaves. She titles this chapter “Florida Marronage: Everglades, Swamp, Savannah, Hammock,” thus foregrounding the Florida landscape into a story of economic, social, and cultural conflict. Using abolitionist Josiah Giddings’ 1858 work *The Exiles of Florida* as a guide, Navakas argues that when discussing runaway slaves in Florida, words matter. She prefers the word “maroon,” which implies membership in a “free, independent community whose sovereignty is grounded in an incontestable claim to the land” (96). The land itself provides the basis for this alternative community development, since “Florida enabled networks not only among Africans who had already escaped and formed settlements in the swamp, but also between Africans and Seminole Indians who had inhabited the region since

the eighteenth century and shared a hostility toward U.S. expansion and slavery" (97). This idea ties into the notion of Florida as an inhospitable intractable wilderness, unsuitable to permanent civilized settlement. Navakas concludes that the very names of Floridian "features that harbored Seminoles, Africans, and their allies—Everglades, swamp, savannah, hammock—remained code for the message that some U.S. spaces belong to others" (124).

Navakas ends the major part of her work by examining the extended sojourn of Harriet Beecher Stowe into post-bellum Florida through the lens of the state's undeveloped wilderness landscape. For Navakas, Stowe's writings, particularly her 1873 *Palmetto-Leaves*, reflect her understanding that establishing a homestead in Florida "requires the abandonment of what constitutes 'settlement' in other parts of the United States, and the adoption of a different understanding of the term" (129). For Stowe, this represents an opportunity for those who have been left behind in the struggle for improvement and civilization. Far from being an impediment, the state's geographic differences provided an ideal place for many, including freedmen and freedwomen, to establish a new life with endless possibilities.

The book ends with a brief coda, tying the twentieth-century writings of Zora Neale Hurston to the ideas and beliefs of early writers. For Navakas, "Hurston's Florida is a place where land and water change places with little warning . . . thereby encouraging modes of root-taking that would not elsewhere emerge" (156-157). Placing Florida's interestingly different natural features at the center of what is really a book focused on people who write about the state provides a provocative and thought-provoking lens into over two hundred years of Sunshine State history. Yet it is not without its problems. Much of the northern part of the state and the Panhandle do not possess different geography and ecosystems than much of the rest of the South. The great longleaf pine forests that once stretched from Virginia to east Texas made up a significant amount of the landforms of northern and even central Florida, thereby negating the arguments concerning Florida's uniqueness. Navakas underplays how much of Florida's past actually mirrors that of the rest of the South. For instance, Leon County, home to the state capital, produced more cotton in the years before the Civil War (on large plantations using slave labor) than all but four counties in Georgia, a state usually associated with producing huge amounts of the white fiber. Those concerns, however, do not negate the importance of a

book which re-interprets both writings about Florida and the geographic space of the state itself in new and fascinating ways.

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Hubs of Empire: The Southeastern Lowcountry and British Caribbean.

By Matthew Mulcahy. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, essay on sources, index. Pp. viii, 244. \$24.95 paper.)

A century ago scholars investigating life in early America focused upon the English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard and usually concentrated their research on the political and institutional history of elite white males. The interests of historians have changed dramatically since with an ever greater interest in the social and cultural history of all groups. By the early twenty-first century a new paradigm had emerged, that is, the study of Atlantic history with its focus upon the interactions of the peoples of Africa, the Americas, and Europe. Still, many continue to prefer a regional approach investigating the West Indies, Lower South, Chesapeake, Middle Colonies, or New England.

Matthew Mulcahy suggests another approach. He argues that we should revise that more traditional regional perspective by examining the Carolina and Georgia Lowcountry settlements in conjunction with the plantation colonies of the Caribbean, a region he calls the British Greater Caribbean. He sees this as “a coherent region,” one in which “the region’s major colonies developed as social and economic extensions of Barbados.” (3) Mulcahy acknowledges that there were differences between the Lowcountry settlements and those on the sugar islands. Notably, the Lowcountry settlers found a more moderate climate and employed a task system on their slaves rather than the gang system developed by Caribbean planters. Yet he believes it is valuable to utilize this approach to call greater attention to these, the most valuable of English possessions. These colonies had a “shared history and common characteristics, among them a hazardous environment, high mortality rates, a tremendously wealthy and powerful planter class with strong ties to Britain, large slave majorities, and significant African cultural elements.” (7)

Mulcahy provides a clear, though familiar, description of the settlement of Barbados, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, and the

Lowcountry of South Carolina and Georgia. He is particularly good in chronicling the embrace of sugar cultivation and the slave system beginning on Barbados. While not new to scholars of the region he properly emphasizes the possibilities of extraordinary riches in these colonies particularly on Barbados in the seventeenth century and Jamaica in the eighteenth century. Indeed, he makes clear that "white Jamaicans" were "the richest men and women in British America," people with wealth that dwarfed that of any group on the North American mainland. (81) There are also useful chapters on the important role Barbados planters played in the settlement of the Carolina Lowcountry, the brutalities of the slave trade and the slave labor system, the creolization of culture evident in the Greater Caribbean, and the latter's essential role in the development of England's economic empire. His Epilogue includes a helpful discussion of how the island colonies responded to the political crisis in the empire in the 1760s and 1770s and why, ultimately, the Lowcountry settlers supported the Independence movement while the sugar island colonists would not.

Mulcahy has built this book on his extensive reading of the relevant secondary sources and printed primary sources. Indeed, few scholars have been as thorough as he in the exploitation of those sources. Curiously, however, he did not examine the manuscript materials available on these colonies and that neglect diminishes the overall impact of the book. An examination of the Recopied Deed Record Books and Recopied Will Record Books in the Barbados Archives, for example, would have enabled him to draw his own conclusions about wealth patterns on that important seventeenth-century sugar colony. It is also evident that, intended or not, his narrative is driven by developments first on Barbados and then on Jamaica. While he does refer frequently to other locales in the British Greater Caribbean, the settlements on the Leeward Islands and in the Lowcountry are not nearly as prominent in this study. Yet that is as it should be given the primacy of Barbados and Jamaica in the eyes of English imperial officials.

Still, Mulcahy provides a useful perspective, one actually suggested by Jack Greene over two decades ago but not fully realized until we had this volume, from which to examine this critical region of the English empire. Well organized and clearly written, *Hubs of Empire* is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the development of English colonies in the Americas.

The Rise of Constitutional Government in the Iberian Atlantic World: The Impact of the Cádiz Constitution of 1812. Edited by Scott Eastman and Natalia Sobrevilla Perea. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015. Acknowledgements, figures, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 304 \$64.95 cloth.)

As we learn from the acknowledgements and the introduction to this book, it is the result of a series of scholarly meetings held during the last years and the organization of a congress in Lima in the year 2012, during the bicentennial of the Constitution of Cádiz. The Cádiz Constitution was the first constitution drafted and implemented in the Spanish monarchy -the second Spanish constitution if we count also the document approved in Bayonne, France, by the French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. As we are told by the editors of this volume, it is intended to offer a reading of the Cádiz text as a transnational document. To do so, a group of thirteen very well known scholars gathered with the aim of reflecting on the various declinations of the experience of early constitutionalism in the Spanish world. A special emphasis is intended to be put on the experience of subaltern classes and social groups (Afro-Americans, Indigenous people and women).

Stating that the Cádiz charter is only properly understood if considered as an Atlantic document does not mean to underestimate its local level impact. On the contrary, this book is built up from local references of the constitutional experience -México, Central America, Colombia, Florida and Cuba, Peru, Río de la Plata, Brasil- but all of them are considered significant as pieces of an Atlantic involvement and, above all, as interconnected experiences of a global constitutional culture. This is particularly visible in Florida, an area rarely included in comparative studies of early constitutionalism in the Spanish world. As shown in this book, the double proclamation of the Cadiz constitution in San Agustín (in 1812 and in 1820) is significant for the understanding of the extent of loyalism at the end of the Spanish empire and also for interpreting Florida's first contact with constitutionalism.

The authors of this book also analyze the Cádiz moment as though they did not know that the final result of this historical moment was the definitive collapse of the Spanish empire in continental Spanish America. This is important from a methodological point of view because it allows them to focus on a variety of political viewpoints during the Cádiz moment (1810-1814) without taking for granted that the crisis of the monarchy and the beginning of

constitutionalism would result in the creation of a number of new republics and states.

We can divide the content of this book into three different parts. The first one has to do with the variety of constitutional experiences provided by the Cádiz constitution in those places where it was effectively implemented (New Spain, Cuba-Florida, Central America and Peru) in contrast with those other areas, like the Río de la Plata and New Granada (Colombia), where the constitution never was effective or was inconsistently implemented. The second one focuses on the study of the constitutional experience of those social groups and classes (Afro-Americans, Indians, and women) not included at all or scarcely impacted by the novelty of citizenship. The last section is composed of a couple of chapters devoted to the study of the Spanish constitutional culture and the reimplementation of the constitution from 1820 to 1823 (the *Trienio Liberal*).

In the first set of chapters on the diversity of the impact of the constitution, readers learn that early constitutionalism in the Spanish world, as hypothesized by the editors, was indeed a transnational experience. But, more importantly, these chapters also demonstrate that the textuality of the constitution was not as rigid as scholars usually suppose according to the idea of modern constitutionalism. On the contrary, as some Spanish historians (like Marta Llorente or Carlos Garriga) propose, the constitution has to be interpreted in light of the constitutional jurisprudence trends that developed in the Spanish territories where it was implemented. That was the case not only for the enforcement of the text in war and rebellious scenarios but also for the adaptation of the constitutional regulations to the social and ethnic complexity of the American territories (notably regarding the electoral regulations).

How subaltern classes experienced early constitutionalism is one of the main concerns of this book. One of the most controversial aspects of the Cádiz constitution, along with its intolerance of religion, was the exclusion not only from citizenship but also from the electorate of all people of African ancestry. It was of a special significance in contexts like the Caribbean or the southwest of Colombia (both analyzed in this book) where a significant part of the population was of such ancestry. It is in this sense that, as stated in this book, the constitution can be seen as a continuation of colonialism and imperialism even though proslavery ideologues preferred not to rely on the constitutional culture and practice, as demonstrated in Cuba during the nineteenth century.

A couple of articles in this volume are devoted to the analysis of the constitutional culture and practice in the metropolis. The first aspect is treated from an analysis of the historiographical debates on the idea of an ancient Spanish constitution and its implication for the drafting of the constitution. The practice of the constitution is seen from the perspective of the reimplemention of the constitution during the *Trienio liberal* (1820-1823) and the development of some of the constitutional regulations contained in the 1812 text. The collection, however, does not include a chapter on the analysis of the constitutional text itself, or aspects of it, like the idea of a "catholic nation" or the organization of powers and institutions.

This will be, in conclusion, a volume of interest both for scholars and students interested in early liberalism and constitutionalism and for general readers of Latin American history.

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Working on the Dock of the Bay: Labor and Enterprise in an Antebellum Southern Port. By Michael D. Thompson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 312. \$44.95 cloth.)

Michael D. Thompson has written a carefully researched in-depth description of work on the Charleston waterfront before the Civil War. What we see in *Working on the Dock of the Bay* is the human face of race relations in antebellum Charleston where white masters were torn between their desire to maximize profits by utilizing black labor – both free and slave – along the waterfront, while striving to control the independence that waterfront labor provided to African Americans. Simultaneously, both free and slave African Americans sought to control their own lives through their work on the waterfront. This contest between blacks and whites occurred within a chronological framework that Thompson reveals, but could have emphasized further. Almost from the beginning of the settlement of Charleston, blacks had worked on the waterfront. The nature of that labor force, however, changed after independence with the expansion of the number of free blacks in South Carolina and within the Atlantic world. Knowledge of the larger Atlantic context, with the spread of emancipation in the North, and

with slave rebellion in St. Domingue and the West Indies, altered the context of that labor. The waterfront had always represented a gateway to freedom for some African Americans; now that freedom loomed as a possibility for larger numbers. White Charlestonians became acutely aware of this threat to their command of black labor after the Denmark Vesey conspiracy in 1820, passing the first southern laws limiting the freedom of black sailors in port and insisting on inspecting ships bound for New York in search of escaped slaves. All such efforts to control black labor, which also included having workers wear badges and congregate in set locations for daily hire, never really succeeded. An opportunity to limit black labor on the waterfront emerged in the 1840s and 1850s with the appearance of white immigrants from Europe willing to work loading and unloading cargo. But attempts by these newcomers to gain legislative support to limit and even expel black workers along the waterfront ran into the brick wall of the profit motive of slave owning legislators who preferred to continue to earn money from their slaves who hired their own labor carting goods, loading and unloading ships. Thompson also includes a chapter on the role of disease on the waterfront, arguing that the introduction of large numbers of white workers on the docks in the late antebellum period left the city more vulnerable to outbreaks of yellow fever because the black labor force had been relatively immune to such epidemics. Finally, the coming of the Civil War, and a black exodus from the city in 1860, allowed whites to dominate a waterfront that became increasingly desolate as the Union navy tightened its blockade during the conflict.

If the book contributes to our overall understanding of life and labor in the antebellum South, the introduction is misleading. The opening paragraph relates a fascinating story of interracial labor activity on the post-bellum Charleston waterfront. The reader begins to think that this must be a book about how whites and blacks reached across the racial divide to form a "robust association of class conscious wharf laborers" (2). The following paragraphs begin to back away from this impression by suggesting how whites and blacks had opposed one another on the docks during the antebellum period, but continues to mislead the reader with assertions like "far from passively accepting their exploitation, this toiling along Charleston's waterfront and elsewhere in the urban and maritime Old South audaciously laid the groundwork for astounding triumphs in the otherwise tragic New South" (2). Thus Thompson

insists on providing a class-conscious framework for a much more complicated story that does not really cover the post-bellum period. Thompson begins to focus more on the true content of the book when he writes that waterfront “Labor . . . can be used as a prism to elucidate the borders of slavery and freedom, restriction and agency, reaction and progress, and workers’ liminal position betwixt and between,” (3) although he could have been more precise in the introduction over the nature of these distinctions.

Thompson has written a book that may not live up to all he promised about class conflict in his introduction. Nor do the chapters themselves flow easily one to the other. However, Thompson’s depth of research is outstanding and he demonstrates an ability to bring to life a host of black and white characters whose lives have long been invisible to the historian. In the final analysis he has filled in some important contours in our understanding of the nature of slavery and the dynamics of black and white interaction in a southern seaport that became identified as the very bastion of fire eating Southern sectionalism.

Paul A. Gilje

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Warrior at Heart: Governor John Milton, King Cotton, and Rebel Florida 1860-1865. By John Adams. (British Columbia, Canada: FriesenPress, 2015. Tables, acknowledgements, bibliography, appendix, index. Pp. xii, 355. \$29.99 cloth.)

Florida’s role in the Civil War has not received the rigorous scholarship produced on other states in the nineteenth century conflict. John Adams’s book, *Warrior at Heart: Governor John Milton, King Cotton, and Rebel Florida 1860 – 1865* attempts to fill this void by examining Florida’s wartime governor, John Milton, and the Civil War events that took place in the sunshine state. Adams is a former president of Enterprise Florida and has authored several books on American military history from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. In this work, Adams focuses on two main themes, the changing wartime cotton economy in Florida and Milton’s role in governing the Confederate state.

Adams’s study begins before the Civil War and depicts the Secession movement within the state before going into detail about Rebel Florida’s wartime production and hardships. While Florida was a relatively young state, having only achieved statehood sixteen years

prior to secession, it was the third state to leave the Union. The state joined the Confederate States of America, with the staunch support of newly elected Governor John Milton. Adams simultaneously addresses the Civil War happenings in Florida, the role Governor Milton played in these events, and how they connected to the larger Confederate cause. A large portion of the book is focused on the panhandle region of the state, likely because this region is where most Floridians resided in this period, both free and slave. Adams devotes one chapter solely to Jackson county, where Governor Milton owned and operated a plantation. *Warrior at Heart* concludes with the end of the war, the desolation of the Confederacy and the death of Milton in 1865. Overall, the book addresses Milton's perspective within the challenging context of Florida's Civil War Homefront.

Warrior at Heart brings together a large corpus of primary sources centered on Milton's governorship, utilizing his letter books and supplementing them with the use of documents found in other archival collections and the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* collection. Adams's use of scarcely analyzed primary sources on Florida's Civil War brings the complex nature of the conflict to the forefront and highlights the need for further research in this state's wartime struggles. His portrayal of Confederate Florida and the economic struggles faced by its residents demonstrates the struggles that Governor Milton faced daily in office.

The relatively unused primary sources are a welcome addition, but Adams fails to place *Warrior at Heart* within the context of current scholarship. He does not address works produced in the past several decades that have advanced Civil War Homefront studies of the Deep South. Adams encapsulates his perspective in the conclusion stating, "the legacy of Rebel Florida under the leadership of Gov. John Milton, as well as the rest of the South is the record of ordinary people enduring extraordinary times in the name of King Cotton and states' rights" (230). This dated perspective, reminiscent of the long debunked Lost Cause interpretation, leads the academic reader to view the analysis and conclusions drawn in some chapters with skepticism. In addition, while the book depicts the full length of Milton's life in detail, it falls short in discussing the larger Civil War experience in Florida. A more expansive understanding of current historical arguments would have expanded the work's impact greatly.

Overall, Adams offers much information on Milton's life, his devotion to the Confederacy and his role in Florida's Civil War experience. Additionally, he shows how "King Cotton" and Florida's economy were key components of the states' Civil War

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experience. Milton was a strong Confederate Nationalist and his role as Governor of Florida illuminates the challenges that came with governing in this short-lived country. Scholars will find the source material and depiction of Milton useful and new, but the work as a whole leaves the reader with a limited context for viewing the man and highlights further the need for a larger body of scholarship on Florida and Floridians during the Civil War Era.

Tyler Campbell

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To Live and Dine in Dixie: The Evolution of Urban Food Culture in the Jim Crow South. By Angela J. Cooley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 304. \$30.95 cloth.)

This very readable book is a useful history of how restaurants in the U.S. South have been an important contested public space for over a century. Cooley sets out to show the evolution of eating establishments in a racist society and finds that contradictory forces are often at play: the urbanization of the South, particularly the spread of restaurants, often made separation between the races impractical, but Jim Crow laws increased in response as racists sought to prevent that democratization.

The author's purpose is to show the developing complexity of Southern food culture over a "long" twentieth century. She uses a chronological organization, with three parts: Southern Food Culture in Transition, 1876-1935; Democratizing Southern Foodways, 1936-1959; and The Civil Rights Revolution, 1960-1975.

In the first part, Cooley shows that "scientific cooking" was a leading theme before and into the early years of the twentieth century. This meant that poor women and African American women were judged as inferior for not following specific "scientific" practices and using advanced technology in their kitchens. The essence of "Whiteness" was defined as modern, clean, and efficient, while other people, particularly African American women, were generally judged as incapable of such progress. The consequence of this was that food purity was conflated with "Whiteness." Of course poor white women could not afford the expensive kitchen appliances being promoted to consumers, but they might do all in their power to distinguish their cooking from that of the unclean African American women. As with all racist geographies, there were complications: many middle- and

upper-class white women had African American women running their kitchens. These women were apparently not always trusted, but there was some status associated with keeping a “colored” maid (I know this is still true in my hometown in North Carolina).

But Cooley shows that one major type of commercialization would overshadow these social structures: the development of retail eating establishments. Today “eating out” (if we include “take-out”) is responsible for nearly a third of meals consumed in the region, but a century ago, it was much less common, and that change would come to dramatically transform Southern landscapes and Southern social life.

At first, the racist construct focused on the “protection of white women” from the threat of African American men. Public eating places thus represented uncontrolled territories where white men sought to create barriers; Jim Crow laws developed as the main strategy. Most eating places were for whites only, or they had a separate area for African American customers. African American entrepreneurs were able to fill the niche for non-white customers, but often had to face strict oversight by white police forces to keep whites from mixing there.

Cooley devotes a major chapter to the story of fast food chain restaurants, perhaps because the U.S. South has the highest proportion of such restaurants. Florida is shown to be a state with a very high ratio of fast food chain restaurants. This would help to democratize public eating spaces, if only because national chains sought to maximize profits by getting every possible customer through the doors, regardless of their color. Cooley points out that the customer images used to promote these restaurants were overwhelmingly white, and blacks were made to feel unwelcome in many fast food chains.

But another change was coming to the South: the Civil Rights Movement. Cooley is at her best in this section, where we get a rich history of the lunch counter sit-ins, and the white resistance to African American activists’ efforts. The 1960 Greensboro sit-in by four African American students from North Carolina A&T University was just one small part of a central strategy of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Schools and buses had been central territories of protest in earlier years. The sit-ins were perhaps just as important, Cooley shows. Sit-ins took place all over the region; in August of 1960, in Jacksonville, Florida, a group of white men attacked the activists who had staged a peaceful sit-in at a W.T. Grant department store lunch counter.

Cooley builds a lively story of the arrival of civil rights at Southern eating establishments. She uses anecdotes from most Southern states, and shows that the racist structures in the region were strong enough to resist decades of campaigning for change. She shows that even today, restaurants may find ways to make African Americans feel quite unwelcome. The case of Cracker Barrel constitutes her leading example of this; the company has been found guilty of racist practices in more than one lawsuit. As Cooley points out, this restaurant frames “southern cooking” as the cooking of white Southerners, and uses a nostalgic décor that supports that notion.

In the end, Cooley finds dining in the South has seldom meant equality for African Americans. She does not seek to build or build on a larger theory about culture, or to relate this history to other important aspects of “urban food culture,” such as gardening, grocery shopping, diet, health, modern home cooking, cookbooks, or school cafeterias. I would have enjoyed reading more about soul food restaurants than Cooley gives here. Some of her minor conclusions seem to be based on just a few anecdotes. I would have liked to see in the conclusion more connections to the literature cited in the introduction.

But the book is well-written and its main conclusions are well-supported. Southern urban food culture has been democratized in part by consumerism, but also by the brave efforts of hundreds of brave African Americans, in spite of intense resistance by racists at nearly every corner establishment. We needed this book: it is a fine history, one that is essential for understanding how Southern people eat today.

Edward H. Davis

Emory & Henry College

The Jews of Key West: Smugglers, Cigar Makers, and Revolutionaries (1823-1969). By Arlo Haskell (Key West, FL: Sand Paper Press, 2017. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 208. \$24.00 paper.)

Arlo Haskell argues that the important role that Jews have played in the history of Key West has largely been ignored by tourism boosters. Haskell’s goal is to “recover this lost history and reach a fuller understanding of the island’s past.” He succeeds admirably in this mission by tracing the contributions of Jews from the era of the first military installation on the island in the early

1820s through the beginnings of its dramatic transition towards a tourism economy in the 1960s.

Although the Key West newspapers of the 1830s and 1840s do not refer to a Jewish population, it is likely, Haskell argues, that there was a small community of Jewish peddlers and that some of the travelers and merchants who arrived on the island were Jews. But he also is able to specify Jews who contributed to the island during this early era, including during the 1850s one who received a U.S. contract to provide mail service to the island, and others who were successful merchants.

Jews became more significant in Key West after the Civil War. Haskell chronicles the importance of Jewish cigar manufacturers in this industry that became the mainstay of the island's economy. Although the dominant population change due to the cigar industry was the growth of the island's Cuban population, he argues that the cigar industry was a Jewish story almost as much as a Cuban story. Jews were still a small proportion of the population in the mid-1870s, but a "significant proportion" of them were involved in the cigar business, primarily as owners and managers of factories.

A new wave of Jews, primarily immigrants from Eastern Europe, arrived in Key West in the 1880s and 1890s. The newcomers faced a political establishment that favored Anglo Americans over other groups in the community. For example, the local government imposed a \$1,000 fine on peddlers, most of whom were Jewish, to protect the Anglo-Saxon merchants. In fact, the fine turned out to be beneficial to many Jews, motivating them to become store owners. They also nurtured organizations to serve the Jewish community. Some of the more intriguing sections of the book discuss the close relationship between many of the island's Jewish population and its Cuban immigrants, who, drawn by the cigar industry, became the most numerous immigrant group by 1885. Jews sympathized with the plight of Cubans under Spanish rule which reminded them of the plights Jews were facing in their homelands. José Martí, the father of Cuban independence, explicitly connected the Cuban and Jewish circumstances, and Jews in Key West, other than the Jewish cigar manufacturers, actively supported his efforts to raise funds and arms for the revolution. Jews and Cubans also formed alliances in local politics that achieved some influence over the local power structure.

Another important component of this book focuses on the effort by Jews in Key West to help Jews fleeing oppression in Eastern Europe reach the United States, in spite of U.S. Immigration

Laws passed in 1921 and 1924 that severely restricted legal immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe. Here again, the Jewish-Cuban connection came into play. Many European Jews headed to Cuba, partially because for a short time U.S. immigration laws included a provision that immigrants who resided in Cuba for at least a year could then enter the United States. This provision was soon eliminated, and Jews headed many of the smuggling networks that emerged to bring Jews from Cuba to Key West, then, usually, to other points in the United States.

Haskell's final chapter discusses a "renaissance" in Key West's Jewish population after World War II. Key West's economy suffered during the 1920s and the Great Depression and its population dropped dramatically. But during the next two decades, the population grew as Key West became the site of significant military installations.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the U.S. military played a significant role in the island's economy, but tourism was growing in importance. Haskell highlights the importance of David Wolkowsky, who was born in Key West, but whose family had moved away while he was a child. Wolkowsky returned to Key West and opened the Pier House in 1968, which became a prominent destination for many tourists, including many figures in the arts such as Truman Capote and Leonard Bernstein.

At various points, readers might have benefitted from more elaboration of characteristics of Key West and its population. One example is the failure to mention the significance of the Bahamian immigrants to Key West. By 1885, Bahamian immigrants, including both whites and blacks, comprised about 24 percent of Key West's total population. The author might also have mentioned the prevalence of labor unrest in Key West's cigar industry and the relevance of the strikes to efforts to foment support for Cuban independence.

In the last section of the book, Haskell's emphasis on the rise of tourism might have benefitted from at least a mention of a small but growing gay population on the island. In fact, Wolkowsky renovated the Greene Street building that had once housed Sloppy Joe's and rented it to Morgan Bird, who opened "the Oldest Bar," which attracted many gay residents and tourists.

Haskell misstates the status of blacks in Cuba and of native-born whites on the island during the late 1880s and early 1890s, while revolutionary fervor was growing. He notes that blacks were

slaves, owned by the ruling Spanish class (67). In fact, slavery was abolished on the island in 1886, and a sizable free black population existed prior to its abolition. He also notes that native-born whites in Cuba could not own property, but many white creoles, born on the island, were property owners.

In sum, this text is now the singular source for an understanding of the Jewish population in Key West. This well-written and clearly-organized book should certainly be read by any who have an interest in Key West and, more generally, the history of Jews in the United States.

Robert Kerstein

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Pageants, Parlors, & Pretty Women: Race and Beauty in the Twentieth-Century South. By Blain Roberts. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 348. \$39.95 cloth.)

In her work, *Pageants, Parlors, & Pretty Women: Race and Beauty in the Twentieth-Century South*, Blain Roberts delivers a long overdue history of beauty culture in the twentieth-century South. While beauty queen pageants, cosmetology, and hair care practices are often dealt with in separate books, Roberts writes an all-encompassing history of beauty culture that details the experiences of both black and white women.

The first chapter of Robert's study is possibly her most significant. Giving breadth and regional difference to the history of American beauty culture, Roberts documents how white women in the rural South came to adopt modern aesthetics at a slower pace and for different reasons than their northern counterparts. In the early twentieth century, rural Southern women who lived far from retail markets and had little disposable income, prepared their cosmetic concoctions as home. Whereas by the 1920s city-dwelling Northern women used bobbed hair and boyish fashions to demarcate their newly modern identity and lifestyle, in the South social norms steadfastly defined unpainted faces and long hair as evidence of a Southern women's virtue, obedience, and genteel nature. To push through these market barriers, in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s manufacturers began to sell cosmetics in the South by linking them to the maintenance of elite white women's elevated social position.

Face powders and bleaching creams were thus branded as important accouterments that highlighted the white women's "natural" beauty and racial superiority. In contrast to the libertine urban flapper, Roberts thus shows how cosmetic manufactures sold their products to the masses of white Southern women by appealing to both their traditional values and their elitist aspirations. In a stunning about face, by World War II the use of commercial beauty products was widespread in the South and any woman who chose not to use makeup was popularly viewed as an ugly, social misfit living in deliberate denial of her birthright to beauty.

In chapter two, Roberts turns her attention to African American women in the first decades of the twentieth century. Presenting a synthesis of the major scholarship on black beauty culture, Roberts argues that for African American women the pursuit of beauty was a way to gain confidence, respectability, and economic advancement in the hardscrabble Jim Crow South. In addition to using the history of well-documented and prominent African American female entrepreneurs such as Madame CJ Walker and Annie Turnbo Malone, Roberts also gives readers an insightful analysis of lesser-known, small-scale black business owners. For example, she details a Washington D.C. beauty shop run by Catherine Cardozo Lewis, as well as the Beckwith Manufacturing Company of Cleveland which, like many black-owned firms, profitably sold skin bleach and lightening powders to black women in the South. For African American women who adopted the era's definition of what looked respectable, beauty culture, according to Roberts, presented both tools of empowerment and additional burdens for its adherents. While race leaders heralded black women's well-groomed look as the embodiment of racial progress and respectability, ordinary black women often struggled to keep up with the significant financial obligations that fashionable clothing, freshly pressed hair, and made-up faces necessitated.

As women increasingly adopted makeup, cosmetology, and modern fashions, public displays of female beauty became a mainstay of Southern culture. Chapters three and four of Roberts' work thus focus on the history of white and black beauty contests. Initially controversial, pageants became a place for women, as participants and as spectators, to enter public spaces previously reserved for men. By the 1930s, pageants were sponsored by agricultural groups, 4-H clubs, and college campuses. Indeed, Roberts argues that the evaluation of crop harvests gave a foundation for the rise

of beauty contests. As she contends, during this era farm shows shifted from an emphasis on “growing better tomatoes to growing better bodies.” For Southerners female pulchritude emerged as a point of pride. For whites, the beautiful belle served as a symbol of regional prosperity and the glory of the “lost cause” (especially when the Southern woman beat Northern competitors in national beauty competitions). For African Americans, beauty pageants also recast the female body for public consumption and reconsideration. Far from the unattractive mammy figure of yore, black “cotton queens” and “co-eds” from across the South were portrayed as beautiful, dignified and graceful ladies whose beauty was on par with that of their white counterparts.

The final chapter of Roberts’ work is the most comprehensive but also, the most problematic. Unlike her previous chapters, which (like the South) were segregated by race, Roberts’ final chapter integrates her analyses of black and white beauty culture during the Civil Rights Movement (and the decades that follow it). Like her other chapters, Roberts’ work is exhaustively researched and tracks the multiple ways in which women’s bodies were used to make political arguments during a rights conscious era. My biggest criticism of this chapter is that at times Roberts’ own language seems to normalize concepts of beauty. For example, when Roberts states on page 196 that “in heels and bathing suits, pretty white women of the South stood as evidence of racial integrity and superiority” while “in Afros and leopard-print dresses, pretty black women of the South did the same,” this reader found herself wondering “pretty” by whose standards? While the author does an excellent job of exploring how beauty reinforced racial hierarchies in post-World War II America, the politics of sexuality are left unquestioned. As such, this reader would have liked to have seen a greater acknowledgement that what society deemed “pretty” was in fact a heteronormative social construct that valued and empowered certain groups of women over others.

Overall, Roberts’ work is a formidable and exhaustively researched piece of scholarship that gives readers a significant counterpoint to analyses of beauty culture that have all too often focused on Northern narratives. Indeed, it should be read by those interested in the history of the U.S. South, women’s history, American studies, Business history, and the study of black/white race relations.

Malia McAndrew

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Florida Soul: From Ray Charles to KC and the Sunshine Band. By John Capouya. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017. Acknowledgements, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 408. \$24.95 cloth.)

Florida Soul explores the underrepresented history of soul music attached to the Sunshine State and advocates its place alongside other bastions of soul music. It is stimulating and sure to be pleasing to readers interested in American popular music and Floridian history. In the introduction, author John Capouya notes that he is not claiming to be comprehensive, although the carousel of characters woven throughout the book's twenty chapters makes clear the author's interest in breadth. *Florida Soul* moves chronologically and darts around the state with each subsequent move from chapter to chapter. As Capouya states, most readers are likely to be familiar with the best-selling musicians of the book, among whom are Ray Charles, Sam Moore, and KC and the Sunshine Band. The best moments, however, emerge through Capouya's rich interviews with the lesser-known folks of *Florida Soul*.

Capouya certainly delivers on his promise to demonstrate the impact of the state itself—that, like Memphis or Detroit, Florida ought to be well known as a place for soul music. Supported by archival research, *Florida Soul* contains extended interviews with those involved in the writing, recording, producing, and performing the music. Future readers will be grateful to Capouya for preserving the stories of this aging soul cohort, several of whom have died between Capouya's research and the book's publication. Capouya's passion for the subject is apparent, and he should be commended for allowing the voices of his subjects to shine through. For example, Capouya makes the decision to present chapters twelve and thirteen as edited first person accounts by Willie Clarke and Helene Smith. This delivers a welcomed change of pace from the previous chapters and provides the book's subjects a degree of agency.

Capouya writes for a broad audience and with a conversational tone. His use of unnumbered endnote references allows for a quick, unencumbered read but could frustrate those looking to quickly find a reference. When Capouya refers to chord progressions or other music analyses (which is infrequent) he explains them so that the reader need not have a technical background in music.

Each chapter is subtitled with the primary Florida town or city (sometimes several) in which the chapter's subject operated. For example, Chapter 14 is titled, "Henry Stone: Miami." This organizational decision allows the reader to focus on that individual and make connections to other "characters" in the book—many of whom have their own adjoining chapters. For me, one of the sweetest chapters was the very short, touching seven-page vignette of Noble "Thin Man" Watts. The primary voice (other than Capouya's) in this chapter is that of Watts's widow, June Bateman. Capouya captures Bateman's fondness for her late husband, who, after a successful recording career as an R&B tenor saxophone player (mostly in the 1950s) and subsequent professional decline, was honored near the end of his life. Watts earned official recognition by his hometown of Deland, Florida, and received an honorary doctorate from Stetson University for his career in music.

Given the author's stated place-based focus of the book, I found myself yearning for a deeper emphasis on such connections. Several of the musicians chronicled in the book, for example, have a relationship to Florida A&M University and its infamous Marching 100 marching band. Although this connection is announced in the introduction, Capouya largely leaves it to the reader to retain such linkages and recall the other musicians associated with the school. A sharper focus on place would have been especially welcomed in discussions concerning the Chitlin' Circuit and Florida's segregated communities, both of which are examples of the place-based racism experienced by people (and musicians) of color in the United States.

This leads me to my only criticism of the book: a desire for a more critical evaluation of how racial politics shaped the careers of the individuals chronicled. Chapter 5, for example, describes the career of singer Linda Lyndell, a white woman who performed on the Chitlin' Circuit with a black band and received threats for doing so. Capouya describes Lyndell's experiences and focuses on race throughout, however, this reader would have appreciated the author's intervention more frequently. At the conclusion of this chapter, for example, Capouya shares Lyndell's experience of a 2003 retrospective concert in which she felt like she "was black" (110; his emphasis). After experiencing racism her entire career, this statement is meant to convey a sense of belonging Lyndell felt within the soul community at that moment. Although Capouya's introduction to the chapter suggests the problematic nature of

such a proclamation in terms of racialized identities, his reticence to intervene in that moment leaves Lyndell's statement unchallenged and misses an opportunity for a truly nuanced exploration of race and soul music. For such a discussion, readers should turn to other sources, several of which Capouya refers to throughout.

Florida Soul proves to be an engaging survey of a largely unsung cavalcade of soul music contributors. Readers looking for a detailed, accessible, and loving retrospective on Florida soul music will be delighted.

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Nation within a Nation: The American South and the Federal Government. Edited by Glenn Feldman. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2014. Acknowledgements, Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 341. \$74.95 cloth.)

Nation within a Nation seeks to make sense of both the South's relationship to the federal government and the region's impact on the trajectory of American politics. Through essays examining tensions between Tories and Whigs, Populism, southern economic development, the civil rights movement, and the rise of the modern right, editor Glenn Feldman and the contributors make plain that issues such as states' rights and local control surf a constantly churning tide of values, attitudes, and impressions that bear the clear influence of both national and local political economy. Though the contributions span political, intellectual, and cultural history, the twelve chapters comprising the book's five parts work in concert to create a nearly singular narrative. Indeed, contributors leave little doubt that southern politics and society reflect the lingering influence of a conservative vision for democracy that presumes that some, as James Henry Hammond put it, are destined to be "mudsills."

Part I, which consists of Thomas F. Schaller's "First to Secede, Last to Exceed," treats South Carolina's political history from the American Revolution to the present as a window into southern conservatism. Schaller's chapter thus functions to frame subsequent contributions. Focusing largely on the state's Ninety-Six District—home to both John C. Calhoun and Strom Thurmond—Schaller argues that South Carolina's history of rebellious independence was not only wed to a vision of racial hierarchy but the state's

secessionist impulses also reflected class tensions between the fiercely independent backcountry whites and coastal elites. Planters and other commercial interests' dominance over state politics from the Revolution through the 20th century ensured that "states' rights" generally referred to a deeply rooted circumspection about central government rather than libertarianism. South Carolina's history of reactionary politics is not simply visceral, but it reveals a vision of "independence"—defined as freedom from federal oversight—that presumes pronounced inequality.

Part II examines the relationship between racism and southern antistatism. Zachary C. Smith's "Tom Watson and Resistance to Federal War Policies During World War I" complicates C. Vann Woodward's widely accepted characterization of the fiery Populist as a reformer turned racist reactionary. Focusing on Watson's vitriolic editorials against World War I, selective service, and Leo Frank, Smith convincingly argues that Watson's opposition to militarism as well as his reprehensible stance on the Leo Frank affair were rooted, in part, in producerist economic appeals that likely resonated with working class and rural whites as much as Watson's racism and anti-Semitism. Jason Morgan Ward's "Negroes, The New Deal, and... Karl Marx" traces contemporary antagonism to the federal government to the southern Democrats' defense of Jim Crow during the Second New Deal and World War II. Perceiving proposed federal anti-lynching legislation, federal relief programs, and Executive Order 8802 as challenges to racial hierarchy, southern Democrats—who had generally supported the First New Deal—would, by the conclusion of World War II, construct a critique of the welfare state that equated federal authority with racial liberalism. In "Mississippi's Right Turn from Roosevelt to Johnson," Rebecca Miller Davis argues that southern Democrats' commitment to a reactionary racial politics ultimately fueled Mississippi's torturous departure from the Democratic Party between 1948 and 1964. And Chris Danielson's "The Republican Party and African American Politics in Post-1965 Mississippi" contends that white Mississippians' turn to the GOP would, by the 1980s, transform the state's Republican Party—which prior to Reagan had a noteworthy African American membership—into a "lily white" institution that was even more conservative than the national party.

Parts III and IV explore the intellectual and economic issues shaping southern conservatism. Fred Arthur Bailey and David R. Jansson examine the influence of southern intellectuals (such as Melvin

E. Bradford) and institutions (The League of the South and the Southern National Congress) on the genesis of the Neo-Confederate movement. Martin T. Olliff's and Matthew L. Downs's contributions draw attention to the federal government's role in shaping southern economic development while exploring the impact of "local control" over the trajectory of such projects. Downs's discussion of the TVA in northern Alabama is especially good in this regard. And Gregory L. Richard examines Judge J. Smith Henley's pivotal role in reforming Arkansas's barbaric prison system in the 1960s.

Finally, in Part V Allan B. McBride and Natalie Motise Davis examine the relationship between the Tea Party movement and southern conservatism. Both authors trace the appeal of the Tea Party to white southerners' longstanding rhetorical commitment to individualism and limited government. Davis's essay, which centers on Alabama, is especially useful as it seeks to make sense of Alabamians' paradoxical antagonism to a federal tax system that provides net gains to Alabama, along with many other southern states. In other words, Alabama receives far greater federal revenue from the federal government than it contributes. Ultimately Davis contends that conservatives' vilification of the federal government has blinded many southerners to the benefits of government to their detriment and the nation's.

What is most impressive about *Nation within a Nation* is that while it focuses largely on the origins and implications of southern conservatism, none of the contributions divest the region's politics of complexity. Rather than simply casting southern political culture as "racist," for example, contributors—Schaller, Smith, Ward, and Miller in particular—are generally sensitive to the dialectic informing the region's economic and racial politics. Likewise, Bailey's and Jansson's examination of the intellectual and institutional underpinnings of contemporary southern conservatism offer chilling but nonetheless human accounts of the region's conservative intelligencias' reactionary vision that provides useful insights into the political and cultural sway of southern nationalism. The "southernization" of American politics over the past few decades leaves little doubt as to the importance of 20th century southern political history. Undergraduates and others seeking to make sense of either southern history or contemporary American politics will surely appreciate Feldman and his contributors' work.

End Notes

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (FHSAI)

The Florida Historical Society (FHS) has established a new department focusing on the intersection of history and archaeology. FHS launched the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI) on March 4, 2014.

Established in 1856, the Florida Historical Society has been supporting archaeology in the state for more than a century.

FHS was the first state-wide organization dedicated to the preservation of Florida history and prehistory, as stated in our 1905 constitution. We were the first state-wide organization to preserve Native American artifacts such as stone pipes, arrowheads, and pottery, and the first to actively promote and publish archaeological research dating back to the early 1900s. Archaeology enthusiast Clarence B. Moore became a Member of the Florida Historical Society in 1907, and donated his written works to the Library of Florida History.

From the early twentieth century to the present, leading Florida archaeologists have had their work published in the FHS journal, *The Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Florida Historical Society was instrumental in the creation of the position of State Archaeologist and the establishment of the Florida Anthropological Society (FAS) in the 1940s, and served as host of the Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) East Central Region from 2010 through 2013. Under the direction of FHS, the East Central Region was one of FPAN's most successful.

Today, FHS is continuing our long tradition of supporting archaeology in the state with the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI). The mission statement says that FHSAI "is dedicated to educating the public about Florida archaeology

through research, publication, educational outreach, and the promotion of complimentary work by other organizations.”

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

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society, airing on public radio stations throughout the state, continues to be one of our most successful educational outreach projects. The program is a combination of interview segments and produced features covering history-based events, exhibitions, activities, places, and people in Florida. The program explores the relevance of Florida history to contemporary society and promotes awareness of heritage and culture tourism options in the state.

The first section of the program each week is a long-form NPR-style piece from *Florida Frontiers* producer and host Ben Brotemarkle, Executive Director of the Florida Historical Society. He talks with authors of books about Florida history and culture; takes listeners to historic sites around the state; discusses important issues dealing with education and preservation; and demonstrates how learning about our history and culture can provide a sense of community to Floridians today.

The second section of the program is a conversation between Ben Brotemarkle and FHS Director of Educational Resources Ben DiBiase about various items in our archive at the Library of Florida History in Cocoa. Recent discussions have focused on the Seminole War journal of John W. Phelps, the Florida State Census, and Hugh Willoughby's crossing of the Everglades in 1898.

The third section of the program is produced by Robert Cassanello, Associate Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and an award-winning podcaster. Cassanello's segment has recently featured a look at the 1916 election in Florida, the use of pipes by indigenous tribes, and elegant railroad dining cars..

The program is edited by FHS Director of Media Production, Jon White.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 pm and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Fridays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; 88.9 WQCS Ft. Pierce, Mondays at 6:30 p.m.; 89.1 WUFT Gainesville, Saturdays at 6:00 am and Sundays at 7:30 a.m.; and 90.1 WJUF Inverness, Saturdays at 6:00 am

and Sundays at 7:30 a.m. Check your local NPR listings for additional airings. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myfloridahistory.org/frontiers.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Jessie Ball duPont Fund and by Florida's Space Coast Office of Tourism, representing destinations from Titusville to Cocoa Beach to Melbourne Beach.

**“THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PRESENTS:
FLORIDA FRONTIERS”: THE TELEVISION SERIES**

The public television series *The Florida Historical Society Presents: Florida Frontiers* is now airing throughout the state. The first season of the television series has ten episodes that are airing monthly. The television version of *Florida Frontiers* is a series of half-hour documentaries focusing on a wide variety of topics relating to Florida history and culture. The episodes in the first season of *Florida Frontiers* are:

FFTV S:01 E:01—The Civil War in Florida

Florida's involvement in the Civil War includes the Battle of Olustee and the sinking of the *Maple Leaf*.

FFTV S:01 E:02—Everyday People Making History

Everyday people make history happen including author Stetson Kennedy and Civil Rights activist Barbara Vickers.

FFTV S:01 E:03—Exploring New Worlds

From Spanish colonization to the manned exploration of space, Florida establishes the boundaries of the Modern Era.

FFTV S:01 E:04—The Windover People

The Windover Dig in Titusville, Florida, was one of the most important archaeological discoveries in the world.

FFTV S:01 E:05—Florida Nature Meets Florida Culture

We visit Vizcaya Museum and Gardens, Bok Tower Gardens, Atlantic Center for the Arts, and Morikami Museum and Japanese Gardens.

FFTV S:01 E:06—The Lost Years of Zora Neale Hurston

Florida writer, folklorist, and anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston was one of the most celebrated figures of the Harlem Renaissance, but died in obscurity.

FFTV S:01 E:07—The Barber-Mizell Family Feud of 1870

Florida in the 1870s was every bit as wild as the Wild West, as demonstrated by the infamous Barber-Mizell Family Feud.

FFTV S:01 E:08—Tarpon Springs Epiphany

For more than a century, the Greek community in Tarpon Springs has held a unique Epiphany celebration.

FFTV S:01 E:09—Fort Mose: America's First Free Black Community

Established near St. Augustine in 1738, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose was the first legal community of former slaves.

FFTV S:01 E:10—Florida Folk Festival

The annual Florida Folk Festival celebrates and preserves the stories, music, dance, crafts, and food of the Sunshine State.

The Florida Historical Society Presents: Florida Frontiers is airing on public television stations including WUCF Orlando, WPBT South Florida, WJCT Jacksonville, WGPU Fort Myers, WUFT Gainesville, WUSF Tampa, and WFSU Tallahassee.

The program is written, produced and hosted by Ben Brotemarkle. Field production, post production, and editing are by Jon White. Program sponsors include the Jessie Ball duPont Fund, Florida's Space Coast Office of Tourism; and the Department of State, Division of Historical Resources and the State of Florida.

**FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AWARDS
PRESENTED MAY 17, 2018, AT THE ANNUAL
MEETING AND SYMPOSIUM,
HYATT REGENCY SARASOTA**

2018 CHARLTON TEBEAU AWARD

For a general interest book on a Florida history topic

JOHN CAPOUYA

Florida Soul: From Ray Charles to KC and the Sunshine Band
(University Press of Florida)

2018 REMBERT PATRICK AWARD

For a scholarly book on a Florida history topic

JULIO CAPÓ JR.

Welcome to Fairyland: Queer Miami Before 1940
(University of North Carolina Press)

2018 PATRICK D. SMITH AWARD

For a book of fiction on a Florida history topic

TIM ROBINSON

The Tropical Frontier: The Indian Fighter
(Port Sun Publishing)

2018 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

JULIO CAPÓ JR.

Welcome to Fairyland: Queer Miami Before 1940
(University of North Carolina Press)

2018 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

JULIO CAPÓ JR.

Welcome to Fairyland: Queer Miami Before 1940
(University of North Carolina Press)

2018 SAMUEL PROCTOR AWARD

For an outstanding oral history project substantially about Florida

LYNDA S. CORLEY

Conversations from Cecil Field, Florida: Transcriptions of Oral History Recordings of the Nineteen Who Served

2018 JAMES J. HORGAN AWARD

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

JUDY LINDQUIST

Forcing Change

(Florida Historical Society Press)

2018 ARTHUR W. THOMPSON AWARD

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

JODY BAXTER NOLL

“We Are Not Hired Help’: The 1968 Statewide Florida Teacher Strike and the Formation of Modern Florida”

Volume 95, No. 4, (Winter, 2017)

2018 DAVID C. BROTEMARKLE AWARD

For creative expressions of Florida history other than books

FRANK THOMAS

The Frank Thomas Florida Songbook

(Florida Historical Society Press)

2018 MARINUS LATOUR AWARD

For an outstanding volunteer in a local historical society, library,
museum

or other Florida history-related program or organization

WILMER PEARSON

Ringling Museum

Volunteer of the Year

2018 DOROTHY DODD LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

RICHARD PRESCOTT

Florida Historical Society Board Member

**2018 CAROLINE P. ROSSETTER AWARD FOR
OUTSTANDING WOMAN IN FLORIDA HISTORY**

JANE LANDERS
Historian and Author

2018 PRESIDENTIAL CITATION

HARVEY E. OYER, III
Shutts & Bowen LLP

**The Following Awards Sponsored by the Florida Historical Society
Were Presented at the Florida History Day Tallahassee on
May 8, 2018**

FLORIDA HERITAGE AWARD

KENDALL BULLOCK
*The History of Florida Phosphate Mining: An Industry Stuck Between a
Rock and a Hard Place*
Junior Individual Documentary

East Lake Middle School Academy of Engineering (Pinellas)
Teacher: Oren Schlierer

FREDERICK CUBBERLY FLORIDA HISTORY AWARD

ANDREW CRABTREE
*Jim Crow joins Up: Conflicts and Compromises of the Buffalo Soldiers in
the Spanish American War*
Junior Historical Paper

Merritt Brown Middle School (Bay)
Teacher: Christine Sermons, Susan Granberg

Florida Historical Quarterly News

FHQ WEBSITE

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* now has its own website. Previously *Quarterly* patrons found information about the journal on the Florida Historical Society webpage or on the University of Central Florida Department of History webpage. You can still reach the *Quarterly* through those sites. Now, however, you can find the *FHQ* at its own, expanded site: <http://fhq.cah.ucf.edu>

On the **Home** page, users can see the editorial staff, connect to JSTOR and PALMM, see the current Facebook posts, and Donate.

A Current Issue page shows the cover and the Table of Contents of the most recent issue.

The **Thompson Award** page lists award winners since 2000.

The **Submissions** page provides guidelines for manuscript submissions, book reviewers, and advertising.

The **Membership** tab takes you directly to the membership page of the FHS.

E-FHQ connects you to the *FHQ* podcasts; *FHQ* Online informs readers about JSTOR, Florida Heritage, and PALMM. The **Copyright and Permissions** tab informs users about copyright and permission to use requirements.

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: Unsanctioned 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, 1944-1957: 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.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, and an abstract of each article. There is also a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society. Go to the *FHQ* to find information on recent "Calls for Papers" for conferences in Florida and the South.

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 be 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

Scot French, digital editor: scot.french@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 Daniel.Murphree@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 Daniel.Murphree@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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World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send notices of movies eligible for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

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
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- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change
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