Cracker: The History of a Southeastern Ethnic, Economic, and Racial Epithet*

John Solomon Otto

Literally dozens of epithets for white rustics circulate today in America, including such terms as *backwoodsman, countryman, hayseed, hick, hoosier, hillbilly,* and *cracker.* Several of these, including *backwoodsman, countryman, hayseed,* and *hick,* are found throughout the eastern United States. Other terms - *hoosier* and *hillbilly* - are used over much of the Midwest and upper South.[1] The curious epithet of *cracker,* however, is largely confined to the southeastern states of Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas.[2]

Webster defines a Cracker as "an impoverished white person in the rural section" of the southeastern United States, "especially in Georgia and Florida."[3] Linguists have found that *cracker* was the first choice when Floridians were asked to supply an epithet for a white rustic or ruralite. In Georgia, it was the second choice. Elsewhere in the Southeast, the term was less common.[4]

As is the case with other epithets, there is much disagreement about the origins of the term *cracker.* Some have argued that it was an archaic expression for a boaster or a braggart.[5] It has also been suggested that *cracker* is onomatopoeic, deriving from the cracking sound made when Southeastern farmers ground their corn into meal.[6] Most commonly, it has been stated that the term came from the cracking whips which Southeastern herders used to drive their cattle.[7] And finally, it has been claimed that the epithet originated with the whips which Southeastern slaveholders cracked over the backs of their black servants.[8]

* Research funds were provided by an NEH State, Local, and Regional Studies grant, a Newberry Library fellowship, and a John Carter Brown Library fellowship.

Despite the controversy about its origins, scholars have agreed that *cracker* was one of the earliest epithets used in America. The term appeared in the American English vocabulary as early as the 1760s. In 1767, for example, a contributor to a South Carolina newspaper reported that a number of Georgia frontiersmen, or "Crackers," had raided an Indian village near Augusta.[9]

Augusta, Georgia, lay in the Southeastern "Backcountry" - the piedmont and mountain frontier of Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia - which was settled between 1725 and 1775. Although the Backcountry inhabitants included some English and Germans as well as African slaves, the vast majority of Backcountrymen were "Scotch-Irish," or Irish Presbyterians of Scottish descent.[10]

The Scotch-Irish hailed from northern Ireland, where they lived under Anglo-Irish rule. Since few Scotch-Irish owned land, they had to rent farms at exorbitant rates from Anglo-Irish landlords. Though the Scotch-Irish were Presbyterians, they had to pay tithes to support the established Anglican Church, which they did not attend. Seeking relief from high rents and religious discrimination, the Scotch-Irish began immigrating to the American colonies after 1715.[11] Most entered Pennsylvania, a colony known for its religious and ethnic tolerance. Settling initially in Pennsylvania, many Scotch-Irish then moved southward into the sparsely-settled Southeastern Backcountry of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, where lands were far cheaper than in Pennsylvania.[12]

The Backcountry, however, came under the political rule of the "Low Country" - the coastal areas of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, which were settled between 1607 and 1775. Many Low Country whites were of English descent, and most were Anglicans. Having left Ireland to escape English landlords and the Anglican Church, the Scotch-Irish Backcountrymen resented their English Low Country rulers, who appointed sheriffs to collect taxes in the Backcountry. Angered by the high-handed tax collectors, the Scotch-Irish Backcountrymen resorted to mob violence. Between 1766 and 1770, the Backcountry exploded in a popular rebellion, which was known as the Regulation.[13] The Scotch-Irish rebels, in turn, became known as Regulators or as Crackers.[14]

In the mid-eighteenth century, *cracker* was a Scottish colloquialism for a boaster.[15] Samuel Johnson apparently drew upon this folk definition when he compiled his famous English dictionary in 1755. Johnson defined a Cracker as "a noisy, boasting fellow."[16] And by 1766, the term was being used as a synonym for *boaster* in the Southeastern Low Country of the United States. In that year, a coastal Georgian who was writing to an

English earl mentioned the "lawless set of rascalls [sic] on the frontiers of Virginia, ... the Carolinas, and Georgia," who earned the name of Crackers by "being great boasters."[17]

By 1775, the eve of the Revolutionary War, *cracker* had become a common ethnic epithet for the Scotch-Irish Backcountrymen.[18] Whenever outsiders ventured into the Backcountry, they looked askance at the speech and behavior of the Scotch-Irish Crackers. As an example, the Rev. Charles Woodmason, an Anglican missionary who toured the Backcountry, had his sedate sermons repeatedly interrupted by Scotch-Irish "Presbyterians who kept hallooing and whooping ... like Indians." Enraged by the conduct of the Backcountrymen, Woodmason called them "Crackers" - men who will "bluster and make a Noise about a Turd - And they'l [sic] think they have a Right, because they are American born to do as they please ... and say what they please to any Body."[19]

Although the English-born Woodmason regarding the boasting Crackers as the "scum of the Earth,"[20] the Scotch-Irish Backcountrymen were successful frontiersmen, who effectively adapted to the Backcountry hardwood forests. In the Backcountry, Scotch-Irish settlers acquired small homesteads on which they constructed houses and outbuildings of horizontally-joined logs. After building log cabins, Scotch-Irish farmers cleared fields from the hardwood forests, and they planted corn - a crop which yielded an abundance of grain to feed their families and to fatten their livestock. Fencing in their corn fields, Backcountrymen raised hogs and cattle in the unfenced hardwood forests, or "open-range," which surrounded their homesteads. During most of the year, hogs fed on mast (nuts and sprouts) in the hardwood forests, while cattle browsed in grassy glades within the woods. Each fall, Backcountrymen gathered up their hogs and cattle, spared the breeding stock, fattened some animals for home butchering, and sold the rest. Backcountry herders annually trailed thousands of hogs and cattle to coastal cities for sale. By selling surplus livestock and by growing corn for home use, Backcountrymen easily met their cash and subsistence needs.[21]

Backcountry frontiersmen achieved a measure of economic wealth, but their agricultural economy required an abundance of forest land for successful operation. Each hog in the Backcountry needed several acres of forest in order to find enough mast, and each cow required over fifteen acres of forest range in order to find enough grass during the year.[22] Before the Revolutionary War (1775-83), forest land was abundant in the Backcountry. As late as 1775, the Backcountry contained fewer than 250,000 inhabitants, and most of the land was unfenced forest range. But

after the war, Low Country farmers and planters poured into the sparsely-settled Backcountry, claiming lands, clearing forests, and fencing fields. As newcomers swelled the Backcountry population, fenced fields expanded at the expense of the forest range.[23]

Finding it difficult to raise livestock on the diminishing range, many countrymen migrated westward into the hardwood forests of the trans-Appalachian frontier, while others moved southward into the pine forests of coastal Georgia and Florida. In the sparsely-settled pinewoods, Backcountrymen reproduced much of their lifestyle, claiming homesteads, building log cabins, clearing land for corn fields, and raising hogs and cattle in the unfenced pine forests.[24] And in the pinewoods, the Backcountry settlers retained their moniker of Crackers.

When Northern and foreign travelers entered the pinewoods of Georgia and Florida during the antebellum years (1790-1860), they spotted small homesteads which were occupied by white families of modest means. Asking local planters and townspeople about these white rustics, travelers learned they were Crackers:

> The people who have made settlements along the stage route are ... termed 'Crackers'; I think that is the way to spell it. All out of the rank of gentlemen are called 'Crackers'. They are a poor, shiftless set, living in log-houses, which are pretty well ventilated. Each one owns perhaps ... two or three hundred acres of pine land which they (or most of them) do not take the trouble to clear, but merely fence in.[25]

Viewing the humble log cabins and tiny corn fields on these homesteads, sojourners frequently dismissed Crackers as "poor white" farmers, or "corn-crackers," who raised and cracked corn for their sustenance: "These people ... are known by the name of 'Crackers,' so called for the circumstance that they ... pounded all their corn, which is their principal article of diet."[26]

Though travelers regarded Crackers as lower-class farmers, the federal census manuscripts from counties in the Florida and Georgia pinewoods present a more complex picture of those "out of the rank of gentlemen." In spite of the ten year gaps between censuses, these unpublished federal records (1820-60) contain the most comprehensive data available on the inhabitants of the pinewoods counties. The 1850 and 1860 manuscript census schedules are especially valuable: Schedules I list the names and occupations of free inhabitants in each county; Schedules II enumerate the slaves held by free inhabitants; and Schedules IV list the lands, crops, and animals of the county's agriculturalists.[27] By collating the data from

Schedules I, II, and IV, one may determine the occupations of free people, their wealth in slaves, lands, and livestock, and their socioeconomic standing.

The 1850 and 1860 census schedules from Florida pinewoods counties revealed two classes among antebellum Crackers. There was a minority of lower-class agriculturalists, who held no slaves, owned fewer than a hundred acres of land, grew small amounts of corn, and claimed only a handful of livestock. These poor farmers were apparently the models for the "corn-cracker" stereotype, which was popularized by antebellum travelers. In contrast to these poor corn-crackers, there was a majority of middle-class agriculturalists, who held one or two slaves, owned more than a hundred acres of land, grew quantities of corn and other crops, and claimed dozens of cattle and hogs.[28] Their holdings in cattle were particularly impressive, and these middle-class Crackers apparently specialized in cattle-raising.

This picture of a two-class Cracker society is bolstered by reminiscences, oral traditions, and local histories from the Florida and Georgia pinewoods. In these sources, most pinewoods folk are portrayed not as lower-class corn-crackers but as middle-class "whip-crackers," who raised cattle and hogs in the unfenced forests surrounding their homesteads.[29] To herd cattle in the pine forests, they used long whips which tapered to a tip or "cracker." The pinewoods cattle-raisers proudly claimed that their sobriquet of Crackers came from these distinctive whips.[30]

Cattle-raising not only furnished beef for whip-cracker households but also provided the major source of income. During most of the year, cattle fattened on the native grasses of the pinewoods, requiring neither supplemental fodder nor veterinary care. But once or twice a year, owners rode into the pine forests, located their cattle, and drove them in with cracking whips. After branding the calves and releasing the breeding stock in the pinewoods, whip-crackers collected the beef steers and drove the beeves along overland trails to market in Savannah, Georgia, or Tampa, Florida.

Whip-crackers often earned hundreds of dollars from their annual cattle sales, but they lived modestly in log cabins, dressed in home-spun garments, and ate home-grown foods. On their homesteads, whip-crackers cleared a few acres of pinewoods, and they planted enough corn, sweet potatoes, and peas to feed their families and to fatten livestock for home butchering. Given this self-sufficient lifestyle, there were few cash outlays. Whip-crackers paid their property taxes, bought a few necessities such as salt and utensils, and acquired occasional luxuries.[32] With the remainder of their cash incomes, whip-crackers accumulated

substantial amounts of property. The typical whip-cracker in southern Florida, for example, owned one slave, 152 acres of land, 38 hogs, and 200 head of cattle.[33]

Although cattle-raising became the leading agricultural pursuit in the Florida and Georgia pinewoods by 1860,[34] this agricultural adaptation required an abundance of pinewoods land for continued success. Since each cow needed to range over fifteen acres of forest land in order to find enough grass during the year, a typical herd of two hundred cattle required over 3,000 acres of pinewoods range. Few whip-crackers owned this much range, but they grazed their cattle on the public lands, which were held in trust by the state governments. State laws permitted citizens to graze their cattle on publicly-owned pinewoods at no charge.[35]

Losing their pinewoods range to the timber companies, many Georgia Crackers abandoned cattle-raising as an occupation. They turned to cotton-growing in an effort to earn cash for taxes and consumer goods. To grow cotton, Crackers had to buy cotton seed, tools, and other supplies from local merchants on credit. If cotton prices were high, they paid off their loans and turned a small profit. But if cotton prices were low, they fell into debt, often losing their farms to the merchants.[37] Landless Crackers then joined the growing mass of urban mill workers and rural share croppers - farmers who rented lands in exchange for a share of the cotton crop. By 1900, *cracker* had become a common epithet for a poor Georgia millworker or sharecropper.[38]

Cattle-raising survived longer in Florida, where rainy weather limited cotton-growing, and where timber companies permitted Crackers to graze cattle on rented pinewoods range. After timber companies stripped off the valuable pine trees from their lands, they leased treeless tracts to Cracker cattle-raisers for a nominal sum. Grazing their stock on leased timber lands, many Florida Crackers maintained their traditional cattle-raising economy until World War Two.[39]

But after the war, cattle-raising gave way to commercial farming and urban development in much of Florida. Truck farmers and citrus growers acquired great tracts of pinewoods land for their fields and orchards. In addition, urban areas impinged on the pinewoods range, as thousands of retired Northerners settled in housing developments and trailer parks.[40]

Raising cattle on the pinewoods range was not compatible with agribusiness and urban life. Range cattle trampled fields of vegetables and invaded citrus groves. Equally important, range cattle strayed onto public

highways and streets, where they collided with cars and trucks.[41]

Complaints about traffic accidents and stray cattle prompted the Florida legislature to pass a law in 1949, requiring all stock owners to fence in their cattle. Owners who negligently allowed their stock to wander into highways could be fined or imprisoned. This law effectively ended the era of pinewoods grazing in Florida.

Losing their right to graze cattle on the pinewoods range, Florida Crackers abandoned cattle-raising as a livelihood. They turned to marginal farming and to part-time industrial work, sinking from the middle-class into the lower-class. Today, *Cracker* has become a common name for an impoverished white ruralite in Florida.[43]

Although *cracker* is a well-known economic epithet in Florida and Georgia, the term also serves as a racial epithet among Southeastern blacks. In black speech, *cracker* means 'an overt white racist' as well as a poor white rustic.[44] And when uttered by blacks, the epithet is spoken with the "anger of a whip striking," as in "That *Cracker*!"[45]

Cracker originated among Southeastern whites, but the epithet entered the black vocabulary over a century ago. During the early nineteenth century, most Southeastern blacks referred to whites as *buckras* - an Africanism which derived from the Efik word *mbakara* 'a white man.'[46] Recognizing the economic differences that existed among antebellum whites, black slaves differentiated between the "big buckras" (rich whites) and the "poor buckras" (middle-and lower-class whites).[47] But by the mid-nineteenth century, Southeastern blacks were also applying word *cracker* to the "poor buckras" of the Southeastern states. One white sojourner in antebellum Georgia recalled several black slaves mocking a Cracker woman who was dressed in home-made garments: "I have seen the servants when one of these poor women came into a planter's house, dressed in her homespun frock, bonnet, and shawl, collect together in an adjoining room or on the piazza and indulge in a fit of laughter and ridicule about her 'Cracker' gown and bonnet, as they would call them."[48]

Black contempt for Crackers escalated after the Civil War. Cracker cattle-raisers, whose way of life was threatened by postbellum economic change, accused recently-freed blacks of stealing their livestock.[49] Fearing their Cracker neighbors, most blacks left the pinewoods of Georgia and Florida for the relative safety of Southern cities and plantations. Those blacks who remained in the pinewoods required white "sponsors" to protect them from sporadic mob violence.[50] Not surprisingly, Crackers earned the undying enmity of Southeastern blacks.

As an example, a traveler who was visiting a Florida city in the 1880s observed a verbal duel between two black stevedores, which escalated into a fist fight when one called the other a Cracker:

> One day passing along the quay at Jacksonville ... I observed two black men quarreling. Amid the shower of epithets, the word 'Cracker' struck my ear. The man thus called became furious, and fell upon his antagonist literally with tooth and nail. He evidently had been supremely insulted, and no verbal retaliation could satisfy him.[51]

In the Southern cities, urban blacks maintained their dislike for Crackers. Even the black children's songs and boasts featured the epithet of *cracker*. As a child in Baton Rouge, the black leader, Lynne H. "Rap" Brown recited the following boast or "rap":

> Walked 49 miles of barb wire and
> used a Cobra snake for a necktie,
> And got a brand new house on the roadside
> made from a Cracker's hide,
> Got a brand new chimney setting on top
> made from the Cracker's skull.[52]

And when Southern blacks migrated to the Northern cities during the twentieth century, they carried the epithet of *cracker* with them. But with the migration of the urban ghettos, *cracker* underwent changes in etymology and application. Today, urban blacks believe that *cracker* comes from the cracking whips which white slaveholders used to punish black slaves.[53] In turn, urban blacks now apply the epithet to "all white people who are especially prejudiced," and not just to the prejudiced whites of Georgia and Florida.[54]

University of Maryland

Notes

[1] Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Sarah A. Witham, "Poor Whites and Rustics," *Names* 22, no. 3 (1974), 93-96.

[2] Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Virginia McDavid, "*Cracker* and *Hoosier*," *Names* 21, no. 3 (1973), 164-65.

[3] Jean L. McKechnie, ed., *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 423.

[4] Gordon R. Wood, *Vocabulary Change: A Study of Variation in Regional Words in Eight of the Southern States* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), 38.

[5] Mitford M. Mathews, *A Dictionary of Americanisms: On Historical Principles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 426.

[6] Mozelle C. Hill and Brevode C. McCall, "'Cracker Culture': A Preliminary Definition," *Phylon* 11, no. 3 (1950), 224.

[7] Hill and McCall, 224; Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942), 59, 217.

[8] Malachi Andrew and Paul Owens, *Black Language* (West Los Angeles: Seymour-Smith Publisher, 1973), 70.

[9] McDavid and McDavid, 164; Editor, "Cracker," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 22, no. 3 (1921), 99.

[10] John S. Otto, "Upland South Folk Culture," *Mid-America Folklore* 9, no. 3 (1981), 74; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), 131-32.

[11] R.J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America 1718-1775* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 2-5, 13, 39.

[12] James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 189-92; E.E. Evans, "Culture and Land Use in the Old West of North America," *Heidelberger Geographische Arbeiter* 15 (1966), 73-74.

[13] Bridenbaugh, 3, 30, 61, 75, 159-63.

[14] Richard M. Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 39; *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society: The Letters of Hon. James Habersham 1756-1775* (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1904), VI, 203-204.

[15] John Jamieson, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1879), I, 518.

[16] See under "Cracker" in Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: W. Strahan, 1755).

[17] M.M. Mathews, "Of Matters Lexicographical," *American Speech* 34, no. 2 (1959), 127.

[18] For example, see *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), XIV, 475-76; Anthony Stokes, *A View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies* (London: printed for the author, 1783), 140-41; Col. George Hanger, *The Life, Adventures, and Opinions of Col. George Hanger* (London: J. Debrett, 1801), II, 404-405.

[19] Richard J. Hooker, ed., *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 17, 154.

[20] Ibid., 60.

[21] The agricultural economy of the Backcountry frontiersmen is discussed in John S. Otto, "The Migration of the Southern Plain Folk," *Journal of Southern History* 51, no. 2 (1985), 189-190.

[22] See Sam B. Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South 1840-1860* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 98, 136.

[23] See Otto, "Migration of the Southern Plain Folk," 190-91.

[24] The migration of the Backcountrymen and their settlement in the coastal pinewoods is discussed in John S. Otto and Nain E. Anderson, "The Diffusion of Upland South Folk Culture, 1790-1840," *Southeastern Geographer* 22, no. 2 (1982), 89-99.

[25] Benson J. Lossing, *Memoir of Lieut. Col. John T. Greble of the United States Army [1854]* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1870), 29; see also J.S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1842), I, 210; Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (London; John Murray, 1849), I, 326; Rosalie Roos, *Travels in America 1851-1855*, trans. and ed. by Carl L. Anderson, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 97.

[26] Emily P. Burke, *Reminiscences of Georgia* (Oberlin, Ohio: James Fitch, 1850), 25; see also Edmund Kirke, *Among the Pines: or, South in Secession-Time* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1862), 264-65.

[27] See Barnes F. Lathrop, *Migration into East Texas 1835-1860: A Study from the United States Census* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1949), 3, 6-9.

[28] Manuscript returns of the Seventh and Eighth U. S. Census (1850-60), Schedules I (Free Inhabitants), Schedules II (Slaves Inhabitants) and Schedules IV (Agriculture), State of Florida, on microfilm at the Robert M. Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

[29] For example, see F.C.M. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars* (Arcada, FL: Champion, 1900); E.I. Wiggins, *A History of the Mt. Enon Association* (Tampa: privately printed, 1921); John B. Pate, *History of Turner County* (Atlanta: Stein, 1933).

[30] Julia E. Harn, "Notes and Documents: Old Canoochee Backwoods Sketches," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (1939), 390.

[31] Pate, 41-42; Fussell M. Chalker, *Pioneer Days Along the Ocmulgee* (Carrollton, GA.: Thomasson, 1970), 45; Boggess, 76.

[32] Wiggins, 4-5; Chalker, 43; Laura S. Walker, *History of Ware County, Georgia* (Macon: J.W. Burke, 1934), 23.

[33] John S. Otto, "Hillsborough County (1850): A Community in the South Florida Flatwoods," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (1983), 190.

[34] D. Ewart, "Florida," *DeBow's Review* 30 (1860), 645; W.A. Covington, *History of Colquitt County* (Atlanta: Foote and Davies, 1937), 81-83.

[35] Hilliard, 136; Leslie A. Thompson, *A Manual or Digest of the Statute Law of the State of Florida* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1847), 135.

[36] Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan, *The South Since Appomattox: A Century of Regional Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 57; Kay L. Cothran, "Pines and Pineywoods Life in South Georgia," *Proceedings of the Pioneer American Society*, no. 2 (Falls Church, Va.: Pioneer America Society, 1973), 74.

[37] See Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation," *American Historical Review* 85, no. 5 (1980), 1116-18.

[38] Clare de Graffenried, "The Georgia Cracker in the Cotton Mills," *The Century Magazine*, 41, no. 4 (1891), 484-88; "Life of the Georgia Cracker," *Current Literature* 27, No. 1 (1900), 30-31.

[39] Oliver E. Baker, "Agricultural Regions of North America: Part II-The South," *Economic Geography* 3, no. 1 (1927), 50, 58-59; W. Theodore Mealor, Jr., and Merle C. Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66, no. 3 (1976), 366, 373.

[40] William T. Mealor, Jr., "The Open Range in South Florida and Its Contemporary Successors," (Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1972), 92.

[41] Ibid., 98-99.

[42] Editor, "Cattlemen Must Make New Cattle Law Work," *The Florida Cattleman* 13, no. 11 (1949), 6, 23.

[43] Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman* (Kissimmee: Florida Cattleman's Association, 1976), 60, 253-55.

[44] David Claerbaut, *Black Jargon in White America* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.), 61.

[45] Andrews and Owens, 70.

[46] Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 191.

[47] Eugene D. Genovese, "'Rather Be a Nigger than a Poor White Man': Slave Perceptions of Southern Yeomen and Poor Whites," in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Toward a New View of America* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), 82; Elizabeth W.A. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), 17.

[48] Burke, 207.

[49] See Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation," *Journal of Southern History* 41, no. 2 (1975), 164-65.

[50] Hill and McCall, 229-31.

[51] "Florida 'Crackers'," *Littell's Living Age* no. 2059 (1883), 625.

[52] H. "Rap" Brown, *Die Nigger Die* (New York: The Dial Press, 1969), 27-28.

[53] Clarence Major, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slang* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 42.

[54] Ken Johnson, "The Vocabulary of Race," in Thomas Kochman, ed., *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 143; see also Geneva Smitherman, *Talkin and Testifyin: The Language of Black America* (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1977), 252-53.