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January 5, 1994

Representative Hurley Rudd
40 House Office Building
Tallahassee, Florida 32399-1300

Dear Mr. Rudd:

I am writing with regard to irregularities in the "Rosewood Investigative Team" report rendered December 22 under the joint aegis of The Florida State University, Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University, and The University of Florida to the Board of Regents of the State University System and to the Florida Legislature. The report is titled, "A Documented History of the Incident which Occurred at Rosewood, Florida, in January 1923."

Since the report is to be used by the Florida Legislature in addressing a claims case, it is doubly important that the report be examined in light of the realities it distorts or ignores.

Among other things, the report raises questions about collusion between authors of the report and a claimant-organization under the direction of legal counsel seeking monies from the State of Florida. The report is not a work of scholarship but an offense against scholarship.

I have been acknowledged by the Rosewood Investigative Team to be the leading authority on the subject of the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, in 1923, and I was a contributor to the report--but, as I found over time, I was not contributing to a genuine scholarly effort. Apparently after three separate Florida universities insisted on placing investigators in the endeavor, few resources were left for the actual investigation. There was never a research plan, Team members have said. Delusions initially held by some Team members* apparently formed a bewildering amalgam as the report deadline neared without facts in hand (the deadline had to be extended once). The result was a confusing document filled with internal contradiction, background material about race relations generally, garbled names and places, and unsupported assertions.

At the end of this preliminary discussion I have attempted to itemize some of the inaccuracies in the report.

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* see "Rosewood Massacre: Testimony of Surviving Witnesses," by R. Thomas Dye, a paper refused for publication and imbued with an unfathomable will to assert imaginary material as fact.

Over the past twelve years I have sought and interviewed more than eighty witnesses with knowledge about Rosewood, including many eyewitnesses black and white. Most of these witnesses were deceased by the time the Team was formed in 1993.

Most of the Team's report is based on a very few interviews conducted under secretive and manipulated conditions, and on three mysterious adversarial depositions taken by attorneys for the plaintiffs against the State of Florida in the claims case. These depositions have given rise to statements whose falsehood is remarkable. I personally know the witnesses who were deposed, and one of them, Lee Ruth Davis, certainly did not make some of the statements imputed to her in this deposition process, and she has said so. The depositions remain secret. Why were they not appended to the report with other testimony? Why were many other items of supposed support for the report--such as land deeds--also left out?

In a sense the State of Florida has paid more than $75,000 (in university grants and the Speaker's grant) to endorse misleading documents designed, not to seek truth, but to attack the State and obtain yet more money.

I say this though my sympathies are with the genuine survivors of Rosewood. They have been put forward as symbols, and have become pawns on a murky battleground. Though they are only a handful out of millions who can also legitimately say they suffered from past wrongs, I think their raised hopes deserve special consideration.

However, in its cryptic "Genealogy" section, the report seems clearly to present as survivors and descendants persons who did not live in Rosewood when it was destroyed, or were not descended from same, while leaving out a large number of persons who did and were [please see itemization, following].

There is no justice in this report. Some survivors are pampered and their myths are indulged. Other survivors are swept aside as if they never existed, and cut from the pot of dreamed-of claimant riches.

Moreover there is a passage (pp. 186-189, Appendix) that libels me personally. The manner in which this was done raises questions about a sub rosa relationship between Team members and a claimant-advocate. Arnett Doctor, the son of a woman who was a child visiting in Rosewood when it was destroyed, has come to hold numerous delusions, such as that Rosewood was called "the black mecca," that it posessed some 50-60 two-story houses, and that it was a city as important as Atlanta [these views of Doctor's were published in an interview of him by <u>The Tampa Tribune</u>, May 16, 1993; he has also shared his views with me in interviews].

Three members of the Rosewood Investigative Team, as shown by their interview with Arnett Doctor September 23, 1993, seem to have viewed him not as a valuable source of knowledge about descendant beliefs, but as an expert adviser on the behavior of a researcher--that is, on myself.

p. 186: "Question: Well, you certainly have enlightened us a great deal.

Question: Have you been in touch with your [sic] Gary Moore?

Respondent: I spoke to Gary about a month ago... I expressed my desire to have him come down and share his information with the fact finding committee...and he assured me that Arnett I really want to do that Gary said... I said that it don't seem like you are doing that I hear you are playing hard ball and I hear that you are saying that this is your story...But he assured me that he was going to come down and join you guys and share.

Question: I wonder if he will work with us.

Respondent: Gary is a very astute, brilliant writer, I think, but I think Gary is committed, contractually, to O. McCarthy, a gentleman who is trying to make a movie and is trying to line his pockets with gold at our expense, and I think Gary is contractually tied to him....I think that's basically the reason he can't move...

Question: Do you think it's an exercise in futility on our part to try to get various documents from him that we have identified Mr. Moore is to have certain documents and we called him, do you think, even if its a nominal kind of cost would forward to us those documents?

Respondent: I sure hope he would. Again, the only reason I see Gary not doing this, unless he really snowed me, is that he has a contractual agreement and can not release anything ...Why, I give everybody the benefit of the doubt.

Question: You've been very cooperative Mr. Doctor and we hope Mr. Moore will be as well."

The Team was asking Arnett Doctor questions--about me--to which the Team knew the answers, and which answers were the opposite of what the questions implied.

I had been repeatedly on the phone with Team members up to the very day of the interview--offering to help, and protesting the secrecy surrounding interviews. The day before, William Rogers had promised to call me and did not. Maxine Jones had sent me letters Aug. 23 and Sept. 10: "It may not be necessary for you to travel to Florida..." Repeatedly, though I had originally been invited to join the Team as a consultant, my participation was postponed and prevented while I protested the Team's secrecy and failure to address delusional aspects of the claims case. As far as any "documents" held by me, I hold some public-record photocopies of deeds and marriage records and many audiotapes of survivor interviews; the challenge of Rosewood investigation is that there are so few written records, placing the burden of proof on the interviewing of witnesses, as I had repeatedly told the Team in writing and by phone.

And further, why was it Arnett Doctor who was asked? Is he a specialist on the behavior of journalists? He had indeed called me mysteriously (I wrote "out of the blue" in my notes of the conversation) a month before the Team's interview, on August 21--a Saturday night. He said nothing about me playing hardball or being contractually tied to McCarthy (I'm certainly not). Much of the call was devoted to me pursuing facts regarding Doctor's false statements (he said he had found new Rosewood survivors--who are in fact phantoms). His call had the sound of being a setup. The interview a month later by three State University System faculty members seems thus possibly to have been staged, as a coy, planned followup to the call--in order to impugn my credibility in the record. If so, this perversion of scholarship is very serious.

"As late as tonight," Doctor told me in the mysterious phone call August 21, "I was speaking to [Investigative Team member] Larry Rivers" [of FAMU].

Correspondence from members of the Rosewood Investigative Team just previous to the Sept. 23 interview makes this abundantly clear. It was the Team that was keeping its proceedings closed to my scrutiny, not vice versa. At the least, the Team has been manipulated by advocates and spokesmen attached to the claimant group in the Rosewood case; the above interview raises questions as to whether the process may have reached two-way collusion.

Arnett Doctor has been described by Stephen F. Hanlon, the lead attorney for Holland & Knight in representing the Rosewood claimants against the State of Florida, as Hanlon's "point man"--a claimant-organizer who takes orders from counsel and transmits

them to the claimant group at large, making sure that all hew to the party line. This same claimant-representative, Doctor, is said by the Rosewood Investigative Team to have been the Team's only avenue for locating Rosewood survivors and descendants. This is only one of the reasons why the supposed authority and objectivity of this report are shams. Hanlon was present at all the Team's interviews, and boasted of being passed information helpful to his case by a Team member.

In effect one of the unacknowledged products--and quite possibly an intentional goal--of the Rosewood Investigative Team was the protection of delusions and deceptions that have underpinned the claims case against the State of Florida. Can Florida scholarship do no better than to aid in extorting money from the state through lies?

As a journalist I have contributed to "60 Minutes" (about Rosewood), Newsweek, The Wall Street Journal, Columbia Journalism Review, The Washington Post, The Miami Herald, The St. Petersburg Times, The Los Angeles Times, and others. I have received two foundation grants for on-site studies of the dynamics of mass violence in Central America, and I was the recipient last year of the national William Allen White Award for regional magazine writing.

An itemized sampling of some of the specific inaccuracies in the Rosewood Investigative Team report follows.

Sincerely,

Gary Moore

Here are some of the irregularities in the Rosewood Investigative Team report, starting at the first mention of Rosewood in the report's 93-page Summary booklet.

The booklet does not turn from generalities about race relations to specific examination of Rosewood until page 19. The first reminiscence listed is on p. 20, and sets the tone:

> "Elsie Collins Campbell, a white woman of Cedar Key, once lived at Rosewood, and was about three years old at the time of the disturbance. She remembered the village as one of green forests. This view is shared universally by..."

Imagine this! The memory of a three-year-old that there were forests at Rosewood (and that they were green) is showcased as the opening proof. This is all Campbell says here. Why is she included at all, when a wealth of detailed, historiographically significant material could have been obtained by the Team, if it had used responsible methods? If Campbell was three "at the time of the disturbance," then she was <u>even younger</u> when she allegedly lived previously at Rosewood. Certainly she did not live there <u>after</u> the community was destroyed. Is this a memory from the womb? This passage--like the whole report--reads like someone's dream. There are no real criteria whatever--other than the Team's dreamy convenience--for admissibility of evidence.

p. 20 "Population estimates of the settlement...vary..." [cites St. Petersburg Evening Independent, January 5, 1923] Why does the report cite a distant newspaper making a blind population guess about an isolated black community--when there are house-by-house census counts, both the Florida Census and the U.S. Census? The reason comes clear below.

p. 20 "Rosewood and nearby Sumner constituted a precinct of 307 people in 1910...by 1920 the population had more than doubled to 638..."
The report misleads the Legislature, which will be judging the claims case, by lumping together Rosewood, which was destroyed, with larger Sumner, which was not, and with other communities like Wylly (also not touched by the violence) that the report seems unaware are in the total.
The U.S. Census lists Rosewood as home to 118 persons. The report never quite manages to tell us that it is not telling us this.
Similar waffling throughout the report makes it clear that the authors have remained so ignorant of Rosewood that they cannot tell where Rosewood ends and other populations listed on the census begin.

(The Appendix of the report contains a long--but unlabeled and mystifying--list of names from census tracts lumping Sumner, Rosewood, and Wylly together without showing any indication of this, or suggesting where Rosewood begins and the other settlements end. Here, too, of 616 persons on this list, only 118 of them lived in Rosewood. The Team was not well enough acquainted with Rosewood's real population pool to be able to make this determination; nor did they ever ask me about it.)

p. 20 "The Rosewood voting precinct in 1920 had 355 African Americans." This is doubly deceptive. I had made members of the committee aware that the U.S. Census of 1920 shows no more than 120 inhabitants. The voting precinct cited above was called "Sumner," not Rosewood. The community of Rosewood comprised only a small part of the precinct. If the (unnamed) author of this passage is pinned down and asked for evidence, it seems likely that many of the mistakes will be admitted, because they are based on wish rather than verification.
Moreover, please note that to say "the Rosewood voting precinct" had "355 African Americans" implies 355 adults--voters. This figure, inflated in the first place, contains many children in the second place.

p. 20 "a small hamlet of twenty-five or thirty families." Rosewood probably had no more than twenty households at the time of the violence. All memories by survivors have agreed on this.

p. 21 Concerns Rosewood's history in the 1800s. There are numerous small errors here that I haven't the energy to enumerate.

p. 22 "The village's largest total population was seven hundred in 1915." Delusion at its finest. Ignorance enables the lumping together of surrounding communities such as Sumner, Wylly, even Geiger Creek on the coast as "Rosewood" because the analyst is too ignorant of Rosewood's details to know where it stopped and other communities began.

p. 22 "...in 1923 blacks made up the majority." Willful understatement, whose background I know from conversations with a Team member. Blacks were almost the <u>only</u> residents of Rosewood in 1923.

p. 22 "Facing a number of lawsuits from competing white firms, the Goins family terminated their operations..." I have heard no survivor speak of lawsuits nor have found any record of same, though this is no final proof they did not occur. The Team presents no evidence. The Appendix is completely bereft of the specific deeds, records, and instruments one would expect to see in a case such as this. There is reason to believe that such evidence may interfere with unstated objectives within the report. And again there is the ignorance of the real Rosewood: In this specific case, M. Goins & Bros. Naval Stores, an African American-owned firm, did close down a half decade before the 1923 violence. One factor in this was a murder committed during a Christmas pageant at the Rosewood African Methodist Episcopal Church by a principal Goins heir, Charles Goins, who was forced to flee into hiding. An impressive number of survivors have recalled this murder independently. None have recalled lawsuits by whites.

p. 22 "At its peak the Goins brothers' operation owned or leased several thousand acres of land." The large Goins tracts were leased. The report laboriously resists revealing that by the time Rosewood was destroyed, the Goins family owned only a single 80-acre tract, which was sold in 1925--two years after Rosewood was destroyed. It is possible, again, that the Team was simply too inept to discover the publicly available specifics (they certainly never asked me). Or a deeper agenda may have encouraged the obscuring of land ownership patterns in benefit of claimants.

p. 22 "...and by 1916 [the Goins family] had removed to Gainesville in adjoining Alachua County." Wrong. Perry Goins remained with his family on the Goins plot in Rosewood and they were there in 1923. His sister Rebecca and some others did move to Gainesville. Charles Goins also eventually settled there, avoiding prosecution for the murder of his neighbor Elias Carrier.

p. 22 "A number of the black-owned businesses continued to operate." This is more than a minor misrepresentation. In 1923, with the arguable exception of Sam Carter's shadetree blacksmith operation and perhaps a refreshment stand, there were no black-owned businesses in Rosewood.

p. 22 "There was a general store operated by a white family and another by a black family." This is false, a result of (willful?) misinterviewing of witnesses in the Hall family. The Halls have always been forthright on this point: the store owned by Charles Bacchus Hall had

closed well before 1923, and Bacchus Hall himself was deceased. All survivors agree on this. The vacant Hall store accidentally caught fire at some point before the 1923 violence and burned down. Wilson Hall, whom the Team (mis)interviewed--choosing what to elicit--could have recalled for them the bucket brigade that attempted to save the store building.
Repeatedly the Team seems to have found what it required rather than what witnesses genuinely recall.

p. 23 "Blacks organized a private school and hired Mrs. Mullah Brown as the teacher." Had the Team not been to some degree manipulated by a very narrow spectrum of survivors, it might easily have found descendants of Mahulda Brown Carrier who can show carefully preserved records bearing her correct name. She was a school principal at the town of Gulf Hammock in the 1940s.

p. 23 "a large one-room Masonic hall." This is an interesting use of erroneous detail to present the appearance of knowledge. As customary in Masonic halls, whether Prince Hall Affiliation among African Americans, as in Rosewood, or the halls used by white Masons, the Rosewood lodge hall possessed a room downstairs for community events and a separate upstairs chamber for Masonic initiations. Witnesses agree on this. The Rosewood Team, despite its protestations of sympathy on the one hand, on the other hand sometimes refuses to grant Rosewood credit for anything larger than a "one-room Masonic hall."

p. 23 "There were several unpainted plank wood two-story homes and perhaps a dozen two-room houses that often included a a lean-to or half-roofed room."
While not outrageously far from reality, this statement still represents some interesting fantasy on the part of the author. The footnote purporting to document it says: "This condensation of Rosewood's history is based on research by Tom Dye who utilized minutes of the Levy County Board of Commissioners, state and federal manuscript census reports, Florida Railroad Commissioner reports, Levy County deed record reports..."
It goes on and on--but none of these records reveals Rosewood as described above, and Rosewood was not as described above.
Last May Dye told <u>The Washington Post</u> that he possessed "sawmill records" and "law enforcement records" regarding the Rosewood events. When questioned in retrospect he turned out to have no such records and he complained he had been misquoted about having them. He seems to get misquoted very often.

p. 23 "Fannie Taylor....was home alone." No, her two small sons were in the house with her. On p. 24 an amusing swipe is taken at my own research in this regard: "Some accounts claim that by 1923 the Taylors had two small sons. The census for 1920 noted that the Taylors had a one-year-old daughter named Bernice."
This prim caveat could only have been made by someone profoundly unacquainted with the Rosewood principals--and it reveals the hazards of superficial research. When census taker Alf Dorsett came through and asked Fannie who was in the cradle, she apparently said "Bernice," and Alf jumped to conclusions. Bernice Taylor, a son, has now been married twice and I have talked to him. I have also talked to his brother Addis Taylor, who was not yet born in 1920 but who was an infant in 1923. All witnesses remember the Taylors as having two sons--but this didn't seem good enough for the intrepid Team. The Team never asked me to explain this complication but instead seized credulously upon its appearance as supposed proof of their original scholarship.

p. 24 "Deed records do not indicate that the Taylors owned property in Sumner. Their residence, said to have been surrounded by a picket fence, was probably owned by the Cummer Lumber Company." Probably? Said to have been? Magically, on such unimportant and universally agreed points, there appears caution--where none is required. All witnesses recall, and Census records confirm, that the Taylors lived in the company-owned workers' quarters in Sumner. This passage is filler, useless except to give the misleading appearance of scholarly restraint.
Much of this report is only filler.

p. 24 "they went down to the courthouse at Bronson and had County Judge John R. Willis perform the ceremony."
This is another kind of filler with which the report is laden. Someone found a judge's name on a marriage certificate and wove a tale therefrom--rather than including genuine information about the Taylors, perhaps because the Team's confined methods prevented finding any real data.

p. 25 "From most accounts the intruder did not consummate the act of rape..." Bad grammar here signals wild assumption. The Team certainly doesn't know what "most accounts" among the gossips of 1923 said. If "most newspaper accounts" is meant, the information is of little value for newspaper accounts of this incident were spun out at whim by reporters far from the scene.

p. 25 "Because no one ever disputed that some kind of physical attack took place, the incident was never referred to as an 'alleged attack.'"
What in the world does this mean? Is the report saying that there is some kind of doubt that any kind of attack whatever took place? No witness, no matter how fabulous about the identity of the attacker, has ever contended that no one attacked. (Because no one ever disputed that the sun came up yesterday it was not called an 'alleged sunrise.')

At this point I must apologize for ceasing the inventory. I have been through only a few pages and already am swamped. The many other errors in the summary booklet must await another telling.

In addition to the summary booklet, an extensive body of misleading material appears in the report's 461-page Appendices, including the strange passage which is an apparent set-up to make me appear uncooperative with the committee, and which may constitute proof of malice.

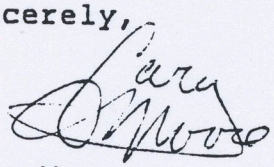
The Appendices also include "Census Data" and "Genealogy" sections, whose misleading aspects I have itemized in a list following this one.

The presence in the Team's report of many misleading statements does not mean that many other statements in the report are not true. The problem is the indiscriminate mixing of fact, fancy, and coy omission--a pattern often seen in propaganda.

I hope the above will serve as sufficient indication that I should be contacted directly to answer specific questions about the report and about the claims case. If further documentation is required on any of the points I have brought up, I will be glad to supply it.

I cannot sufficiently express my disillusionment with the academic system upon seeing that three Florida universities have lent their imprimatur to the Rosewood Investigative Team report.

Sincerely,



Gary Moore

Comments on the Rosewood Investigative Team report Appendices "Census Data" and "Genealogy" sections:

"Census Data"

The legislative reader of the report's "Census Data" section might logically feel perplexed. Absolutely no explanation accompanies it as to what one is looking at. There is no accompanying text--only names in grids. Strange though it may sound, this may be because the Team itself did not know what these names represent. The Team churned out these pages verbatim from the census scrawls to create the appearance of having conducted real research.

There are thirty-five pages of gridded names here in a schematic duplicate of the actual census sheets. However a critical piece of information that was on the sheets was left off these schematics: the name of the enumeration district.

It was not "Rosewood." It was "9th Precinct Sumner."

The legislative reader must not be misled into assuming that this bulky rendering demonstrates extensive size with regard to the population of Rosewood.

Buried deep within these thirty-five pages, at a point in no way distinguished with any marker from the rest of the list (probably, again, the Team did not even know where to place such a marker) are 118 names which, as far as even the assiduous reader can tell, are of exactly the same status as the rest.

Yet those 118 names constitute the U.S. Census enumeration of the population of Rosewood in 1920.

And worse, the Rosewood population changed significantly between 1920 and 1923, the time of the violence. Early in the work of the Rosewood Investigative Team I pointed this out. The Team showed remarkably little concern for pinpointing the specifics of the real 1923 population--which must form the survivor and descendant pool to be addressed by any claims case.

In passing it might also be pointed out that many of the names printed in these schematics have been misrendered, showing great ignorance of the population. Nor was this merely a faithful adherence to the census-taker's misspellings. A few spellings are changed intentionally here [one of which was correct in the first place], while most are not. Most of the real misspellings by the census-taker are left as is, and handwriting is often misinterpreted.

I invite the legislative reader to inquire of the Rosewood Investigative Team just how one is supposed to use this valuable $75,000 document.

"Genealogy"

The "Genealogy" section of the Rosewood Investigative Team report would seem to have been a primary responsibility of the Team, since presumably one of the purposes of a study was to pinpoint who was and was not present at Rosewood when it was destroyed, and thus who might legitimately be included in any claimant group.

Oddly, however, the "Genealogy" section, like "Census Data," provides absolutely no accompanying text. There are nine pages of family-tree diagrams.

The reader might logically assume--and indeed must assume, since there is no text to help with this--that each lineage traced here represents descendants of a survivor of Rosewood.

This is false. Persons are traced here--and presumably their inclusion in the claims case is thus promoted--who had no forebearer living in Rosewood at the time of the 1923 violence.

And moreover, and equally serious, many real survivors and descendants--whose genealogy was available to the Team--have been left out here, in favor of others in a better position to lobby.

P. 73 shows lineages for ten supposed Rosewood survivors. Lineage No. 2, of "Dorothy Goins Hosey(R)James Hosey" is a lineage of persons who did not live in Rosewood in 1923. So is Lineage No. 5. It could perhaps be argued that the ten root names are an unlabeled mix of two kinds of names: a) survivors, and b) persons descended from survivors [such is the case with No. 5], but it is in no way apparent.

Moreover, four of the ten lineages on this page, all four of whom do proceed from names of legitimate 1923 residents of Rosewood [Minnie Lee Langley, Mary Hall Ramsey, Margie Hall, and Wilson Hall] present simply an "?" to represent any descendants--though all of the four above persons are living and cooperative, and they have descendants. Unfortunately, they did not lobby as effectively as a small group of claimants that was allowed by the Rosewood Investigative Team to manipulate its proceedings. Not even Minnie Lee Langley's maiden name is rendered correctly. Presented here as "Carrier," it was in fact "Mitchell."

The reader will also note on this page some cryptic pencilings, apparently included in the report at the last minute, suggesting that even the tiniest details were included accurately here, by longhand if necessary. But if everything genuinely left out were to be penciled in, the pages would be a labyrinthine blur.

And another baffling point. A note at the bottom of this page explains that (D) means "deceased." Yet many persons in these pages who are deceased were not labeled with the (D), while some,

here and there, wherever it seemed easy, are so labeled, and many others who are deceased got no (D). It dresses up the page, one supposes, and presents the illusion of rigor.

On to page 74. Five lineages are traced here, and this time there seems to be no doubt that all five are being put forward as those of persons who lived in Rosewood in 1923. They are "Ed and Eliza Bradley," "Mary (Bradley) Burns," "Julia(D) & Ramsey Edwards(D)," "Fred & Josephine Edwards," and "Wilbert Edwards(D)."

Of these five lineages, three--the majority--are of persons who did not live in Rosewood in 1923. Mary Burns lived in Lennon and had not lived in Rosewood for years. Fred and Josephine Edwards had moved to Sumner before the time of the 1923 violence. Wilbert Edwards is a person never mentioned by survivors as living in Rosewood in 1923 and not named by any census record as living there in 1920. As a trivial addendum, Ransom Edwards's name was not "Ramsey." Misrepresentations on this page make it appear that 27 persons are descended from survivors of the Rosewood violence when they are not. There are only 35 descendants listed on the entire page. The vast majority of them seem unlikely claimants.

Page 75 is entirely devoted to descendants of a single pair of Rosewood victims, "Hayward Carrier (D) Sarah Robinson Carrier(D)." The meticulous tracing of one branch of these descendants represents the group of claimants most influential in the Team's supposed investigation, the Team's conduit for locating survivors. Within this group, the Team records descendants carefully (though records and survivors agree that Haywood Carrier's name was not "Hayward," and Sarah Lewis Carrier was not "Sarah Robinson Carrier," (some though not all descendants have misconstrued her maiden name of record, appearing in various censuses and her marriage records, because Sarah Lewis was raised with a family named Robinson).

Page 76 is entirely devoted to descendants of "Edward & Sarah Goins." It does not explain that before 1923 both these persons were deceased. Ten of their children are listed here. The report does not explain that only one of those children--Perry Goins--is certain to have still lived in Rosewood at the time of the violence and was dispossessed by it. In addition one other, Jean Goins [inaccurately spelled "John" here] may still have lived in Rosewood with his mother-in-law, Lexie Gordon, though survivor memories recall that he had moved away before the town was destroyed. The Goins heirs did still own an eighty-acre parcel of land in Rosewood in 1923, and sold it in 1925.

Page 77 contains only nine total names, the claimed descendants of a single pair of Rosewood survivors "John & Emma Coleman" (there is no (D) though they are long since deceased, and there are other (D)'s on the page). It is true that John and Emma

Coleman lived at Rosewood when it was destroyed. But the full progeny of Virginia Coleman, their daughter, has been slighted. Whereas her son Gilbert is included, Virginia's daughter Nettie--who was herself a Rosewood survivor--is left completely off the list, with her progeny. There may be other areas which the examiner has grown too weary to notice.

Page 78 is the prize. It contains only three total names, and all the rest of it is blank space. Grandly but cryptically, the top name--ostensibly meaning the survivor--is "Robinson (nephew of Sarah H. Robinson)." No such nephew, with or without a first name, lived in Rosewood in 1923 or was dispossessed by the violence. The agreement among witnesses on this is supported by my conversations with one of the three persons named on this page who was still living in the 1980s, Freddie Robinson.

Page 79 is entirely devoted to the descendants of Idella Carrier Frierson. Whoever she is--and after twelve years of speaking to more Rosewood survivors than the Team will ever see I have never heard anyone mention this name, nor have seen it on any record--she certainly did not live in Rosewood in 1923.

Pages 80 and 81, the last two pages of the "Genealogy" section, are devoted, respectively, to the descendants of George and Maggie Bradley and John Wesley Bradley and Virginia Carrier Bradley. Both these lines represent genuine survivors, and I recognize many of the names as being correct. I see one or two minor errors but it seems pointless to wade through my notes to verify descdendants. The essential claim of these two pages is correct.

That completes the "Genealogy" section. In the Team's summary booklet I am named as the source (the Team itself was completely at sea with regard to this information) of the Team's only list of total heads of household dispossessed in Rosewood in 1923: John Wesley Bradley, George Bradley, Mary Ann Hall, Laura Jones, James Carrier, Sarah Carrier, Aaron Carrier, Hardee Davis, John Coleman, Virginia Smith, James Hall, Lizzie Screen, Sam Carter, Cornelia Carter, Ransom Edwards, Mary Ann Hayward, John McCoy, Ed Bradley, Perry Goins, Sam King, and Lexie Gordon.

Where, in "Genealogy" are the myriad descendants of most of the above names?

If an accurate rendering were made here--rather than simply a rendering of the lineages of the most insistent claimants--it might stretch far into the distance. Originally the claims case was conceived by a movie producer, Michael McCarthy, who optioned the rights of only two survivors and created the fiction that no

one else survived. This manageable pool of survivors was what Holland & Knight had thought they were representing when McCarthy [not the Rosewood Family Association] first persuaded them to take the case. Subsequent publicity forced Holland & Knight to accept that McCarthy's two-survivor myth (along with his up-to-150-dead myth) represented a hoax. Holland & Knight was forced to expand its pool of clients as new survivors came forward, in a process by which the claims case transmuted and various myths competed for precedence. This history, illuminating the real nature of the claims case, was also ignored by the Rosewood Investigative Team.

4100 Edmonds St, #231
Seattle, Wa 98116
phone (206) 932-4[illegible]

April 30 1993

Dear Gary,

Our meeting with Al Lawson went much better than I had expected. He has agreed to change the bill and make Florida State University the primary research institution to conduct the "official" investigation. (I get a great deal of satisfaction out of screwing the gators) Therefore, it looks as though my commitment to this project will be lasting longer than I had anticipated. I hope you'll consider being a part of this project. It would not preclude you from writing your book, and it would give you input onto the direction of the research.

Sincerely,

Tom Dye

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Tupelo, MS 38801
tel (601) 842-2744

February 22, 1994

Mr. Richard Hixson
Special Master
Room 412
Florida House of Representatives
Tallahassee, Florida 32399

Dear Mr. Hixson:

Pursuant to the Special Master hearing scheduled February 25 on matters related to House Bill 591, please find enclosed my reply to a document called "Review of the Rosewood Project," discussing reliability of the Rosewood study report delivered December 22 and titled "A Documented History of the Incident Which Occurred at Rosewood, Florida, in January 1923."

Respectfully, and with apologies for the scant time I was given in which to prepare this reply, I request that the Special Master provide copies to counsel.

Also, please assure that the names below are added to the claimant list in HB 591, for they represent individuals with verified and corroborated claims that are as valid and in cases more valid than persons named in the bill. There may be more such valid claimants, who have never been sought. Mr. Hanlon informs me he has never conducted investigation into who is a legitimate claimant, since, he says, Holland & Knight views investigation as unnecessarily expensive in this case, though the names and telephone numbers below come from Mr. Hanlon's own clients named in HB 591. Nor did the official Rosewood study committee seek to verify a survivor/descendant pool. The list in HB 591 did not result from documented investigation but from influence by one segment of the claimant population, and largely from a single claimant-advocate who controlled the list.

Please add:

(sons and daughters of Rosewood resident Samuel Hall)

Eloise Johnson (904) 778-7251
Ollie C. Parker (912) 262-6212 (contact number in Brunswick, Georgia, for those below

Mary Hall
Gerald Hall
James Hall
Wilson Hall
Joe Hall (the above Mary Hall and Wilson Hall are niece and nephew of the Mary and Wilson Hall named in HB 591)

(widow and daughters of Rosewood resident Leroy Carrier)

Ivery Carrier-McKnight (510) 638-5928
Cary Carrier
Doris Carrier
Mercia Carrier

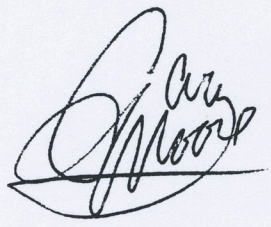
(widow of Rosewood resident Marion Bradley)

Henrietta Bradley (212) 234-3634

(widow and son of former Rosewood resident Willie Edwards)

Theodore Edwards (904) 734-1408
Lillie Mae Edwards

Sincerely,



Gary Moore

Reply to "Review of the Rosewood Project"

by Gary Moore, February 21, 1994

The document called "Review of the Rosewood Project" was rendered February 2, having been created at the request of the Florida State University Vice President for Research on January 24. It was authored by two representatives of the Department of History of Florida State University, and comprises the official response to my January 5 letter protesting the many inaccuracies in the State University System report about the Rosewood events of 1923. "Review of the Rosewood Project" is not a real response, however. It is a bewildering coverup and puts forth many falsehoods.

No copy of it has ever been provided to me, though I am the repeatedly-named target of its statements and indeed the reason for its existence. I was forced to go combing through Tallahassee for a copy of this 44-page screed (with its confusing unpaginated appendix of many more pages) in order to be able to reply to it.

Before addressing its specific points I will describe some of the issues it is covering up, and which do not appear in its pages:

1) Primary responsibility for the Rosewood study project was taken away from the University of Florida by Florida State University last April through the legislative maneuvering of FSU History Department graduate student R. Thomas Dye, who then received $8,000 of the study funds. Dye said of his scholarly coup: "I get a great deal of satisfaction out of screwing the gators." (See signed correspondence enclosed.)

2) Another FSU History Department grad student, Herman Comminey, says he was paid $1,916.71 of the Legislature's $50,000 Rosewood study appropriation for doing nothing but sitting in a room and photocopying back issues of a lone newspaper, The Appalachicola Times--which was remote from the Rosewood events and had no coverage of Rosewood. Comminey told me February 2 what he learned from this valuable endeavor: he learned that old newspapers sometimes have some interesting advertisements, he said.

3) FSU History Department graduate student Edgar Brown has said his own $1,000 of the Rosewood porkchop barrel was paid for such activities as verifying that the Florida Census was available--a bit like verifying that the Declaration of Independence is available. FSU History Department graduate student Dawn Herd was paid $1,916.71 for simply typing up some pages of that census--the vast majority of which pages did not deal with Rosewood. FSU History Department graduate student Mary Lamonica says she can't recall what her $540 of the Rosewood study money was paid for. Her precise duties in the study have slipped her mind, she says.

(The next point is touched lightly in "Review of the Rosewood Project" but deserves mention here as part of the general coverup):

4) A $50,00 legislative allocation (plus a reported $25,000 from various state universities) was assigned to the Rosewood study project for such tasks as compiling "as complete a list as can be provided, using extant historical materials, of the names of persons who were residents of Rosewood, Florida in 1923 (or in 1920 based upon census records) before the incident which occurred in 1923" [RFP]. This was to aid the Legislature in deliberating upon a claims bill then (and now) under consideration.

Yet, far from offering a specific list of Rosewood residents the study report's murky, mystifying pages declare Rosewood's population to have numbered several hundred individuals, when Rosewood can reliably be shown to have numbered less than one hundred persons in 1923. Through a tragi-comic error, described below, the study claims that "355 African Americans" lived at Rosewood, though the real population can be corroborated household by household through documents and witness testimony. My protest has forced the team to confess in writing that it could not even tell which section of the 1920 U.S. Census represents Rosewood. The $75,000 wasn't spent on real investigation. It was carved up as academic pork.

The only apparent residence lists in the study report are: 1) 71 pages of unexplained census sheets, most of which name non-Rosewood residents without any hint that this is the case, and 2) a cryptic section explained only by two words of heading: "GENEALOGY" and "SURVIVORS." Besides other inaccurate data this list puts forth as "survivors" persons not living in Rosewood when it was destroyed while leaving out the great majority of real Rosewood residents. The team's only defense of this list, when later forced to explain, was: "It is included to show people who had close ties to Rosewood. It does not mention or imply any connection with claims against the state." The defense has even been advanced that the team "cannot be held responsible" for this list. Why not? Isn't this what they were paid for? Uninitiated readers have repeatedly and naturally been led by the word "survivors" to assume this was the mandated residence list.

Effectively, the entire report is a deception with regard to the team's real level of knowledge regarding Rosewood residents. During the period of time between delivery of the report to the Legislature December 22 and my protest January 5, the deception was effective. It was so effective, in fact, that when House Bill 591, the present Rosewood Claims Bill, was filed December 30, it contained the same flambouyant errors in survivor identification that were endorsed by the study. House Bill 591 lists a grab bag of questionable claimants yet summarily shoves aside a number of legitimate claimants who, through no fault of their own, were not included. Belatedly and mournfully this has been acknowledged. The result is that a tawdry scramble is now ensuing as sponsors,

promoters, and advocates have been forced to try and rectify the list in the House Bill. For the privilege of being embarrassed in a matter of international concern (Tokyo journalists have made inquiries; NBC has run two Rosewood Claims Bill segments) the State of Florida has shrewdly paid out some $75,000.

Though two professors from other state universities--Florida A & M and the University of Florida--did serve on the Rosewood study team, control of the study and of the money was by personnel at the Department of History at Florida State University, which now gives us the "Review of the Rosewood Project"--a coverup of departmental error.

(In addition, there are two more subjects deserving of mention before I proceed to specific points in the "Review"):

5) Issues of great moment in Rosewood's destruction such as apparent fatalities thus far neither conclusively proved nor disproved were never investigated by the study nor analyzed in its report--since the study team was busy scattering its money among graduate students and faculty for such activities as copying over census tracts of non-Rosewood towns.

6) One of the chief stated reasons for my January 5 protest was that untrue statements about me had been elicited by three Rosewood study team members and placed on record in a published interview with a tangential informant with regard to the Rosewood events. I asked for an explanation as to why an informant was asked by researchers to conjecture (falsely) for the record about the motives and acts of another researcher, and I asked for a full investigation of the untrue statements--which seemed to have been set up by a questioning format designed to publish the untruths. My notes and correspondence show that team members knew the statements to be false when elicited.

The strange display to which I am referring is shown on pages 186-188 of the Rosewood study report's appendix. It occurred September 23, 1993, at the Radisson Hotel in Tallahassee when three Rosewood study team members (William Rogers, Maxine Jones, and Larry Rivers) interviewed Rosewood claimant advocate Arnett Doctor, who has no direct knowledge of Rosewood but whose mother was a child there when the community was destroyed.

By phone with me January 30 Dr. Greaves, Chairman of the Department of History of Florida State University, whence came two of the three elicitors of the false information, stated that he had read the interview and that it looked chaotic to him. He said he felt that this explained any questionable behavior. Greaves said frankly that he knew the interviewers and that disorganization was not out of character for them, though certainly, he felt sure, there had been no wish to mislead. This was his idea of investigation. The "Review" that Greaves co-authored shows no trace of his admissions that the interviewing methods of the Rosewood team seemed chaotic. If Greaves is objective why is this missing?

The informant and claimant advocate in question, Arnett Doctor, has said repeatedly in published interviews (Tampa Tribune, May 16, 1993; Seminole Tribune, April 23, 1993) that tiny Rosewood was a metropolis so important that it "was to the Southeast, and especially Florida, what Atlanta is today," and that it possessed 60 to 70 impressive homes "with manicured lawns." I have known Mr. Doctor for more than a decade and have taken extensive notes on his beliefs. They form a valuable piece of the Rosewood fabric--as beliefs. But the Rosewood study team has found it convenient to approach Mr. Doctor as an indispensible source of material fact. He was the sole conduit for much if not all of the team's feeble attempts to compile any list, as mandated by the Legislature, of who actually lived in Rosewood in 1923. The history surrounding his September 23 interview raises clear questions about conflict of interest in the Rosewood study.

There follows a point-by-point analysis of what "Review of the Rosewood Project" did say:

Page 2 of "Review of the Rosewood Project" is an "Executive Summary." It maintains that the December 22 Rosewood study report, the work product of the Rosewood project which I questioned January 5, "has been accepted by the House of Representatives, the media, and the public as a useful assemblage of documented historical information." One wonders how any such acceptance may change in the face of the above. Moreover, in recent months the Florida media have blithely accepted and promoted baseless tales that the Rosewood violence killed as many as 100 (Miami Herald, December 28, 1992), or even 150 people (Gainesville Sun, January 17, 1993), and that tiny Rosewood may have been a city comparable in importance to Atlanta (Tampa Tribune, May 16, 1993).

Why does the Department of History of Florida State consider acceptance by the media as proof of the validity of the Rosewood report? And as for legislative acceptance, one need only witness the free-for-all now in progress over the Rosewood claimant list to see how thoroughly the report's notion of Rosewood residents is not accepted.

As for acceptance of the Rosewood study by the public? Some $75,000 in public funds have been squandered on deception--which deception produced the bizarre HB 591 claimant list. One wonders how well the public really will accept this?

Page 2, the "Review's" Executive Summary, then warms up a bit: "Although he received $2,000 as a consultant in the Rosewood project, Mr. Moore has stated that the end product is flawed." Late in the three-month period assigned by the Legislature to the Rosewood study project, the five-member study team found itself so deeply bewildered that suddenly it sent me a letter assigning me

to write a 35-page report (extensive footnotes ran my report up to 67 pages), due about two weeks after arrangements for the report were completed, with no stipulation whatever as to what would go in my report. This was after I had begun making protests about the study's methods to the Speaker's office and elsewhere. It almost looked as if some money were being thrown in my direction (as it had been thrown to so many happy others) so I would shut up. When I cranked out my report in the mind-numbing two weeks that were mandated, but did not shut up afterward, the "Review of the Rosewood Project" was brought to bear against such ingratitude.

Page 2 then gets fiery: "Many of his [my] criticisms revolve around the belief that there is a conspiracy to defraud the State of Florida through payment of claims to spurious Rosewood survivors, and to neglect other, legitimate claims." I did not say there has necessarily been a conspiracy. I stressed that delusion, sloppiness, and dreamy bias can work wonders without anyone needing to plot or conspire--though in some cases there are clearly questions to be raised about possible collusion between Rosewood claimant advocates and the money-slinging Rosewood study team. That the study in its "Genealogy" section did put forth questionable Rosewood survivors--while leaving out the great majority of legitimate Rosewood residents in 1923--cannot be disputed. In fact this shameful exercise has now been admitted by both FSU and the five-member study team, though the admission has also shoved under the rug by the "Review of the Rosewood Project." That this has enabled questionable claims to come before the Legislature needs no proof beyond the 56-name list in House Bill 591, filed eight days after the study report appeared: those 56 names are, even as I write, turning to jelly.

Page 2 then names its authors, the two people who have put together the "Review of the Rosewood Project": "Two reviewers--one the chairman of the Department of History at Florida State University [Richard Greaves, Ph.D.], the other an advanced doctoral student with experience as an investigative reporter--were asked to review this matter." The second of these two authors is perennial FSU grad student Patrick Riordan, who is on leave as a public relations spokesman for the State University System Board of Regents--as well he might be: "Review of the Rosewood Project" is an exercise in public relations sham. The first of the authors, FSU History Department chairman Richard Greaves, was out of the country during part of the time when his department witnessed a feeding frenzy for a little free Legislative money. He is a nice man; but now, with both hands firmly covering his derriere, he is lending his name to contentions which in some cases he certainly knows personally to be falsehoods.

Page 2: "The reviewers found that Mr. Moore's objections strike

the periphery of the report and not its heart." This is false. Dr. Greaves told me in a speakerphone conversation January 30 with Mr. Riordan that the Rosewood study commission's remarkable declaration that Rosewood had several hundred residents has been shown to be a major, substantive error--not a peripheral one. He said the same of its omissions such as the failure to investigate reported named fatalities such as James Hall. How did these suddenly become trivialities in "Review of the Rosewood Project"? What of the study report's "Genealogy" section that has thrown HB 591 into chaos? Rep. De Grandy who has sponsored HB 591 has stated unequivocally that he depended on the Rosewood study committee's report to verify residence in Rosewood for his bill, as well he might. Moreover, my reference to the daunting army of errors in the Rosewood study report--including errors large and small--was made in an effort, as I repeatedly said, to show the general lack of rigor in the report. The report's flambouyant switching of names, slurring of dates, creating of imaginary supporting players, and introduction of fantasmal supposed documentation all help to demonstrate its lack of rigor.

Page 2: "Mr. Moore and the investigative team significantly agree on key items in the report." I agree, too, with Richard Nixon that the Watergate burglary happened in Washington; that doesn't mean my other doubts about it are trivial.

Page 2 says that the things I agree with the study report about are: "that Rosewood residents were victims of murder and arson, that at least eight murder victims can be identified by name, and that the records of property ownership, while incomplete, are adequate to establish the owners of at least some of the buildings torched by a mob." These bare outlines of the Rosewood events were known and proved long before the Rosewood study team came along; for the team to recapitulate and verify them should have required far, far less than $50,000 plus an additional $25,000 or so kicked in by State Universities. And because of its methods and embroidering, the study team in fact verified nothing. It has muddied--not clarified--the historical record.

Page 2: "The Rosewood Team would have benefitted from access to transcripts of interviews of Rosewood survivors by Mr. Moore. However, Mr. Moore refused to provide these." By the time the Team, late in its endeavors, got around to making a request for my materials, it was already more than clear that their approach was not serious. In the amount of time remaining to them when they made the request they could never have responsibly processed my materials--especially when they showed no interest at all in my notes or in consulting me personally for insights which they could have then verified by resort to my primary materials. They simply made a blanket request for my audio tapes. This, like many of their procedures, was a sham. I had earlier done somersaults in trying to cooperate with the study team--while there was still

time to have credible collaboration--but this was to no avail. The sea of error that became the team's report could not have been remedied by a few-days' review of my audio tapes. The team could have lifted some dramatic quotes, perhaps, to dress up its product and provide misleading footnotes suggesting rigor, as it did in other cases.

Toward the end of Page 2 the tone gets dirty: "Further, Mr. Moore's contention that he was indispenible as a member, if not a leader, of the investigative team is not supported by the evidence." I never said I should be a leader of the team--or even a member. The team's insistence on a bewildering array of titles and pomposities for itself further showed sophomoric lack of seriousness: Maxine Jones was Principal Investigator but Jones and Larry Rivers together were Co-Directors and the five team members including Jones and Rivers were also Principal Investigators in their own right, though not as Principal as Jones, if one goes by team correspondence. On September ____ I received a mystifying letter from Dr. Jones of FSU, Principal Investigator of the Principal Investigators, informing me that I could not be a Principal Investigator. I was baffled. I had never <u>asked</u> to be a Principal Investigator--nor a member of the inner circle. I did not even know what a Principal Investigator was--as I said in my naively befuddled reply to Jones, which reply is included (or buried) in the appendix of the "Review of the Rosewood Project." Moreover Dr. Jones and other team members repeatedly stated that, by formal order, only faculty members could be members of the team. This was a bald-faced lie. The RFP authorizing the study had specifically provided for the participation of outsiders such as myself, with no stipulation whatever that they be faculty members. Deep in its entrails the "Review of the Rosewood Project" coyly admits that this falsehood was stated by the study team--yet the "Review" carefully avoids examining possible reasons for the falsehood: An outsider not beholden to the State University System might have questioned how the money was being spent and have seen how little rigor was in the study. Originally, when the study was first authorized, Team members had informed me flatly that I would be brought to Florida. I very much wanted to do since I wished to continue my own Rosewood research--with benefit simultaneously to the team. Yet in a matter of days, because of no action of my own, the team grew evasive, failing to return my phone calls, making incomprehensible excuses, sending me strange letters. I wouldn't know until months later that one reason my coming to Florida to confer with the team was aborted was that the money was being used up elsewhere on make-work projects. As to whether my presence would have been "indispensible," that may be left to the sponsors of House Bill 591 to decide. My presence would have saved these legislative sponsors the embarrassment of an erroneous claimant list. Is that "indispensible"--or merely "peripheral"?

Page 2 goes on: "The reviewers found that the Documented History [the Rosewood study team's December 22 report] reflects the tight deadlines under which it was produced." I disagree. A very credible, documented study could have been produced in half the time--had the team not elected to direct its time and resources away from the evidence toward matters of private pride or gain.

Page 2: "(T)he report clearly fulfills the criteria spelled out in the Florida Board of Regents Request for Proposals." Really? The RFP specifically directs the team to pinpoint who the real residents of Rosewood were. Far from being able to do this, the team couldn't even say how many there were, inflating Rosewood's verified 1923 population to three times its size. With regard to other mandated goals ranging from accurately characterizing Rosewood's nature at the time it was destroyed, to clearly showing the most probable sequence in the destruction itself, the report also was an exercise in error.

Page 2 begins to concludes: "The reviewers recommend that in the future, the Team provide a more fully documented copy of the report to the archives, and that minor minor [sic] errors noted in the review process." Both the Rosewood study report and the "Review of the Rosewood Project" that seeks so stoutly to defend it are filled with such "minor minor" errors. They in no way excuse the major major ones. The sentence quoted here, in view of the evidence cited above, goes a long way toward showing the bad faith and minimization that characterize the "Review of the Rosewood Project."

And Page 2 ends with a bang: "The reviewers further find that suggestions of a conspiracy of any kind are unfounded." This gently portrays my concern about fact error as the ravings of a conspiracy nut. How much difference does it make whether it was conspiracy, delusion, or trough-feeding that caused House Bill 591 to put forth fantasy as fact after $75,000 or so was spent to supposedly get the facts?

Pages 3-5 of the "Review," mercifully, are a Table of Contents, and need no refutation here--though even these pages hold forth deception. Page 5 lists a memo from "Valerie Jean Conner to Florida State University Press, 12 October 1989 (copy provided to the reviewers by Professor Conner)." This mysterious, fragmentary memo, whose first page only is given in the "Review," while the succeeding pages and signature have disappeared, is addressed to someone named "Andrew." The "Review of the Rosewood Project" holds out this scrap as supposed evidence--for reasons unguessable--that five years or so ago I allegedly submitted some kind of manuscript to Florida State University Press and that Dr. Conner turned it down. I called Dr. Conner about this because I was mystified. I don't recall ever having submitted a manuscript to Florida State University Press (which is now defunct). I didn't even know that

Florida State University Press had ever existed. What is all this? Just listen. Dr. Conner confirmed in her conversation with me that she had no idea who the author was of the supposed manuscript she reviewed that I was supposed to have authored. She would not say how this strange reference to an unknown manuscript crept into the "Review of the Rosewood Project" or who had asked her for it. She grew defensive. She can't remember "Andrew's" last name or where he is now. She does not have the mysterious manuscript. Dr. Conner is with the ubiquitous Department of History at Florida State University. Where will these people stop in their efforts to conduct a smear? What possible bearing could it have anyway on my questions of fact regarding the Rosewood study whether I submitted a manuscript years ago or not? Oh, well. At least whoever the poor soul was who did write the supposed manuscript can now take solace. Dr. Conner, upon being questioned, said that in fact she had liked the supposed manuscript a great deal. Her criticism of it, she said, really boiled down only to the fact that it wasn't footnoted. What in heaven's name is going on here? The desperation of this ploy is a persuasive admission of the real nature of the "Review of the Rosewood Project."

But onward we go. This is only page 5.

Page 6 is a "Table of Abbreviations" (no simple document, this "Review"), and on Page 7 there begins a "History of the Rosewood Project." Pages 7-8 quote stipulations for conduct of the study made by the RFP--which stipulations I have quoted above and which clearly contradict contentions made by the "Review." Over and over this crass tactic is used: the "Review" contradicts within itself, then glosses with a blizzard of verbiage.

The real "history of the Rosewood project" does not appear in the "Review." It is as follows:

In 1975 a Brazilian anthropologist named George Zarur came to the University of Florida after hearing--even in Brazil--tales of some kind of secretive bygone massacre near Cedar Key, Florida. Zarur was brushed aside by the Department of History of the University of Florida, which never made any efforts to locate the many Rosewood witnesses who lived nearby. This clearly showed the level of benign neglect focused on Rosewood for many years by history departments in the State University System. By 1982, when I stumbled onto stories about Rosewood, the community's destruction was a complete public secret in Florida. As a staff writer for The St. Petersburg Times I began tracking down witnesses, wrote a Sunday magazine article about Rosewood, and in 1983 I provided the reporting for a "60 Minutes" segment on Rosewood. Though in 1982-1983 "60 Minutes" was the most popular program on television in the United States, history departments in the State University System showed not the slightest interest in attempting to document Rosewood themselves, despite my urgings. I was told that the

"60 Minutes" program had done so sufficiently--which meant that within another decade Florida had once more, with stunning efficiency, managed to push Rosewood from public view, so that most Floridians and even apparently most journalists were once again completely unaware that any community named Rosewood had been destroyed.

In 1991 a cinema and tabloid television promoter, Michael McCarthy, conceived an idea (stemming from my published research, as McCarthy said at the time; I have never had any contractual arrangement with him) to produce a movie about Rosewood built around flashbacks, depicting courtroom-style testimony by elderly Rosewood survivors in the present day (say, before a Special Master of the Florida Legislature)--thus lending immediacy to the plot. McCarthy found two elderly Rosewood survivors who had appeared in the "60 Minutes" segment, optioned their movie rights, and created a claims case. He created the fiction that his optioned survivors were the only two survivors, and that perhaps as many as 100 people had been killed at Rosewood. He then took this fiction to the pro bono office of Holland & Knight, which swallowed it in 1992. Stephen F. Hanlon, the head of Holland & Knight's pro bono office, agreed to represent McCarthy's two claimants in the securing of monetary reparations from the Florida Legislature.

But, overconfident, McCarthy put the two Rosewood survivors on the nationwide "Maury Povich Show" in January 1993, and a number of other survivors, callously cut out of the movie and reparations pot by McCarthy (he couldn't afford to go around paying options to just everyone, he had said), saw the scam and became indignant. A group called the Rosewood Family Reunion had coalesced as a result of the "60 Minutes" coverage in 1983, holding its first meeting on September 22, 1985, and meeting sporadically thereafter. This group (which also wound up cutting out still other legitimate survivors) angrily besieged Holland & Knight in January 1993 and demanded to be included in the claims case. Holland & Knight, caught in an extremely embarrassing dilemma, was forced to cede much of its control of the claims case to this narrow claimant group, and to the group's various myths and priorities, one of which, according to various claimants, has been to punish any survivors or heirs connected to the original two survivors optioned by McCarthy. This process has thrown Holland & Knight's case into widening circles of disarray, covered over by widening circles of self-righteous and vituperative pronouncements.

All of this was happening behind the scenes in February 1993 when Holland & Knight authored and Reps. Lawson and De Grandy sponsored House Bill 813, the original Rosewood Claims Bill. Information about Rosewood had by then become so contradictory and confusing that the Speaker's Office, ducking charges that it was racist for attempting to enforce rules about claims bill deadlines and other concerns, deflected the criticism by appropriating $50,000 to the State University System for a study of Rosewood which was supposed

to provide a definitive report in time for the 1994 Session.

As this chunk of money emerged, other maneuverings occurred. House Bill 2425 was late-filed, stating: "The sum of $50,000 is hereby appropriated from the General Revenue Fund to fund a grant for the University of Florida" [italics mine] for a Rosewood study. The designation of the University of Florida was natural, since it is only 45 miles from Rosewood, whereas Tallahassee and Florida State are much farther away. But in Tallahassee, FSU Department of History graduate student R. Thomas Dye was incensed. "I am a little miffed at the $50,000," he wrote to me in an April 5 letter, "to be paid to the University of Florida to research the surviving families whereabouts [italics mine]. If you have this information in hand, you could save Florida taxpayers 50k. That money could be better spent on something like medical care for Levy county blacks."

Noble sentiments. But soon Mr. Dye came up with another idea--to snatch the study project from the University of Florida, using his influence (his father is a prestigious FSU faculty member) to transfer the study to FSU. After this was done, $8,000 of the study money wound up going not to "medical care for Levy County blacks," but to Mr. Dye. He had begun writing to me regularly after an article of mine had appeared March 7 in Tropic, the Sunday magazine of The Miami Herald, about Rosewood. Thus I had a front-row seat on what the public was not told: "Our meeting with Al Lawson went much better than I had expected," he volunteered to me triumphantly in a letter April 30. "He has agreed to change the bill and make Florida State University the primary research institution to conduct the 'official' investigation." That the remarkable admissions in this letter stemmed from euphoria was underscored. Mr. Dye wrote: "I get a great deal of satisfaction out of screwing the gators." This paragon of scholarly objectivity and soon-to-be-member of the Rosewood Team also predicted: "It looks as though my commitment to this project will be lasting longer than I had anticipated."

The maneuvering then backfired, as Florida State University, Florida A & M University, and the University of Florida began competing for spots on the team. Florida A & M threatened to conduct a separate investigation of its own. Provosts and finally the Chancellor's Office of the State University System found themselves forced to sit in and conduct star-chamber proceedings to iron out the sophomoric bickering and cobble together some kind of something-for-everybody committee--which wound up having so many team members (each of the five members was paid $8,000) that there was precious little money left over for any real investigation. This dead-at-the-starting-gate reality was another thing that the Rosewood study project then proceeded to gloss over.

A pretense was made in July of conducting an open bid procedure for the Rosewood study, and a gullible sociology professor at FSU, believing in good faith that the procedure was open as announced

by the Board of Regents, submitted a proposal of his own, little realizing that the Department of History at FSU had long since discreetly copped the plum, having thrown side deals to Florida A & M and the University of Florida to include a professor each from those institutions as well. Well before the verdict on who got the Rosewood study project was supposed to have been rendered, the assorted members of the future team were telling me matter-of-factly what their positions on the study team would be.

The above is the real history of the Rosewood study. You won't find it under "History of the Rosewood Project" on pages 7-8 of Greaves's and Riordan's "Review" (for which Riordan, by the way, was paid something on the order of another $1,000 for writing, according to Greaves).

On Page 9 of the "Review" begins "Historical Evidence and Standards of Documentation." The provenance of this section is interesting. It is lifted almost verbatim from a letter sent to me by Robert M. Johnson, Vice-President for Research of FSU on January 26--before any investigation had supposedly been conducted by Greaves and Riordan into my protest January 5. For three pages the letter goes on and on as a bland, magisterial dismissal of my fact-error protests by saying that historians often disagree and oral testimony is often confusing. In this case, the Rosewood study was filled with error not because historians disagree or because the testimony was confusing, but because no real investigation was conducted. To use the perils of historiography as excuse for personal malfeasance is to sully responsible historians. Dr. Johnson was merely dismissing my protests without looking at them--but there was a twist. Later when Dr. Greaves had informed me that he and Mr. Riordan had been appointed to investigate my protest, we had a very amicable series of conversations--until I noticed one day that a copy of Dr. Johnson's letter, making it clear that high-level dismissal of my protest had been anointed as official policy, had been sent to Dr. Greaves before the investigation. Dr. Greaves's reply astonished me. He said that in fact Dr. Johnson had not authored the letter that appeared over Johnson's signature. Greaves himself had drafted the letter, Greaves said. And Greaves said this letter was going to be included as part of the results of his "investigation" into my protest. When I began to express my bewilderment, wondering how such a document written before investigation could appear as an investigation's result, even stranger things began to happen. Dr. Greaves began to shout at me, saying I was probably taking notes (which may be a great sin in matters where error is supposed to be tolerated reverently) and therefore he was going to put me on his speakerphone and have three other people in his office

witness how impertinent I had been. All my efforts to calm Dr. Greaves failed. I then asked him if the outburst had anything to do with his growing knowledge that misuse of the Rosewood funds within his department was becoming common knowledge. In retrospect it seems clear that an outburst of some kind (perhaps unplanned) was inevitable as Dr. Greaves came under growing pressure to fake his "Review" or to acquiesce coyly in Riordan's faking it.

Among the strange things in pages 9-10 of the "Review" (which are also pages 1-2 of Dr. Johnson's letter to me before the Review was written) are pedantic lecturings to the effect that old newspaper accounts can't be relied upon and that oral testimony hides many traps. These things are not news to me. As the "Review" later acknowledges, I had insisted on making these same points in detail to the Rosewood study team. The team's approach resisted these considerations, as I sought to show why time-consuming analysis of many corroborating witness accounts is necessary for arriving at likelihood in the Rosewood case. Despite my belaboring the point--and in direct contradiction of the image of the team's standards painted by the "Review"--the team's report proceeded to credulously cite racist and sometimes fabricated bygone newspaper accounts as fact, over and over. Again on the phone January 30, one day before his outburst to me suggested that the "Review" was going to be a paint job, Dr. Greaves had said frankly that the credulous use of old newspaper reports by the study team had not stood up to standards he himself would have used.

Over and over the "Review" uses one of the hoariest and most transparent of official coverup techniques: adopting the target individual's own arguments--very loudly--and using them against the target as if the target had originally opposed them, thereby forcing the target to expend energy hollering and screaming about the reversal. If Mr. Riordan learned this sleazy ploy in his past journalism career (all journalists with any experience have seen it ad nauseam) he does journalism no honor by showing how well he's been educated by public relations flaks.

Page 9 of the "Review" tries to make it appear that the Rosewood study report exercised great caution in accepting witness testimony. The Review sniffs sanctimoniously: "some oral records are secondhand accounts (described by the investigative team as 'stories')...." But again this is only a pretense. Having hurriedly anointed one or two witness accounts as "stories," the team report then drops this exhausting sidetrip into caution. Even a tape recorded account by Jason McElveen, perhaps the most demonstrably confabulating of all white witnesses to the Rosewood events, is at one place in the team's report doubted superficially but in two other places is enthusiastically embraced as ironclad fact and is stated without qualification in the narrative, as if there is no question whatever whether McElveen was telling the

truth. There seems to be underlying reason for this doubletalk: with no rigor in its methods the team was easy prey to the many different emotional, political, and financial agendas that are brewing in the claims case. McElveen's contention--laughable to anyone who knew the personalities of the principal players--was that Sheriff Elias Walker had turned helplessly to McElveen (who was famous locally for inconsequential blustering, and hardly for advising tough sheriffs), and had pleaded for advice. The Rosewood study report, an unintentional exercise in low humor, shows the sheriff blubbering to the valiant McElveen (page 28 of the study report):

> "Jason McElveen, a white resident of Sumner, would remember Sheriff Walker's concern. He told McElveen, 'I don't know what to do.' The lawman added, 'this crowd wants blood, and they (are) going to have blood.' McElveen told the sheriff, 'Bob, keep them (the posses) [sic] out of the colored quarters in the mill.'"

After one stops sadly laughing at this, two points need notice:

A) This passage, so inexplicably included without qualification though the team had been made aware of evidence showing the witness was unreliable, was used as supposed proof by the study that the government was on notice that the crowd "wants blood"--and hence, as the sub rosa argument goes, the State could be held liable seventy-one years later in the claims case. Nothing makes this subsurface agenda clearer than the fact that by early this month Stephen F. Hanlon of Holland & Knight had prepared a preliminary brief for the Special Master's hearing on the claims case February 25, which brief specifically emphasized the bizarre McElveen passage--anointed as fact by the compliant study. The preliminary brief used the passage about the sheriff knowing that "this crowd wants blood" as proof that the government knowingly neglected to take due precautions.

Hanlon's brief did not portray the study team as dismissing McElveen's claim as a "story"--because the McElveen account was clearly presented as firm fact, shown above.

Hanlon was present during may Rosewood study team procedures, has said he was fed key information by a team member (false information, as it has turned out), and the extent of his involvement with the team has never been credibly examined.

An argment could be advanced that the fact of Hanlon's continued access to and involvement in team proceedings can be cited, now that Special Master proceedings have begun, as showing that the Rosewood study report is tainted by claimant interest and is not permissible as evidence.

B) And there is a second point as well with regard to the study team's key usage of McElveen's word to allegedly establish sequence of events and responsibility: McElveen was already deceased when the team deliberated and his entire testimony comes from an exceedingly strange audio tape recorded in Cedar Key, ostensibly by the Cedar Key historical society, in the late 1980s. I had interviewed McElveen years before and knew his story in detail, but the tape used by the study team takes even McElveen into new heights of questionable information. First of all, most of the mysterious tape recording is inaudible, as if passages not palatable to the (unknown) recorders may have been obscured. Second of all, and crucially, one hears bizarre racist giggling in the background from unnamed persons, as triumph is expressed when McElveen gloats over how Rosewood residents were chased through the bushes, and how no black people now live in Cedar Key. Why would the study team use this tape? Why would the "Review" signed by the chairman of the Department of History of FSU defend such practices? Selectively, the swaggering rantings of a racist have been lifted and doctored to use as the only available support for a thesis of governmental liability. Why did the team go to such lenghths on such a questionable errand? Last April I was sent a copy of the audio tape by Tom Dye and can play it for any interested hearer. Dr. Greaves and Mr. Riordan were on notice about reasons for concern regarding this tape and could easily have asked to hear it from me over the telephone. They never did so ask. I complied quickly with every request they did make in their "investigation." Regarding the McElveen tape these supposed investigators simply told me by phone that my concerns certainly seemed warranted, and then they blithely proceeded in their "Review" to cover the matter up. Jason McElveen has described himself, and has been described by a family member as well, as a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Apparently in its rush to judgment the Rosewood study team did not balk at accepting even the klan's standards of objectivity.

Page 10 of the "Review" contains another gem: "Although the investigative team did not include a formal analysis of the evidence in its report, readers can see how the team evaluated oral reports in its rejection of allegations of a mass grave." This, too, is a hoax. The team <u>never</u> <u>investigated</u> as to whether there was a mass grave at Rosewood or not. Their methods were so lax that on their initial trip to Rosewood August 20 they wasted most of their time at an old store in nearby Chiefland which Tom Dye had heard from some fourth-hand informant might be somehow involved in the Rosewood events. The store never appeared in their final report and presumably they were eventually disabused of

their original delusion that discovery of this store represented a great find. Having thus wasted their time on phantasma, the team then proceeded to Rosewood but by then was a few hours late, Dye has said, and other team members have confirmed, so that a woman who was supposed to have let them through a gate had left to drive a schoolbus, and the team found itself daunted by the presence of some barking rotweilers. They had been in repeated telephone contact with me at the time of this trip, our relations were still quite cordial at that point, and they could easily have asked me for information that would have been invaluable in site orientation. Inexplicably, they asked for none of this, though my March 7, 1993, Miami Herald article had contained a detailed reconstruction of Rosewood's layout in 1923. The team found nothing on their trip. They returned to Tallahassee to tell Dr. Greaves that they had spent their time "tromping through a jungle" on a wild goose chase. They saw not a single Rosewood landmark--though a number can be located. Why has the State of Florida sponsored this incredible comedy of errors?

As for the mass grave so often alleged with regard to Rosewood, the team completely shut its ears to the overwhelming possibility that such a grave might exist in some form but on the other hand might contain the remains of as few as two or three persons. There is an extremely probable site for the grave, among discernible other graves, where there is a large depression in the ground. Far from ever investigating this, the team managed by its antics to so alienate the local people around the Rosewood site that soon the site was closed off to the team by its owner. This is the reality behind the "Review's" "rejection of allegations of a mass grave." Is this what passes for scholarship in Florida?

Then Page 10, as in the Executive Summary of the "Review," returns to a variation of an above-mentioned tactic, reversing the target individual's stated stance and then knocking down a straw man: "Mr. Gary Moore, who states that he has interviewed more than eighty people in connection with his study of Rosewood, is cognizant of the problems involved in the use of this material." (Later in the Review the suggestion here that I have only "stated" that I have interviewed more than eighty people will get explicit and nasty, and I will respond to it specifically at that point.) But the spurious claim at this juncture is that I myself have supposedly "acknowledged" that difficulties in sorting through witness testimony somehow exonerate the team from its failure to even try to do such sorting responsibly. My statements in no way exculpate the team's errors. The "Review" quotes one of my early communications to the team, when the team began postponing my participation and demanding lengthy (and uncompensated) discussions from me as to why I should participate at all, though earlier it had been a stated goal that I would participate, since I was,

as team member Tom Dye had written, and team member William Rogers had agreed, "the one person in the world who knows the most about Rosewood."

The "Review" presents my statement thus: "'The challenge presented by the Rosewood case is fundamentally one of sifting witness testimony,' he has written, and he cautions that his interviews contain 'contradiction, discrepancies, (and) delusions' as well as 'admirable adherences to fact.'" The "Review" also cites my report to the study team, included in an appendix, in which I say: "As happens with all living testimony, few witnesses agree." The Review concludes: "Readers can observe how Mr. Moore evaluated oral reports in his discussion of how many people were killed at Rosewood."

So what is the Review telling us here? Is it telling us simply that I have high standards for evaluating witness testimony, and hence cull testimony that remains uncorroborated, while attempting to establish benchmarks for possible instances of delusion or pseudo-memory? If this is what the Review is telling us, why does it find my protests so incredible? More likely, the Review seems to be attempting to use my own protests against the team's lax standards as supposed proof that no witness testimony is really worth very much. To conclude this is to sign onto the agenda of Lynching Era racists who kept much early twentieth century rural racial violence out of the newspapers and hence, they hoped, beyond any investigation. The simple fact is that if enough testimony is taken and compared, many convergences develop that become predictive in assessing still other testimony, and indisputable landmarks of probability emerge that are nowhere contradicted by the corroborated evidence. But the investigator must be willing to put in the time and effort required by such a task. The Rosewood study team did not. Their money was already spent on pet agendas at any rate, and not on Rosewood investigation. Because they chose not to conduct real investigation, the study team and its defenders are now in the unenviable position of insisting upon the impossibility of any investigation. Supposed discoverers of truth--in a university Department of History--have now cast themselves as the enemies of discovering truth. No consequence, perhaps, can exceed their eventual realization of this betrayal.

Page 11 of the "Review" does more reversal, taking my own discussions of the unreliability of Lynching Era newspaper reports and using these as supposed proof that no real investigation can therefore ever be conducted by such stratospheric perfectionists as the Rosewood study team historians--and therefore, the argument seems to go, whatever sketchiness they may have exercised is perfectly all right even by my own stated standards. This is pure hogwash.

In the first place, despite a cryptic buried disclaimer here and there, the team most certainly did use old newspaper accounts as unqualified founts of supposed fact. Team member William Rogers expressed an especially strong determination to use bygone press reports as an infallible guide to presenting Rosewood events--even as he joked with me privately in August about how some of the accounts were demonstrably invented by reporters seeking to boost circulation. How Dr. Rogers could hold two such contradictory approaches in the same mind at the same time is beyond me. Certainly presentday press dispatches summarizing the study report last December accepted the old-newspaper-based passages as being presented as fact. The passages certainly look as if they are meant to be taken as fact. Are readers supposed to be clairvoyant, and know that the team wishes its words to be largely disregarded?

Page 11 of the Review also gets up on another tired horse which, repeatedly, the "Review's" coverup attempts to ride to death: "Because of the nature of the evidence, some disagreement over what happened at Rosewood is inevitable." Sorry. The team disagrees with me (and its dreamy, muddled report often contradicts internally as well) because it neglected and in cases avoided the evidence, not because it was compelled by the evidence. Pages 11-12 go on to raise this red herring: "For example, in the Rosewood report, the evidence for the type of weapon (Winchester rifle or shotgun) used by Sylvester Carrier is conflicting (Documented History, p. 59); in a modern investigation, with ballistics evidence, the disagreement would be significant, whereas in the Rosewood report this is not the case, for Carrier's defense of his family with a firearm is not disputed."

Here the authors of the "Review" show how little they care for the distinction between fact and assumption. Even if we disregard for a moment that the vast majority of witnesses have agreed that Carrier's gun was a shotgun, and not a rifle as presented in the report on almost no evidence, this is not the heart of why this small point matters. It matters because it is one of the many passages that demonstrates how ready the study team was to weave in unsupported detail from assumption. The study report stated unequivocally that the gun was a rifle. It didn't say it might have been a rifle, or that a person here and there might have been willing to suppose it was a rifle. Why take such a risky leap for so little gain? There is no real corroboration for the assumption of "rifle" while great evidence weighs against it--yet to the unsuspecting reader such a finely tuned detail--saying "rifle" rather than just generally saying "gun"--suggests that the report writers speak from voluminous verification. In reality many such details in the report are just novelists' tricks. The scene looks more persuasive if you throw in concrete details. Novelists don't need evidence to thus lay claim to a reader's attention--or to a state's money.

Page 12 of the "Review," meanwhile, actually cites "testimony of Jason McElveen, Documented History, pp. 56-57" as proof of the "inconsistencies in the testimony of a witness." The "Review" ignores other sections in the report where McElveen is treated as an unimpeachable witness who utters pearls of unquestionable truth. Pages 56-57 of the study report say that "Jason McElveen, the white man who participated in the affair, had a memory extremely at variance with contemporary reports," and that "McElveen claimed" certain events occurred, and that "McElveen's version had it that..." Such cautious language does tend toward an actual exercise in scholarship--but then why on page 28, far away from these disclaimers where no mortal reader can be expected to consider them, is McElveen's word cited as gospel? Page 28, as quoted previously, says: "Jason McElveen, a white resident of Sumner, would remember Sheriff Walker's concern. He told McElveen, 'I don't know what to do.' The lawman added, 'this crowd wants blood, and they (are) going to have blood.' McElveen told the sheriff, 'Bob, keep them (the posses) [sic] out of the colored quarters in the mill...'"

Also on page 39--again much too far from the disclaimer buried on page 56 for the reader to be expected to consider--McElveen is cited without reservation as a contributor of unquestioned fact:

"Jason McElveen, a white participant, recalled that the news of Sylvester Carrier's alleged statement 'was just about like throwing gasoline on a fire when you tell a bunch of white people that.' He added, 'a bunch of (whites) gathered up and went up there to see them. I didn't have anything but a twelve-gauge shotgun--a pumpgun--with plenty of buckshot.'"

If the study team really saw Jason McElveen as such a suspect witness, why is his testimony used so often to purportedly establish a chain of events? Apparently the reason is that if this kind of testimony were stripped away from the report very little would be left. The team could have had much more voluminous and corroborated testimony from my files, but chose to avoid it. Then very late in the team's mandated time the team did ask for some of the testimony I hold, but not enough for credible review, and there was certainly not enough time left for such review. Apparently the idea was to at least appear to be doing something in the absence of real investigation.

Team member Tom Dye was stubbornly citing Jason McElveen to me as a credible witness long before the team made any requests for my information--though Dye had heard the racist giggling on the McElveen tape. I have the impression that often the team's only standard for credibility of testimony was whether the testimony was easily at hand.

Page 12 of the "Review" also cites "Arnett Turner Goins, ibid., p. 27" as proof that "the investigative team acknowledges the problem of conflicting oral testimony." This faithless red herring held out by the "Review" apparently refers only to a footnote on page 27 of the study report, saying, "Goins's version of the assault was based on what his sister Philomena told him. See 15-17. Goins was also interviewed by Larry Rivers, September 24, 1993, at Tallahassee, Florida. The two interviews differ in detail but are basically similar."

This is evidence of skepticism toward testimony? It endorses A.T. Goins's differing accounts as "basically similar," if differing in minor details. A hidden bombshell goes unmentioned. The cited passage from A.T. Goins comes from a "deposition [that] was taken by Stephen F. Hanlon at the law offices of Holland & Knight..." The study report relies heavily and credulously on three such sworn statements taken by Holland & Knight (they are not really depositions as the study report repeatedly says). These sworn statements are remarkably filled with questionable passages that contradict what the same witness has said on other occasions, though a buried mention of a quibble involving A.T. Goins is the only hint of this in the study report. In the sworn statements, leading questioners misconstrue what witnesses are trying to say and at some points movie promoter Michael McCarthy--who was present when the sworn statements were taken--interrupts with helpful hints. Again, strip away such worthless "evidence" from the Rosewood study report and all you've got is a gift to the Department of History at Florida State, with $8,000 consolation prizes in hush money going to Florida A & M and the University of Florida.

Page 12 then again raises the professionals-are-just-going-to-disagree-sometimes canard as a supposed rationale for why I am sniping at the meticulous Rosewood study: "Some of the debate between Mr. Moore and the Rosewood team is the result of according different degrees of credibility to conflicting sources. Such debate is normal among professional historians and does not imply bad motives, although Mr. Moore does not appear to recognize this."

This is like saying that the Rosewood team has declared the sky is green because someone told it so and it has differing degrees of credibility from conflicting sources than the rest of us, but this certainly doesn't imply that it wasn't trying to be nice and if we said this is proof it wasn't trying to be nice then we're certainly wrong. Thank you.

Whether the sky is green is not a matter of differing professional judgements and many of the things in the Rosewood study report are not either. They are a matter of attempted deception with regard to the real level of knowledge. I don't think such deception is

"normal among professional historians" at all; I think it is a slur on historiography to present it as such.

Page 12 again: "It is true that the team did not provide an explicit statement explicating its standards of evidence, but such a discussion, while highly desirable, is not always included in reputable published historical works." The issue is not whether the team set forth a manifesto showing its standards of evidence; it is that it used no standards of evidence. The pathetic disclaimers cited above about A.T. Goins and Jason McElveen are the only indications that even such dedicated advocates as Dr. Greaves and Mr. Riordan can find to claim that the team used any rigor.

Page 12 then gets nasty again, though the sentence seems to start off charitably: "To his credit, Mr. Moore does discuss the nature of the evidence and the problems inherent in its use, though much of this discussion is in the context of a plea for the team to bring him to Florida to participate directly in the investigation."

First of all, Dr. Rogers and Mr. Dye had already said that the team wished to bring me to Florida. Then mysterious things began to happen (I didn't know then that the money was being given away) and puzzling stipulations began to arise. Suddenly Dr. Jones was telling me summarily that I could not be a Principal Investigator when I had never asked to be a Principal Investigator or indeed to have a title of any kind--though she seemed to feel that titles were a major part of her mission. Repeatedly I tried to run an obstacle course placed before me, spewing forth papers and discussions of evidence that the team began to say they required, though it became increasingly clear that something had changed and--without ever leveling with me--they had become determined to keep the investigation free of outside involvement, and perhaps free of outside scrutiny. Dr. Jones at one point specifically asked me in a letter for proofs as to why I should come to Florida and participate in the investigation. Later stumbling across my compliamnce with Jones's request, the "Review" found grounds for sniffing that this was a "plea." If I had been brought to Florida and had participated in the investigation, I would have made sure that Rosewood residence information was correct. House Bill 591 would not have become an exercise in fantasy. Should I have had to plead to provide that humble service?

Page 13 is where the "Review" begins to take the gloves off, however, and to go after my professional integrity directly: "Much of Mr. Moore's case rests on taped [sic] recorded interviews. Neither these tapes nor transcripts of their contents were made available to the Rosewood team or the reviewers."

Whoa. "The reviewers"--Dr. Greaves and Mr. Riordan--made only one request to me for information as they supposedly investigated my January 5 protest of the study. On January 25 they sent me a list

of fourteen questions. I was suprised by the triviality of some of the questions when there were substantive issues to be explored but I was at least glad to see specificity in the request. The Rosewood study team, in my experience, had never gone about things so logically as to offer lists of questions. After receiving the fourteen questions I stayed up most of the night preparing detailed responses to each of them, then express-mailed the responses the next day. The questions were things like: "What is your evidence for the statement that Perry Goins was still in Rosewood in 1923?" I included not only much more evidence than then team had supplied to buttress its own points, but also continued to add additional supporting evidence long after the point would seem to have been reasonably proved. It seemed best to risk overkill. Then Dr. Greaves expressed satisfaction with my answers. We went over them by phone. Then by speakerphone we went over them with Mr. Riordan. It would have been extremely easy at this point for Dr. Greaves and Mr. Riordan to have asked me to play some of my taped interviews on the phone, if they felt there were any doubts whatever about them.

But at no time was I ever asked to display such interviews. I was given no reason to suspect that any doubts might be raised about them or that there was any necessity for me to present them. In retrospect it seems that the alleged investigation was merely a fishing expedition for any scrap of doubt that might be used to discredit me. If I stumbled, it would be recorded; if I didn't, it was somehow forgotten. When doubts weren't found they were created --by questioning the existence of interviews that the reviewers could easily have asked to see or hear. Why did they never ask? Do they now deny that they never asked?

In all my years of writing about Rosewood no survivor or witness has ever complained that the interviews I have presented and cited seemed not to represent what known, named persons say and have said to many others they knew. The test of my evidence has been publicly observable and prolonged. By contrast the team's supposed evidence has fallen apart within days of its public presentation-- in the ruins of House Bill 591. Why have Greaves and Riordan attacked me this way, if truth is their concern?

Subsequently, page 13 archly back-pedals a bit: "While the reviewers have no reason to believe that those tapes do not exist, neither they nor the Rosewood team has had access to them to ascertain whether the interviews were conducted according to established professional standards, whether misleading questions were asked, whether those being interviewed were improperly led...."

This comes from defenders of the report that has repeatedly cited the Jason McElveen tape with its racist giggling and long silent spaces, and the Holland & Knight sworn statments with their comic-

relief interruptions by a movie promoter. In all humility, if my tapes are as unprofessionally made as many of the interviews used by the Rosewood study team, I will have accomplished a feat of herculean proportions. I personally feel my tapes are much better. Dr. Greaves and Mr. Riordan could easily have obtained more ammunition simply by asking to hear my tapes. Did they fear a revelation of my professional excellence so blinding as to scatter them in panic?

The Rosewood study team spews seas of error against verification of fact and is commended by Greaves and Riordan as champions. I spend years of verification and am condemned by Greaves and Riordan on the basis of supposed questions they never asked. Would we find impartiality like this if we were to look into other endeavors of the FSU Department of History?

For the moment let's look at the Holland & Knight sworn statements that the Rosewood study report found so credible as to cite in 21 separate footnotes, while only one of these notes advanced even feeble doubts about puzzling discrepancies:

> Q. What did your daddy tell you what the man's name was?
> A. No. He didn't tell me.
> Q. All right. Go ahead.
> A. When her husband came in from the mill that day for 12 o'clock for lunch, she was all bruised up. She told her that a black man tried to rape her. So Poly, he got word. He went to--
> Q. Who--the bloodhounds?
> A. Bob Walker was the deputy sheriff. Bob Walker in Bronson.
> Q. Is his last name Walker?
> A. Bob Walker.
> Q. Bob Walker?
> A. Yes, sir.
> Q. Was he sheriff in--
> A. But we had a sheriff, Mr. Poly. I think he was some kin that these people were raising them. But Mr. Walker was the sheriff down in Rosewood--the sheriffs, the sheriff.
> Q. Was he the white man?
> A. No, sir. He was white. There was nothing white. Oh, no. You know those days...He, Poly, was supposed to keep orders. Now it wasn't the white people at our home in Rosewood, as I understand, that did it to us anyway.
> Q. The white people at your home in Rosewood?
> A. It wasn't the people's home.
> Q. Rosewood?

The above is from the Holland & Knight sworn statement taken from Lee Ruth Davis, an honorable and forthright woman, on May 4, 1992. The movie promoter who had optioned Ms. Davis's cinema rights and who had brought Davis to Holland & Knight as a claimant was

present at the interview, and at times is quoted as participating in the statement process. He had doubtless made it clear to Ms. Davis which aspects of her many beliefs about the Rosewood events were most thoroughly expected by interviewers whose express goal was to push the claims case forward. I am confident from long and gratifying acquaintance with Ms. Davis that she would not have knowingly lied in this interview, for personal gain or otherwise. But the interview did find her putting forward her sincere belief that Poly Wilkerson--one of the initial attackers of Rosewood--was "a sheriff"--a contention which, if true, would greatly enhance the appearance of malfeasance by governmental representatives whose acts might make the government liable. Without extensive knowledge of what other witnesses had said, the credulous and expectant interviewers--who clearly misinterpreted most of what Ms. Davis tried to tell them at any rate--could not have known and arguably would not have cared to know that Poly Wilkerson of Sumner, Florida, had at one point been a Levy County deputy sheriff and "quarters boss" for a sawmill, but had been dismissed from both jobs well before the Rosewood events took place. His dismissal could easily be argued as proof that governmental bodies in the area, far from being malignant, were attempting at least in some form to increase responsible law enforcement. The agenda of interviewers would not have profited by hearing this, and--as if by osmosis and possibly through no one's express direction--they did not then learn what was inconvenient.

Ms. Davis, sadly now deceased, has proven to be a fount of valuable material about life in Rosewood and her own personal experiences in Rosewood's destruction, but the Holland & Knight sworn statements and then in turn the Rosewood study quote such witnesses--who were children at the time--on many matters about which they had no personal knowledge or demonstrably distorted ideas. The Holland & Knight sworn statments are neatly typed, widely spaced, and conveniently bound. They are easy to consult, and to quote.

To explore the very valuable real knowledge of witnesses like Ms. Davis, long experience with the contentions of many other witnesses about the same places and events is necessary in order to provide a framework from which to chip away at ambiguities. Cavalier in its dismissal of such needs, the Rosewood study team was lost and finally was forced to put forth a house of cards.

Consider this evidence of Ms. Davis's attempts to be courteous and helpful to her interviewers, as she was asked to name her brothers and sisters, and how credulousness then combined with transcript error born of ignorance:

A. And the next one was Kelly Bradley.
Q. K-e-l-l-i-e?
A. Right, Kellie.
Q. K-e-l-l-i-e?
A. Bradley, yes. And the next one is Donarie.
Q. D-o-n-a-r-i-e?
A. That is right, Donarie.
Q. I-e?
A. I-e, yes.
Q. And the next one?
A. The next one is Marion.
Q. Marion, M-a-r-i-o-n?
A. Right, M-a-r-i-o-n, Bradley.
Q. And the next?
A. The next one is Sylvester.
Q. S-y-l-v-e-s-t-e-r?
A. Yes, Bradley.

(page 9, sworn statement of Lee Ruth Davis, Worldwide Reporting Service for Holland & Knight, May 4, 1992)

In fact Ms. Davis knew very well while she was living, and her relatives still know, that her sister was named "Callie," not "Kellie," and one of her brothers was named "Donarion," not "Donarie," and another was named "Galvester," not "Sylvester"--though when asked to confirm erroneous spellings, Ms. Davis cooperatively seemed to do so for Holland & Knight and the movie promoter. I have material in writing from Ms. Davis that confirms the correct spellings. Other proofs are in agreement. Surviving relatives can be consulted on the matter as well. The above is an example of what is called the Rosenthal Effect: witness conformation to perceived experimenter expectation.

Compared to errors in other matters of fact, the above spelling errors are trivial, but consider how error can laughably multiply when expectant observers are in turn observed by other eager expectors: page 26 of the Rosewood study states confidently: "She was the seventh of nine children: Hoyt, Kellie, Bradley, Donarie, Marion, Sylvester, Ivory Lee (herself), Wesley James, and Clift."

Somebody was in a powerful hurry here. Maybe the siphoned-off study money was nearly gone. Not only are the errors in the Holland & Knight statements credulously recorded, but new errors are introduced as well. The underlining in the quotation is mine. Notice how an entirely new sibling of Ms. Davis's has magically appeared--someone whose first name is "Bradley"--when Bradley was really the last name of the entire family (Davis was the informant's married name). Then more magic occurs. Ivory Lee Bradley is transformed into "herself," meaning that this name is now supposed to somehow represent Lee Ruth Bradley herself--the informant--

while the real sister, Ivory Lee, disappears. But this loss is compensated. There is now the addition of the ephemeral brother, whose complete name, one must suppose from the Rosewood study, is "Bradley Bradley."

Advocates of the Rosewood Claims Bill and the Rosewood study report are demanding that such highly documented information be placed in newly reformed Florida textbooks, so that school children can be taught "the truth."

The frontispiece of the Rosewood study report displays a telling quote, whose gist says, "...If the truth tears down every church and government under the sun, let the truth be known..." This fierce statement of intent suggests fanaticism, which admits not its own capability of error nor muses that if one tears down every government and church, whatever their faults, one might find that this self-righteous destruction was performed not for the truth, but for delusion.

Limited as naming errors are, they can be incisive in their demonstration of casual disregard for verification and of the rush to assumption. They form indicators of a general lack of rigor that has allowed much more substantive and conceptual error into both the Holland & Knight statements and the Rosewood study that found it convenient to use such easy crutches.

And we're still only on page 13 of the "Review"...

Page 13 goes on, with dirge-like indignation: "Denial of reasonable access to material used in an historical study breaches professional standards and renders all verdicts based on secret testimony highly suspect." This from the two authors who are lying about the fact that "neither these tapes nor transcripts of their contents were made available to the Rosewood team or the reviewers"--lying because the two reviewers, Greaves and Riordan, know perfectly well that I provided them in abundance with every shred of documentation that they asked for, and then some, and they pronounced themselves satisfied, when they could easily have asked to hear tapes over the phone or asked for typed excerpts, but they refrained from doing so. I provided them even with a photocopy of my notes on an exceedingly minor point that they insisted on pressing--apparently, as now seems seems likely, because they hoped to find some error, no matter how trivial, around which to more securely build a coverup. These people aren't merely mistaken in what they are saying here, no matter what kind of titles they may hold. They are lying.

Page 13 then beats the of-course-professional-scholars-always-disagree horse yet again: "Standards of documentation vary in the

historical profession." Perhaps the example set by the Rosewood study and its defenders will break new ground in establishing one end of the standards spectrum. "Owing to severe time constraints" (suddenly the Review authors are apologizing for the meticulous study that I have so fecklessly and unprofessionally questioned), "the Rosewood study team provided considerably less than optimum documentation, and it would be useful if a fully documented version of the report were deposited in the appropriate archives." This smarmy statement is what those famous historians Woodward and Bernstein would call a non-denial denial: How dare you question my honesty and of course I was nowhere near the scene and anyway I'm sorry, so there, I've proved you wrong.

And listen to this tucked away on page 13: "By the same standard, Mr. Moore, when asked to document a number of his assertions, normally provided references only to interviews with particular persons, neither citing the date and place of the interview nor providing copies of the relevant portions of the transcripts." They never asked for any such. They pronounced themselves completely satisfied with what I did give them and I pronounced myself ready to give them a lot more detail on demand. What am I supposed to be, a mind-reader as they try to stab me in the back? Or perhaps a wrestler who holds them down and insists that they take ever increasing doses of documentation even as they scream that they're satisfied. The underlining of the peculiar word "normally" above is mine. "Mr. Moore...normally provided references only to..." What might "normally" possibly mean here? Does it mean that in some cases I satisfied the two reviewers but I didn't "normally"? They never asked me for any more documentation. The norm of zeros is zero.

Pages 13-14 has more dirty pool: "Consequently the reviewers have only the unsubstantiated word of Mr. Moore that the tapes exist, that the interviews were conducted professionally, that the material they allegedly contain has not been taken out of context..." This litany goes on. It could serve as an accurate description of materials used by the Rosewood study team, but certainly not of my tapes and notes. Why did the reviewers strain so studiously not to verify my notes and tapes, when I was bending over backward giving them every bit of documentation they asked for?

Page 14: "Essentially, none of Mr. Moore's published material on Rosewood or the formal statements provided to the referees is appropriately documented..." So now these people are posing as "referees"--as impartial judges. But this is not a real scholarly act of refereeing, as the Rosewood study was not a real act of scholarship. It is merely the trappings without the heart, without the will to truth. As for my published articles, general interest magazine pieces must conform to the medium in which they appear, which means no footnotes, though certainly my articles on Rosewood

have been some of the most prolix, exhaustive excursions that a reader might have been pained to make. And again, all the material that the two "referees" asked for was provided by me and I was ready to provide more.

Page 14 displays princely magnanimity, however: "Nevertheless, in the material that follows, the reviewers have assumed, under intolerable circumstances, that Mr. Moore's tapes exist, that he has accurately stated their contents, and that he has not distorted these claims..." Well, thank you very much. This is having your cake and eating it too. On the one hand they cast doubt right and left on the existence of my tapes, but if I trot them out and rub their noses in the tapes the reviewers can then puff up haughtily and say they acknowledged the existence of my tapes anyway. This is doubletalk worthy of the Rosewood study. If I have misstated my own knowledge while the Rosewood study team has accurately stated theirs, why has the House Bill 591 claimant list fallen apart? This is another publicly observable predictor of the accuracy of my materials.

Page 14 again: "Since the principal sources on which Mr. Moore bases his work are the oral interviews in his possession, his shrouding them in secrecy has severely impeded the work of the Rosewood team." Nope. The Rosewood team impeded the work of the Rosewood team. I didn't do it. They didn't ask me for my tapes until much too near their mandatory deadline to have made any sense of those tapes. Witness how they have mindlessly botched their interpretation of even the professionally transcribed Holland & Knight interviews. And they asked for only the tapes. They had no interest whatever in my notes, or in my background knowledge that is indispensible to reviewing and comparing the tapes--unless one cares to do a job similar to what the team has done on things like the Jason McElveen tape and the Holland & Knight sworn statements. At the time they offered me $1,250 for my tapes I badly needed the money, and now I may never see a penny from the tapes. But I didn't need the money badly enough to surrender years of work to a clearly dishonest process. If I was a crook or faker as the good gentlemen who please to call themselves "referees" are so eager to paint me, I would have taken the money and run. I think sometimes that maybe the Department of History of Florida State University fundamentally does not understand honesty.

Page 14: "The reviewers wish to emphasize that as professional historians they are very uncomfortable in making these assumptions." I don't know what these people do professionally during their regular work hours, but as amateurs they are pretty good liars.

Proof of what liars they are is on page 15: "Mr. Moore's refusal to provide the Rosewood team with access to taped interviews in

his possession, coupled with implied criticism of the team for not using them, is unjust." Wrong. My criticisms of the team have to do with how they have outrageously misinterpreted and leapt to conclusions from the materials they did use. My possession of material that the team studiously avoided merely makes their errors easier to catch. Had the team produced the kind of bland, ambiguous report that would have been warranted by the evidence they chose to use, I would have had perhaps basis for regret, but not for assailing them for fact error. But they couldn't stop at merely using the evidence they had. They had to make it look as if they had much more evidence, and that egregiously embroidered details they threw in were based on proof.

How concerned are the "referees" who authored the Review with the fact that the Rosewood study report contains at least one lengthy footnote that was faked? Page 23 of the Rosewood study report is supported only by a single marathon footnote, saying, "This condensation of Rosewood's history is based on research by Tom Dye who utilized minutes of the Levy County Board of Commissioners, state and federal manuscript census reports, Florida Railroad Commissioner reports, Levy County deed record books, other primary sources, official and unofficial, and a large number of secondary sources. He is also the author of the useful 'Race, Ethnicity and the Politics of Economic Development: A Case Study of Cedar Key, Florida,' Unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1992." This whopper is keyed to a paragraph saying: "In 1920 Rosewood had three churches, a train station, a large one-room black masonic hall, and a black school. There were several unpainted plank wood two-story homes and perhaps a dozen two-room homes that often included a lean-to or a half-roofed room. There were a number of small one-room shanties, some of them unoccupied." In truth, these assertions by Mr. Dye don't come from "deed record books" or from "Railroad Commissioner reports" or any other such nonsense. They come, as many of Mr. Dye's assertions do, from his fertile and ever-willing imagination--because many of the details in these assertions are not true and no record or document ever said they were. Rosewood's masonic lodge was not a one-room affair. Rosewood had no train station but an open-fronted shed with a platform. There is no proof that a school still existed in Rosewood in 1920. There is no way Mr. Dye could have known whether all Rosewood's two-story homes are unpainted because no one has ever been able to comprehensively remember this detail and it is certainly in no written record. That Rosewood contained "perhaps a dozen two-room homes that often included a lean-to or a half-roofed room" is sheer speculation on Mr. Dye's part, presented as "documented" fact. Mr. Dye has personally shared with me some of his convictions, such as "I know what Fannie Taylor lived in" because he had seen an 1890s photo of railroad shacks and he assumed--dreamily and in defiance of even a moron's standards of truth--that Fannie Taylor must have lived in something similar simply because he wanted her to. When I explained

to Mr. Dye that I had painstakingly interviewed witnesses over the years who personally knew Fannie Taylor, living two doors away in one case, and who had described her home in detail as containing four rooms--not one as in Mr. Dye's lovingly defended shack photo--he resisted this unwelcome revelation, apparently because it diminished his sense of pride in original discovery. His phantom paragraph goes on to flatly assert: "There were also a number of one-room shanties, some of them unoccupied." He's making this up. Or perhaps more accurately, he wants to believe it because it seems to him to show that he has discovered something original, so he does believe it. Just like that. This is the soul of the Rosewood study. It doesn't come from any "Railroad Commissioner reports" or high-sounding "primary sources, official and unofficial, and a large number of secondary sources."

There's another proof of this. During the supposed refereeing, Dr. Greaves expressed confidence that a great deal of Rosewood material could be had from Mr. Dye's master's thesis, cited above. I revealed to Dr. Greaves that Dr. Greaves was sadly mistaken in this, though he was repeating what passes for common wisdom around the Florida State University Department of History. In fact, Mr. Dye's master's thesis contains only a few pages on Rosewood thrown in at the end--and these pages present such fantasy that they repeatedly contradict even the Rosewood study report. Mr. Dye allowed the word to get out around the department that he was a Rosewood expert when in fact he had talked to only a few of the most peripheral of third- or fourth-hand witnesses among legend-spinning whites in Cedar Key, and the legends seemed to suit him just fine. He did write a separate paper on Rosewood, and after he saw my March 7 article in Tropic magazine about Rosewood he sent me a copy of his paper. It had been refused for publication by The Journal of Negro History, he said, and he guessed it might need a little cleaning up. I was flabbergasted. I spent two hours with him on the phone by long distance, painstakingly asking him what his proofs were for various assertions he had made that were clearly false. Oops. He had no proofs. The assertions had merely seemed like a good idea at the time. I found I was dealing with an "expert" on racial violence who stubbornly contended to me not long after the Los Angeles race riot that in that riot only seven people were killed--which would have been welcome news to the other dozens who died. This may well be one of those rare, gifted persons--an exemplar of the Rosewood study team--who can believe practically anything. The gift seems useful in snatching legislative plums away from the University of Florida and steering them to Florida State, since naturally all true scholars "get a great deal of satisfaction out of screwing the gators."

As more proof of the faithlessness of the "Review of the Rosewood Project," Dr. Greaves admitted to me on the phone and in detail that he felt a major mistake in the formation of the Rosewood

study team had been the inclusion of a graduate student--Mr. Dye--among the team's members. This conviction on the part of a "referee" that the team was flawed was nowhere apparent in the Review bearing the name of that "referee" as its co-author.

Page 15 of the Review then goes on to some muddled filler reviewing the innocuous portions of correspondence between myself and the Rosewood team. Notable is a point made here that on September 16 I did send to the team an extensive questionnaire to test team members' knowledge--after one-third of their alotted three-month study time had passed--of what Rosewood had been like. The team had expressly asked me for proof of my own knowledge. Construction of a questionnaire seemed an effective way to approach the issue, while also providing a tool for measuring areas of the Rosewood material that required further research. I knew, however, that university professors might be liable to bridle if their knowledge were questioned--perhaps especially on a subject about which they demonstrably knew very little. By this time the team had grown quite evasive toward me and I knew something was wrong, but I didn't know what. They continued to assure me that there were no questions about the quality of my work. What there were questions about, I later discovered, was how quickly they could divert the study money to History Department graduate students rather than spending it on Rosewood research. I hesitated to send the questionnaire and put it aside, planning not to send it since it might be viewed as impertinent. Then I managed to get Dr. Rogers on the phone and once again he expressed enthusiasm for my research and I began to feel overconfident. I told Dr. Rogers that I had written a questionnaire as a means of demonstrating my own knowledge of Rosewood and measuring the team's knowledge of it at the same time, and I wondered if it would be out of place for me to send it. Sure, Dr. Rogers said in his customary hale and hearty manner. Send it on. It's a good idea, he said breezily. Then more silence from the team ensued for a long while, til finally I could track Rogers down again and get him on the phone. He was somber. Why, that questionnaire, Gary (he said), you know the other people in the team are saying maybe you meant that for...<u>us</u>. Rogers sounded confused and hurt--but not nearly as confused as I was. Was I talking to Dr. Jekyll? Hadn't he <u>told</u> me to send it? How much more clearly could I have explained the questionnaire to him before sending it? He waxed funereal on the phone, saying: Why that thing was like something you would give to a <u>student</u>. He pronounced the word "student" with roughly the same tone that one might say "earthworm."

Even this disgust did not deter the ever-resourceful Tom Dye. Dye lifted one of my more detailed questions from the questionnaire and used it in his interviewing of a Rosewood survivor, as the study report's appendix shows, though I had expressly instructed that the questions were designed for team members and

would be inappropriate for use in interviews of informants. In the absence of real knowledge about Rosewood, perhaps it was just too tempting when the interviewer saw a chance to have something to ask.

But look at how page 15 of the Review addresses the questionnaire issue: "Some of these questions required extraordinarly detailed knowledge which team members could not have possessed at that point in their investigation, and which was highly irrelevant to the team's mission." Come again? That they did not possess such knowledge--and weren't about to get it using their present methods --was precisely my point. That the knowledge was irrelevant is false. The RFP authorizing the study team expressly said that one of the team's goals was provision of "as complete a description as can be provided, using extant historical materials, of the community of Rosewood in 1923." How, then, could detailed knowledge of Rosewood possibly be irrelevant? The Review quoted this RFP stipulation directly on page 7, then turned right around and seemed clearly to deny it on page 15. Either the reviewers are blind to correlation of fact or they are lying one place or the other.

Page 16 of the Review goes on and on quoting specific questions from my questionnaire in high dudgeon. The reviewers are obviously infuriated that I would dare question the level of knowledge of university professors. They even say that "at least two of the questions are virtually indecipherable: '20. Which male Rosewood residents frequently associated in which age groups? 66. Data about which purchasers most strongly suggests Florida Boom influence?'" The second question, no. 66, is clearly a continuation of an earlier question about land purchases at the Rosewood site after Rosewood was destroyed, though the reviewers chose not to print the first part of the question in order to cast it as "indecipherable." And if they find my too-taut questionnaire prose unwieldly in Question No. 20--"Which male Rosewood residents frequently associated in which age groups?"--I'll grant that it could have used a comma between "associated" and "in." They were combing pretty hard. There were 150 questions in all, but the reviewers were greatly distressed by these two "indecipherables."

Pages 16 and 17 have more complaints about the questionnaire (which came to the Rosewood team, remember, well after they had begun to grow "indecipherably" evasive toward me, and certainly was not the cause of that behavior). The Reviewers scoff at my contention in a later letter that "a few months spent with the surviving witnesses still available to the Investigative Team--or even with rudimentary census data--will demonstrate the validity of names and events in the questionnaire..." The Reviewers scoff at this because, they say, "The census records, which the reviewers have examined, do <u>not</u> reveal the answers to most of the 150 questions posed by Mr. Moore." Oops again. Another straw man set up and knocked down. The quote from me clearly shows I didn't say the census or a few months with the witnesses would reveal the

answers to the questions. I said they would show "the validity of names and events" that are used in the questions. The whole issue here, as discussed in the Review itself at the end of page 16, is that Dr. Rogers told me in a phone call that he was sure many of the names in the questionnaire must be "plants"--intentional fakes --simply because he, in his supposed infinite wisdown about Rosewood, had never heard of these names. The Reviewers twisted this exchange until it reflected not Dr. Rogers' empty arrogance but my supposed incoherence. After all, I did leave a comma out of question 20.

But look at the buried disclaimer farther along in page 17: "Some of the questions probably should have been asked and answered, and presumably that is why Dr. Rogers asked Mr. Moore to submit the questions." Oh. Now I was right in the first place after I've been beaten over the head for awhile for having been impertinent and wrong.

But then on page 17 another lie: "The team acknowledged Mr. Moore's expertise by requesting his contribution in Dr. Jones's letter to him dated 23 August 1993." This makes it look to any uninitiated reader as if "23 August 1993"--when the study was just beginning--was when the study team requested my audio tapes. Not so. The correspondence clearly shows that the "23 August 1993" letter was merely a bland evasion proposing no concrete action of any kind. My tapes weren't requested until October, when the study's allotted time was nearly over, making it obvious that the tapes were to be used only for a little quick end-covering and window dressing. However the August 23 letter is useful documentation of another kind, for it shows that the team itself endorsed my credentials for analyzing any report on Rosewood. The letter said: "All of us realize your expertise..." As for the letter's evasion, it shrugged: "At this moment it is unfair to you to ask you to just 'stand by' and defer what must be a variety of other projects. We have discussed this matter among ourselves, and what we suggest is that you go ahead with whatever work you are doing and wait to hear from us." Right. As this letter was written by Dr. Jones she was arranging to pay graduate student Herman Comminey a total of $1,916.71 for doing nothing but sitting in a room and photocopying the Appalachicola Times, which had nothing to do with Rosewood.

Page 17: "Further demonstration of his expertise by a questionnaire of this nature was therefore both unnecessary and provocative. Relations between Mr. Moore and the team henceforth degenerated." This gives the impression that the questionnaire somehow caused a break between myself and the team. Not so. The correspondence clearly shows that the team had begun evading me much earlier, even while lavishing praise on me about my expertise. In August Dr. Jones had refused to return so many of my phone calls that I finally had to ask her why she was doing it--and her

reply was to summarily hang up on me. Who are these nice folks, anyway? Later Dr. Jones--the sole final arbiter of how some $75,000 in public money would be spent--told me she could not return phone calls to a source who Dr. Greaves has described as very valuable and who Dr. Jones herself has described as an expert because, as Dr. Jones said testily August 28, "I cannot afford long distance phone calls to Washington, D.C." Why did $75,000 not allow for such phone calls? And I was in Seattle, Washington--not Washington, D.C. Oh, well. A mere fact error. Completely irrelevant if one's heart is in the right place.

In another letter Dr. Jones said the team had been pleased to read "your article that appeared in the Florida Tropicana." My article was in Tropic, the Sunday magazine of The Miami Herald. What, pray tell, is "the Florida Tropicana?" If one's heart is in the right place, perhaps, any old assertion is worth $75,000. I won't belabor the letterhead grandly informing me that this was the Rosewood "Investagative" Team, or the letter announcing "assessability to primary materials." If these are the faculty members of Florida State University, whose knowledge one dares not question, I want to meet some students.

On page 18 we reach "Professor Jones' letter of 27 September asserting that Mr. Moore could not 'be listed as a co-investigator (because) only the faculty members make up the team.' Mr. Moore objected, pointing out (correctly) that Mr. Dye is not a faculty member." Even when the Review seems to concede a point to me it is covering up. The real issue was that Dr. Jones and other team members were directly, blatantly misstating RFP directives authorizing the team. Jones said she had been ordered to let only faculty members onto the team--when the RFP mandated only that a lone "Principal Investigator" (herself) be a faculty member. Whether or not Mr. Dye had popped up on the team, the issue remained that Dr. Jones had grown suddenly determined to keep any outsider off the team for some reason other than what she was stating (was it that the money was being siphoned off?).

Also on page 18 is an admission: "On 27 October Professor Jones offered to purchase copies of ten taped interviews and the accompanying transcripts from Mr. Moore." The same letter was the first mention that the team desired a report from me. The team's alotted study time was up November 22. Why hadn't they told me long before, in August when there was time to make some credible use of my materials, that a report from me was desired? As it happened, the team was so befuddled by November 22 that the Speaker's Office of the Florida House graciously allowed the team another month to maunder, until December 22. If the methods had been responsible this extension would never have been needed.

The rest of page 18 is a red herring, attempting to interpret my failure to sell my tapes to the study team at the eleventh hour, in the absence of any request for my notes or background knowledge. The Review's red-herring argument portrays my balking

as being based on feelings that $1,250 was not enough money. My quoted statement makes it clear that what I was saying was that no amount of money would be compensation enough for surrendering so much work--and so many good people's words--to a process as faithless as the study team's.

Page 18 goes on: "In fact, Professor Jones did request the tapes a second time (in her letter of 18 November)." This is a willful misrepresentation by Greaves and Riordan. The letter in fact says, in full: "We received your synopsis and conclusions of Rosewood based on your research. The paperwork has been initiated to pay you the agreed upon sum of $2000.00. It generally takes 3-4 weeks. As soon as we receive the requested tapes and transcripts we can begin the process for the remaining $1250.00. Thank you for agreeing to work with us as a consultant. Your research and knowledge has been invaluable to us."

The above is no urgent plea. During this period as before Jones was refusing to return my phone calls. I had written to the General Counsel of the Board of Regents saying that the many questions about research methods must be to cleared up before I sold any tapes. It sometimes looked to me as if the idea of doing serious research, which reviewing my tapes and notes would have required, was looked upon by Dr. Jones as a nuisance, the motions of undertaking which she went through because of my protests.

At last we get to another section of the Review. On page 19 begins "An Assessment of Mr. Gary Moore's Critique: Demographic Issues." Any readers still with me will find this section worth waiting for. In it comes some of the crudest lying, which traduces demonstrable historical fact for the sake of covering up mistakes by history department personnel.

Page 19 starts off by explaining: "One area of disagreement between the Rosewood team and Mr. Moore concerns the population of Rosewood and the number of dwellings included in it. Some light may be shed on this matter by consulting the Manuscrpt Population Census of the United States for 1920." This is hot stuff. This is where the Rosewood team most seriously deceived the Legislature and made a mockery of its specific directions stated in the RFP. No wonder the two brave Reviewers gave this subject a special section of its own in the Review. They will treat it gingerly, hewing precisely, whenever possible, to any direction likely to lead away from the truth.

Whether the elephantine error with regard to Rosewood's size is due to the team's indulgence of Mr. Dye's imaginings is for them to say. It was in harmony with the methods of some other members.

The truth is painfully obvious to anyone with exposure to what real witnesses have agreed upon with respect to Rosewood. Page 20 of the study report--the first page of the report that is not padding about racial violence generally and begins to actually

describe Rosewood----declares unequivocally: "The Rosewood voting precinct in 1920 had 355 African Americans." This has been taken by all uninitiated readers of the report to clearly designate the population of Rosewood. What else would it designate? It is the only Rosewood population listed.

But the statement is false--and the falsehood is like a monkey wrench tossed into deliberations on the Rosewood claims bill, because it directly distorts the claimant pool. The same error is repeated in a different way--with historical perspective--on page 21: "The village's largest total population was seven hundred in 1915."

The root of this error is that the authors of the study troubled so little to learn what was really Rosewood that they found no difficulty in accepting the entire surrounding Sumner Precinct as "the Rosewood voting precinct"--though in the 1920 Census it was clearly labeled "Sumner, Precinct 9" on every single page, and never once in the 1920 Census was called "Rosewood." In reality, the place that every resident knew as Rosewood, and the place that was the destroyed African American community of 1923, was only a tiny fragment within that larger precinct.

I also feel reasonably sure--though I am not inside the team members' heads and can't prove it for certain--that some desire on the part of some team members to paint as dramatic a picture as possible of the Rosewood events, and as horrific a picture as possible of the injustice (as if murder and dispossession needed exaggeration) may have played some role in inflating Rosewood's size in the study report.

By phone--and I would have been glad to do it in writing had the Reviewers expressed a breath of a desire for me to formally document our phone conversation (I did take notes)--I went over the list of African American households on the 1920 Census which corroboration among witnesses shows beyond doubt to have made up Rosewood, and the limits where witness corroboration show that Rosewood ended and other communities began. There are 20 of these households in Rosewood, perhaps give or take a couple to be on the safe side. And this is in 1920. Rosewood was a dying community whose industry--a cedar mill and a turpentine still--had ceased years earlier, and its people were rapidly moving away. By 1923 when mob violence struck, the population had diminished further. I did go into the 1920-1923 changes in detail in writing for the reviewers, because they requested it. With regard to the 1920 list I said in my reply to them that I would supply the details once they assured me they had first tested the team's knowledge, so the team couldn't pirate my reply and use it to cover up their ignorance. Once this was done, I did.

Sure enough, the team was forced to make a confession (January 19), which the Review then buried and minimized as if it were the

blandest of incidentals, when in fact this was the indication that the entire report was a farce. If they didn't even know how to distinguish what was and was not Rosewood on the census, how could they possibly have fulfilled their mandate, and how could the narrative maunderings that fleshed out the report be much more than a little confident supposition?

The confession of the team, mired in the midst of a monster paragraph that takes up all of page 19 of the Review, is this: "The Rosewood team says that it was unable to specify the Rosewood portion of Precinct 9."

This means the public relations flaks have their work cut out for them. The team has already confessed that it didn't know what it was talking about. So what's a good flak to do? The answer is to do the only thing possible--to try and prove that no one could ever possibly have known what the team didn't know, that not even the Almighty above could know such arcane stuff, and so therefore the team is exonerated after all, thank you. They can't be expected to be wizards.

Here specifically, the Reviewers become determined enemies of the truth in the service of institutional imperatives. They set out to prove the preposterous proposition that no one (meaning me) could possibly know where Rosewood was on the census, nor what it was, nor what its limits were--though when I painstakingly did prove this to them, over and over and at excessive length on the phone January 30 (in print they acknowledge the conversation at least) they said that my discussion made perfect sense to them, they could see my point and my proofs, and they expressed no desire to see any further documentation. After all, I went over the census household by household, told intimate details of each household which never contradicted if I came back to a particular household cold, and provided the names of witnesses who had corroborated one another in these details while many other details from testimony, uncorroborated, had been winnowed out although they might have provided some dramatic spice. Much thinner witness testimony was accepted as historical documentation by the Rosewood study team.

It was only by phone January 30 that Dr. Greaves was able to give me assurance that the team had said in writing that its members had no idea which parts of the census represented Rosewood. Upon hearing this I agreed to immediately provide my own answers, then and there by phone if Greaves desired. He said he did, and so I did. Riordan arrived at Greaves's home (it was Sunday) and participated by speakerphone. That all this was by phone and not by signed letter may be irrelevant, since spin, burial, and denial, it now seems clear, could have been applied to certified data nearly as effectively as to a phonecall. It now seems clear to me that the reviewers' mission was to seek any spin possible for discrediting my protests, and they were going to bury what we said no matter what. What they said was (Riordan caved in and went along only after some strange discussion, described below) that

as far as they could see I seemed to know what I was talking about.

But the reader hardly needs to take my word for it that Rosewood contained far fewer than the "355 African Americans" declared by page 20 of the study report. You can take the study's own word--for, as per its custom, it often bewilderingly contradicts itself within its own pages--and the internal contradictions make stunning self-refutation. Page 23 of the study report (above cited as no paragon of fact, to be sure) says Rosewood consisted of "several...two-story homes" and "perhaps a dozen two-room homes" and "a number of small one-room shanties, some of them unoccupied" [underlining mine].

Well, let's see. There is some leeway in "a number" of small one-room shanties, but then again "some of them" were "unoccupied." Would ten occupied one-room shanties be a fair estimate of "a number"? Still another passage in the report (higher up in page 20 itself) seems to make it clear that "a number" couldn't be many more than ten, for in that other passage Rosewood is called "a small hamlet of twenty-five or thirty families."

Anyway. Perhaps it will be conceded for now that ten or perhaps a dozen one-room shanties is "a number." Together then with "several" (three or four? five or six?) two-story homes and "perhaps a dozen" two-room homes we come to a maximum total of thirty alleged Rosewood households, or total African American Rosewood households, as the contention seems to be.

Fine. Try to squeeze 355 people into thirty houses, most of them one- or two-room hovels.

Oops. The report is not only a lie, it's a dream. It doesn't even believe itself. Even in populous regions of the Third World seven is a usual upper limit for average-sized households. To say there were more than ten persons per average house in Rosewood means that some of those hovels must have held great crowds, since some of them must certainly have held less than ten, even if the majority held ten, which itself not only flies in the face of informed knowledge about rural Florida in the 1920s but is clearly belied by the Precinct 9 census. Most households just weren't that large (the oldest two of Lee Ruth Bradley's eight siblings had already moved out before the youngest came along, and then her mother soon was absent as well, due to death; life was hard and this affected household size). Some Rosewood households held elderly people--two or three or even one per house. Anyone can see the size of the households by looking at the census. And consider the study report passage saying Rosewood held only "twenty-five or thirty families." When I protested this as yet another fact error, saying that Rosewood probably contained no more than about twenty African American households, the reviewers

of my protest beat me over the head once again for quibbling--but nowhere did they complain that thirty "families," the maximum put forth by the report itself, must be too low a number. By this light not even the reviewers would seem to really believe the basis for presenting Rosewood as home to "355 African Americans."

But interestingly, the reviewers have shown themselves ready to try and tear apart my description of Rosewood because it conflicts with the report's 355 figure.

The reviewers take the incredible position of imputing "a serious flaw" to my logic about population (page 20 of the Review) because "Mr. Moore incorrectly stated that Sylvester Carrier is absent altogether from the 1920 Manuscript Census."

This is like saying that, well, Manhattan might be a hamlet because you forgot that Maury Povich wasn't in town January 25.

I do confess that these bloodhounds did find an error of mine. I gave it to them--pointing it out myself--though for all I know they may have found it independently as well. It has absolutely nothing to do with village delimitation. I carefully pointed out to the reviewers that my November report commissioned by the study team (due in a furious two weeks after arrangements for the report were completed) had stated that Sylvester Carrier had not been counted on the 1920 Census. Shortly after I sent in the report I saw with horror that he had been counted--but just not in Rosewood where I had concentrated my research. He was temporarily living in Sumner three miles away, where, as I have been writing for years, he did work for a time as fireman on a logtrain running to a camp at Fowler's Bluff. In 1920 Sylvester Carrier and his wife Gertrude are recorded as the sole two residents of a company quarters house in Sumner. Interested primarily in Rosewood in 1923, I had never taken the time to pore over the crabbed handwriting in the Sumner portion of the 1920 census thoroughly enough to chance upon "Syl Carrier" there.

At any rate, my point in mentioning Carrier's 1920 absence from Rosewood in my report was to show how unreliable the census is if not corroborated by witness testimony, especially if one is dealing with a remote African American community visited by a white census taker. My point was that some households were not counted, and their not being counted doesn't mean they didn't exist. And regardless of my slip with regard to Sylvester Carrier's being in Sumner, the basic point is still especially valid because the house where he lived both before and after 1920, in Rosewood, and where he was living in 1923, was the home of his mother Sarah Carrier--and this Rosewood household was not counted in the 1920 census, though it very probably was occupied--by Sarah Carrier, her youngest son Harry Carrier, and her daughter Bernadina Carrier.

All witnesses recall Sarah Carrier living continuously in Rosewood and living nowhere else. Deeds show her owning her home site there. Yet the 1920 census doesn't seem to list her. Why this is so is one of the many mysteries that rest with Alfred Dorsett, the Precinct 9 census enumerator. My point that some Rosewood households may have gone uncounted, therefore making witness testimony indispensible as confirmation, is not undone.

The reviewers, it now seems, may have been waiting for any mistake I might make in order to weave larger accusations around it. Indeed my slip regarding Sylvester Carrier turned into a wild flight of fancy in the Review:

Page 21: "However, the presence of Sylvester Carrier's house outside the boundaries of Rosewood as sketched by Mr. Moore constitutes a major discrepancy in his [population] hypothesis. In the 1920 census manuscript the residence of Sylvester and Gertrude Carrier is in fact located in Precinct 9 of Levy County, at residence #58...This raises important questions: In 1920, where did Sylvester Carrier live--in Sumner or Rosewood? If the former, did he move to Rosewood between 1920 and 1923? Why did none of Mr. Moore's informants discuss such a move? Could Mr. Moore be wrong in his hypothesis about the boundary of Rosewood in the 1920 census? <u>If so, how many more households and residents should be included in the totals for Rosewood</u>? And if one purported boundary is in error, how certain is the location of the other boundary? Mr. Moore's point concerning the placing of makers in the census to identify Rosewood is at best blunted by his misreading of the census data and is not well taken."

Golly. Maybe, these crafty reviewers seemed determined to say, Rosewood <u>could</u> contain "355 African Americans" just as the report contended (but also denied dreamily in other sections at the same time). On the phone as I explained in great detail Rosewood's layout and Sylvester Carrier's presence in what beyond any reasonable (or even unreasonable) doubt is the mill quarters three miles away in Sumner, I noticed something perplexing on the other end of the line. Reviewer Patrick Riordan, the erstwhile State University System public relations flak and sometime grad student at the FSU History Department, seemed strangely obsessed with introducing some kind of ambiguity--any ambiguity--into Sylvester Carrier's place of residence. What made me so sure, Riordan wanted to know, that the "Gertrude Carrier" listed with Sylvester Carrier as "wife" in the census was really his wife? Huh, I said. Why <u>shouldn't</u> she be his wife? Everybody <u>said</u> Gert was his wife. <u>Nobody</u> said she wasn't. Even the U.S. Census said it: "Wife." Well, Riordan began to carp, trotting out a bizarre pet theory he had developed from his own day or so with some census tracts: maybe the "Gertrude Carrier" censused with Sylvester Carrier in 1920 was really just a relative or a little cousin or a sister or something--who happened to be living with Syl Carrier at the family home.

I couldn't then make heads or tails of why Riordan would want to say this. I patiently explained to him that the marriage of Sylvester Carrier and Gertrude King on May 18, 1916, is recorded at the Levy County courthouse. This didn't mollify Riordan. He had his pet theory. He was clinging to it fiercely.

And now he sprang his ace. He had with him the census records for 1910 he announced, pouncing, not just for 1920. And in the 1910 census, he went on in triumph, a "Gertrude Carrier" had lived in the home of a man named "Louis Carrier"--as he said it--in the vicinity of Rosewood.

To Riordan this somehow showed that the Gertrude Carrier living with Sylvester Carrier in 1920 could have been merely a younger cousin or something--and hence, he said, the place where they were living in 1920 could have been the old familial home, and not a small house in the Sumner workers' quarters, and hence the limits of Rosewood as shown in the census would have washed grandly toward the sea. I tried to be polite in the face of this. These men were referees.

Painstakingly, as one would do with a child, I explained to the adamant Riordan that the "Louis Carrier" he thought he had found in the 1910 census was Louisa Carrier, a widow who had moved away to Oaks, Florida, before 1920. On the other end of the phone I heard a furious riffling of census sheets. Uh, oh, yeah, said Riordan with great reluctance, "It does say she's female."

Yes, I went on, Louisa Carrier was the widow of Ransom Carrier as shown in the 1900 census, and when her husband died she found herself destitute and was forced to walk three miles to Sumner each day to work as a domestic, while her son Leroy went to work by age ten in the Rosewood cedar mill, which then was still running, though an older son had been less eager to help in the family's support. I had talked to Leroy Carrier at length and on repreated occasions before his death in 1989. I walked with him across the ground of Rosewood during the "60 Minutes" taping in 1983. I had spoken to many other people who knew Leroy Carrier and his mother Louisa Carrier, who late in life lost her eyesight and lived with Lee Ruth Davis in Miami until she passed away.

I told the sullen Mr. Riordan that when widow Louisa Carrier had remarried to Bill King and left Rosewood, her son Leroy had found he was not fond of his new stepfather and remained behind, boarding with his uncle John Wesley Bradley, Lee Ruth (Bradley) Davis's father, so that Leroy Carrier, born around 1900, was present in Rosewood as a young man when the community was destroyed, as was his much younger cousin Lee Ruth Bradley.

None of these people nor any of their relatives have ever given any reason for finding even a glimmer of truth in Mr. Riordan's bizarre private thesis that somehow Gertrude King Carrier was not Sylvester Carrier's wife, simply because there had been a younger Gertrude Carrier living with Louisa Carrier a decade earlier.

I wonder if Mr. Riordan means to endorse the "you know how they lie" approach to cross-cultural understanding. He seems to be convinced that a quick look at a census tract can tell him more about these people's lives than they have ever known themselves.

Gertrude King Carrier survived the Rosewood violence to live in the old African American section of Miami's Coconut Grove in the Florida Boom, and lived long after 1923. Everyone remembered Gert--everyone, that is, except the Rosewood study team, which got her name wrong, calling Sylvester's wife "Mittie Mitilda Smith" on no evidence that anybody's ever been able to show. But, hey, that was close; Gertrude's a name; "Mittie Mitilda's" a name--though not a name that came from Rosewood or perhaps designated a real person anywhere.

Gert Carrier had long brown hair and pale skin, while her husband Sylvester's skin was dark, giving rise to family suspicions that whites may have resented the marriage as looking too interracial in its complexion.

The Gertrude Carrier whom Riordan had dredged up--Leroy Carrier's sister and Sylvester Carrier's first cousin--was listed in Riordan's cherished census pages as being 12 years old in 1910. The Gertrude King Carrier who was Sylvester Carrier's wife during their brief stay in Sumner (and later in Rosewood's destruction) was 28 years old in 1920.

None of the data fit Riordan's dunce-like supposition. There is not the slightest real indication to make it more than fantasy. Yet it seemed to meet his needs.

This, too, is a glimpse of the soul of the Rosewood study project.

I needn't have gone into such detail on the phone. While Riordan's Gertrude-as-live-in-cousin thesis seemed inexplicable to me during the phone conversation, I now see what he was intent upon doing, at any cost to the provable truth. He was intent on finding some way to use my Sylvester Carrier gaffe as a fighter's opening--as a general excuse for discrediting everything I said about the size of Rosewood. Logic never entered into it. Riordan didn't need logic. He had an institution to protect.

But the efforts were for nothing. Apparently blinded by convenience he failed to notice that the team's own report refutes itself. It can't have twenty-five or thirty Rosewood households and 355 African American residents of Rosewood at the same time--not if the households existed in rural 1920s Florida instead of an overcrowded Mars.

The team's internal contradiction on this point provides a merciful double service. Deflating the team's "355 African Americans" contention without need for resort to outside evidence (the report can't be true about two mutually exclusive propositions at once), the internal contradiction serves historical truth while also casting stark light on the Review.

Illogically defending what the team report itself refutes by

internal contradiction, the Review shows itself to treat evidence with disdain. The goal of shooting the messenger is the Review's real priority.

I hope it missed.

It's late now and I've been up for days. I had planned to methodically cover every twig and pebble in the Review, first page to last. But time has overtaken me. Only four days ago was I able to track down and get home with the voluminous "Review of the Rosewood Project"--since no copy was ever sent to me--and now the Special Master's hearing on Rosewood is only four days away. This is not an enormous amount of time in which to formulate, print, and send in this reply.

For now, these people have taken up enough of my time, though there are twenty-three more pages of the Review that I haven't touched on yet and many valuable revelations are in those pages that I would very much like to discuss--and will discuss at the drop of a hat if anyone cares to.

Through every one of those pages, too, presentation of the facts promises the salutary effect of illuminating the notion of "history" put forth by the authors of the Review.

April 5, 1993

Dear Mr. Moore

It was certainly a pleasure talking with you on the phone the other night, Rosewood is certainly a major event in Florida history and I would hope that your efforts will preserve the memory of Rosewood are successful.

I doubt that I was much help to you. Your research goes into much more detail than my own. What's important to me at this time is that Rosewood's history be accurately documented and then placed into state archives and Florida public libraries. The next step is to have the Rosewood massacre published in a professional journal with well researched and documented footnotes. Then we can be assured that Rosewood will be included in any future texts written on Florida or Southern history.

It is also a goal of mine to start a Rosewood collection at a university library, or archives yet to be determined that would have all the collected data in one location. I hope that once you have completed your research you will consider donating your source material to this collection. Naturally, I understand that as a commercial writer you need to use what you now have to write your book and you deserve to do so, for all the hard work that you put into the process, but this is something I hope you will consider in the long term.

I have enclosed the tape of Mr. McElveen, but I noticed that the legal depositions of Mrs. Langley and Mrs. Davis are property of the Holland and Knight law firm. They released copies to me for an expressed purpose of research, and therefore, I would want to obtain their permission before sharing this information. I have sent them a letter requesting that they allow me to donate this material to F.S.U.'s library. Once they agree (and I believe they will), I can send it to you,-- as it will be property of F.S.U. I hope this is not an inconvenience but I just don't want to place myself in a possible embarrassing position or worse,-- in a legal bind. In the meantime you might consider requesting them from Representative DeGrandy's office, or doing as I did, and request them directly from Holland and Knight here in Tallahassee.

I have also enclosed a recent article from the April 5, Tallahassee Democrat on the status of the Rosewood bill. I am a little miffed at the $50,000, to be granted to the University of Florida to research the surviving families whereabouts. If you have this information in hand, you could save Florida taxpayers 50k. That money could be better spent on something like medical care for Levy county blacks.

I have a couple of questions that still bother me in regards to Rosewood, perhaps you could shed some light on the following

areas:
1. Where are the testimony's or paperwork generated by the judicial investigation of Mr. DeCottes?
2. I got the impression from our conversation that you doubted the existence of a mass grave, yet we have collaborating testimony by Turner and McElveen to this information. What are your feelings on this?
3. I need your best guess as to the number of structures, buildings or homes in Rosewood. Would it be possible to draw a plot or map from the information that you have?
4. You mention Klan involvement in your article, do you have any evidence of Klan participation? I might add, that the Klan has been interviewing people in Cedar key over the past few months and they are denying any involvement
5. Have you seen any property deeds from Rosewood, and did the blacks own the land or were they living on railroad property? If you have any information along these lines I would appreciate it.

To be honest with you as a Ph. D. candidate trying to work and keep up with additional research projects my time is limited. If Representative Degrandy wants me to testify before a committee next session in an effort to gain compensation for the survivors I'd be glad to do so. I'll try to find Jessie Hunter's prison record if possible, however I have promised myself to move on to other projects soon or I may never graduate.

On a lighter topic, you could do me another favor by commenting on the enclosed essay on E.C. Weeks. As a professional writer perhaps you could suggest some stylistic changes that might make this work suitable for publication in one of the many civil war history magazines. (This paper was written as a class project I know its a little rough) I'd be interested in any advice you could offer.

I have four or five other projects of this type just laying around and it seems like such a waste, (and my wife thinks I'm nuts). Once again, let me tell you how much I enjoyed our last conversation. I share your concern that sloppy and inaccurate reporting by journalists that lack your dedication to the truth will do more harm than good. I wish you luck in your project and if I can be of any assistance please feel free to call or write.

Sincerely,

R.Thomas Dye "Tom"
4709 Candlewood Lane
Tallahassee, Florida 32312
Tel: 904 668 2592

April 9, 1993

Dear Mr. Moore,

Can you send me copies of the articles that deal with the investigation by DeCottes or tell me were I can find them. Enclosed are some photographs you might be interested in using in youw book.

Thank you,

R. Thomas Dye

HB 2425 A bill to be entitled 1:btc

An act relating to appropriations; providing an appropriation for the funding of a grant to investigate the destruction of Rosewood, Florida; providing a report; providing an effective date. 1.3 1.4

WHEREAS, it has been reported to the Legislature that in 1923 the North Florida town of Rosewood was the scene of violent mob action resulting in the destruction of the town, and 1.5 1.6

WHEREAS, over the 70 years since this incident, there has not been a comprehensive criminal or historical investigation of the violence occurring at Rosewood, and 1.7 1.8

WHEREAS, members of the Legislature have expressed great concern relating to the responsibility of the State of Florida for this tragedy and a determination of the state's equitable responsibility to compensate the surviving residents of Rosewood, and 1.8 1.9 1.10 1.11

WHEREAS, the Legislature seeks to undertake a comprehensive review of the circumstances relating to the destruction of the town of Rosewood, NOW, THEREFORE, 1.11 1.12

Be It Enacted by the Legislature of the State of Florida: 1:enc

Section 1. The sum of $50,000 is hereby appropriated from the General Revenue Fund to fund a grant for the University of Florida, in conjunction with the Black Archives of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University and other appropriate elements of the State University System, to 1.14 1.16 1.17 1.18

CODING: Words stricken are deletions; words underlined are additions.

By Representatives De Grandy, Lawson

A bill to be entitled

An act for the relief of Arnett T. Goins, Minnie L. Langley, Lonnie Carroll, Millie Evans, Dorothy Hosey, Margie Hall, Wilson Hall, Mary Hall, Lillie Washington, Berthina Fagin, Eva Jenkins, Vera Hamilton, Arnett Doctor, Yvonne Doctor, Doris Jones, Earnest Brockington, Wesley D. Bailey, Robert King, Barbara Woods, Nae E. McDonald, Ella M. Reddick, Rosetta Jackson, Clarence Pollard, Bobbie Bradley, Rollie Owah, Queen Manley, Annie B. Lee, Altamese Wrispus, Thelma Evans Hawkins, Virginia Briscoe, Willie Mae Thomas, Helen Crockett Taylor, Galbesper N. Bradley, Jr., Wesley J. Bradley, Leruth Bradley, Charlene Bradley, Gail Bradley, Tadga Bradley, Edwin Bradley, Janie M. Bradley, Mary Bradley, Rose Wooten, Berthnia Edwards, Leona Taylor, Larcel Edwards, Martha J. Edwards, Vivian Edwards, Abraham Edwards, Wilbert Edwards, Jr., Joseph Edwards, Maud Edwards, Queen E. Edwards, Helen D. Edwards, Earvin Edwards, Albert Edwards, and Dorothy Edwards as the victims of the Rosewood Massacre; providing an appropriation to compensate each of them for injuries they sustained as a result of the massacre and destruction of the property of the African-American citizens of Rosewood during the month of January 1923; providing an effective date.

CODING: Deletions are stricken; additions are underlined.

WHEREAS, during the month of January 1923 in and about the town of Rosewood, in Levy County, Florida, certain gross violations of law and human decency occurred in connection with the massacre and destruction of the property of the African-American citizens of Rosewood, Florida, which are more particularly described in the "Historical Investigation of the Facts Relating to the Incident Which Occurred at Rosewood, Florida, in 1923," dated December 22, 1993, and submitted to the Florida Board of Regents, and

WHEREAS, the State of Florida was on notice of the events occurring in Rosewood in January 1923, in time to have prevented the massacre and destruction of property which occurred in Rosewood, and

WHEREAS, the State of Florida had the obligation, pursuant to, inter alia, the United States Constitution and the Florida Constitution, to act upon such knowledge to prevent the massacre and destruction of property which occurred in Rosewood, and

WHEREAS, the State of Florida knowingly failed and refused to act to prevent the massacre and destruction of property which occurred in Rosewood, and

WHEREAS, as a direct and proximate result of the gross negligence of the State of Florida in failing to act to prevent the Rosewood massacre and destruction of property, each of the victims of the Rosewood Massacre has suffered severe mental and emotional pain, suffering and anguish, loss of capactiy, enjoyment of living, loss of community, and other damages too numerous to mention, and

WHEREAS, these losses are permanent and continuing and the aforesaid victims of the Rosewood Massacre will suffer

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these and other presently undiagnosed losses in the future, and

WHEREAS, the victims of the Rosewood Massacre include Arnett T. Goins, Minnie L. Langley, Lonnie Carroll, Millie Evans, Dorothy Hosey, Margie Hall, Wilson Hall, Mary Hall, Lillie Washington, Berthina Fagin, Eva Jenkins, Vera Hamilton, Arnett Doctor, Yvonne Doctor, Doris Jones, Earnest Brockington, Wesley D. Bailey, Robert King, Barbara Woods, Mae E. McDonald, Ella M. Reddick, Rosetta Jackson, Clarence Pollard, Bobbie Bradley, Rollie Owah, Queen Manley, Annie B. Lee, Altamese Mrispus, Thelma Evans Hawkins, Virginia Briscoe, Willie Mae Thomas, Helen Crockett Taylor, Galbesper M. Bradley, Jr., Wesley J. Bradley, Leruth Bradley, Charlene Bradley, Gail Bradley, Tadga Bradley, Edwin Bradley, Janie M. Bradley, Mary Bradley, Rose Wooten, Berthnia Edwards, Leona Taylor, Larcel Edwards, Martha J. Edwards, Vivian Edwards, Abraham Edwards, Wilbert Edwards, Jr., Joseph Edwards, Maud Edwards, Queen E. Edwards, Helen D. Edwards, Earvin Edwards, Albert Edwards, and Dorothy Edwards, and each of the victims of the Rosewood Massacre is either:

1. An "eligible individual," that is, an African-American who was a resident of Rosewood in January 1923, an African-American who owned or leased property in Rosewood or its surrounding vicinity in January 1923, or an African-American who was present in Rosewood at the time of the Rosewood Massacre; or

2. In the case of an eligible individual who is deceased:

(a) The surviving spouse of said deceased individual; or

(b) A surviving child of said deceased eligible individual (including a natural child, a stepchild who lived with the eligible individual in a regular parent-child relationship, and/or an adopted child), and

WHEREAS, the Legislature desires to compensate the victims of the Rosewood Massacre for their losses in the amounts set forth as follows:

Arnett T. Goins.....$270,000
Minnie L. Langley.....$270,000
Lonnie Carroll.....$270,000
Willie Evans.....$270,000
Dorothy Hosey.....$270,000
Margie Hall.....$270,000
Nilson Hall.....$270,000
Mary Hall.....$270,000
Lillie Washington.....$270,000
Berthina Fagin.....$270,000
Eva Jenkins.....$270,000
Vera Hamilton.....$270,000
Arnett Doctor.....$135,000
Yvonne Doctor.....$135,000
Doris Jones.....$135,000
Earnest Brockington.....$135,000
Wesley D. Bailey.....$270,000
Robert Xing.....$90,000
Barbara Woods.....$90,000
Mae E. McDonald.....$90,000
Ella M. Reddick.....$135,000
Rosetta Jackson.....$135,000
Clarence Pollard.....$270,000
Bobbie Bradley.....$90,000

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Rollie Owah.....$90,000
Queen Manley.....$90,000
Annie B. Lee.....$135,000
Altamese Mrispus.....$135,000
Thelma Evans Hawkins.....$270,000
Virginia Briscoe.....$135,000
Willie Mae Thomas.....$135,000
Helen Crockett Taylor.....$270,000
Galbesper N. Bradley, Jr.....$16,875
Wesley J. Bradley.....$16,875
Leruth Bradley.....$16,875
Charlene Bradley.....$16,875
Gail Bradley.....$16,875
Tadga Bradley.....$16,875
Edwin Bradley.....$16,875
Janie M. Bradley.....$16,875
Mary Bradley.....$135,000
Rose Wooten.....$15,000
Berthnia Edwards.....$15,000
Leona Taylor.....$15,000
Larcel Edwards.....$15,000
Martha J. Edwards.....$15,000
Vivian Edwards.....$15,000
Abraham Edwards.....$15,000
Wilbert Edwards, Jr.....$15,000
Joseph Edwards.....$15,000
Maud Edwards.....$135,000
Queen E. Edwards.....$33,750
Helen D. Edwards.....$33,750
Earvin Edwards.....$33,750
Albert Edwards.....$33,750

CODING: Deletions are stricken; additions are underlined.

Dorothy Edwards.....$135,000, NOW, THEREFORE,

Be It Enacted by the Legislature of the State of Florida:

Section 1. The facts stated in the preamble of this act are found and declared to be true.

Section 2. The sum of $7,020,000 is appropriated out of funds of the General Revenue Fund in the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated to provide compensation to the previously named victims of the Rosewood Massacre.

Section 3. The Comptroller is directed to draw a warrant in favor of Arnett T. Goins, in the amount of $270,000; Minnie L. Langley, in the amount of $270,000; Lonnie Carroll, in the amount of $270,000; Willie Evans, in the amount of $270,000; Dorothy Hosey, in the amount of $270,000; Margie Hall, in the amount of $270,000; Wilson Hall, in the amount of $270,000; Mary Hall, in the amount of $270,000; Lillie Washington, in the amount of $270,000; Berthina Fagin, in the amount of $270,000; Eva Jenkins, in the amount of $270,000; Vera Hamilton, in the amount of $270,000; Arnett Doctor, in the amount of $135,000; Yvonne Doctor, in the amount of $135,000; Doris Jones, in the amount of $135,000; Earnest Brockington, in the amount of $135,000; Wesley D. Bailey, in the amount of $270,000; Robert King, in the amount of $90,000; Barbara Woods, in the amount of $90,000; Mae E. McDonald, in the amount of $90,000, Ella M. Reddick, in the amount of $135,000; Rosetta Jackson, in the amount of $135,000; Clarence Pollard, in the amount of $270,000; Bobbie Bradley, in the amount of $90,000; Rollie Owah, in the amount of $90,000; Queen Manley, in the amount of $90,000; Annie B. Lee, in the amount of $135,000; Altamese Wrispus, in the

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amount of $135,000; Thelma Evans Hawkins, in the amount of $270,000; Virginia Briscoe, in the amount of $135,000; Willie Mae Thomas, in the amount of $135,000; Helen Crockett Taylor, in the amount of $270,000; Galbesper N. Bradley, Jr., in the amount of $16,875; Wesley J. Bradley, in the amount of $16,875; Leruth Bradley, in the amount of $16,875; Charlene Bradley, in the amount of $16,875; Gail Bradley, in the amount of $16,875; Tadga Bradley, in the amount of $16,875; Edwin Bradley, in the amount of $16,875; Janie M. Bradley, in the amount of $16,875; Mary Bradley, in the amount of $135,000; Rose Wooten, in the amount of $15,000; Berthnia Edwards, in the amount of $15,000; Leona Taylor, in the amount of $15,000; Larcel Edwards, in the amount of $15,000; Martha J. Edwards, in the amount of $15,000; Vivian Edwards, in the amount of $15,000; Abraham Edwards, in the amount of $15,000; Wilbert Edwards, Jr., in the amount of $15,000; Joseph Edwards; in the amount of $15,000; Maud Edwards, in the amount of $135,000; Queen E. Edwards, in the amount of $33,750; Helen D. Edwards, in the amount of $33,750; Earvin Edwards, in the amount of $33,750; Albert Edwards, in the amount of $33,750; and Dorothy Edwards, in the amount of $135,000, upon funds in the State Treasury to the credit of the Department of Banking and Finance, and the State Treasurer is directed to pay the same out of such funds.

Section 4. This act shall take effect upon becoming a law.

CODING: Deletions are stricken; additions are underlined.

Press Release:
Reps. DeGrandy and Lawson, Dec. 30, 1993

"The State should compensate the victims of the Rosewood Massacre," said Rep. Lawson. Accordingly, Representative Al Lawson and Representative Miguel DeGrandy have today filed a claims bill in the House of Representatives seeking appropriate compensation for the victims of the Rosewood Massacre. The amount sought - $270,000 for each victim - is far less than the true value of these claims.

Additionally, just as our nation remembers the Holocaust--and our country's failure to act in a timely manner--Florida should now remember the Rosewood Massacre by creating a Memorial for future generations to visit and ponder. Moreover, the Florida Department of Education should act now to ensure that this unfortunate chapter in our history is included in the adopted history texts which are read in the classrooms of our public schools. Representatives Lawson and DeGrandy will also file legislation creating the Memorial.

The Rosewood Family is being represented in this matter by the law firm of Holland & Knight. All of Holland & Knight's services in this case are being rendered free of charge as a part of the firm's commitment to pro bono work. Martha Barnett, who heads the firm's Public Law Department, and Steve Hanlon, who heads the firm's Community Services Team, are the partners with principal responsibility for the case. Ms. Barnett has a special connection to the Rosewood Family. Many of the victims of the Rosewood

4100 SW Edmunds St., #230
Seattle, Washington 98116
telephone: (206) 932-4156

November 4, 1993

Mr. Greg Gleason
General Counsel
State University System of Florida
325 West Gaines Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399

Dear Mr. Gleason:

I am writing in concern about dismaying irregularities in the Rosewood Investigative Team which is authorized by the Board of Regents and will report to the Board December 22.

Though the Rosewood Investigative Team (as its letter are signed) has offered me $2,000 for a summary of my research as being the definitive (and only reliable) statement about its area of study, and though it wishes to buy my audio tapes for another $1,000--and I certainly need the money--I cannot participate until some serious questions are cleared up, including apparent misrepresentation of statements by the Board.

Whatever is going on with this Team is not right. Many brave people have trusted me with painful testimony about the Rosewood violence over the years. To surrender this to an effort of sophomoric foolishness--and demonstrable deception--is wrong. I must hold the Board responsible for the incredible comedy of errors that now has enveloped a priceless chance to fully and responsibly document an incident of mass rural racial violence in the Jim Crow South. Team members say their secretive bumbling was conceived in closed-door proceedings by the Presidents of three Florida universities. Could this possibly be true? Are they lying as has occurred on other occasions--or is something approaching a more serious betrayal of the public trust and of the truth going on? How can a <u>university system</u> produce such a falsehood factory?

Why, now, has the Rosewood secret become once again enclosed in smarmy denials and nonchalance toward real investigation?

Consider a few points (there are many others): Your public affairs office stoutly contends that the Team was chosen by an "open process"--open until July 31--though on July 27 Team member Maxine Jones said confidently, "I am going to be the Principal Investigator," and on July 26 Team member Larry Rivers declared, "I'll be one of the co-investigators." Cryptically, Team member William Rogers said, "The politics are just incredible."

In fact the process was a petty backroom deal. Team member Tom Dye in a signed letter as early as April 30 offered key insight:

"Our meeting with Al Lawson went much better than expected. He has agreed to change the bill and make Florida State University the primary research organization. I get a great deal of satisfaction out of screwing the gators."

Welcome to real grown-up scholarship. A real seeking of the truth.

Another point: When archaeologist Kathleen Deagan, a forthright and admirable scholar, was brought in to attempt to verify the physical site of Rosewood, she was given only one of my old magazine articles as orientation--and was never told that a much more recent and exhaustive article of mine contains a map I reconstructed of the site, designating the very landmarks she sought. Every effort was made to exclude the voluminous information I hold about site configuration--and about many other things. Why could this possibly have been? Deagan was astonished when she found she had been sent out blind though such information existed and was known to and accepted by the Team. In fact, she was led to believe there was no Rosewood Investigative Team beyond David Coburn of the University of Florida, that Coburn <u>was</u> the Team. Coburn's efforts now have accomplished the impressive achievment of alienating landowners at the site so thoroughly that it is closed. This never happened in all my years of going there and talking to those people--including when they cooperatively opened the site to the intrusion of a "60 Minutes" video crew under my guidance. Coburn's efforts mark a new height in scholarly effectiveness.

And a third point: the heart of the reason for investigating Rosewood is that it is shrouded in sensational myths, many of which have in the past year been trumpeted dismally in the press, without verification. The Rosewood Investigative Team, rather than systematically and credibly analyzing the basis of these myths in order to sort fact from fancy, has involved itself in the myth-making process and operated in a bungling, credulous secrecy that merely muddies the waters. Why has it done this? Why has the Board of Regents launched such an effort? Is the Board, too, trying to cover up Rosewood by doing a quick public relations job that will leave (easily deniable) myths in place? Ms. Stepina says the Board is blithely free of any responsibility for the actions of the Rosewood Investigating Team. Then who is responsible? Apparently no one.

And not least, $50,000 appropriated by the Legislature out of the pockets of the people of Florida for this process has been shamelessly squandered. Has the Board managed to set up a process by which this money could be wasted with complete unaccountability? My congratulations.

The Rosewood Investigative Team has called me "the person who knows more than anybody else in the world about Rosewood," "the authority on the subject." They have used my published articles

as research and briefing tools. I hold a letter of intent to publish a definitive work on Rosewood from University Press of Florida. What does it say about the Team if this authority then states unequivocally that their pretense to real inquiry is a fraud?

What does it say about the Board if it closes its eyes to this mess?

I want some answers--in open, genuine discussion. The people of Florida and the reputation of its University System certainly deserve no less.

The press is poised for a feeding frenzy when the Team reports December 22, ready to shout to the rooftops all kinds of myths. Is it too much to hope that a genuine investigation will be in place by that time--instead of the present sham?

And since the Team is basing itself on my years of effort I do want to be included in discussions of what's going on.

Sincerely,

Gary Moore

cc. Carolyn K. Roberts, Charles B. Reed

The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029
Department of History R-126

October 18, 1993

Mr. Gary Moore
4100 S.W. Edmunds Street, #230
Seattle, Washington 98116

Dear Mr. Moore:

We are now in a position to benefit in some specific ways from your expertise, insight, and research into the Rosewood affair. We think the most efficient and desirable way to accomplish this would be for you to prepare for us a thirty or forty page double spaced synopsis of your research and conclusions, properly referenced and documented. Your footnotes or endnotes should also be doubled spaced and need not be counted as part of the thirty or forty page report. We would need to have your input by November 15th. Upon receipt of your report and after our reading it, we will authorize payment to you of $2,000.

Also, we desire to purchase copies of tapes of your interviews at $125 per tape. We would like to have the following tapes and transcripts:

Edith Foster
Sam Hall
Elizabeth Smith
James Turner
Willy Evans
Lonnie Carrol
John Yearty
Frank Coburn
Eloise Davis
Fred Kirkland

We know that your work will enhance the project substantially, and we will give you full credit in the study's acknowledgements, as well as in its footnotes. The project is enormously complicated, and each of us is working away trying to meet our deadline. Our goal remains that of producing and presenting to the Board of Control and the state legislature an objective, fully documented study. We know that your work will help us accomplish that objective. We would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible. This letter is written in behalf of the committee, and I extend my best personal wishes. I am

Sincerely yours,

Maxine Jones

Maxine Jones
Principal Investigator

MJ/dr

(904) 644-5888 • FAX (904) 644-6402

Angela Goins
2466 Wilmont AV
JKVL FLa 32218

JACKS... FL 322
PM
22 APR
199?

S Teve Hanlon
315 S. Calhoun St
Suite 600
Talla FL 32301

4100 SW Edmunds St., #230
Seattle, Washington 98116
telephone: (206) 932-4156

October 23, 1993

Maxine Jones, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
The Rosewood Investigative Team
Department of History
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029

Dear Dr. Jones:

I just received your October 18 letter. Please call me at your earliest convenience so we can discuss the details and go forward.

Sincerely,

Gary Moore

The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029
Department of History R-126

September 10, 1993

Mr. Gary Moore
4100 S.W. Edmunds St. 230
Seattle Wa. 98116

Dear Mr. Moore,

The State Universities of Florida are presently conducting an inquiry into the incidents surrounding the Rosewood affair of 1923 on behalf of the Florida Legislature and Florida Board of Regents. In late July of this year the Speaker of the Florida House appropriated $50,000 for this investigation and outlined specific criteria of what was to be included in the final report. In an open application process the project was awarded to a joint team from Florida A&M, Florida State University, and the University of Florida departments of history. The State has asked for a report which would indicate the size, and values of any properties destroyed at Rosewood, census tracts, and number of current surviving descendants from Rosewood and surrounding areas in 1923. This research will constitute the bulk of our report. In addition, the Speaker of the House has requested an unbiased account of the events leading up to the burning of several homes and possibly other structures at Rosewood based on primary research, empirical data, and scientific material.

Co-Project Directors Dr. Maxine Jones and Dr. Larry Rivers, and other team members have read your article that appeared in the Florida Tropicana on the Rosewood incident. Your work on this subject is impressive and indicates assessabilty to primary materials which are significant to this project's final analysis.

Understandably, you may have reached agreements with publishers or other media which would preclude you from releasing your research, but if you would be interested in contributing to this inquiry we request that you submit a manifest of the materials in your possession along with your requirements regarding compensation for your research,-- to date, compiled. All data that we compile or receive from outside sources will eventually be released as public documents, and by contract stipulations be placed on file at the Black Archives located on the campus of Florida A&M University in Tallahassee, Florida.

It may not be necessary for you to travel to Florida unless you are in the position to provide information which would require your presence such as: pinpointing the exact location of an alleged mass grave site in the Rosewood vicinity. If

(904) 644-5888 • FAX (904) 644-6403

so, please outline any additional contributions you can, or would be willing to make to this project so that we may justify your travel expenses with the University Comptroller, and the Project Budget Director.

The Florida House of Representatives has stipulated that any individual who receives direct compensation on this project must agree not to testify on behalf of, or against any, compensation bill that may be filed in the Florida Legislature. If this is not a problem for you, we can fax the necessary documents which would require your signature agreeing to the above condition once we have reached an agreement.

This also turned out to be false

The Rosewood investigative team is concerned that somehow you have misinterpreted our mission, or that we would not be anxious and indeed delighted to review your materials. To the contrary, we would like nothing more than to have your cooperation in our efforts to uncover the truth. Recent newspaper accounts by yourself and other journalists have helped to bring Rosewood into the public's conscience, and these articles have provided the catalyst for the current legislative action. In that regard,your work has already made an important contribution nevertheless, we hope you can understand that accounts lacking citations, regardless of their accuracy, would not fit the criteria we have contracted to perform. We are required by agreement to fully document this study, and all information, data, and materials that we receive must undergo careful scrutiny,-- for us to do otherwise would be to act irresponsibly.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest possible convenience.

The Rosewood Investagative Team
Co-Directors
Dr, Maxine Jones and Dr. Larry Rivers
Florida State University
Department of History
Belamy Building
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Questionnaire:
Knowledge Level pertaining to evidence in the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, over the course of January 1-7, 1923.

QUESTION	ANSWER	SOURCE
1. Which residents of Rosewood listed on the 1920 Census had moved away by 1923?		
2. By what route did Henry Andrews reach Rosewood?		
3. What historic links did Kay Bryce possess to Rosewood?		
4. What Rosewood occupation caused friction with surrounding whites?		
5. Which records implicate the Florida Boom as an underlying predisposing factor in the Rosewood violence?		
6. What was Jack Cason's position toward the lynching of Aaron Carrier?		
7. What contemporary case in Newberry, Florida, had bearing on Rosewood?		
8. In which part of Rosewood did Mingo Williams live?		
9. What was Mannie Hudson's father doing when news came that Mannie was wounded?		
10. Of what type were the wounds?		
11. What physician attended white wounded after the Rosewood clash?		
12. What evidence shows that the stated reason for discontinuance of the Rosewood grand jury investigation was a sham?		
13. What purchasing procedure in Rosewood undercut neighboring stores (excluding mail order)?		

The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029

Department of History R-126

23 August 1993

Mr. Gary Moore
4100 SW Edmund St. #230
Seattle, Washington 98116

Dear Mr. Moore:

Thank you for your letters and your phone calls relative to the report that our committee representing Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, the University of Florida and Florida State University is preparing for the State of Florida. Our committee has, of course, met several times, and last week we all went down to Rosewood, or what remains of it and toured the area.

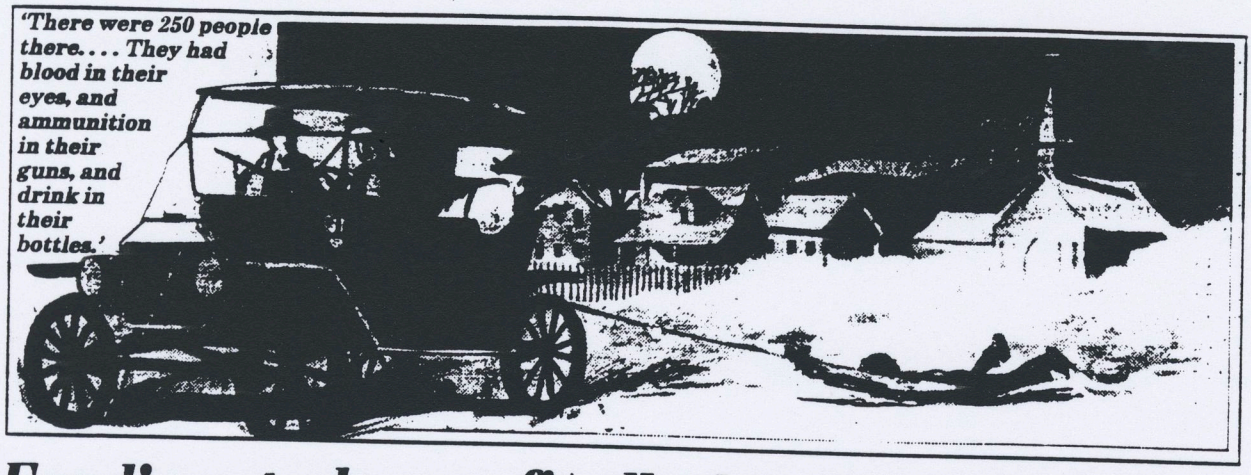
All of us realize your expertise and look forward to benefitting from your input. We will pay you for your contributions to the project. As of now, each of us is beginning research on different aspects of the Rosewood tragedy. As we get into the work many questions will inevitably arise. We will then call on you for help. At this moment it is unfair to you to ask you to just "stand by" and defer what must be a variety of other projects. We have discussed this matter among ourselves, and what we suggest is that you go ahead with whatever work you are doing and wait to hear from us. It does not seem practical to ask you to come down to Florida and undertake research, that is, additional research, on the Rosewood riot when the committee members themselves are just getting started. For the moment we will, with your permission, write or call you for specific details and facts as we need them.

All of us on the committee realize that your work will make our work better. In fact, it already has, as we have learned a great deal from your published material. Speaking for the committee and myself, we wish you the best of luck and look forward to working with you. I am

Sincerely Yours,

Maxine D. Jones
Associate Professor of History
and Principal Investigator

(904) 644-5888 • FAX (904) 644-6402



'There were 250 people there.... They had blood in their eyes, and ammunition in their guns, and drink in their bottles.'

Funding study may finally drag out real truth

LaNedra Carroll
ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Speaker Bo Johnson's office was none too pleased in May when, on these opinion pages, we criticized the House of Representatives for dragging its feet on the Rosewood Bill.

Johnson had promised during the closing hours of the session to "find the money" to fund a study on Rosewood, the predominantly black town of about 350 people that was destroyed in 1923. Only no designated funds and no legislation were in place to assure that such a thing would happen.

Nothing personal against this speaker, but promises, without legislation to back them up, haven't always been worth a whole lot in the halls of state government. Rosewood and its horrible secrets could have been tossed aside — perhaps forever.

But Johnson has kept his word and, to his credit, has tagged the money for the study.

The House has committed $50,000 for the Rosewood investigation, which will lead to an official report on what happened some 70 years ago.

Although a study isn't exactly what the bill sponsors and the survivors were asking for, it offers a good beginning to the end of the atrocities that took place that New Year's Day in Levy County — because no official account is recorded anywhere.

Minnie Lee Langley, 79, and Lee Ruth Davis, 78, are the only known Rosewood survivors. They say a white mob burned Rosewood to the ground and killed people, including their grandmother, an aunt and other relatives after a white woman in a neighboring community claimed a black man had attacked her.

It was on the behalf of the aging black women that Rep. Al Lawson, D-Tallahassee, and Rep. Miguel de Grandy, R-Miami, filed the Rosewood claim bill. It was designed to provide compensation to the survivors of those who were killed or forced to flee, abandoning property in the process — and to have the state erect a memorial to the people of Rosewood.

But the bill got hung up in the process. A flurry of news stories appeared. And nothing happened.

Well, *something* happened in Rosewood. And Floridians deserve to know what. News accounts of the incidents vary wildly. And members of the Ku Klux Klan have set out to prove that the "Rosewood Massacre" is a part of the wild imaginings of little old black women.

But, like Lee Ruth Davis, some questions just can't be dismissed that easily: What happened to her family? What happened to make the town vanish in smoke within a four-day period?

Every house was burned — with the exception of the single one owned by a white man. Men and women were killed; and there were corpses to prove it.

The New York Times chronicled the event as one where blacks revolted and terrorized whites. Davis and Langley, of course, would disagree.

Two vastly differing accounts. Too many unanswered questions.

That is why a commissioned study, as recommended by the House Judiciary Committee, is in order.

"I look forward to receiving a factual, well-researched account of what appears to be an ugly part of our state's past," Johnson said. "At the least, this study is sure to teach us something about our past so we can use the knowledge to guard against anything like it in the future."

Without a doubt, definitive answers and remedies are long overdue in this case. Already too many of the historical records are gone — destroyed, lost, and buried. Many others who could shed some light on the occurrences at Rosewood say they prefer to keep that ugly past in the past, in the dark where it belongs.

But the survivors and their families, and the people of Florida need a full account — in order to respond appropriately. For as it is said, only after a people know their history can they really know their future. That must happen in the case of Rosewood. For all our sakes.

ROSEWOOD PROPOSALS

Proposals for the historical investigation of the Rosewood incident must be received by 11 a.m. July 30. The principal investigator must be a full-time faculty member on a continuing appointment at a Florida state university. Other researchers may participate, if they have expertise in the area of study. The final report is due Nov. 22.

For more information, call Nancy Stepina, director of Governmental Relations, Board of Regents, at 487-2061.

AMOUNT OF AWARD:

A total of $50,000 is available to fund selected proposals that fall within the scope of the topic enumerated in Section 1., "Scope of Work."

1. SCOPE OF WORK:

The requirements for the performance of services regarding the historical investigation of the 1923 incident which occurred in Rosewood, Florida, shall include, but not be limited to:

(a) a review of all documented accounts of the incident which occurred at Rosewood, Florida with specific reference to the sources of such accounts;

(b) identification of witnesses, and interviews of any witnesses who may still be living, with appropriate documentation to confirm the status of these individuals as witnesses;

(c) a comprehensive bibliography of articles and writings about the incident;

(d) as complete a description as can be provided, using extant historical materials, of the community of Rosewood in 1923.

(e) as complete a description as can be provided, using extant historical materials, of the incidents which occurred in Rosewood in 1923.

(f) as complete a list as can be provided, using extant historical materials, of the names of the persons who were residents of Rosewood, Florida in 1923 (or in 1920 based upon census records) before the incident which occurred in Rosewood in 1923.

The study shall not discuss or address in any manner the issue of any claim bill that has previously been filed before either house of the Florida Legislature or which may be filed in the future and shall not make any recommendation with respect to any claim by any individual or the heir of any individual which arises from the incident which occurred at Rosewood, Florida in 1923.

Perhaps the most outrageous article of all, this piece on the front of the BayLife section of The Tampa Tribune tells us that Rosewood just might have been as important, in its day, as Atlanta.

BayLife

THE TAMPA TRIBUNE

Sunday, May 16, 19

Seventy years ago, the Klan was on the rise, and a tiny Levy County community named Rosewood was on the decline. But no one expected it to end in fire.

Razed by racism

STORIES BY SUZIE SIEGEL

Rosewood is being rebuilt.

Not with hammers and nails, but with words and documents. Historians hope to compile a record of Rosewood and its times so that others will understand how a town can be burned off the map.

Many years ago, a white mob ran off black residents and torched their homes in the Levy County town. Those seven days fell into obscurity, meriting no mention in history books.

Elderly survivors who want compensation brought attention to the story this year. People have gleaned details from interviews with those now dead, from those who were children at the time or from those who remember family stories.

Historians hope to fill in the holes and clear up the inconsistencies.

Some accounts say 100 blacks were slain. Arnett Doctor, whose mother survived the mob, says his family talks of 40 blacks and 19 whites.

Author Gary Moore, who has researched Rosewood for 11 years, wrote in the Miami Herald that he can document eight deaths but figures the count may be 12.

Tom Dye, who wrote a master's thesis on the Cedar Key area, considers deaths of six blacks and two whites likely.

He says one man reported seeing 17 blacks in a mass grave, and another put the figure at 26. That man told Dye: "For the next four or five years, they picked up skulls and things all around there in the woods and up the creek."

The two men are dead now, a mass grave has never been found and no one knows who might be buried there. A forensic archaeologist could be hired to search for a grave if the state Legislature approves money for a study, Dye says.

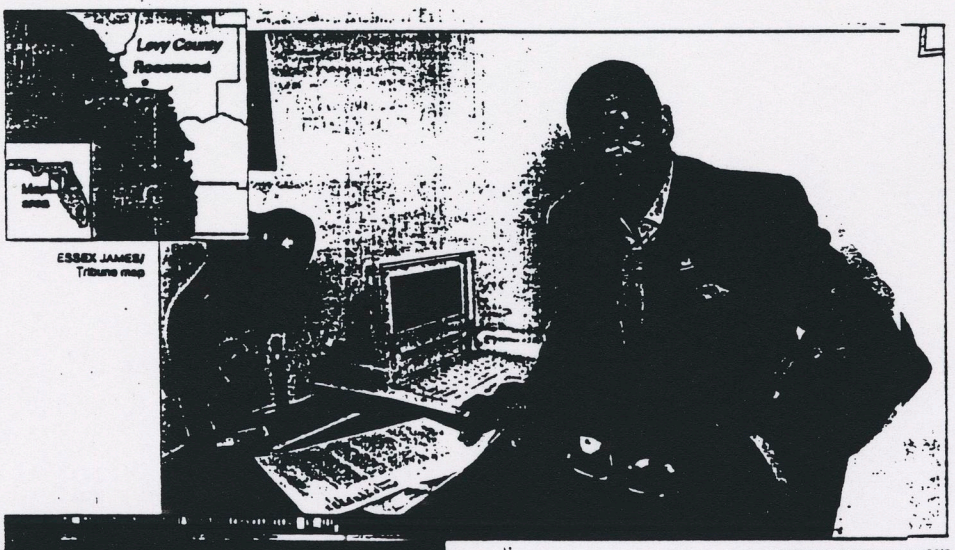
People also have different views of Rosewood in 1923. Doctor describes it as a thriving, upper-middle-class community.

"Rosewood was nicknamed the 'Black Mecca.' Rosewood was to the Southeast, and especially Florida, what Atlanta is today. Two hundred to 300 people lived in Rosewood in 60 to 70 well-built homes with manicured lawns."

Dye says the record shows Rosewood was in decline in 1923, with not nearly that many people or fine homes. No one in the town had manicured lawns, he says. He has found no record of the nickname.

"Everyone paints a picture, and they come out with different colors and styles. We may never know all the facts," Dye says.

Records indicate a white developer founded Rosewood, possibly in the 1870s, he says. People came after the Civil War to

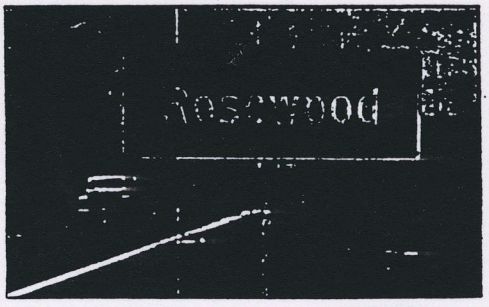


ESSEX JAMES/Tribune map

BOB WESTENHOUSER/Tribune photo

At top, what's left of the Rosewood black community today. Arnett Doctor after the rampage. Above, Arnett Doctor of Tampa is a descendant of an original Rosewood family and is chairman of the Rosewood Family Advisory Committee, a group that wants society to repay the families for a tragedy that has touched generations. At left, Tom Dye, a doctoral student at Florida State University, did his master's thesis on the history of the Cedar Key-Rosewood area. Below, a lone sign welcomes people to Rosewood.

COLIN HACKLEY/Tribune photo



ANDY JONES/Tribune photo

Descendants demand compensation

Photos from Literary Digest

A white mob torched the home of black people in Rosewood during a New Year's Day rampage.

Terror ruled for a week 70 years ago

Jan. 1, 1923 — For Sarah Carrier, New Year's Day dawned like any other. She left her Rosewood home to do laundry for white people in Sumner, a mill town three miles west. By her side was her 13-year-old granddaughter, Philomena Goins.

The two watched through a window as Fannie Taylor quarreled with a train engineer in her Sumner home. Carrier knew they were having an affair.

Later, the engineer slipped out the back door, as he always did. Taylor came out bruised and bloodied, screaming that a black man had beaten her. Carrier and Philomena protested that a white man did it, but neighbors told them to shut up.

The women are dead now, but their story is told by Arnett Doctor, Philomena's son. He says Taylor could not admit to the affair because her husband was abusive. He figures she blamed a black man out of racism.

Some whites believe Taylor. They insist Carrier did not go to work that day, according to a report by the law firm of Holland & Knight, which represents the Rosewood families.

About 20 white men with bloodhounds tracked Taylor's attacker to Rosewood, says Tom Dye, who wrote his master's thesis on the area. The men assumed the attacker was Jesse Hunter, a black convict who had escaped a road crew.

The scent led to a wagon owned by Sam Carter, and the posse strung him up in a tree. The men took the law — and the sheriff's gun — into their own hands, Dye says.

The Rosewood Family Advisory Committee

1912 E. New Orleans Avenue
Tampa, Florida 33610

April 5, 1993

Dear Family Members,

Enclosed you will find three (3) very importar informational documents. It is imperative that you read them ar act immediately to insure accountability.

Form #1, and Form #2 must be returned and received by me nc later than April 18, 1993. Remember, NOT responding will also l considered refusal of any monetary awards, if they a: forthcoming.

I will be speaking at the State NAACP Board meeting on Apr 24, 1993 in Fort Myers, Florida. Any family members desiring attend that function are welcome, but they need to alert me their intentions to attend. It is expected that all Adviso Committee members will be present at the forementioned event.

Again, I wish to thank all family members for their suppor and remind you that our monthly dues of $5.00 is due on the ten of each month. A check or money order should be sent to o treasurer at the following address:

Mr. Albert Edwards, 709 South Parsons Dr., Deland, Fl 3272

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated, and may God with you all.

Your Servant,

Arnett T. Doctor

cc: All Family Members

GENERAL ELECTION RETURNS 1924
AND SPECIAL ELECTION RETURNS 1925

OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE
STATE OF FLORIDA

_____ received _____ votes

_____ received _____ votes

For Senator for the 21st Senatorial District the whole number of votes cast was Six hundred and fifty nine (659)

J.W.Turner received 658 votes

W.J.Epperson received 1 votes

_____ received _____ votes

For Members of House of Representatives the whole number of votes cast was Five hundred and eighty three (583)

S.Philips received 574 votes

C.P.Hale received 9 votes

_____ received _____ votes

_____ received _____ votes

_____ received _____ votes

_____ received _____ votes

For County Judge the whole number of votes cast was Six hundred and seventy three (673)

J.C.Sale received 673 votes

_____ received _____ votes

_____ received _____ votes

For Sheriff the whole number of votes cast was Six hundred and forty seven (647)

L.L.Johns received 642 votes

N.C.Landrum received 4 votes

E.Walker received 1 votes

For Clerk of the Circuit Court the whole number of votes cast was Six hundred and seventy one (671)

L.W.Drummond received 671 votes

_____ received _____ votes

_____ received _____ votes

For Clerk of the Criminal Court of Record the whole number of votes cast was _____

_____ received _____ votes

_____ received _____ votes

_____ received _____ votes

Form 104.

Certificate of County Canvassers.

STATE OF FLORIDA, Levy County.

We, the undersigned, J.C.Sale County Judge,
(Miss) Vassie Pinson Supervisor of Registration of Electors,
and J.P.Kimble of the Board of County Commissioners of said County, constituting the Board of County Canvassers in and for said County, do hereby certify that we met at the office of the Supervisor of Registration aforesaid, on the 7th day of November, A. D. 1924, and proceeded publicly to canvass the votes given for the several offices and persons hereinafter specified at the General Election held in said County on the 4th day of November, A. D. 1924, as shown by the returns on file in the office of such Judge and Supervisor of Registration, respectively, and we do hereby certify from said returns that the whole number of votes cast—

For Electors of President and Vice-President the whole number of votes cast was Four thousand seven hundred and seventy six (4,776) and

J. LEO ANDERSON	received	524	votes
D. W. BERRY	received	523	votes
JOHN Q. HANSHAW	received	520	votes
MARVIN C. McINTOSH	received	520	votes
W. BLOUNT MYERS	received	519	votes
J. HINTON PLEDGER	received	514	votes
ANNA E. ALLEN	received	214	votes
PETER E. BARTNETT	received	205	votes
F. F. BINGHAM	received	209	votes
JENNIE B. BRANDENBURG	received	208	votes
H. B. JEFFRIES	received	211	votes
A. R. WELSH	received	207	votes
H. B. BROWN	received	14	votes
CHARLOTTE R. COFFIN	received	4	votes
STEPHEN E. FOSTER	received	3	votes
SHELDON A. HARRIS	received	3	votes
A. S. HUNTER	received	6	votes
S. A. RICHARDS	received	8	votes
EVA B. GEORGE	received	60	votes
O. E. HUTTON	received	56	votes
THOMAS P. MARTIN	received	55	votes
J. J. PATTON	received	53	votes
GORDON H. RUSSELL	received	53	votes
WALDO W. WEBSTER	received	53	votes
J. M. ADKINS	received	9	votes
CHARLOTTE R. COFFIN	received	1	votes

The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029
Department of History R-126

September 27, 1993

Mr. Gary Moore
4100 S.W. Edmunds St., #230
Seattle, Washington 98116

Dear Mr. Moore:

Professor Rogers has reported to me the gist of the telephone conservation that the two of you had on Friday evening. In essence, he told you what the committee (myself, Roger, Rivers, Colburn, and Dye) had already decided to include in this present letter. As Professor Rogers explained, the committee, as you know, is busily engaged in putting together a report on the Rosewood affair that lasted through the first week of January 1923. To that end we have made and are making trips to Levy County to do research in the county courthouse at Bronson (also to Gainesville to do the same at the Alachua County Courthouse) and to interview people, blacks and whites, who have knowledge of the episode.

We are also researching contemporary newspapers in Florida and throughout the nation, again both black and white journals, and various official documents for information. You will be glad to learn, although Professor Rogers says that you and he never got around to a discussion of this past week, that the committee members through the efforts and cooperation of Mr. Arnett Doctor invited various members of the Goins and other families to the FAMU campus this past Thursday, Friday, and Saturday for a series of extremely profitable interviews about Rosewood.

Speaking for the committee, I need to make clear what Professor Rogers explained to you about your role in our investigation. As we have said before, your work has been of great value to us, and we hope that you will see fit to send us a list of the people whom you have interviewed and put on tape. We will be glad to pay you an agreed upon fee for supplying us with pertinent tapes and any other information that is germane to our report. Because of the nature of our charge, you cannot be listed as a co-investigator (only the faculty members make up the team), but you can be employed as an expert consultant. That is what we would like to do: use and compensate you as an expert consultant. We have now reached the point in our work where we can at last productively utilize the information that you can supply us with.

Let me hasten to say that we are aware that you have a book length manuscript on the subject either completed or well under way, and we encourage you to go forward with that project. It does seem, however, that if you are paid by us as an expert consultant that you could not testify in a court of law as a witness against the state of Florida. Obviously, none of us are lawyers, but that is the situation as we understand it. We look forward to working with you, and are certain that your material will be of great aid in our completing an objective, documented report. Please forward to us a list of your tapes, and we will bet back in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Maxine Jones, Principal Investigator and
Co-Director
The Rosewood Investigative Team

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telephone: (206) 932-4156

October 4, 1993

Maxine Jones, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator and Co-Director
The Rosewood Investigative Team
Department of History
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029

Dear Dr. Jones:

In reference to your September 27 letter, please find that summaries of my taped material and discussion of my notes were mailed to you September 29 as Dr. Rogers' suggested by phone, and should now be in hand. If any further discussion is needed, please call me collect immediately (since you stated in the past that the Rosewood Investigative Team cannot afford long distance phone calls).

Thank you also for your acknowledgement once again of the accuracy and extensiveness of my research into the Rosewood case.

Regarding other points in your letter:

1) I don't understand why your letter seems to imply that I have some plan to testify in court as an expert witness. I have no such plan. I never dreamed that Rosewood might go to the courts --and not to the legislature--until Mr. McSwain inserted such language in the Agreement between the House of Representatives and the Board of Regents. I doubt I would be invited into such a dispute in any case; the facts as I have documented them present an ambiguous picture (as tends to be the case with real life) that would seamlessly fit no adversarial viewpoint. It is not me but the House and the Investigative Team which continue making references to "a court of law" (your words)-- implying as time goes on that the Rosewood Investigative Team may serve a sub rosa adversarial agenda, not objective inquiry, as has happened at times with officially-appointed study teams.

2) Questions about unstated agendas are further raised by your repeatedly retelling me in letters things you know I know--such as that the Rosewood Investigative Team has been appointed to study Rosewood. In future you can rest assured you have now papered this trail sufficiently for any future adversarial proceedings.

3) More seriously, I now find that your letter, and communications from other members of the team, seem to have been misrepresenting your Board of Regents mandate:

For example, your letter informs me that "because of the nature of our charge, you cannot be listed as a co-investigator (only the faculty members make up the team), but you can be employed as an expert consultant."

The material in parentheses is yours--and the claim of policy it makes is false. Repeatedly team members--including one who is not a fulltime faculty member!--have made essentially the same statement to me: that a secretive restriction demands that only university-system faculty members can be "investigators" in this effort. I now find this is not so at all. The Agreement and attached Request for Proposal say the opposite.

The raising of the issue by the team in the first place was inexplicable enough. I have never sought any meaningless title such as "co-investigator." Why would I possibly care?

And it now begins to seem that the team has wrongly imputed to the Board of Regents a restriction against outside observation of the team's work.

Before the team makes further false statements to this effect, I suggest the reading of RFP Point 2 "Proposal Procedures and Restrictions," Article (a) Eligibility"--which states unequivocally that only one individual--the Principal Investigator--"must be a full-time faculty member on a continuing appointment at a state university in Florida." It leaves no room for doubt: "Other research investigators may perform on the contract" who are not faculty members. Note the word "investigators"--if nameplates are so important to the team's work.

These clauses make no stipulation that anyone be called consultant, co-investigator, Martian, or any other such meaningless dodge.

Why, then, has the team made a gratuitous issue of this, imputing language to the Board of Regents that is not there, in apparent efforts to delay if not entirely prevent outside participation in the team's efforts?

Lamenting that its supposed mandate simply does not allow an outside observer to be present at its secretive proceedings (when this prohibition clearly does not exist), the team fosters an appearance that evidence is being excluded if not manipulated. At least one team member has demonstrably done this in the past, unless a nationally respected newspaper, and not the team member, was in error (I know The Washington Post

could have been lying, but events suggest giving it at least the benefit of the doubt).

One wonders if the team has ever actually read the Agreement with the Board of Regents, instead of making assumptions that fit unspoken priorities, and then presenting these expansively as if they are based in real documentation. I feel a growing fear that such a trend to assumption, mystifying in historiographical professionals, may burden the Rosewood Investigative team's final report, as has documentably occurred in works by some team members in the past.

Now most of the team's time has been spent. Dr. Rogers was saying when he still knew almost nothing about Rosewood that he had already written forty pages of his report. One of his sources, he said, was a certain 1993 newspaper retrospective. It is so filled with error as to be wildly laughable (describing the Great Gulf Hammock as "filled with black bears to this very day"; why doesn't Florida turn these bears into a tourist attraction?)

By means of complacent assumptions an investigator, reporter, consultant, faculty member--or whoever--can make impressive-sounding statements without time-consuming background research. Now time is short with regard to fulfilling the team's <u>real</u> mandate. I desperately hope we can get past these strange problems of language to cooperate so that the public is served, as I have been trying to do all along.

If you want to call me a "consultant"--or a Martian--that's fine with me and always has been--but if you do not soon open your proceedings to genuine corroboration they will be open, instead, to serious question.

If the team produces a report that serves a subsurface adversarial, personal, or hurried agenda, it will be bad news for us all. Certainly for me. I have labored for ten years to pinpoint and analyze the knowable facts about Rosewood and get them before the public, rejecting shortcuts to profitable myth; if complacent myth is now put forward by an officially anointed committee it could tremendously complicate my work--as such unsubstantiated myths put forward by the press have already done.

Sincerely,

Gary Moore

Gary Moore

The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029
Department of History R-126

27 October 1993

Mr. Gary Moore
4100 S.W. Edmunds Street, #230
Seattle, Washington 98116

Dear Mr. Moore:

We are now in a position to benefit in some specific ways from your expertise, insight, and research into the Rosewood affair. We think the most efficient and desirable way to accomplish this would be for you to prepare for us a thirty or forty page double spaced synopsis of your research and conclusions, properly referenced and documented. Your footnotes or endnotes should also be doubled spaced and need not be counted as part of the thirty or forty page report. We would need to have your input by November 15th. Upon receipt of your report and after our reading it, we will authorize payment to you of $2,000.

Also, we desire to purchase copies of tapes of your interviews at $125 per tape. We would like to have the following tapes and transcripts:

Edith Foster
Sam Hall
Elizabeth Smith
James Turner
Willy Evans
Lonnie Carrol
John Yearty
Frank Coburn
Eloise Davis
Fred Kirkland

We know that your work will enhance the project substantially, and we will give you full credit in the study's acknowledgements, as well as in its footnotes. The project is enormously complicated, and each of us is working away trying to meet our deadline. Our goal remains that of producing and presenting to the Board of Control and the state legislature an objective, fully documented study. We know that your work will help us accomplish that objective. We would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible. This letter is written in behalf of the committee, and I extend my best personal wishes. I am

Sincerely yours,

Maxine D. Jones

Maxine Jones
Principal Investigator

MJ/dr

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telephone: (206) 932-4156

November 12, 1993

Maxine Jones, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
The Rosewood Investigative Team
Department of History R-126
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029

Dear Dr. Jones:

Please find enclosed the synopsis and conclusions of my research as commissioned by your October 18 letter and confirmed in our phone conversation with Dr. Rogers October 27.

Sincerely,

Gary Moore

The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2029
Department of History R-126

18 November 1993

Mr. Gary Moore
4100 S. W. Edmunds Street #230
Seattle, Washington 98116
(206) 932-4156

Dear Mr. Moore:

We received your synopsis and conclusions of Rosewood based on your research. The paper work has been initiated to pay you the agreed upon sum of $2000.00. It generally takes 3-4 weeks.

As soon as we receive the requested tapes and transcripts we can begin the process for the remaining $1250.00.

Thank you for agreeing to work with us as a consultant. Your research and knowledge has been invaluable to us.

Sincerely,

Maxine D. Jones

Maxine D. Jones
Principle Investigator,
The Rosewood Investigative Team

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2303 Woods Street
Tupelo, Ms. 38801
tel (601) 842-2744

January 5, 1994

Richard Greaves, Ph.D.
Chairman, Dept. of History
Florida State University
910 Shadow Lawn Drive
Tallahassee, FL 32312-2446

Dear Dr. Greaves:

I am writing with regard to irregularities in the "Rosewood Investigative Team" report rendered December 22 under the joint aegis of The Florida State University, Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University, and The University of Florida to the Board of Regents of the State University System and to the Florida Legislature.

Since the report will be used by the Florida Legislature in addressing a claims case, perhaps in the present year's session, it is doubly important that the report be examined in light of the realities it distorts or ignores.

Among other things, the report raises questions about collusion between authors of the report and a claimant-organization under the direction of legal counsel seeking monies from the State of Florida. The report is not a work of scholarship but an offense against scholarship.

I have been acknowledged by the Rosewood Investigative Team to be the leading authority on the subject of the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, in 1923, and I was a contributor to the report--but, as I found over time, I was not contributing to a genuine scholarly effort. Apparently after three separate Florida universities insisted on placing investigators in the endeavor, few resources were left for the actual investigation. There was never a research plan, Team members have said. Delusions initially held by some Team members* apparently formed a bewildering amalgam as the report deadline neared without facts in hand (the deadline had to be extended once). The result was a confusing document filled with internal contradiction, background material about race relations generally, garbled names and places, and unsupported assertions.

At the end of this preliminary discussion I have attempted to itemize some of the specific inaccuracies in the report.

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* see "Rosewood Massacre: Testimony of Surviving Witnesses," by R. Thomas Dye, a paper refused for publication and imbued with an unfathomable will to assert imaginary material as fact.

Over the past twelve years I have sought and interviewed more than eighty witnesses with knowledge about Rosewood, including many eyewitnesses black and white. Most of these witnesses were deceased by the time the Team was formed in 1993.

Most of the Team's report is based on a very few interviews conducted under secretive and manipulated conditions, and on three mysterious adversarial depositions taken by attorneys for the plaintiffs against the State of Florida in the claims case. These depositions have given rise to statements whose falsehood is remarkable. I personally know the witnesses who were deposed, and one of them, Lee Ruth Davis, certainly did not make some of the statements imputed to her in this deposition process, and she has said so. The depositions remain secret. Why were they not appended to the report with other testimony? Why were many other items of supposed support for the report--such as land deeds--also left out?

In a sense the State of Florida has paid more than $75,000 (in university grants and the Speaker's grant) to endorse misleading documents designed, not to seek truth, but to attack the State and obtain yet more money.

I say this though my sympathies are with the genuine survivors of Rosewood. They have been put forward as symbols, and have become pawns on a murky battleground. Though they are only a handful out of millions who can also legitimately say they suffered from past wrongs, I think their raised hopes deserve special consideration.

However, in its cryptic "Genealogy" section, the report seems clearly to present as survivors and descendants persons who did not live in Rosewood when it was destroyed, or were not descended from same, while leaving out a large number of persons who did and were [please see itemization, following].

There is no justice in this report. Some survivors are pampered and their myths are indulged. Other survivors are swept aside as if they never existed, and cut from the pot of dreamed-of claimant riches.

Moreover there is a passage (pp. 186-189, Appendix) that libels me personally. The manner in which this was done raises questions about a sub rosa relationship between Team members and a claimant-advocate. Arnett Doctor, the son of a woman who was a child visiting in Rosewood when it was destroyed, has come to hold numerous delusions, such as that Rosewood was called "the black mecca," that it posessed some 50-60 two-story houses, and that it was a city as important as Atlanta [these views of Doctor's were published in an interview of him by The Tampa Tribune, May 16, 1993; he has also shared his views with me in interviews].

Three members of the Rosewood Investigative Team, as shown by their interview with Arnett Doctor September 23, 1993, seem to have viewed him not as a valuable source of knowledge about descendant beliefs, but as an expert adviser on the behavior of a researcher--that is, on myself.

p. 186: "Question: Well, you certainly have enlightened us a great deal.

Question: Have you been in touch with your [sic] Gary Moore?

Respondent: I spoke to Gary about a month ago... I expressed my desire to have him come down and share his information with the fact finding committee...and he assured me that Arnett I really want to do that Gary said... I said that it don't seem like you are doing that I hear you are playing hard ball and I hear that you are saying that this is your story...But he assured me that he was going to come down and join you guys and share.

Question: I wonder if he will work with us.

Respondent: Gary is a very astute, brilliant writer, I think, but I think Gary is committed, contractually, to O. McCarthy, a gentleman who is trying to make a movie and is trying to line his pockets with gold at our expense, and I think Gary is contractually tied to him....I think that's basically the reason he can't move...

Question: Do you think it's an exercise in futility on our part to try to get various documents from him that we have identified Mr. Moore is to have certain documents and we called him, do you think, even if its a nominal kind of cost would forward to us those documents?

Respondent: I sure hope he would. Again, the only reason I see Gary not doing this, unless he really snowed me, is that he has a contractual agreement and can not release anything ...Why, I give everybody the benefit of the doubt.

Question: You've been very cooperative Mr. Doctor and we hope Mr. Moore will be as well."

The Team was asking Arnett Doctor questions--about me--to which the Team knew the answers, and which answers were the opposite of what the questions implied.

I had been repeatedly on the phone with Team members up to the very day of the interview--offering to help, and protesting the secrecy surrounding interviews. The day before, William Rogers had promised to call me and did not. Maxine Jones had sent me letters Aug. 23 and Sept. 10: "It may not be necessary for you to travel to Florida..." Repeatedly, though I had originally been invited to join the Team as a consultant, my participation was postponed and prevented while I protested the Team's secrecy and failure to address delusional aspects of the claims case. As far as any "documents" held by me, I hold some public-record photocopies of deeds and marriage records and many audiotapes of survivor interviews; the challenge of Rosewood investigation is that there are so few written records, placing the burden of proof on the interviewing of witnesses, as I had repeatedly told the Team in writing and by phone.

And further, why was it Arnett Doctor who was asked? Is he a specialist on the behavior of journalists? He had indeed called me mysteriously (I wrote "out of the blue" in my notes of the conversation) a month before the Team's interview, on August 21--a Saturday night. He said nothing about me playing hardball or being contractually tied to McCarthy (I'm certainly not). Much of the call was devoted to me pursuing facts regarding Doctor's false statements (he said he had found new Rosewood survivors--who are in fact phantoms). His call had the sound of being a setup. The interview a month later by three State University System faculty members seems thus possibly to have been staged, as a coy, planned followup to the call--in order to impugn my credibility in the record. If so, this perversion of scholarship is very serious.

"As late as tonight," Doctor told me in the mysterious phone call August 21, "I was speaking to [Investigative Team member] Larry Rivers" [of FAMU].

Correspondence from members of the Rosewood Investigative Team just previous to the Sept. 23 interview makes this abundantly clear. It was the Team that was keeping its proceedings closed to my scrutiny, not vice versa. At the least, the Team has been manipulated by advocates and spokesmen attached to the claimant group in the Rosewood case; the above interview raises questions as to whether the process may have reached two-way collusion.

Arnett Doctor has been described by Stephen F. Hanlon, the lead attorney for Holland & Knight in representing the Rosewood claimants against the State of Florida, as Hanlon's "point man"--a claimant-organizer who takes orders from counsel and transmits

them to the claimant group at large, making sure that all hew to the party line. This same claimant-representative, Doctor, is said by the Rosewood Investigative Team to have been the Team's only avenue for locating Rosewood survivors and descendants. This is only one of the reasons why the supposed authority and objectivity of this report are shams. Hanlon was present at all the Team's interviews, and boasted of being passed information helpful to his case by a Team member.

In effect one of the unacknowledged products--and quite possibly an intentional goal--of the Rosewood Investigative Team was the protection of delusions and deceptions that have underpinned the claims case against the State of Florida. Can Florida scholarship do no better than to aid in extorting money from the state through lies?

As a journalist I have contributed to "60 Minutes" (about Rosewood), Newsweek, The Wall Street Journal, Columbia Journalism Review, The Washington Post, The Miami Herald, The St. Petersburg Times, The Los Angeles Times, and others. I have received two foundation grants for on-site studies of the dynamics of mass violence in Central America, and I was the recipient last year of the national William Allen White Award for regional magazine writing.

An itemized sampling of some of the specific inaccuracies in the Rosewood Investigative Team report follows.

Sincerely,

Gary Moore

cc. Rep. Hurley Rudd
Robert Glidden, Provost and Vice-President, FSU
Robert Johnson, Vice-President for Research, FSU
Charles Reed, Chancellor, State University System

Here are some of the irregularities in the Rosewood Investigative Team report, starting at the first mention of Rosewood in the report's 93-page Summary booklet.

The booklet does not turn from generalities about race relations to specific examination of Rosewood until page 19. The first reminiscence listed is on p. 20, and sets the tone:

> "Elsie Collins Campbell, a white woman of Cedar Key, once lived at Rosewood, and was about three years old at the time of the disturbance. She remembered the village as one of green forests. This view is shared universally by..."

Imagine this! The memory of a three-year-old that there were forests at Rosewood (and that they were green) is showcased as the opening proof. This is all Campbell says here. Why is she included at all, when a wealth of detailed, historiographically significant material could have been obtained by the Team, if it had used responsible methods? If Campbell was three "at the time of the disturbance," then she was <u>even younger</u> when she allegedly lived previously at Rosewood. Certainly she did not live there <u>after</u> the community was destroyed. Is this a memory from the womb? This passage--like the whole report--reads like someone's dream. There are no real criteria whatever--other than the Team's dreamy convenience--for admissibility of evidence.

p. 20 "Population estimates of the settlement...vary..." [cites St. Petersburg Evening Independent, January 5, 1923] Why does the report cite a distant newspaper making a blind population guess about an isolated black community--when there are house-by-house census counts, both the Florida Census and the U.S. Census? The reason comes clear below.

p. 20 "Rosewood and nearby Sumner constituted a precinct of 307 people in 1910...by 1920 the population had more than doubled to 638..."
The report misleads the Legislature, which will be judging the claims case, by lumping together Rosewood, which was destroyed, with larger Sumner, which was not, and with other communities like Wylly (also not touched by the violence) that the report seems unaware are in the total.
The U.S. Census lists Rosewood as home to 118 persons. The report never quite manages to tell us that it is not telling us this.
Similar waffling throughout the report makes it clear that the authors have remained so ignorant of Rosewood that they cannot tell where Rosewood ends and other populations listed on the census begin.

(The Appendix of the report contains a long--but unlabeled and mystifying--list of names from census tracts lumping Sumner, Rosewood, and Wylly together without showing any indication of this, or suggesting where Rosewood begins and the other settlements end. Here, too, of 616 persons on this list, only 118 of them lived in Rosewood. The Team was not well enough acquainted with Rosewood's real population pool to be able to make this determination; nor did they ever ask me about it.)

p. 20 "The Rosewood voting precinct in 1920 had 355 African Americans." This is doubly deceptive. I had made members of the committee aware that the U.S. Census of 1920 shows no more than 120 inhabitants. The voting precinct cited above was called "Sumner," not Rosewood. The community of Rosewood comprised only a small part of the precinct. If the (unnamed) author of this passage is pinned down and asked for evidence, it seems likely that many of the mistakes will be admitted, because they are based on wish rather than verification.
Moreover, please note that to say "the Rosewood voting precinct" had "355 African Americans" implies 355 adults--voters. This figure, inflated in the first place, contains many children in the second place.

p. 20 "a small hamlet of twenty-five or thirty families." Rosewood probably had no more than twenty households at the time of the violence. All memories by survivors have agreed on this.

p. 21 Concerns Rosewood's history in the 1800s. There are numerous small errors here that I haven't the energy to enumerate.

p. 22 "The village's largest total population was seven hundred in 1915." Delusion at its finest. Ignorance enables the lumping together of surrounding communities such as Sumner, Wylly, even Geiger Creek on the coast as "Rosewood" because the analyst is too ignorant of Rosewood's details to know where it stopped and other communities began.

p. 22 "...in 1923 blacks made up the majority." Willful understatement, whose background I know from conversations with a Team member. Blacks were almost the <u>only</u> residents of Rosewood in 1923.

p. 22 "Facing a number of lawsuits from competing white firms, the Goins family terminated their operations..." I have heard no survivor speak of lawsuits nor have found any record of same, though this is no final proof they did not occur. The Team presents no evidence. The Appendix is completely bereft of the specific deeds, records, and instruments one would expect to see in a case such as this. There is reason to believe that such evidence may interfere with unstated objectives within the report. And again there is the ignorance of the real Rosewood: In this specific case, M. Goins & Bros. Naval Stores, an African American-owned firm, did close down a half decade before the 1923 violence. One factor in this was a murder committed during a Christmas pageant at the Rosewood African Methodist Episcopal Church by a principal Goins heir, Charles Goins, who was forced to flee into hiding. An impressive number of survivors have recalled this murder independently. None have recalled lawsuits by whites.

p. 22 "At its peak the Goins brothers' operation owned or leased several thousand acres of land." The large Goins tracts were leased. The report laboriously resists revealing that by the time Rosewood was destroyed, the Goins family owned only a single 80-acre tract, which was sold in 1925--two years after Rosewood was destroyed. It is possible, again, that the Team was simply too inept to discover the publicly available specifics (they certainly never asked me). Or a deeper agenda may have encouraged the obscuring of land ownership patterns in benefit of claimants.

p. 22 "...and by 1916 [the Goins family] had removed to Gainesville in adjoining Alachua County." Wrong. Perry Goins remained with his family on the Goins plot in Rosewood and they were there in 1923. His sister Rebecca and some others did move to Gainesville. Charles Goins also eventually settled there, avoiding prosecution for the murder of his neighbor Elias Carrier.

p. 22 "A number of the black-owned businesses continued to operate." This is more than a minor misrepresentation. In 1923, with the arguable exception of Sam Carter's shadetree blacksmith operation and perhaps a refreshment stand, there were no black-owned businesses in Rosewood.

p. 22 "There was a general store operated by a white family and another by a black family." This is false, a result of (willful?) misinterviewing of witnesses in the Hall family. The Halls have always been forthright on this point: the store owned by Charles Bacchus Hall had

closed well before 1923, and Bacchus Hall himself was deceased. All survivors agree on this. The vacant Hall store accidentally caught fire at some point before the 1923 violence and burned down. Wilson Hall, whom the Team (mis)interviewed--choosing what to elicit--could have recalled for them the bucket brigade that attempted to save the store building.
Repeatedly the Team seems to have found what it required rather than what witnesses genuinely recall.

p. 23 "Blacks organized a private school and hired Mrs. Mullah Brown as the teacher." Had the Team not been to some degree manipulated by a very narrow spectrum of survivors, it might easily have found descendants of Mahulda Brown Carrier who can show carefully preserved records bearing her correct name. She was a school principal at the town of Gulf Hammock in the 1940s.

p. 23 "a large one-room Masonic hall." This is an interesting use of erroneous detail to present the appearance of knowledge. As customary in Masonic halls, whether Prince Hall Affiliation among African Americans, as in Rosewood, or the halls used by white Masons, the Rosewood lodge hall possessed a room downstairs for community events and a separate upstairs chamber for Masonic initiations. Witnesses agree on this. The Rosewood Team, despite its protestations of sympathy on the one hand, on the other hand sometimes refuses to grant Rosewood credit for anything larger than a "one-room Masonic hall."

p. 23 "There were several unpainted plank wood two-story homes and perhaps a dozen two-room houses that often included a a lean-to or half-roofed room."
While not outrageously far from reality, this statement still represents some interesting fantasy on the part of the author. The footnote purporting to document it says: "This condensation of Rosewood's history is based on research by Tom Dye who utilized minutes of the Levy County Board of Commissioners, state and federal manuscript census reports, Florida Railroad Commissioner reports, Levy County deed record reports..."
It goes on and on--but none of these records reveals Rosewood as described above, and Rosewood was not as described above.
Last May Dye told <u>The Washington Post</u> that he possessed "sawmill records" and "law enforcement records" regarding the Rosewood events. When questioned in retrospect he turned out to have no such records and he complained he had been misquoted about having them. He seems to get misquoted very often.

p. 23 "Fannie Taylor....was home alone." No, her two small sons were in the house with her. On p. 24 an amusing swipe is taken at my own research in this regard: "Some accounts claim that by 1923 the Taylors had two small sons. The census for 1920 noted that the Taylors had a one-year-old daughter named Bernice."
This prim caveat could only have been made by someone profoundly unacquainted with the Rosewood principals--and it reveals the hazards of superficial research. When census taker Alf Dorsett came through and asked Fannie who was in the cradle, she apparently said "Bernice," and Alf jumped to conclusions. Bernice Taylor, a son, has now been married twice and I have talked to him. I have also talked to his brother Addis Taylor, who was not yet born in 1920 but who was an infant in 1923. All witnesses remember the Taylors as having two sons--but this didn't seem good enough for the intrepid Team. The Team never asked me to explain this complication but instead seized credulously upon its appearance as supposed proof of their original scholarship.

p. 24 "Deed records do not indicate that the Taylors owned property in Sumner. Their residence, said to have been surrounded by a picket fence, was probably owned by the Cummer Lumber Company." Probably? Said to have been? Magically, on such unimportant and universally agreed points, there appears caution--where none is required. All witnesses recall, and Census records confirm, that the Taylors lived in the company-owned workers' quarters in Sumner. This passage is filler, useless except to give the misleading appearance of scholarly restraint.
Much of this report is only filler.

p. 24 "they went down to the courthouse at Bronson and had County Judge John R. Willis perform the ceremony."
This is another kind of filler with which the report is laden. Someone found a judge's name on a marriage certificate and wove a tale therefrom--rather than including genuine information about the Taylors, perhaps because the Team's confined methods prevented finding any real data.

p. 25 "From most accounts the intruder did not consummate the act of rape..." Bad grammar here signals wild assumption. The Team certainly doesn't know what "most accounts" among the gossips of 1923 said. If "most newspaper accounts" is meant, the information is of little value for newspaper accounts of this incident were spun out at whim by reporters far from the scene.

p. 25 "Because no one ever disputed that some kind of physical attack took place, the incident was never referred to as an 'alleged attack.'"
What in the world does this mean? Is the report saying that there is some kind of doubt that any kind of attack whatever took place? No witness, no matter how fabulous about the identity of the attacker, has ever contended that no one attacked. (Because no one ever disputed that the sun came up yesterday it was not called an 'alleged sunrise.')

At this point I must apologize for ceasing the inventory. I have been through only a few pages and already am swamped. The many other errors in the summary booklet must await another telling.

In addition to the summary booklet, an extensive body of misleading material appears in the report's 461-page Appendices, including the strange passage which is an apparent set-up to make me appear uncooperative with the committee, and which may constitute proof of malice.

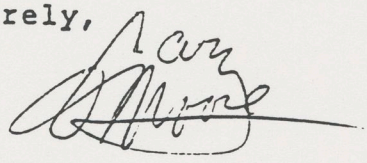
The Appendices also include "Census Data" and "Genealogy" sections, whose misleading aspects I have itemized in a list following this one.

The presence in the Team's report of many misleading statements does not mean that many other statements in the report are not true. The problem is the indiscriminate mixing of fact, fancy, and coy omission--a pattern often seen in propaganda.

I hope the above will serve as sufficient indication that I should be contacted directly to answer specific questions about the report and about the claims case. If further documentation is required on any of the points I have brought up, I will be glad to supply it.

I cannot sufficiently express my disillusionment with the academic system upon seeing that three Florida universities have lent their imprimatur to the Rosewood Investigative Team report.

Sincerely,



Gary Moore

Comments on the Rosewood Investigative Team report Appendices "Census Data" and "Genealogy" sections:

"Census Data"

The legislative reader of the report's "Census Data" section might logically feel perplexed. Absolutely no explanation accompanies it as to what one is looking at. There is no accompanying text--only names in grids. Strange though it may sound, this may be because the Team itself did not know what these names represent. The Team churned out these pages verbatim from the census scrawls to create the appearance of having conducted real research.

There are thirty-five pages of gridded names here in a schematic duplicate of the actual census sheets. However a critical piece of information that was on the sheets was left off these schematics: the name of the enumeration district.

It was not "Rosewood." It was "9th Precinct Sumner."

The legislative reader must not be misled into assuming that this bulky rendering demonstrates extensive size with regard to the population of Rosewood.

Buried deep within these thirty-five pages, at a point in no way distinguished with any marker from the rest of the list (probably, again, the Team did not even know where to place such a marker) are 118 names which, as far as even the assiduous reader can tell, are of exactly the same status as the rest.

Yet those 118 names constitute the U.S. Census enumeration of the population of Rosewood in 1920.

And worse, the Rosewood population changed significantly between 1920 and 1923, the time of the violence. Early in the work of the Rosewood Investigative Team I pointed this out. The Team showed remarkably little concern for pinpointing the specifics of the real 1923 population--which must form the survivor and descendant pool to be addressed by any claims case.

In passing it might also be pointed out that many of the names printed in these schematics have been misrendered, showing great ignorance of the population. Nor was this merely a faithful adherence to the census-taker's misspellings. A few spellings are changed intentionally here [one of which was correct in the first place], while most are not. Most of the real misspellings by the census-taker are left as is, and handwriting is often misinterpreted.

I invite the legislative reader to inquire of the Rosewood Investigative Team just how one is supposed to use this valuable $75,000 document.

Street	House Number	Number of family in order of visitation	Name of each person whose place of abode on January 1, 1920, was in the family. Enter surname first, then the given name and middle initial, if any. Include every person living on January 1, 1920. Omit children born since January 1, 1920.	Relationship of this person to the head of the family	Home owned or rented	If owned free of mortage	Sex	Color of race	Age of last birthday	Single Married Widowed Divorced	Year of immigration to the U.S.	Naturalized or alien	If naturized, year of naturalization
		1	Dorsett, Kelle	Head	Owned	Free	F	White	50	Widowed		N	
			Dorsett, Edward	Son			M	White	28	Single		N	
			Dorsett, Alfred	Son			M	White	24	Single		N	
			Dorsett, George	Son			M	White	17	Single		N	
		2	Mathew, James	Head	Rented		M	Black	46	Married		N	
			" , Sarah	Wife			F	Black	37	Married		N	
			" , Jack	Son			M	Black	10	Single		N	
		3	Smallwood, L.P. or S.P.	Head	Owned	Free	M	White	32	Married		N	
			Smallwood, Ethel	Wife			F	White	28	Married		N	
			Smallwood, ?Burleu	Son			M	White	7	Single		N	
			Smallwood, Leonard	Son			M	White	4	Single		N	
			Smallwood, Tabitha	Daughter			F	White	11	Single		N	
			Smallwood, Bessie	Daughter			F	White	10	Single		N	
		4	Saules, W.A.	Head	Owned	Free	M	White	60	Widowed		N	
		5	Watson, ?T.E.	Husband			M	White	38	Married		N	
			Watson, Ema	Wife			F	White	29	Married		N	
		6	Miller, S. J.	Head	Owned	Free	M	White	62	Married		N	
			Miller, Mrs. S.J.	Wife			F	White	50	Married		N	

"Genealogy"

The "Genealogy" section of the Rosewood Investigative Team report would seem to have been a primary responsibility of the Team, since presumably one of the purposes of a study was to pinpoint who was and was not present at Rosewood when it was destroyed, and thus who might legitimately be included in any claimant group.

Oddly, however, the "Genealogy" section, like "Census Data," provides absolutely no accompanying text. There are nine pages of family-tree diagrams.

The reader might logically assume--and indeed must assume, since there is no text to help with this--that each lineage traced here represents descendants of a survivor of Rosewood.

This is false. Persons are traced here--and presumably their inclusion in the claims case is thus promoted--who had no forebearer living in Rosewood at the time of the 1923 violence.

And moreover, and equally serious, many real survivors and descendants--whose genealogy was available to the Team--have been left out here, in favor of others in a better position to lobby.

P. 73 shows lineages for ten supposed Rosewood survivors. Lineage No. 2, of "Dorothy Goins Hosey(R)James Hosey" is a lineage of persons who did not live in Rosewood in 1923. So is Lineage No. 5. It could perhaps be argued that the ten root names are an unlabeled mix of two kinds of names: a) survivors, and b) persons descended from survivors [such is the case with No. 5], but it is in no way apparent.

Moreover, four of the ten lineages on this page, all four of whom do proceed from names of legitimate 1923 residents of Rosewood [Minnie Lee Langley, Mary Hall Ramsey, Margie Hall, and Wilson Hall] present simply an "?" to represent any descendants--though all of the four above persons are living and cooperative, and they have descendants. Unfortunately, they did not lobby as effectively as a small group of claimants that was allowed by the Rosewood Investigative Team to manipulate its proceedings. Not even Minnie Lee Langley's maiden name is rendered correctly. Presented here as "Carrier," it was in fact "Mitchell."

The reader will also note on this page some cryptic pencilings, apparently included in the report at the last minute, suggesting that even the tiniest details were included accurately here, by longhand if necessary. But if everything genuinely left out were to be penciled in, the pages would be a labyrinthine blur.

And another baffling point. A note at the bottom of this page explains that (D) means "deceased." Yet many persons in these pages who are deceased were not labeled with the (D), while some,

here and there, wherever it seemed easy, are so labeled, and many others who are deceased got no (D). It dresses up the page, one supposes, and presents the illusion of rigor.

On to page 74. Five lineages are traced here, and this time there seems to be no doubt that all five are being put forward as those of persons who lived in Rosewood in 1923. They are "Ed and Eliza Bradley," "Mary (Bradley) Burns," "Julia(D) & Ramsey Edwards(D)," "Fred & Josephine Edwards," and "Wilbert Edwards(D)."

Of these five lineages, three--the majority--are of persons who did not live in Rosewood in 1923. Mary Burns lived in Lennon and had not lived in Rosewood for years. Fred and Josephine Edwards had moved to Sumner before the time of the 1923 violence. Wilbert Edwards is a person never mentioned by survivors as living in Rosewood in 1923 and not named by any census record as living there in 1920. As a trivial addendum, Ransom Edwards's name was not "Ramsey." Misrepresentations on this page make it appear that 27 persons are descended from survivors of the Rosewood violence when they are not. There are only 35 descendants listed on the entire page. The vast majority of them seem unlikely claimants.

Page 75 is entirely devoted to descendants of a single pair of Rosewood victims, "Hayward Carrier (D) Sarah Robinson Carrier(D)." The meticulous tracing of one branch of these descendants represents the group of claimants most influential in the Team's supposed investigation, the Team's conduit for locating survivors. Within this group, the Team records descendants carefully (though records and survivors agree that Haywood Carrier's name was not "Hayward," and Sarah Lewis Carrier was not "Sarah Robinson Carrier," (some though not all descendants have misconstrued her maiden name of record, appearing in various censuses and her marriage records, because Sarah Lewis was raised with a family named Robinson).

Page 76 is entirely devoted to descendants of "Edward & Sarah Goins." It does not explain that before 1923 both these persons were deceased. Ten of their children are listed here. The report does not explain that only one of those children--Perry Goins--is certain to have still lived in Rosewood at the time of the violence and was dispossessed by it. In addition one other, Jean Goins [inaccurately spelled "John" here] may still have lived in Rosewood with his mother-in-law, Lexie Gordon, though survivor memories recall that he had moved away before the town was destroyed. The Goins heirs did still own an eighty-acre parcel of land in Rosewood in 1923, and sold it in 1925.

Page 77 contains only nine total names, the claimed descendants of a single pair of Rosewood survivors "John & Emma Coleman" (there is no (D) though they are long since deceased, and there are other (D)'s on the page). It is true that John and Emma

Coleman lived at Rosewood when it was destroyed. But the full progeny of Virginia Coleman, their daughter, has been slighted. Whereas her son Gilbert is included, Virginia's daughter Nettie--who was herself a Rosewood survivor--is left completely off the list, with her progeny. There may be other areas which the examiner has grown too weary to notice.

Page 78 is the prize. It contains only three total names, and all the rest of it is blank space. Grandly but cryptically, the top name--ostensibly meaning the survivor--is "Robinson (nephew of Sarah H. Robinson)." No such nephew, with or without a first name, lived in Rosewood in 1923 or was dispossessed by the violence. The agreement among witnesses on this is supported by my conversations with one of the three persons named on this page who was still living in the 1980s, Freddie Robinson.

Page 79 is entirely devoted to the descendants of Idella Carrier Frierson. Whoever she is--and after twelve years of speaking to more Rosewood survivors than the Team will ever see I have never heard anyone mention this name, nor have seen it on any record--she certainly did not live in Rosewood in 1923.

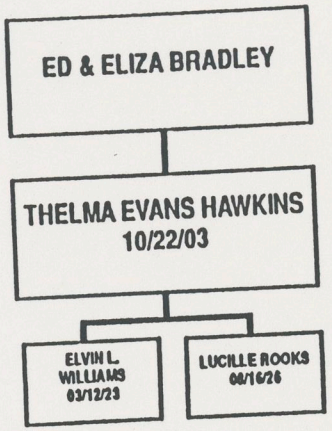
Pages 80 and 81, the last two pages of the "Genealogy" section, are devoted, respectively, to the descendants of George and Maggie Bradley and John Wesley Bradley and Virginia Carrier Bradley. Both these lines represent genuine survivors, and I recognize many of the names as being correct. I see one or two minor errors but it seems pointless to wade through my notes to verify descdendants. The essential claim of these two pages is correct.

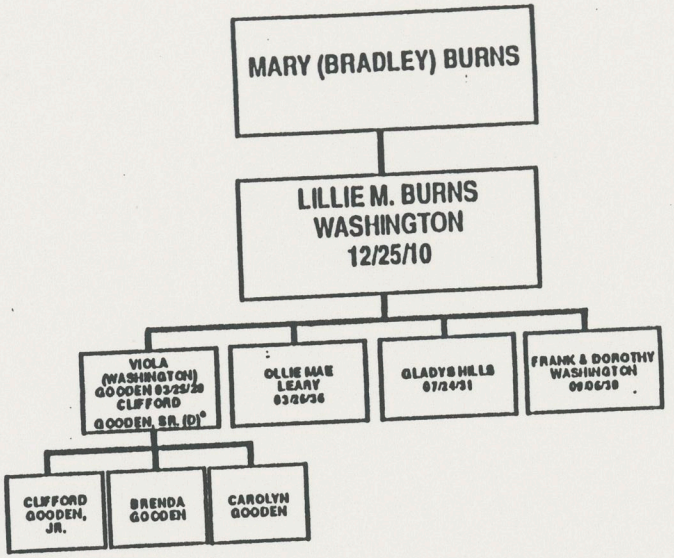
That completes the "Genealogy" section. In the Team's summary booklet I am named as the source (the Team itself was completely at sea with regard to this information) of the Team's only list of total heads of household dispossessed in Rosewood in 1923: John Wesley Bradley, George Bradley, Mary Ann Hall, Laura Jones, James Carrier, Sarah Carrier, Aaron Carrier, Hardee Davis, John Coleman, Virginia Smith, James Hall, Lizzie Screen, Sam Carter, Cornelia Carter, Ransom Edwards, Mary Ann Hayward, John McCoy, Ed Bradley, Perry Goins, Sam King, and Lexie Gordon.

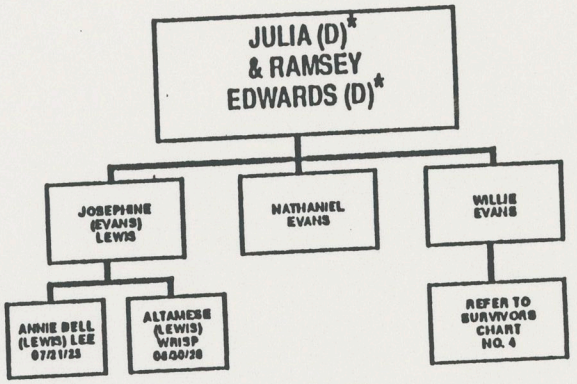
Where, in "Genealogy" are the myriad descendants of most of the above names?

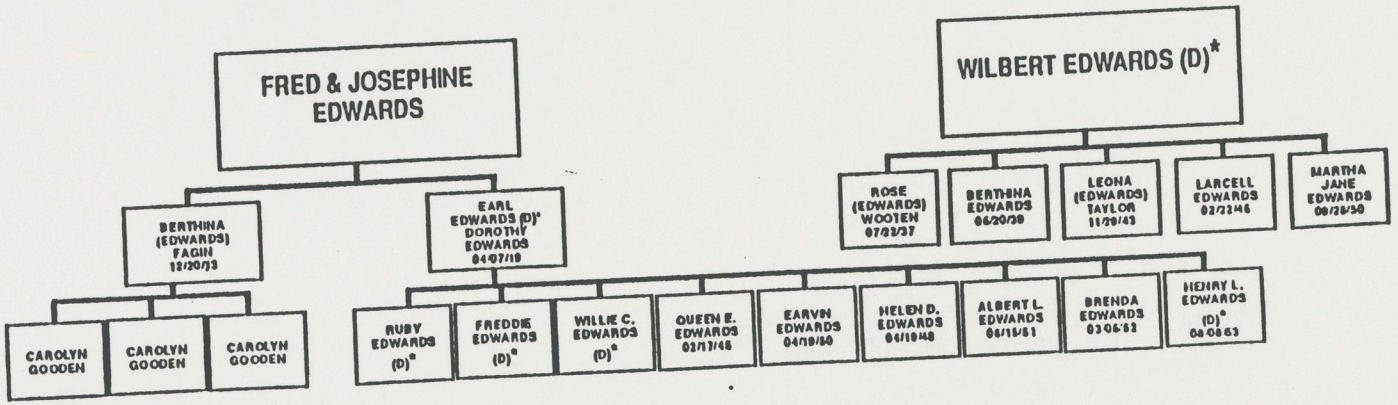
If an accurate rendering were made here--rather than simply a rendering of the lineages of the most insistent claimants--it might stretch far into the distance. Originally the claims case was conceived by a movie producer, Michael McCarthy, who optioned the rights of only two survivors and created the fiction that no

one else survived. This manageable pool of survivors was what Holland & Knight had thought they were representing when McCarthy [not the Rosewood Family Association] first persuaded them to take the case. Subsequent publicity forced Holland & Knight to accept that McCarthy's two-survivor myth (along with his up-to-150-dead myth) represented a hoax. Holland & Knight was forced to expand its pool of clients as new survivors came forward, in a process by which the claims case transmuted and various myths competed for precedence. This history, illuminating the real nature of the claims case, was also ignored by the Rosewood Investigative Team.









*(D) = DECEASED
*(R) = DATE OF BIRTH OF SURVIVOR