

REVIEW OF THE ROSEWOOD PROJECT

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

Richard L. Greaves

Patrick Riordan

2 February 1994

Executive Summary

In 1993 the Florida House of Representatives commissioned research into racial violence at Rosewood, Florida that occurred in January 1923. A team of professional academic historians from Florida A&M University, Florida State University, and the University of Florida made a proposal and received a research grant through the auspices of the Florida Board of Regents. In December 1993 the team produced its report, A Documented History of the Incident Which Occurred At Rosewood, Florida, in January 1923. The report has been accepted by the House of Representatives, the media, and the public as a useful assemblage of documented historical information about the Rosewood matter.

Shortly after publication, Mr. Gary Moore, a free-lance writer with long-standing interest in Rosewood, lodged a critique of the Documented History. Although he received \$2,000 as a consultant in the Rosewood project, Mr. Moore has stated that the end product is flawed. Many of his criticisms revolve around his belief that there is a conspiracy to defraud the State of Florida through payment of claims to some spurious Rosewood survivors, and to neglect other, legitimate claims. Further, Mr. Moore criticized specific details of the Rosewood Investigative Team's methodology and results.

Two reviewers--one the chairman of the Department of History at Florida State University, the other an advanced doctoral student with experience as an investigative reporter--were asked to review this matter. They read voluminous files of correspondence, as well as the 93-page Documented History and its 461-page Appendix. The reviewers found that Mr. Moore's objections strike the periphery of the report and not its heart. Mr. Moore and the investigative team significantly agree on key items in the report--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 the mob.

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, and his condemnation of the team for failing to use material he made unavailable is unjust. Further, Mr. Moore's contention that he was indispensable as a member, if not a leader, of the investigative team is not supported by the evidence.

The reviewers found that the Documented History reflects the tight deadlines under which it was produced, and would have benefited from fuller documentation and tighter editing had time permitted. But the report clearly fulfils the criteria spelled out in the Florida Board of Regents Request for Proposals. The reviewers recommend that in the future, the Team provide a more fully documented copy of the report to the archives, and that minor revisions be made at that time to reflect the discovery of additional information and to correct minor errors noted in the review process. The reviewers further find that suggestions of a conspiracy of any kind are unfounded.

REVIEW OF THE ROSEWOOD PROJECT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Abbreviations

Review of the Rosewood Project

- I. History of the Rosewood Project
- II. Historical Evidence and Standards of Documentation
- III. An Assessment of Mr. Gary Moore's Critique: Demographic Issues
- IV. An Assessment of Mr. Gary Moore's Critique: Non-Demographic Issues
- V. Genealogical Issues
- VI. Areas of General Agreement on Principal Issues
- VII. Conclusions
- VIII. Qualifications of the Reviewers

Appendices

- Gary Moore to Rosewood Investigative Committee, 10 August 1993
- Maxine Jones to G. Moore, 23 August 1993
- G. Moore to M. Jones, 16 September 1993
- G. Moore, "Discussion of Primary Materials," 16 September 1993
- G. Moore, "List of Primary Materials: Rosewood 1923"
- G. Moore, "Questionnaire: Knowledge Level Pertaining to Evidence in the
Destruction of Rosewood, Florida, over the course of January 1-7, 1993"

GEORGE ZARUR

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tape recorded by John K. Mahon, University of Florida

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date recorded</u>	<u>Place recorded</u>
George Zarur	2/18/75	Department of History University of Florida

Status

Anthropologist from Brasilia, Brazil
Completing doctoral dissertation at the University of Florida
on mullet fisheries in Cedar Key, with special interest in using
this framework to investigate Cedar Key legends pertaining to
violence at Rosewood

Tape made by John Mahon at the suggestion of George Nelson,
left on file at the Department of History.

Never pursued in any form by the Department of History.

Testimony Covers

Supposed difficulties in finding eyewitness testimony
Supposed complete lack of press coverage of Rosewood events
Eyewitness testimony from persons in Cedar Key who said they
or their close relatives were present at the violence
Beliefs in Cedar Key about the Rosewood violence
Cultural secrecy covering the violence
Scholarly avoidance of the Rosewood issue

Note

No efforts were made by Zarur or by the Department of History to
pursue the various available means for locating witnesses to the
Rosewood violence. No African American witnesses were sought or
located.

G. Moore to M. Jones, 27 September 1993

M. Jones to G. Moore, 27 September 1993

G. Moore to M. Jones, 4 October 1993

M. Jones to G. Moore, 27 October 1993

G. Moore to M. Jones, 12 November 1993

M. Jones to G. Moore, 18 November 1993

G. Moore to Richard Greaves, 5 January 1994

R. Greaves to G. Moore, 13 January 1994

Charles B. Reed to G. Moore, 21 January 1994

Rosewood Team to R. Greaves, 19 January 1994

R. Greaves to Robert Glidden, 21 January 1994

Robert M. Johnson to R. Greaves, 24 January 1994

R. Greaves to G. Moore, 25 January 1994

R. Johnson to G. Moore, 26 January 1994

G. Moore to R. Greaves, 27 January 1994

[R. Greaves to Rosewood Team], "Request for Specific Sources . . ."

William Rogers [for the Rosewood Team] to R. Greaves

Selected Copies of Stories from the Jacksonville Florida Times Union

Selected Pages from the Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida,
Part I (1923-1924)

Copies of Land Deed Records, State of Florida

R. Greaves to G. Moore, 30 January 1994

R. Greaves to G. Moore, 1 February 1994

R. Thomas Dye, "Race, Ethnicity and the Politics of Economic Development:
A Case Study of Cedar Key, Florida" (M.A. thesis, Florida State
University, 1992), pp. 68-75

[Valerie Jean Conner] to [Florida State University Press], 12 October 1989

(copy provided to the reviewers by Professor Conner)

Walda Metcalf to G. Moore, 22 April 1993

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Documented History</u>	Maxine D. Jones, Larry E. Rivers, David R. Colburn, R. Tom Dye, William W. Rogers, <u>A Documented History of the Incident Which Occurred at Rosewood, Florida, in January 1923</u> (22 December 1993)
Appendices, <u>DH</u>	Appendices to <u>A Documented History</u> (22 December 1993)
Moore, List	Gary Moore, List of Primary Materials: Rosewood 1923 (sent to Maxine Jones, 16 September 1993)
Moore, Critique A	Gary Moore, Letter to Richard Greaves, 5 January 1994 (identical letters to Robert Glidden, Robert Johnson, Charles Reed, and Hurley Rudd)
Moore, Critique B	Gary Moore, Letter to Richard Greaves, 27 January 1994
Jones, Response	Maxine D. Jones, Letter to Richard Greaves, 19 January 1994
Rogers, Reply	William W. Rogers, Reply to Richard Greaves, 29 January 1994
Moore, <u>Tropic</u>	Gary Moore, "Rosewood: Wiped Off the Map," <u>The Miami Herald, Tropic Magazine</u> (7 March 1993), pp. 15-25

REVIEW OF THE ROSEWOOD PROJECT

I. History of the Rosewood Project

The Rosewood project began during the 1993 session of the Florida Legislature, when several Legislators expressed an interest in commissioning a study of the events of January 1923. Ultimately the Florida House of Representatives established a budget of \$50,000.00 and entered into an agreement with the Florida Board of Regents. Under this agreement, the BOR published its "Request for Proposals To Investigate the Rosewood, Florida Incidents of January 1923, #94-02," requiring that researchers submit proposals by 30 July 1993. The scope of work, in the words of the Request for Proposals, "shall include, but not be limited to, the following: (BOR RFP, p. 3)

- (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 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 RFP further restricted the dimensions of the study by excluding any discussion or addressing of claims for damages against the state by survivors or their heirs. It also prohibited the researchers from appearing before the Legislature or lobbying any member of the Legislature on a claimant's behalf (BOR RFP, p. 5). Further, the RFP prohibited the researchers from appearing as expert witnesses in any legislative or judicial proceeding against the state in connection with the events at Rosewood (BOR RFP, p. 6).

Two proposals were received by the deadline and the present Rosewood team was selected. The only other proposer was a member of the Sociology Department of the Florida State University, who proposed a much more limited report, which, while meritorious on its own, would not have responded to all aspects of the RFP. Further, the successful proposal reflected the inclusion of additional resources for research, which were critical, especially considering the short deadline for completion.

The timeline for conducting the study called for submission by 24 August 1993 of an outline for the study and a detailed description of a research design (BOR RFP, p. 5). A final report was to be submitted to the BOR by 22 November 1993; however, a 30-day extension allowed the team to postpone submission of its report until 22 December 1993. Overall, the investigative team had essentially the fall semester to complete its work--a time when most team members were engaged in teaching or other duties in addition to their Rosewood responsibilities.

II. Historical Evidence and Standards of Documentation

The scope and accuracy of any historical study are subject to limitations imposed by the evidence. In the case of the Rosewood incident, the principal evidence consists of two types of material: oral testimony provided by survivors or relatives of survivors, and contemporary newspaper accounts. Both categories of evidence pose special problems in terms of their reliability and are virtually certain to present the historian with conflicting statements of not only why something occurred but also what actually happened. As evidence, both categories lack the objectivity and general reliability of such documents as land deeds, baptismal and marriage records, tax rolls, probated wills, and statutes. The investigative team used census records, property deeds, tax rolls, marriage licenses, and prison records, but these were of modest help in assessing what happened in Rosewood in January 1923 (cf. Moore, List, pp. 2-3; Moore, Synopsis of Research, Appendices, DH, pp. 407, 408-409, 444-45). Historians forced to depend heavily on oral testimony and newspaper reports must weigh conflicting data and rely on their professional expertise to formulate an account of what transpired, the reasons for those events, and their significance. Historians will therefore disagree in explaining many developments and revise interpretations as new evidence is discovered or old evidence is re-examined.

Oral testimony is especially difficult to use because of the vagaries of human memory and the degree of the observer's subjectivity in reporting events in which he or she may have a personal stake. Oral testimony requires substantive corroboration.

In the case of the Rosewood interviews, the investigative team had to evaluate recollections that in some cases are seven decades old and contain inaccuracies. The testimony may also have been colored by the fact that the investigation had to be conducted in the context of possible claims against the State of Florida by survivors and victims' relatives. Moreover, some oral records are secondhand accounts (described by the investigative team as "stories") and subject to criticism as hearsay. 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 (Documented History, p. 57), the presence of troops (*ibid.*, pp. 64-65), and a widespread massacre (*ibid.*, p. 65).

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. "The challenge presented by the Rosewood case is fundamentally one of sifting witness testimony," he has written, and he cautions that his interviews contain "contradictions, discrepancies, [and] delusions" as well as "admirable adherences to fact" (Moore, List, p. 3). In the Synopsis of Research submitted to the Rosewood team, Mr. Moore observed: "As happens with all living testimony, few witnesses agree" (Appendices, DH, p. 416). Readers can observe how Mr. Moore evaluated oral reports in his discussion of how many people were killed at Rosewood (*ibid.*, pp. 429-30).

The accuracy of newspaper reports depends on a variety of factors, including the degree of the reporter's expertise, sources, and objectivity, and the extent of editing

by newspaper staffers. By their very nature, newspaper reports are incomplete and subject to rapid revision as new material comes to light. In the case of newspaper reports of the Rosewood incident, assessing the stories must take into account the fact that some of them originated with a "stringer," whose ability to sell his material depended on its appeal. (See Documented History, pp. 29-30; Moore, List, p. 2.) Mr. Moore's assessment of the value of newspaper accounts appears to be more skeptical than that of the investigative team (cf. Moore, Critique B, p. 14). "Besides containing many inaccuracies," he writes, "these are cryptic when not totally silent on important aspects of the events, and on critical factors in the causation chain." He notes the undeniable racial bias in white newspaper accounts and their promulgation of "the delusion put forth by Associated Press accounts that Rosewood was a case of African American uprising, which it was not" (Moore, List, p. 1). "The 1923 newspaper accounts can be shown to be corrupted by outright hoax, as well as by the more common mass delusion that infused coverage of anti-black riots" (Moore to Rosewood team, 10 August 1993, p. 4). In his judgment, with which professional historians would concur, newspaper stories standing alone are unreliable (Moore, List, p. 2).

Because of the nature of the evidence, some disagreement over what happened at Rosewood is inevitable. As in the legal arena, conflicting information about inconsequential details is insignificant if demonstrable proof exists for matters of significance. 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.

Like Mr. Moore, the investigative team acknowledges the problem of conflicting oral testimony at two levels: (1) disagreement between witnesses (e.g. the testimony of Jason McElveen, Documented History, pp. 56-57); (2) inconsistencies in the testimony of a witness (e.g. Arnett Turner Goins, *ibid.*, p. 27, n. 1). Moreover, both Mr. Moore and the investigative team concur that disagreement also exists between accounts of the incident in African American and white newspapers. Conflicting testimony requires the historian to weigh the evidence and unanimity of judgment is not always attained. 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.

Mr. Moore has asserted that the Rosewood investigators employed "no real criteria whatever--other than the Team's dreamy convenience--for admissibility of evidence" (Moore, Critique A, p. 6). 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. 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 (Moore, List, pp. 1-7).

Much of Mr. Moore's case rests on taped recorded interviews. Neither these tapes nor transcripts of their contents were made available to the Rosewood team or the reviewers. While the reviewers have no reason to believe 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, whether material alleged to be in the interviews has been correctly quoted, whether material has been taken out of context, and whether other evidence in the tapes corroborates or refutes the points cited by Mr. Moore. Denial of reasonable access to material used in an historical study breaches professional standards and renders all verdicts based on secret testimony highly suspect.

Standards of documentation vary in the historical profession. Scholarly works typically have extensive documentation to enable other historians to examine the sources and determine whether or not the evidence has been properly used (roughly akin to the ability to cross-examine in a legal context). Owing to severe time constraints, the Rosewood investigative 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. 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. Consequently the ~~reviewers have only the unsubstantiated word of Mr. Moore that the tapes exist, that~~

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 is present and has not been taken out of context, and that material in other interviews does not refute the purported claim. Essentially, none of Mr. Moore's published material on Rosewood or the formal statements provided to the referees is appropriately documented and subject to the standard critical examination by other scholars. 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, the reviewers, and other scholars interested in testing the validity of his hypotheses. In fact, the only scholarly work against which his views can be tested is the Documented History whose accuracy and motives he disputes. Any objective observer is therefore left with the option of accepting the general validity of the Documented History or placing faith in the largely unsupported and unverifiable account of Mr. Moore. Not until all tapes and transcripts in Mr. Moore's possession are in the public realm--as are those of the Rosewood team--can his version of what happened at Rosewood be tested. Nevertheless, in the material that follows, the reviewers have assumed, under rather intolerable circumstances, that Mr. Moore's tapes exist, that he has accurately stated their contents, and that he has not distorted these claims either by taking material out of context or by suppressing contradictory assertions. The reviewers wish to emphasize that as professional historians they are very uncomfortable in making these assumptions, but have done so in a good faith attempt to resolve some of the debate surrounding the events at Rosewood.

The historical profession operates on the principle that sources must be accessible to qualified scholars. Oral historians periodically obtain taped interviews that cannot be used for a stipulated period of time, and governments routinely restrict access to classified material, but historians as a whole are precluded from the use of such evidence. Journalists, however, routinely seek exclusive interviews and use them as the basis for their stories. Mr. Moore's refusal to provide the Rosewood team with access to taped interviews in his possession, coupled with his implied criticism of the team for not using them, is unjust. Without question, the interviews conducted by Mr. Moore--a number of which were with persons now deceased--are a potentially critical source of information and should have been used in the investigation if at all possible.

Why were the interviews not used? On 16 September 1993 Mr. Moore sent Professor Maxine Jones various documents including a "List of Primary Materials: Rosewood 1923." This document includes a discussion of witness testimony (pp. 3-7), with reference to "a labyrinth of testimony from more than 80 witnesses of both races, most of whom are by this point . . . deceased." At the same time (16 September), Mr. Moore also sent Dr. Jones "a questionnaire that I have written and which Dr. Rogers encouraged me to send"; this questionnaire contained 150 questions to which Mr. Moore sought answers from each member of the team, with documentation of the source(s) on which each answer was based. Some of these questions required extraordinarily 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 as well as virtually impossible to discover independently in the extremely brief period allotted to the team to prepare its report. These questions included: "13. What

purchasing procedure in Rosewood undercut neighboring stores (excluding mail order)? 14. Which male residents of Rosewood were on the town baseball team? 15. Playing what positions? 46. Which Rosewood churches had bells? 61. What duties did Sarah Carrier perform in the Rosewood church besides playing music? 62. Which of her daughters played the organ in the church? 76. What card game was played predominantly at the Sumner Jook (not poker or blackjack)? 77. How did the Rosewood jook differ? 78. On what scholar's authority do most etymologies of the word 'jook' rest? 79. What other words in Rosewood suggest African origins? 81. What was a 'white horse'?" At least two 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 purpose of such questions was to ascertain the team's knowledge of such matters as etymology (important to understand the oral testimony) and the social structure and life of Rosewood and Sumner. Mr. Moore was also demonstrating the extent of his knowledge of Rosewood (as frankly stated in his letter of 16 September to Dr. Jones). Dr. Rogers responded to this questionnaire in a telephone call in which he suggested, according to Mr. Moore, that many of the names were plants." Mr. Moore responded, according to his account, that "only [one] main plant"--Mingo Williams lived in Bronson, not Rosewood--was in the questionnaire. He did not identify "minor plants," but averred that "the other names and events in the questionnaire represent critical aspects of Rosewood" (italics ours). Mr. Moore went on to say: "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 beyond anyone's reasonable doubt" (Mr. Moore to Dr. Jones, 27 September 1993; italics ours). The census records, which the reviewers have examined, do not reveal the answers to most of the 150 questions posed by Mr. Moore. Some of the questions probably should have been asked and answered, and presumably that is why Dr. Rogers asked Mr. Moore to submit the questionnaire. Academics, however, do not pose long lists of questions to their students to demonstrate how much the latter do not know. The team acknowledged Mr. Moore's expertise by requesting his contribution in Dr. Jones' letter to him dated 23 August 1993. 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.

On 27 September Professor Jones wrote to Mr. Moore, reporting that the team had commenced its own interviewing and requesting "a list of the people whom you have interviewed and put on tape." The team offered to pay Mr. Moore "an agreed upon fee for supplying [it] with pertinent tapes and any other information that is germane to our report." On 4 October Mr. Moore responded in a letter to Professor Jones, indicating that summaries of his taped material had been mailed on 29 September in response to a telephone request from Professor Rogers. The "summaries" are not synopses but lists of topics covered in each interview. By this point, relations between the team and Mr. Moore had degenerated substantially, in part because of a statement in 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. On 27 October Professor Jones offered to purchase copies of ten taped interviews and the accompanying transcripts from Mr. Moore at \$125 per tape. On 18 November Professor Jones again wrote to Mr. Moore, indicating that she would commence processing remuneration in the amount of \$1,250 as soon as the tapes and transcripts had been received. As early as his receipt of Professor Jones' letter of 27 September, Mr. Moore "was beginning to have reservations about simply turning over years of work and the revelations made by many fine and brave people to such a process. . . . By this time my tapes, without me and my notes, would have left the Team as lost as they had been in the 'jungle'--though one supposes they could have culled dramatic quotes for effect" (Moore, Critique B, p. 25). In the end, Mr. Moore did not provide the tapes because he believed the proffered compensation was inadequate: "I felt that the total of \$1,200 that Dr. Jones had offered for the tapes would hardly compensate for surrendering my source materials to whatever was going on. The Team never contacted me to ask why the tapes hadn't arrived or what might be worked out" (ibid., p. 25). In fact, Professor Jones did request the tapes a second time (in her letter of 18 November). Although the team did not pursue the matter any further because of the impending deadline for the report, Mr. Moore did not write to the team at any time indicating that \$125 per tape was insufficient compensation.

III. An Assessment of Mr. Gary Moore's Critique: Demographic Issues

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 Manuscript Population Census of the United States for 1920. Data for Precinct 9, Levy County, Florida, include the names and selected characteristics of the residents of Sumner, Wyley, and Rosewood. The Rosewood team says that it was unable to specify the Rosewood portion of Precinct 9, although Mr. Moore has proposed a means of doing so (telephone conversation with Richard Greaves and Patrick Riordan, 30 January 1994). Mr. Moore suggests that the census taker, Alfred Dorsett, began with his own home in Sumner (as the census manuscript clearly confirms) and walked northeast along the railroad track, through Sumner, Rosewood, and Wyley, before crossing the tracks and returning along the other side. Using this hypothesis, Mr. Moore asserts that from the evidence of the testimony of many witnesses, he is convinced that the first Rosewood household on the census taker's route was that of Perry Goins, listed as household #93. Mr. Moore further believes that the census taker proceeded through Rosewood, exiting after household #116, the residence of Hardy Davis. As he returned home walking along the other side of the track, the census taker added at least two and as many as three additional Rosewood residences (those of John McCoy and Laura Henry for certain, and perhaps that of Charles and Rita Williams). This produces a total of 25 or 26 Rosewood residences indicated by Mr. Moore's interpretation of the census in

Rosewood (23 from residence #93 to residence #116, plus the McCoy and Henry residences, and possibly the Williams residence). These include a total population of 133 to 135 (124 people living in residences #93-116, plus John McCoy and his family of seven, Laura Henry, and the possibility of Charles and Rita Williams). Subtracting the 16 whites (living in four households), the Moore hypothesis gives the African American population of Rosewood as 117 or 119, and the number of African American households as 21 or 22 (Moore Critique A, p. 6).

But there is a serious flaw. Mr. Moore incorrectly stated that Sylvester Carrier is absent altogether from the 1920 Manuscript Census (Appendices, DH, p. 447, n. 33; p. 450, n. 40). Mr. Moore wrote that "Two principle [sic] households involved in the Rosewood events, those of Sylvester Carrier and Sam Carter, appear nowhere in the U.S. Census of 1920 for Rosewood, though there is no doubt that these households were there . . ." (Appendices, DH, p. 447, n. 33). Later, he added: "Sylvester Carrier does not appear in the U.S. Census of 1920. . . . However, Carrier was enumerated by the 1910 Census, which recorded his age" (Appendices, DH, p. 450, n. 40). Mr. Moore speculated that Sylvester Carrier may have chased the census taker away, citing as evidence Carrier's reputation for driving off traveling salesmen. While Mr. Moore simply overlooked Sylvester Carrier in the 1920 census, it is true that Carrier's appearances in the census are somewhat inconsistent. The 1900 census lists Henry S. Carrier, son of Hawood and Sarah Carrier, with a birthdate of September 1889. The 1910 census lists Sylvester Carrier, son of "Harod" and Sarah Carrier, as 19 years old. The 1920 census gives his age as 27. Levy County census records of the period are

filled with such minor discrepancies.

However, the presence of Sylvester Carrier's house outside the boundaries of Rosewood as sketched by Mr. Moore constitutes a major discrepancy in his 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 is 35 households before the purported edge of Rosewood at residence #93. The significance of this discrepancy is underlined by Mr. Moore's 1993 Tropic Magazine article (Moore, Tropic, pp. 18, 22), which stated that Sylvester and Gert Carrier lived in an apartment in his mother's house, toward the center of town. 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? If so, how many more households and residents should be included in the totals for Rosewood? 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 markers in the census to identify Rosewood is at best blunted by his misreading of the census data and is not well taken. He has not shown conclusively where Rosewood begins and ends.

In his second critique (Moore, Critique B, pp. 19-20), Mr. Moore expands on the original hypothesis. He attempts to update the population figures, taking account of those who moved away or died (20), moved in or visited (9), or whose whereabouts are in doubt (12) between 1920 and 1923. He suggests that this would result in a

decline in the Rosewood population of at least 11 and as many as 23. Lacking access to Mr. Moore's tapes and transcripts, the reviewers are not in a position to verify his statement, although they have no reason to doubt it. Unfortunately, because this line of research seeks to refine a 1920 Rosewood population which is itself in doubt, the methodology and its conclusions are of uncertain value.

The Rosewood team's report, on the other hand, also suffers from errors in the use of census data. On page 20 of the Documented History, a typographical error causes 1915 state census data to be cited as 1920 federal census data. On the same page, the report gives a false 1910 population for precinct 9 (309), citing the 1910 U.S. census--which clearly reports a total of 408 residents, both in its manuscript and in the Florida Supplement to the 1910 census, published in 1913. Further, the report (*ibid.*, p. 20) includes an erroneous population analysis by race.

A table succinctly summarizing census data would have been a useful addition to the Rosewood report. Further, such a table would have raised an interesting question for Rosewood research--the persistence of African American population in the general area of Rosewood despite the clear evidence of multiple murder and arson. In the table on page 23 the 1925 state census shows that the total African American population in Precinct 9 declined--but only by 19--compared with the federal census of 1920. This suggests that, while some black Rosewood residents fled the area during and after January 1923, others remained and some may even have moved in. This is a point which deserves attention. The reviewers believe that the following table correctly summarizes the pertinent federal and state census data:

Population History of Precinct 9, Levy County, Florida By Race

	1900 ¹	1905 ²	1910 ³	1915 ⁴	1920 ⁵	1925 ⁶
Blacks	280	289	168	355	342	323
Whites	170	161	219	345	295	376
Mulattos	0	0	21	0	0	0
Total	450	450	408	700	637	699

¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 12th Census of the United States MS, Levy County, Florida, Precinct 9.

² The Third Census of the State of Florida Taken in the Year 1905 (Tallahassee: Capital Pub. Co., State Printer, 1906), p. 39.

³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 13th Census of the United States MS, Levy County, Florida, Precinct 9.

⁴ The Fourth Census of the State of Florida Taken in the Year 1915 (Tallahassee: T.J. Appleyard, State Printer, n.d.), p. 40.

⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 14th Census of the United States MS, Levy County, Florida, Precinct 9.

⁶ The Fifth Census of the State of Florida Taken in the Year 1925 (Tallahassee: T.J. Appleyard, State Printer, n.d.), p. 39.

Mr. Moore objects to the team's description of Rosewood as "a small hamlet of twenty-five or thirty families" (Documented History, p. 20), contending that it "probably had no more than twenty households at the time of the violence. All memories by survivors have agreed on this" (Moore, Critique A, p. 7). In their reply to Mr. Moore's critique, the team claimed that "others have said more" (Jones, Response, p. 6). Asked who these "others" were, the team referred to the Ernest Parham interview; Parham said: "I would imagine about 25 homes at the most" (Appendices, DH, p. 355). The team also referred to its own "count of the United States Manuscript Census for 1920 . . . [which] indicates a figure very definitely in that range" (Rogers, Reply, p. 1). According to Mr. Moore, twenty "heads of households . . . [lost] their homes to mob violence at Rosewood" (Synopsis of Research, Appendices, DH, p. 422). Some whites lived in Rosewood, as Mr. Moore himself points out (Moore, Critique A, p. 7), hence the number of houses had to have exceeded twenty. In fact, Mr. Moore identifies three whites "whose homes were left intact by the violence" (Moore, Appendices, DH, p. 425), thus raising the minimum number of homes in Rosewood to twenty-three.

The discrepancy between the team's count and that of Mr. Moore stems from the former's inclusion of African American and white households and Mr. Moore's explicit statement that he is counting only black households. According to Mr. Moore, "the confirmed list [of African American households] hovers at twenty"; he bases this list on the (undated) testimony (to which the reviewers do not have access) of Minnie Langley, Eloise Davis, Lutie Foster, Sam Hall, Wilson Hall, Margie Hall, Lee Ruth

Davis, Leroy Carrier, Philomena Doctor, Vera Hamilton, Lonnie Carrol, Willie Evans, Thelma Hawkins, Eva Jenkins, Lillie Washington, and Ernest Blocker, all of whom reportedly provided Mr. Moore with partial lists of households. These lists (which the reviewers have not seen) were then reportedly cross-checked for corroboration (Moore, Critique B, pp. 3-4).

The Rosewood team has not documented either that additional African American households were present in Rosewood in 1923 or that "others [presumably modern specialists] have said more" than twenty-five or thirty households were in Rosewood (Jones, Response, p. 6). The team does make the important point that "no one can say with exactitude the precise population of a rural area. Thus, it is misleading to talk about the population of any rural area in a finite sense. Rosewood, like similar unincorporated communities, was an interconnected network of people based on family, kinship, friendship, and proximity" (Rogers, Reply, pp. 1-2). This dispute has little relevance to the discussion of what happened at Rosewood in January 1923, for the key issue is whose homes were destroyed--not whether they were within the boundaries of Rosewood. The team has accepted Mr. Moore's (undocumented) list of eighteen homes destroyed, hence there is no substantive controversy (Documented History, p. 58).

IV. An Assessment of Mr. Gary Moore's Critique: Non-Demographic Issues

Mr. Moore objects to the team's use of a three-year-old's memory to document

the assertion that the Rosewood area was "one of green forests" (Documented History, p. 20). The objection is valid, though the basic point--that the Rosewood area was forested--is not disputed and can be verified by other sources (including the presence of lumber and turpentine industries in the area), as Mr. Moore notes. On the one hand this is an instance of inappropriate use of oral testimony by the investigative team; on the other, Mr. Moore's claim that the recollection amounts to "a memory from the womb" (Moore, Critique A, p. 6) is rhetorical overkill.

Mr. Moore questions the team's reference to "a number of lawsuits from competing white firms" faced by the Goins family (Documented History, p. 8), noting that he has found no record of such suits (Moore, Critique A, p. 8). In their response the team cites one of three cases, viz. Goins vs. Cedar Key Town Improvement Company (Box G, 1900-1920, Office of County Clerk, Levy County Courthouse, Bronson), a \$25,000 suit in 1915 involving trespassing, land rights, and damaged timber (Jones, Response, p. 7). According to Professor Rogers, records of the other two cases, both of which involved timber violations, are in the courthouse in Bronson (Rogers, Reply, p. 2).

Mr. Moore challenges the team's assertion that "at its peak the Goins brothers' operation owned or leased several thousand acres of land" (Documented History, p. 22) on the grounds that the tracts were definitely leased (Moore, Critique A, p. 8). Although the vast majority of the land was leased, some was definitely owned by Ed Goins. According to the Levy County tax rolls for 1921 (p. 40) and 1922 (p. 40), Goins owned a 65-acre tract (W1/2 of SE1/4 [except 15 acres]; section 30/14E/14S).

Mr. Moore himself states that Goins owned "a single 80-acre tract [location unspecified], which was sold in 1925" (Moore, Critique A, p. 8). The team's statement is technically accurate, though misleading by not indicating that nearly all of the "several thousands of acres" were leased.

Mr. Moore indicates that the team erred in asserting that "by 1916 [the Goins family] had removed to Gainesville" (Documented History, p. 22). The team does not challenge Mr. Moore's statement that "Perry Goins remained with his family on the Goins plot in Rosewood and they were there in 1923" (Moore, Critique A, p. 8). The evidence for Perry Goins' residence in Rosewood in 1923, Mr. Moore claims, comes from interviews with Beatrice Goins, Leroy Carrier, Samuel Hall, Eva Jenkins, et al. (Moore, Critique B, pp. 5-6). Perry Goins family is listed in the 1920 census (Moore, *ibid.*, p. 5; Appendices, DH, p. 42).

Mr. Moore disputes the team's contention that "a number of black-owned businesses continued to operate" in Rosewood (Documented History, p. 22) on the grounds that "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" (Moore, Critique A, p. 8). The disagreement here is only apparent and results from Mr. Moore's imprecise reading of the Documented History. The last line of the report's first paragraph on p. 22 refers to the Rosewood population in 1915 and 1923, but the next paragraph resumes the discussion of Rosewood life in the 1910s. If one accepts the oral testimony of Mary Magdalen Hall (Appendices, DH, p. 232) and Wilson Hall (*ibid.*, p. 251), Rosewood had a black-run general store.

Mr. Moore himself refers to "A mule-driven cane syrup mill owned by Mary Ann Hall" (Appendices, DH, p. 425; she is identified as African American on p. 422) and he mentions "one or several small shops . . . that were barely more than refreshment stands" (ibid., p. 425) as well as Carter's blacksmith shop.

In a closely related matter, Mr. Moore repudiates the team's statement that "there was a general store owned by a white family and another by a black family" (Documented History, p. 22). According to Mr. Moore, "the store owned by Charles Bacchus Hall had closed well before 1923, and Bacchus Hall himself was deceased" (Moore, Critique A, pp. 8-9). Again the disagreement is only apparent, for the time-frame of this statement in the report is not 1923 but the late 1910s. Arnett Doctor's testimony refers to two stores, one owned by the Hall family and the other by John Wright, a white man (Appendices, DH, p. 131).

Mr. Moore and the team do not agree concerning the correct spelling of Mahulda Brown Carrier's Christian name (Documented History, p. 22; Moore, Critique A, p. 9). According to the team Mullah is a phonetic spelling (Jones, Response, p. 8). Mr. Moore has three sources of evidence for his spelling: interviews with Theresa Robinson, Mahulda Brown Carrier's sister; the record of her marriage in the Levy County courthouse; and the 1920 U.S. census, where the spelling "looks very much like 'Mehuldia'" (Moore, Critique B, pp. 6-7). The evidence supports Mr. Moore.

The team's report indicates that "blacks organized a private school and hired Mrs. Mullah Brown as the teacher" (Documented History, p. 22). Noting that "memories of the school are particularly murky," Mr. Moore questions the confidence

with which the team makes this assertion: "Some informants say Mahulda Brown came to Rosewood to teach in the public school before it closed. Teachers usually mentioned in association with the private subscription school in the Masonic hall do not include Mahulda Brown" (Moore, Critique B, p. 7). Given the inconsistencies in the oral testimony, the reviewers recommend that the team either qualify its statement or indicate its reasons for not doing so.

According to the Rosewood team, Sylvester Carrier married Mattie Mitilda [sic] Smith in November 1912 (Documented History, p. 37, citing Levy County Marriage Book 2, 1905-1916, p. 392). According to Mr. Moore, Sylvester Carrier married Gertrude King on 18 May 1916 (Moore, Critique B, p. 7). The records in the Levy County courthouse can resolve this disagreement; in the time available to them, the reviewers could not check the sources.

According to the team Rosewood had "a large one-room black masonic hall" (Documented History, p. 23), but Mr. Moore contends that the hall had "a room downstairs for community events and a separate upstairs chamber for Masonic initiations" (Moore, Critique A, p. 9). Although the team questions the relevancy of this correction, it does not challenge the accuracy of Mr. Moore's description (Rogers, Reply, p. 2). Mr. Moore's interview with Eloise King Davis, who lived directly across from the lodge, reportedly includes testimony that she saw her father "and other Rosewood Masons go to the lodge to go 'upstairs,' for all-night 'raisings'--that is, for initiations into the Third Degree as Master Masons." In interviews with other eye-witnesses, according to Mr. Moore, "all who say they can recall its form at all have

seemed to agree that it did" (Moore, Critique B, p. 8; italics ours).

According to the team, Rosewood had "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" (Documented History, p. 23). Mr. Moore contends that this description is "not outrageously far from reality" although it "represents some interesting fantasy on the part of the author"; "Rosewood was not as described above" (Moore, Critique A, p. 9). The team responded by citing an interview with Brooks Campbell (which the reviewers have not examined) and two secondary works (a practice normally avoided by historians when matters of fact are disputed): R. Tom Dye's M.A. thesis, "Race, Ethnicity and the Politics of Economic Development: A Case Study of Cedar Key, Florida" (Florida State University, 1992) and Lee Ruth Verrill's Romantic and Historic Levy County (Gainesville, FL, 1976). Verrill's book mentions but does not describe Rosewood (p. 76). The presence of two-story houses is not in dispute, for Mr. Moore has identified at least six (Moore, Critique B, p. 10) or seven of these (Moore, Synopsis of Research, Appendices, DH, p. 423). Mr. Moore also notes that five African American households in Rosewood lived in substantial one-story dwellings (ibid., p. 423; three of these are cited in Moore, Critique B, p. 10). Arnett Doctor describes the homes in Rosewood as "well-structured," with many having two stories (Appendices, DH, p. 132), whereas Margie Hall Johnson remembered only one two-story house (ibid., p. 318). The dispute between the team and Mr. Moore appears to be primarily the result of imprecise writing on the part of the former: The team might have said that Rosewood included several two-story houses [actually six or seven out

of twenty African American homes], perhaps a dozen two-room homes [apparently only five can be documented], and a number of small one-room residences.

Mr. Moore charges that Mr. Dye used a photograph "showing a cluster of bygone shanties beside a railroad track" to demonstrate "'what Fannie Taylor lived in'" (Moore, Critique B, p. 9). If this was the team's evidence for its statement that Rosewood included "a number of small one-room shanties," the assertion should have been prefaced by the term "probable"; (an additional source may be the Brooks Campbell interview; Rogers, Reply, p. 2). Mr. Moore rightly avers that proof of this description of Rosewood will not be found in the "minutes of the Levy County Board of Commissioners, state and federal manuscript census reports, Florida Railroad Commissioner reports, [and] Levy County deed record books." Evidence may have been found in "other primary sources, official and unofficial," though this general statement is not helpful to the reader. In fairness to the team, the footnote being quoted (Documented History, p. 23, n. 21) is a summation of the sources used in Mr. Dye's M.A. thesis from which this account of Rosewood's history is drawn. Pages 68-75 in the thesis discuss the Rosewood incident (one of these pages is devoted to a map, and a second contains only five lines, leaving six pages of text). These pages include fourteen footnotes, of which one contains only commentary. Of the remaining thirteen notes, two are to interviews with anonymous individuals and thus have no evidentiary value; six are to secondary sources (one of which is Mr. Moore's article in The St. Petersburg Times; Floridian, 25 July 1982); two are to the 1905 Florida census; one is to a 1923 newspaper article; and two are to an interview with an

identifiable person, Jason McElveen. Thus note 21 in the Documented History implies a greater degree of scholarly research on Rosewood than exists in the thesis. For a report of this nature the reviewers believe the relevant primary sources should have been re-examined and cited directly.

Mr. Moore challenges the team's assertion that "Francis ('Fannie') Taylor . . . was home alone" when she was attacked (Documented History, p. 23), contending that "her two small sons were in the house with her" (Moore, Critique A, p. 10). The team's response claims that "contemporary newspapers stated that she was home alone" (Jones, Response, p. 9). When asked to cite the newspapers, the team responded that "none of the contemporary newspapers that were used mentioned that there were children in the house with Fannie Taylor. The assumption was made that she was alone" (Rogers, Reply, p. 3). This, of course, is to make an argument from silence, a logical fallacy. The team insists, however, that "the important points remain that no adult was present and there were no [mature or credible] witnesses to the assault" (ibid., p. 3). To support his claim, Mr. Moore cites interviews with Elizabeth Smith, assistant bookkeeper for the Cumner Lumber Company, who lived two doors from the Taylor residence; Addis Taylor, a son of Fannie Taylor; Woodrow Baylor, in whose home James and Fannie Taylor had reputedly been married; and Edith Foster, another neighbor (Moore, Critique B, pp. 10-11). The evidence supports Mr. Moore if he has used his taped interviews reliably.

According to the team, "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" (Documented History, p. 24). Mr. Moore discovered that Bernice Taylor, whom he interviewed, was in fact male and plausibly attributed the error in listing his sex to Alfred Dorsett, the census taker in 1920. The team's responses note that it indicated the discrepancy in the original sources in its report (Jones, Response, p. 9; Rogers, Reply, p. 3). Credit Mr. Moore with good detective work in resolving the discrepancy.

The team notes that "deed records do not indicate that the Taylors owned property in Sumner. Their residence . . . was probably owned by the Cumner Lumber Company" (Documented History, p. 24). Mr. Moore disputes the need for the qualifier, "probably," contending that "all witnesses recall, and Census records confirm, that the Taylors lived in the company-owned workers' quarters in Sumner" (Moore, Critique A, p. 10). The team found "no documentary evidence" that the Taylors rented their house from the company (Jones, Response, p. 9). For the Taylors' place of abode, the 1920 census lists "unk[nown]." Asked to document his statement, Mr. Moore averred that "All of the names surrounding the Taylor listing [in the U.S. census of 1920] are those of Cumner Lumber employees who witnesses agree lived in company-owned housing, along Sumner's single main street. . . . Knowledge of the layout of the mill quarters makes it highly unlikely that Census enumerator Alfred Dorsett would have done otherwise than to proceed along the street where these persons are confirmed to have lived--a street on which all structures are universally agreed to have been owned, with the land beneath them, by Cumner Lumber" (Moore, Critique B, p. 12). Mr. Moore makes a good argument, though the point of contention

is trivial.

Mr. Moore objects to the report's inclusion of material on the marriage ceremony of James Taylor and Fannie Coleman (Documented History, p. 24) as filler, preferring the inclusion of "genuine information about the Taylors" (Moore, Critique A, p. 10). Details of a marriage ceremony are obviously "genuine information." This is simply an inconsequential dispute over what details to include. The accuracy of the information has not been challenged and Mr. Moore's objection is without merit.

According to the team, "from most accounts the intruder did not consummate the . . . rape" of Fannie Taylor (Documented History, p. 25). Mr. Moore objects that "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" (Moore, Critique A, p. 10). Mr. Moore rightly cites the team for lack of clarity in specifying the accounts to which they were referring (newspaper stories? oral interviews?). In fact, they were relying on newspaper accounts. Were the reporters "far from the scene," as Mr. Moore alleges? The team thinks not, contending that "reporters were very much on the actual scene and filed their news stories from there." The team names the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, the Tampa Morning Tribune, the Tallahassee Daily Democrat, the Miami Daily Metropolis, the St. Petersburg Evening Independent, and the Miami Herald as containing "stories with . . . points of origin from Levy County locales such as Bronson, Cedar Key, Rosewood, Otter Creek and elsewhere" (Rogers, Reply, p. 3). The team adds, "The nearby Gainesville Daily

Sun also filed its own stories" (ibid., p. 4). Copies of stories in the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union (3, 5, and 6 January 1923) provided for the reviewers by the team, however, are Associated Press dispatches. Datelines in newspaper stories normally indicate where the story occurred, not necessarily the location of the reporter.

In a document provided to the team by Mr. Moore on 16 September 1993, he argued that "most and possibly all of the 1923 newspaper accounts are barely disguised variations of work by a single individual who did not make firsthand investigation but relied on telephone conversations with the Levy County Sheriff's Department. This individual authored [sic] dispatches for the Associated Press. He was probably a piecework stringer, and not a regular AP employee. Language in the accounts suggests he was an employee of a newspaper within 100 miles of Rosewood" (Moore, List, p. 2). This indicates a very serious disagreement between the team and Mr. Moore over the reliability of newspaper reports. Because Mr. Moore stated his concerns on this crucial matter of evidence to the team, an explicit discussion of newspapers as evidence might have been included in the team's report. However, Mr. Moore provided no evidence to support his claim, making it extremely difficult for the Rosewood team to judge its validity.

According to the team, "because no one ever disputed that some kind of physical attack took place, the incident was never referred to as an 'alleged attack'" (Documented History, p. 25). Mr. Moore queries the meaning of this sentence, asserting that "no witness . . . has ever contended that no one attacked" (Moore, Critique A, p. 11). There is no disagreement here. Mr. Moore's objection is therefore

without merit.

Mr. Moore accuses the team of omitting important material: "Worlds have been left out" (Moore, Critique B, p. 13). As an example he cites the question of James Hall's possible death in the violence (ibid., pp. 13-14). The team does mention the destruction of Hall's house (Documented History, p. 58) but does not discuss his possible death because it was not recorded in newspaper accounts. This is a classic example of disagreement over the evidentiary value of newspapers and oral testimony, for Mr. Moore's interviews with three people--Margie Hall, Wilson Hall, and Sam Hall--allegedly include the claim that James Hall was killed. Sam Hall is now deceased; the team's interviews with Wilson Hall and Margie Hall Johnson do not indicate that James Hall was killed, though the interviewees were not asked about the latter's death (Appendices, DH, pp. 267-69, 320-24). Without the tapes in Mr. Moore's possession, to which the team had no access, it could not have discussed James Hall's possible death in the Rosewood violence. As long as Mr. Moore denies scholars access to the tapes, his objection cannot be sustained.

Mr. Moore and the team disagree as to who shot Sam Carter. The team refers to Mr. Moore's article in Tropic, which suggests that the shooter was Bryant Kirkland, a World War I veteran, whereas the team contends that the shooter was "a non-resident of the area," basing its judgment on the testimony of Ernest Parham (Documented History, pp. 37-38). In his interview with Professor David Colburn, Parham claimed to know the name of the man who shot Carter, though he refused to divulge it. A crucial exchange ensued: "Mr. Colburn: Was this a resident of Sumner

that shot him? Mr. Parham: No, he was not. That was the problem. Most of this work with the shooting and killing was not local people[,] particularly the people that worked for the Cummer Lumber Company" (Appendices, DH, pp. 352-53). The next question probably should have been, "If the shooter was not from Sumner, was he from the surrounding area?" This question was not asked, and the team made the assumption that if the assailant was not from Sumner, he was not from the area--an error in logic. As Mr. Moore now points out, his interview with Mr. Parham indicates only that the attacker was "one of the Kirklands," not that it was Bryant Kirkland (Moore, Critique B, p. 18). The team was denied access to this interview. "Other eyewitnesses have been more specific," according to Mr. Moore (*ibid.*, p. 18), referring to Marshall Cannon and unnamed others, and to "credible corroborators such as Charles Hudson" (*ibid.*, p. 15), but the interviews in question were not made available to the team; crucial evidence was withheld.

In connection with the dispute over the shooter of Sam Carter, Mr. Moore makes a further charge: The team's assertion that the assailant was an outsider, he avers, is an attempt to refute his credibility (Moore, Critique B, p. 18). "The unstated agenda in this case seem to have been at least three-fold: 1) that I must be discredited because I have been so uncooperative as to point out that the Team is operating on very little evidence, and 2) that a myth ['that the Rosewood violence was committed by outsiders'] beloved by white bystanders in the Rosewood area must be embraced, perhaps in a sort of dreamy compensation for the myths against whites that the report has also embraced . . . [and] 3) . . . [that] no lone murderer . . . be allowed to stand in

the way of what must be a vague blanket accusation against a monolithic group or even a segment of society, which must be called to task" (Moore, Critique B, pp. 15-16). The team's report specifically criticizes the attempt to absolve local blame by citing outsiders: "The [Gainesville] paper's rationale was a variation on the 'outside agitators' theme that has universally, historically, and without regard to geographical location been used to dismiss controversial issues and to avoid local blame" (Documented History, p. 73). The reviewers reject Mr. Moore's accusations as baseless. Disagreements between historians over the interpretation of evidence are commonplace and do not imply an attempt to discredit one another's work. Although Mr. Moore presents a compelling case that the shooter was from the local area (if the evidence to which he alludes is accurately presented), his assumptions about the team's motives in asserting a different view are without foundation.

Mr. Moore contends that "Rosewood was largely destroyed on Thursday night by whites from very nearby, and on Friday by persons arriving largely from nine miles away at Cedar Key and nearby--not from distant Taylor County as the report repeatedly contends. No proof or even named participants have ever been produced to show that the infamous Taylor Countians, like swamp rats from hell, arrived over 100 arduous miles in their Model-Ts. I think that some of them probably did, in some fashion, at some point" (Moore, Critique B, p. 16). The reviewers cannot find evidence in the main body of the Documented History that the team "repeatedly" referred to residents of Taylor County as co-perpetrators of the violence, nor is there evidence that the team viewed them as "swamp rats from hell." Mr. Moore's

objections are invalid.

V. Genealogical Material

Mr. Moore has indicated numerous errors in the genealogical charts (Moore, Critique A, pp. 13-15). The inclusion of this material in the Appendices (pp. 72-81) was not intended to identify potential claimants but to preserve information provided by various people in the course of the investigation. A statement to that effect should be included by the investigative team. Moreover, these charts should not carry the term "survivors."

VI. Areas of General Agreement on Principal Issues

Number of Persons Killed. The investigative team and Mr. Moore concur that eight people--six African Americans and two whites--are known to have been killed in the violence at Rosewood in January 1923 (Documented History, p. 87; Moore, Synopsis of Research, Appendices, DH, pp. 425-28). Mr. Moore also points to the possibility that two other African Americans (James Hall and Emma Carrier) and one white man (Henry Odom) may have died as a result of the destruction of Rosewood (Moore, *ibid.*, pp. 428-29). Mr. Moore and the team agree on the identity of the six African Americans who died: Sarah Carrier, Lexie Gordon, Mingo "Lord God" Williams, James Carrier, Sylvester Carrier (though family stories claim he escaped),

and Sam Carter; and the identity of the two whites: Poly Wilkerson and Henry Andrews. Both parties agree that contemporary stories stating that "up to 100 or even 150 people" died in the Rosewood violence were untrue (Moore, Critique B, p. 18).

The Role of the Ku Klux Klan. Both parties agree that the Ku Klux Klan cannot be blamed for all the violence at Rosewood (Moore, Critique B, p. 18). The investigative team believes Klan members probably participated, though without wearing their regalia (Documented History, p. 42), and Mr. Moore writes of "many" cars bringing Klansmen to Rosewood from Gainesville and Cedar Key (Tropic, p. 24).

Property Destroyed. The investigative team and Mr. Moore agree that a mob destroyed a Masonic hall (though disagreeing on its size) and the homes of African Americans in Rosewood. They disagree on the number of churches destroyed: one according to the team, three according to Mr. Moore. They disagree on whether or not a store was destroyed; the team believes one was, but Mr. Moore cites testimony in interviews that the store had been destroyed by fire prior to 1923. Mr. Moore also notes the burning of a cane syrup mill, one or more small shops, and apparently a blacksmith shop.

The Governor's Role. The Rosewood team contends that "while Governor Hardee condemned the violence and ordered a special prosecutor to conduct a grand jury investigation, he did so (more than a month had passed) only after black residents were forced to leave Rosewood and their property was destroyed" (DH, p. 87). Mr. Moore raises the unsupported possibility that the governor may have aided the victims: "Two concerned white brothers . . . had made secret arrangements with John Wright--

and perhaps with the Florida governor's office--to bring in a special train for women and children refugees" (Tropic, p. 24). Mr. Moore has not challenged the team's conclusions with respect to the governor.

The Role of Sheriff Robert Walker. According to the team, "Sheriff Walker failed to control local events and to request proper assistance from Governor Hardee when events moved beyond his control" (DH, p. 87). Mr. Moore reports that "Bob Walker was voted out of the sheriff's office, blamed for not doing more to stop the riot" (Tropic, p. 24). In fact, as the Rosewood Investigative Team found in its research, Sheriff Walker resigned July 8, 1924 and L.L. Johns was commissioned to fill out his unexpired term (Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida for the Period Beginning January 1, 1923 and Ending December 31, 1924, p. 122). While Mr. Moore errs with respect to Sheriff Walker's departure from office, he seems to agree with the team in according some blame to Walker.

The Mass Grave. In an article in Tropic magazine which Mr. Moore describes as "definitive" (Synopsis of Research, Appendices, DH, p. 418), he refers to the testimony of James Turner to the effect that he saw a mass grave in a grove of pines in Rosewood containing, he was told, seventeen corpses (p. 25). The Rosewood team refers to this passage, noting as well that "some of the black descendants, among them Arnett Turner Goins, deny that there was an open grave, and to date no such site has been found" (DH, p. 57). Mr. Moore further avers that "statements by most black survivors of Rosewood make this scenario [of a mass grave] unlikely. Nearly every inhabitant who was unaccounted for after the violence has now been traced and shown

not to have been killed" (Tropic, p. 25). Both parties are thus skeptical of the existence of a mass grave, though each leaves open the possibility that one may exist.

VII. Conclusions

Mr. Moore has made a number of serious allegations as to the motives of the Rosewood team. It is beyond the purview of the reviewers to assess these claims in detail, but several basic points require brief discussion.

In general, Mr. Moore's communications are couched in rhetoric rather than documentation, making any assessment of his charges against the investigative team virtually impossible. The basic principle of American jurisprudence is that the burden of proof rests on the accuser. Where Mr. Moore provides no factual support for his accusations, no credibility can be attached to them. Where purported factual evidence has been adduced, the reviewers have studied the material objectively and found in his favor where the evidence warranted.

On 16 September 1993 Mr. Moore misrepresented his qualifications as an authority on the Rosewood events to Professor Maxine Jones. Among "materials that illustrate the scope of my knowledge of the Rosewood case, pursuant to my presence in Florida as co-investigator," Mr. Moore made the following statement: "Currently I hold a letter from University Press of Florida expressing intent to publish a definitive book by me on the Rosewood case" (List of Primary Materials: Rosewood 1923, p. 6). In fact, Dr. Walda Metcalf, Associate Director and Editor in Chief, University Press of

Florida, wrote to Mr. Moore on 22 April 1993: "I would like to express our strong interest in considering your manuscript for publication. . . . I urge you to develop a complete manuscript and send it to us for publishing consideration." In a telephone conversation with Patrick Riordan on 2 February 1994, Dr. Metcalf confirmed: "I did not send him a letter of intent; I sent him a letter of interest." What appears to have been an earlier version of this work had been rejected by the Florida State University Press in October 1989: Professor V.J. Conner, in a letter dated 12 October 1989 to an assistant at the press, reported: "The manuscript as written is not suitable for publication by a scholarly press at this time. . . . Fact sometimes competes with speculation for undifferentiated space. Episodes have been recreated as they may or may not have happened, and although the speculation surrounding the actual turn of events lends drama to an already dramatic story and the detective-story aura heightens the suspense of an already suspenseful tale, none of this can overcome the lack of documentation."

In general, the accusations and criticisms of Mr. Moore are aimed at the periphery of the report, not its heart. Even to the extent that they hit the target, therefore, they do little if any damage to the report's main thrust: providing as much information about events at Rosewood in January 1923 as was possible to gather and report in one semester. For example, Mr. Moore is correct on the spelling of Mahulda Brown's first name, probably correct about the number of stories in the Masonic Hall, but wrong when he says Sylvester Carrier--a central figure--is not recorded in the 1920 census.

Mr. Moore is no doubt correct in stating that the Rosewood Investigative Team would have benefitted from having access to materials which he made unavailable, i.e., the transcripts of interviews with survivors of the Rosewood events and their descendants. However, a review of correspondence between Mr. Moore and the team makes clear Mr. Moore's own role in the deterioration of relationships which limited his consulting role. Specifically, his suggestion that members of the committee pass a 150-question examination before he would work with them could be considered peculiar at best and insulting at worst.

In the last analysis, Mr. Moore's transcripts may be useful historical materials, but to become so, access to qualified scholars must be provided. These materials must undergo the scrutiny of other readers and be subject to interpretations other than those of Mr. Moore. No historian is privileged to claim that his or her interpretation is valid without subjecting that opinion and the materials on which it is based to professional scrutiny. Mr. Moore's claim that he and his transcripts are essential to any study of Rosewood cannot be evaluated until the tape transcripts are examined, and read against each other and in the light of other historical materials. The Rosewood Investigative Team's offer to purchase them at \$125 each stands as evidence of the Team's interest in them. It is unjust to blame the would-be purchasers for the owner's refusal to sell. The reviewers hope that, at some point in the future, Mr. Moore will make his transcripts publicly available.

IX. Qualifications of the Reviewers

Mr. Patrick Riordan is a Ph.D. candidate in American History at Florida State University. He has completed his comprehensive (preliminary) examinations, and is now writing his dissertation on the history of the colonial lower south. He is a former reporter ^{for} The Miami Herald, which he served as Tallahassee Bureau Chief, Washington correspondent, and member of the Herald's investigative team. His master's degree in journalism is from Northwestern University. He received his bachelor's degree in history from the University of Tennessee. He was former Florida Governor Bob Graham's speechwriter for three years and currently is on leave from the Florida Board of Regents, where he has been employed as Director of Public Information since 1985.

Dr. Richard L. Greaves is Robert O. Lawton Distinguished Professor of History, Courtesy Professor of Religion, and Chairman of the Department of History at Florida State University. A Fellow of the Royal Historical Society (UK), past President of the American Society of Church History, and President of the John Bunyan Society, he has published twenty-two books, more than fifty journal articles and chapters in edited books, more than forty encyclopedia articles, and approximately sixty book reviews. His publications are in the fields of British history, western civilization, and world civilization.

August 10, 1993

To: Rosewood investigating committee
c/o William Rogers, Ph.D.
FAX (904) 644-6402

From: Gary Moore

Subject: Development of the Rosewood claims case,
background of the call to investigation

As inquiry proceeds into the destruction of Rosewood in 1923, a plethora of voices may seem at times to be shouting contradictory information about the events.

Their relative credibility is put in perspective by the history of Rosewood's public image and its manipulation over the past two years. Behind the scenes, this stage of Rosewood's fame began with a tabloid TV and movie producer named Michael McCarthy.

In the summer of 1991, McCarthy called me because of my research and expressed eagerness to make a movie about Rosewood, which he said would be built around a presentday hook: testimony in a courtroom-style setting by aged survivors decades after the destruction. I demurred, saying no such public testimony had ever occurred in real life. McCarthy then stopped calling me. I heard no more from him for more than a year.

During this time, I now know from McCarthy and many others, he was arranging for life to imitate his vision. He was causing the present claims case to come about.

Using my published material, McCarthy contacted two Rosewood survivors I had located, and he optioned their cinema rights. Then he created--and perhaps believed--a convenient fiction that these two optioned persons were the only survivors, a fiction that aided his project but later caused chagrin to other survivors who his vision shunted aside.

In the ensuing process, the statements of and deeply held beliefs of the two optioned witnesses came to be misrepresented in accordance with an emerging McCarthy version of what had happened at Rosewood--a sensationalized exaggeration which, as McCarthy himself says, was not based on research, but on the exigencies of drama. All too easily, the Florida press and media as far away as The Washington Post bought into what was becoming a communal delusion. Rosewood's terrible tragedy was being traduced by hysteria. Perhaps this was inevitable after amnesia and coverup for so long.

For example Lee Ruth Davis, one of McCarthy's optioned survivors, has always stated and has never deviated from the statement since I first met her more than ten years ago, that only three African Americans were killed at Rosewood: James Carrier (age 60), Sarah Carrier (age 55), and Lexie Gordon (age about 58), a pattern of casualties somewhat consonant with other mass racial violence of the era, in which persons least able to flee were most at risk. However, Davis clearly was subscribing on another level to what might be called a power myth of minimization. She insisted that Lexie Gordon should not really be counted as a black casualty because of lightness of skin, and also insisted, on the other hand, that the real secret of Rosewood was not the number of African American deaths but the number of European American deaths. A psychological complex among victims, found by researchers into the Tulsa race riot of 1921 (Ellsworth, 1982), the East St. Louis race riot of 1917 (Rudwick, 1964), and others (aspects of the phenomenon appear in rumors and beliefs cited by Rogers and Ward, 1973, regarding the Jack Turner affair of the 1870s-1880s), can be traced as well at Rosewood. The complex tends to conceal African American deaths and invent European American ones. It has been called "evening the score."

Such complications in the world view of a valuable witness and a long-suffering, virtuous individual were simply shunted aside by the McCarthy myth. To fill in the gaps, new words--and a new version of the truth--were somehow put in Lee Ruth Davis's mouth in published versions of her summarized testimony, a phenomenon she noted with dismay and talked about in detail--when anyone would listen or knew enough to penetrate the myth by asking specific questions.

The mechanism of this was as follows: With two optioned survivors in hand, McCarthy then sought an official body to serve as advocate and endorser for his view of the events. He first approached the NAACP, he says, and may have approached the Southern Poverty Law Center as well, but his project was declined. He then approached the pro bono office of Holland & Knight, Florida's largest law firm, and they agreed to act without fee as advocates, placing the claims of (as they were led to believe) the only two remaining Rosewood survivors before the Florida legislature. By this time it was late 1992.

Holland & Knight then took depositions from the two witnesses, Lee Ruth Davis and Minnie Lee Langley, both of whom did their best to cooperate fully and in no way seemed to have attempted to mislead anyone. However as law students transcribed and summarized these depositions, inexplicable changes seem to have occurred, at least as the depositions were later made to appear in the press. Lee Ruth Davis allegedly said that twelve of her relatives were killed at Rosewood. This was most emphatically not her belief and

was almost as certainly not her statement. Moreover, tracing of survivors shows it was not true in any case.

A second tier to McCarthy's myth was the enlisting of the press. He approached a Tallahassee bureau reporter with The Miami Herald, Ellen McGarrahan, who reportedly expressed enthusiasm for conveying McCarthy's version of the story. However McGarrahan then left the paper, and bureau reporter Lori Rozsa was bequeathed the assignment, also entering in enthusiastically. Rozsa did little real research, and according to McCarthy even missed her one scheduled interview with Minnie Langley, though Rozsa later gave the impression in print that she had spoken with Langley. The resulting story, published December 28, 1992, in the Herald and carried by wire service to papers across the nation, said that perhaps as many as 100 persons had died at Rosewood, and that the Ku Klux Klan had "galloped through with torches"--as if 1923 were Reconstruction. There were more demonstrable errors in this news story--the seminal event of the Rosewood myth in the press--than can be briefly pointed out. The story's only real basis was McCarthy's myth. Holland & Knight's summarized depositions were apparently the source of what looked in print like original interviews.

Other newspapers scrambled to follow Rozsa's lead, but in the meantime they met new complications. A group of Rosewood descendants--and one survivor, Arnett Goins--had coalesced as a result of my research in the 1980s for "60 Minutes" and elsewhere; and this group was indignant to find that Rozsa's story, and Holland & Knight's case, left them out completely, as if they didn't exist. The spokesman for this group Arnett Doctor, nephew of Arnett Goins, had first viewed the site of Rosewood when I took him there in my car in 1982, and since then had become increasingly interested in the case. He contacted Holland & Knight and they agreed to expand their case, as, bewildered, they began to find complications on every hand. One of these was that Arnett Doctor has come to hold some very specific beliefs about Rosewood that are at variance with views stated by the vast majority of Rosewood eyewitnesses of both races. He has been quoted in the press as saying that Rosewood, a hamlet of no more than 100 persons, was a "mecca" for African Americans of such significance as Atlanta is today, and that Rosewood possessed 50 to 60 substantial two-story houses. Again, when Rosewood has been minimized by whites as "a few shacks under the pines"--when the truth is that some houses there were substantial and well kept up--perhaps compensatory beliefs are inevitable. But these can easily be used to discredit all the witnesses as presenting an impenetrable swamp of myth--which is not the case.

Painstaking cross-reference over a period of years has been shown to be effective at providing a most probable scenario of events. While ambiguity seems ineradicable with regard to some key issues,

the scenario that emerges from the real evidence is vastly more probable than some of the baseless myths that have appeared in the press.

The evidence does leave little doubt that a mass grave exists at the site of Rosewood, but the complication is the number of fatalities it hides. These may be as many as seventeen. More likely, they may be as few as three or four or five.

As the Rosewood claims case has appeared in the press and the Rosewood events have been publicly exaggerated, several oft-quoted sources have seemed to be enflamed by tabloid journalism's lure of profit; using no demonstrable knowledge of the facts to make such claims as: a) the Rosewood violence was really a feud over moonshine stills; b) 200 or more African Americans may have been buried in a mass grave (this has been repeated on a radio program); d) a bulldozer was used to hide the corpses; c) Rosewood's white storekeeper John Wright was secretly a black man.

Also, the 1923 newspaper accounts can be shown to be corrupted by outright hoax, as well as by the more common mass delusion that infused coverage of anti-black riots--which were often portrayed as African American uprisings in the press. Evidence leaves no doubt that no uprising of African Americans occurred at Rosewood. The 1923 mentality that allowed papers as prestigious as The New York Times (Jan. 6, 1923) to give the impression that an uprising was in fact occurring may seem impenetrable and inexplicable to 1993 readers. Yet the literature on American racial violence is packed with much stronger instances of delusion.



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

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

September 16, 1993

Maxine Jones, Ph.D.
Co-Director
The Rosewood Investigative Team
Florida State University
Department of History
Belamy Building
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

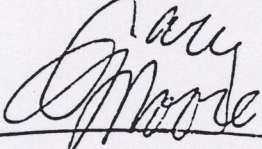
Dear Dr. Jones:

In accordance with clarification I have received from Dr. Rogers by phone regarding the September 10 letter from the Rosewood Investigative Team, I am enclosing here materials that illustrate the scope of my knowledge of the Rosewood case, pursuant to my presence in Florida as co-investigator.

I did attempt to first get such clarification from yourself and from Dr. Rivers, but my phone calls were not returned. If the team's budget allows no such return of phone calls for securing information the team seeks, please do not hesitate to call me collect in the future, at my expense, as has been my policy toward witnesses for years.

Also, it was unclear from whom to seek clarification of the Sept. 10 letter, for it had no signature. Clarification of the letter seemed advisable in view of references in it to such matters as my article in "Florida Tropicana" magazine, since no such magazine exists. I did write a Rosewood article for Tropic, the magazine section of The Miami Herald. Similarly, the letter's statement of policy said the committee must give precedence to cited materials about Rosewood, which of course cannot be done, since there are no cited materials on Rosewood. It was difficult to respond without clarification.

Sincerely,



Gary Moore

Sept. 16, 1993: Discussion of primary materials

Please find enclosed: a) a list and discussion of the three kinds of primary materials that must be used to investigate Rosewood, as these relate to the necessity that I be present in Florida during investigation.

- b) a questionnaire that I have written and which Dr. Rogers encouraged me to send. It is hoped that by filling out this questionnaire team members may assess
- 1) the complexity of the Rosewood case.
 - 2) the level of knowledge held by the team after one month of its three-month mandate has passed.
 - 3) the level of my own knowledge, and the reasons for my presence during investigation.

I can definitively answer all questions in the questionnaire--except the last one, which is included to remind that vital mysteries and myths certainly do remain to be tested by comparison with verifiable fact.

I respectfully request that team members each fill out a copy of the questionnaire and return it to me in the enclosed self-addressed envelopes, as this will be most helpful to us all in pinpointing issues and assuring that the team complies with its mandate by November 22, 1993, as contracted.

Filling out the questionnaire will naturally bring further questions to mind, and I welcome any discussions or notes on such questions.

- c) my itemization of errors in Miami Herald articles about Rosewood, which articles appeared prior to my refutation of them in the Herald March 7. The letter was sent to the Herald's chief editor.
-

Itemization of errors in a Dec. 28, 1992, article appearing on the front page of The Miami Herald about Rosewood, and subsequently running on the Knight-Ridder wire and picked up by Associated Press to run in newspapers nationwide, sometimes on front pages, beginning the 1993 attention to Rosewood in many newspapers.

Sadly, this story and its later imitators show that American journalism may have experienced little net gain in quality since the fantastically distorted articles about Rosewood that ran in 1923 in the major American newspapers.

Survivors of Rosewood Massacre Will Ask Florida to Right a Wrong"
by Lori Rozsa, 12-28-92
Dateline, Rosewood, Fla. 1

Miami Herald

The following list includes only directly untrue statements from the Dec. 28, 1992 story; other misleading information that adds to the story's overall impact of falsehood is treated separately.

1. "The secret, sinful past of Rosewood is locked up tight in John Rutledge's house."
(par. 1)

Nothing's locked up there but a bit of inconsequential fiction, having little to do with real events, as Rozsa lamely acknowledges in a buried disclaimer: "He wrote it to be read." Hedging, she calls the book a "chronicle." It's a novel. Rozsa's supposed legwork consists of peripheral sources such as Rutledge, who now says she violated a promise not to quote him. This mysterious lead suggests how little fact underpins the more serious deceptions to come.

2. "Survivors say they killed dozens of men and women in a rampage that began on New Year's Day."
(par. 2)

1. No survivor says this. The statement is a fabrication.
2. Remaining survivors were children at any rate. They did not personally see any African American fatalities.
3. They actually say that no more than 3 or 4 African Americans were killed--probably an understatement.

3. "The years have whittled the sad list [of survivors] to two."
(par. 4)

This is untrue. There are a number of other survivors besides the two to whom Rozsa was given very controlled access (and she apparently never got around to actually interviewing even these two). She seems to have faked these interviews.

4. "...believe they are the only two people left who witnessed the violent chaos."
(par. 4)
5. "About all that's left of Rosewood now is a 6-by-14-inch steel sign, white letters on a green background, planted on the north side of State Road 24."
(par. 11)
6. "A two-story white clapboard house on the south side of the road was the only building left standing after the fires..."
(par. 14)
7. "It was built by John Wright, who ran a general store out of of his home."
(par. 15)
8. "He was the only white person to live in Rosewood."
(par. 15)
9. "when the Klan galloped through with torches on Jan. 1, 1923."
(par. 15)

This is outrageous misrepresentation. Langley and Davis don't say they are the only two survivors. They know they are not.

A small point, but instructive. Rozsa makes it appear with her painstaking exactness on this trivial detail that she has done extensive legwork. In fact there are two signs, on both sides of the road. She seems not to have lingered in Rosewood long enough even to see its second sign.

This is false, showing again that details are no proof of knowledge. Several buildings were left standing.

1. not built by John Wright
2. never a store in it

False. A number of whites lived there, including Wright's wife and stepson and people in other homes, which anyone who took even a smattering of trouble would have known

Incredible.

1. No klansmen identified at Rosewood.
2. None who burned it were on horseback.
3. The burning didn't occur on Jan. 1.

Again the egregious details that give an appearance of truth

[At paragraph 16, after false premises and misleading appearances are established in the reader's mind, there follows a passage of prolix, insubstantial quotations, including some from a history text and a history professor, which verify that something did happen at Rosewood (though it wasn't what Rozsa is portraying). "We know Rosewood was there, and we know it wasn't there," shrugs a source mysteriously. Rozsa shrugs too: "Colburn doesn't know much about Rosewood. Not many people do." The appearance of mystery--a false appearance--is used as an excuse for accepting fabrication as truth in defiance of known evidence. The evidence is treated as if it doesn't exist. It's inconvenient.]

In this is another key passage with regard to the nature of the events Rozsa is portraying, and the supposed evidence behind that portrayal:

10. "Dobrinsky's law firm puts the number as high as 100 based on interviews and other newspaper clippings." (par. 20)
1. No 1923 news clips, even the most outrageously exaggerated, put the death toll higher than 22.
2. No interview with an eyewitness has put the death toll higher than about 20.
3. This "based on" is without basis.

Compare with Rozsa's follow-up story of March 6, 1993:

"Newspaper accounts of the day offer vivid but sometimes contradictory information. Death tolls vary from seven to 50 to 150."

(from par. 12 of story 3/6/93:
"Klan Trying to Prove Massacre at Rosewood Never Happened")

Here the delusion grows. Earlier outrageous exaggeration is now not outrageous enough, and is increased.

At paragraph 27 of the original story, more general myth-making resumes:

11. "Her earliest memories are of a quiet, tight-knit community." (par. 27)
- Davis's memories are of relatives she loved and a home she cherished, but of a community riven by internal violence and bitterness.

12. "It was built and inhabited by black homesteaders."
(par. 29)

1. It was built by whites.
2. Most black residents who came to inhabit Rosewood were not homesteaders.
3. This is convenient myth, pulled from the air because it builds drama.

13. "...who hoisted the cedar logs onto railroad cars."
(par. 29)

Again a small point, but but again it shows to what lengths detailed imaginary sequences can be presented as history: the logs were cut in Rosewood into hand-sized blocks for pencils, requiring no hoisting onto rail cars.

14. "...for decades in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was an important port city for the state." (par. 30)

Cedar Key was a thriving port only in the 1870s-1880s. It certainly wasn't in 1923.

15. "...the tracks ran behind Davis's house."
(par. 30)

No they didn't, and Davis never said they did. Is Rozsa making a smokescreen for faked interviews?

16. "John Yearly's father was postmaster at Otter Creek, a town northeast of Rosewood. He was 11 when the Klan rode in. Yearly, who died last month, kept notes, and told anybody who would listen about what he knew and what he saw." (par. 32)

John Yearly, called "Yearly" 8 times in Rozsa's story, never saw the Klan going to Rosewood and never said he did. He did say he saw Henry Andrews and other bullies en route. And he certainly didn't keep notes of this when he was eleven. More breezy fakery.

17. "For the next three days, men going by would give Yearly's father news of the massacre... Another black man was hung from a tree in his front yard."
(par. 34)

Shows how little Rozsa concerned herself with the real sequence of events. The only black man hung in his front yard was hung there before "the next three days."

18. "A pregnant woman was shot as she tried to crawl under her porch."
(par. 34)

This did not happen and not a single survivor has said this. Perhaps absolutely unsupported legend, told by someone with no credibility, proved convenient to Rozsa at this point.

19. "Davis remembers bloodhounds baying as darkness fell."
(par. 40)

1. She never remembered them in previous interviews.
2. Bloodhounds had been rented on one day, Monday, and were returned to Ft. White long before the events on Friday
3. They were never used to hunt women and children as it is made to seem here.
4. The memory of bloodhounds resembles a dream sequence presented as fact.

20. "She says she lost her Aunt Sarah Carrier, her uncles Gene Carrier and Sylvester Carrier, and at least a dozen other relatives and friends."
(par. 41)

1. This is fake
2. Davis never said it
3. She says Sylvester survived
4. Her other uncle was James Carrier, not "Gene"
5. She says she knows of only 2 or 3 black persons who were killed
6. Davis says she never talked to Rozsa

21. "She didn't return to Rosewood until 1976, when Ed Bradley took her and Langley there for a 60 Minutes segment on Rosewood." (par. 43)

22. "'I didn't ever want to go back,' Davis said. 'I didn't know what I would see.'" (par. 44)

23. "Langley's memories are just as vivid. She remembers her mother standing at the gate when the white mob rode up.

"'They grabbed my brother Aaron and carried him to the pine thickets,' Langley said. 'The next thing we know, we heard them say 'Bring a rope, bring a rope.'" (pars. 45, 46)

Incredible.

1. Davis had visited the site of Rosewood long before the 60 minutes piece, and met no problems.
2. The 60 Minutes visit wasn't in 1976, but in 1983
3. Ed Bradley didn't take her and Langley there. Langley and survivor Sam Hall were brought to the site in my Toyota.

This is unfair (if it was ever said at all). Davis is very forthright about having visited Rosewood without incident on at least one prior occasion.

Producer McCarthy, who orchestrated the Rozsa story behind the scenes, says that Rozsa simply failed to show up for her one scheduled interview with Langley. If that's true, so much for any supposed concern for the victims. To the extent that this passage implies a direct interview, it seems to be untrue.

24. "Langley also remembers the terrifying trip through the swamp to the railroad tracks. She recalls tripping over headstones in the small black cemetery that was near Wright's store.
(par. 47)

No she doesn't. This is more fabrication. The cemetery is in the direction opposite of that in which Langley fled. Langley has never talked of tripping over headstones in her flight northeastward to the turpentine camp of Wylly. This fanciful nonsense leads conveniently into Rozsa's description of the same cemetery in the present day, giving further appearance of supposed legwork.

25. "The local sheriff got chased out of the county by the mob."
(par. 53)

Wild.
No survivor, witness, nor even any believer in the most deluded legends has ever said this.

is a typical technique of propaganda--which is what the Rozsa stories about Rosewood are, as historians across Florida have been groaning for the past few months--to thickly interweave several time-worn techniques of deception in addition to outright falsehood.

A writer with a will to myth and drama and no respect for evidence need have no prior knowledge of these propaganda techniques and need not be able to analyze them. They come naturally--if one's purpose is manipulating emotions rather than reporting facts. The movies use these techniques all the time.

Rozsa thrills to note that a misleading supposed summary of the Rosewood events, promoted as part of the McCarthy myth, "reads like a tragic and lurid screenplay" (par. 9). To Rozsa this seems to raise no warning flags. Quite the contrary. It's a mark of efficient appeal to the emotions. She applauds it.

Propaganda techniques appearing in the Rozsa story include:

1. Referring to previously stated falsehoods whose impression has become established in the reader's mind, so that falsehood is tacitly repeated by statements that may be superficially true.
 2. Presenting unsupported allegation as fact.
 3. Omitting obviously pertinent data of great import that may be or should be known to the writer, while lavishing attention on trivial details, giving the appearance of an almost monotonous fastidiousness about fact.
 4. Knocking down straw men set up by the writer as easy targets. For example: insisting without evidence that the Klan did it, and then later (in the March 6 story) excoriating the Klan for its denials. This performs the remarkable function of almost making the Klan look like a hunted victim. By seeking easy scapegoats in marginal fanatics, it also further cleaves apart the common ground in a society.
 5. Subverting legitimate techniques of rigor, such as attribution and references to supposed legwork, so that they become mere linguistic facades, used to evade responsibility for falsehood.
 6. Bait and Switch: temporarily suspending disbelief to arouse interest and emotion, but following this with buried disclaimers contradicting one's own words, deeper in the story.
 7. False Antecedent (known in television as the cutaway): positioning quoted matter after an unrelated claim by the writer, as seeming support. "'They committed murder,' said Rutledge..." He says he was misquoted. Perhaps he was only cut away.
-

List of Primary Materials: Rosewood 1923

For Rosewood there exists no body of institutional investigation within the framework of historical scholarship.

Therefore two alternatives remain:

- 1) Leave the Rosewood atrocity uninvestigated, as institutional scholarship in Florida has done for seven decades.
- 2) Use available primary sources to reconstruct the events as well as humanly possible, in the manner that criminal investigation must proceed without consulting footnotes, and archaeologists must learn a world from grains of sand.

The Rosewood Investigative Team is mandated by its contract to follow the second alternative.

Therefore it must use the following materials:

- 1) 1923 newspaper articles
- 2) official records and other written material
- 3) testimony by witnesses still living

Discussion of the three kinds of materials, as relating to the team's interest in bringing me to Florida, is as follows:

- 1) 1923 newspaper articles.

Besides containing many inaccuracies, these are cryptic when not totally silent on important aspects of the events, and on critical factors in the causation chain--as I believe Dr. Rogers is verifying in his review of said articles. Moreover the press accounts of 1923 are demonstrably prejudiced in the extreme. All mainstream dailies used such labels as "Sylvester Carrier, negro" (New York Times) or even "Sylvester Carrier, negro desperado" (Washington Post), which are superficial indications of their deeper distortions of facts and events. All these articles, without exception, promulgated (sometimes with embellishments by copy editors from afar) the delusion put forth by Associated Press accounts that Rosewood was a case of African American uprising, which it was not. Conclusive proof of this lies in point 3) of this evidence list.

1923 newspaper articles (cont.)

By themselves, the 1923 newspaper articles are worthless unless one chooses to make a shallow exercise in journalism such as some irresponsible 1993 press retrospectives on Rosewood have done: they assume that a juicy quote makes a fact, and they publish a phrase from an old newspaper story inside quotation marks to show their "research," without concern for whether it was true.

Moreover, most and possibly all of the 1923 newspaper accounts are barely disguised variations of work by a single individual who did not make firsthand investigation but relied on telephone conversations with the Levy County Sheriff's Department. This individual authored dispatches for the Associated Press. He was probably a piecework stringer, and not a regular AP employee: Language in the accounts suggests he was an employee of a newspaper within 100 miles of Rosewood. Pinpointing the identity of this writer--whose anonymous biases moved public opinion coast to coast regarding the Rosewood affair--should be a goal of the committee.

However his influence further demonstrates the lack of reliability in newspaper accounts of Rosewood.

Regarding accounts of Rosewood in northern weeklies oriented toward an African American audience, which accounts differed markedly from those in mainstream white dailies, there are numerous reasons to find that most or all of these accounts were reworkings of the same Associated Press account, but with replacement of information that was seen as reflecting unfavorably on African Americans with information--some of it highly dramatic and demonstrably invented--that was seen as reflecting more favorably. Mechanisms such as attributing such reworking to alleged letters from witnesses at the scene, as in "The Crusader News Service," have been demonstrated by scholarship in other cases to have sometimes masked hoax. I pointed out to Dr. Rogers on the phone that The Chicago Defender was sued shortly before 1920 for having plagiarized its entire masthead from the Hearst organization, in order to present itself as a duplicate of supposed Hearst prestige, certainly a questionable goal. Ellsworth (1982) and many others provide instances of apparent fabrication in Defender articles.

) Official records.

Assiduous search has shown that official records relating to the Rosewood violence are very few, limited to such minute

(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 only residents of Rosewood in 1923.

2) Official records (cont.)

scraps of information as a telegram from Florida Governor Cary Hardee asking for enlightenment about Rosewood. The grand jury investigation under Judge A.V. Long has left no records, and even if it had they would typically have been cryptic, and even if this were not the case the grand jury adjourned quickly for supposed lack of witnesses--a demonstrable sham since many white witnesses, including the county sheriff, were present at the violence.

Records in Rosewood itself were destroyed. The town of Sumner nearby was a movable sawmill town and was dismantled and removed in 1927, leaving no records. No diaries or records exist within the Cummer family who owned the Sumner sawmill town. No Levy County sheriff's records are said by the Sheriff's Office to have survived. No files remain from State Attorney George DeCottes of Deland, who was brought in to conduct the grand jury investigation (the Deland authorities inform me they don't have records back to 1970, much less 1923).

As with the 1923 newspapers, the 1923 official documents leave no clear footprints as to many important aspects of what occurred--and fundamentally, they are silent when not suspect with regard to the important aspects of myth that surround Rosewood, which myths form a central challenge to the Rosewood Investigative Team.

Records regarding background of the community of Rosewood are, happily, a bit more complete. Patterns of land ownership, marriages, and other historical data are discernible from existing documentation, though much also is missing. I have studied these records in detail and possess photocopies. Piecing together the total picture they imply requires careful and considered reference to point 3).

3) Witness testimony.

The challenge presented by the Rosewood case is fundamentally one of sifting witness testimony. It is for this reason that my presence in Florida as the Investigative Team proceeds is indispensable, if the team's contract is to be fulfilled.

I have spent years comparing the contradictions, discrepancies, delusions, and admirable adherences to fact in a labyrinth of testimony from more than 80 witnesses of both races, most of whom are by this point (when institutional scholarship decides to look in on the case) deceased.

3) Witness testimony (cont.)

Even apart from my notes and tapes, there is the crucial fact that the minutiae of Rosewood's life--and its death--are ordered in my thoughts as I conduct witness interviews with persons still surviving.

To squander the energies of a witness in an interview without the interviewer first having such background knowledge is to lose precious opportunities.

To come in cold to an interview with an elderly and perhaps elusive informant and say, "Tell me about Rosewood" may elicit a blizzard of fragments regarding hacks, pullers, Georgia Skin, jooks, pageants, raisings, Eastern Stars, geechees, hog claims, battling boards, quartersbosses, Methodist hierarchy, Watch Nights, dummy engines, sawmill trams, and blood-red shirts.

It is quite a different matter to say, "Was your house over toward Lizzie Screen's or more back toward Wesley Bradley's?" Or, "Are you saying that when you got away from the mob you didn't go with Mossy and Gal Baby to the hammock?"

Furthermore, there is the key matter of myth with regard to the Rosewood events. Rural Florida African American culture, excluded from and besieged by mainstream institutions, came, on the one hand, to experience many real events which might be viewed as unlikely or fantasized--yet on the other hand it demonstrably developed many genuine compensatory myths that had little basis in fact. Though less beleaguered, the same can be said of rural Florida white culture, in which flamboyant myths of power ("We run 'em all out of there. Killed two hundred of 'em.") have mixed with many real events that might seem equally as implausible to an observer unfamiliar with the background.

The only tool for separating fact from fancy in this regard is extensive knowledge of background detail, which can be used to test the witness for corroboration, and to elicit important further details which can, in turn, be taken back to other witnesses to awaken new memories or reveal misconceptions or fantasies.

There is no way this work can be done overnight. There are plenty of ways--as in most of the press accounts of 1993--it can be faked.

One assumes the Rosewood Investigative Team does not wish to engage in such practices. If the team is to fulfill its contract responsibly, I must be there.

3) Witness testimony (cont.)

Interest has been expressed by the team in locating the site of a mass grave at Rosewood, mentioned by many witnesses of both races. All specific testimony that has ever related to its site is contained in my notes and tapes--and nowhere else--given by witnesses now deceased, who were adolescents or adults in 1923. I have previously informed members of the Rosewood Investigative Team that I am certainly able to point out the two most likely sites for this grave. I am the only living person intimately acquainted with how the Rosewood of 1923 relates physically to the site in 1993. I believe the team may have verified that persons knowing Levy County generally are lost in the briarpatch of this matter. I have established the relational locations of most 1923 structures in Rosewood, an endeavor impossible from deeds alone and daunting even with data from many witnesses, and have drawn scaled schemata.

This alone would be reason enough that the team's specified goals cannot be accomplished without my physical presence. I understand that inconclusive preliminary forays by the team have been made to Rosewood, and have resulted in bafflement, and even in consideration of making expensive infrared studies from the air. While I am intrigued by the use of technology, the bafflement could have been avoided had I been present to show the locations of important sites, and to generally connect the Rosewood events with existing landmarks, as well as efficiently drawing the team's attention to genuine mysteries that do remain to be solved.

I have been studying Rosewood since 1982, when I was an investigative reporter with The St. Petersburg Times. When I came upon vague legends in the swamps of Levy County, the Rosewood issue had been so thoroughly ignored by official Florida that even the reference librarians fifty miles from the site at the Florida history collection in the library of the University of Florida had never heard of Rosewood. No one had ever attempted to locate black survivors. I began tracing survivors and witnesses both black and white for The St. Petersburg Times and in 1983 for "60 Minutes," serving as reporter (Ed Bradley was the commentator) for a piece airing in December of that year.

I have contributed to Newsweek, The Washington Post, ABC News, Columbia Journalism Review, and others, and have been a staff reporter for The Miami Herald and The St. Petersburg Times. I was regional stringer in the Mid-South for The Los Angeles Times. Many of my articles have dealt with the history of the South and of Florida, and with African American culture and history. I have made extensive investigations of witness testimony with regard to previously undocumented atrocities in Central America. This year I received the national William Allen White Award for excellence in regional magazine writing.

3) Witness testimony (cont.)

It can be clearly shown (and those concerned have admitted) that all press articles in the 1990s are derivative of my research as taken from my published articles or from fleeting contact with one or two of the many witnesses who I had first located. There was no Rosewood Family Association until I brought persons together who had not seen one another in years. Remarkably, neither press nor academia in presentday Florida has done any real original location of new witnesses--though an abysmal parade of pseudo-witnesses has now emerged, consisting of persons who repeat myths or exaggerations in hopes of docu-drama options or other profit. Such testimony must be directly addressed and earnestly heard if it is not to plague Florida and historians generally with allegations that the Rosewood Investigative Team's work was in fact a coverup.

Sincere attention must be paid to stories by all purported witnesses or experts--but their stories must then be meticulously sifted against demonstrable fact. There is no way for the team, alone, to do such critical sifting of fact against story in time for a report on November 22, as specified. If such stories are not sifted, the \$50,000 allotted for the team is in essence wasted. The level of public certainty will be no higher than before. The team's work will be just one more competing, questionable account in a growing sea of credulity and fraud.

Repeatedly I have found that the maze left by Rosewood in the absence of preservation of reliable written records can be approached only by stages through gradual accretion of detail and periodic insight--as happens in any protracted police investigation of a crime. Such an investigation presents a closer parallel to the Rosewood case than does the usual purview of historiography. Rosewood is a murder investigation. Murderers don't leave footnotes.

Currently I hold a letter from University Press of Florida expressing intent to publish a definitive book by me on the Rosewood case. I have resisted repeated encouragement by mass market publishers and agents to present easy, profitable, and sensationalized fiction about Rosewood. This resistance has come at considerable sacrifice.

Over the years I have continued to interview witnesses and am doing so at present. My article this year on March 7 in Tropic, the Sunday magazine of The Miami Herald, regarding Rosewood, was lengthy and detailed, and has been universally acknowledged as definitive. Dismally I must say that every other press account of Rosewood appearing amid the present heightening of interest has been filled with error and in some cases

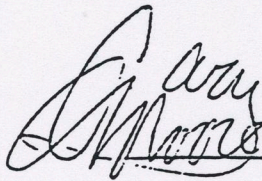
3) Witness testimony (cont.)

with delusion, and was based on very little research--as my interviews with all the authors of these articles have shown. I have provided the chief editor of The Miami Herald a detailed list of errors in Rosewood articles that appeared in the Herald's daily pages prior to my longer account in the Herald's magazine section, which refuted them publicly (a copy of that list is enclosed with these materials). One of said articles actually said "the Klan galloped through with torches," as if Rosewood had occurred during Civil War Reconstruction, though in fact no Klan paraphernalia, insignia, or other direct Klan evidence was observed by any witness at Rosewood; verified connection of the Klan to the Rosewood events remains one of the important tasks that the Rosewood Investigative Team must address, taking as its point of departure the real--but so far circumstantial--clues in my research. It seems likely that a connection can ultimately be demonstrated. But wishing doesn't make it so--and wishfulness masquerading as research is precisely what Klan apologists seize upon to buttress their delusions.

Many important questions about Rosewood remain to be answered by a) seeking any new tangential witnesses who may remain, b) extensively re-interviewing known witnesses in order to bring out new detail and clarify contradictions, c) focusing specific inquiry on significant bodies of possible fantasy and myth that claim basis in secret or otherwise inaccessible information.

Since no existing historical scholars, graduate students, or any party within institutional scholarship holds the specific background knowledge for conducting this form of investigation, and since my extensive documentation shows that I do have this knowledge and have been using it with effect, I must be there.

Sincerely,



Gary Moore

If these materials are in any way too detailed for the team, or not detailed enough, please do inform me immediately and I will supply any summary or details required.

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)?		

14. Which male residents of Rosewood were on the town baseball team?
15. Playing what positions?
16. What black-owned businesses existed in Rosewood in 1900 that had closed by 1923?
17. What was the reason most often given for their closure?
18. What societal changes were masked by beliefs among African American residents about the reason for the closures of these businesses?
19. What were the principal agricultural crops in Rosewood?
20. Which male Rosewood residents frequently associated in which age groups?
21. What was Beauty Carrier's real name?
22. Where did she die?
23. List the real names of:
 - Mossy
 - Sweetie
 - Big Baby
 - Big Buddy
 - Soda
 - Hills
 - Little Brother
 - Gal Baby
 - Man
 - Scrappy
 - Gussie
24. How did Bishop Bradley get his nickname?

QUESTION**ANSWER****SOURCE**

25. To which Rosewood survivors did the Griffins have strongest kinship ties?
26. Did Luvenia Hall survive?
27. Who was wounded in the hand?
28. Who cared for Mossy in the absence of her mother and father?
29. Where had her parents gone?
30. After the violence, where did the descendants of the Griffins go?
31. How can it be proved that Janetta Robinson did not die in 1923?
32. Which Rosewood residents have not been verified as living elsewhere after 1923?
33. What was Lutie Foster's maiden name?
34. Which verifiable residents of Rosewood in 1923 were not on the 1920 census?
35. Why?
36. Who killed Sam Carter?
37. What was the method used by the Rosewood midwife to stop hemorrhage?
38. Did she certify births?
39. Who killed Elias Carrier?
40. Who did Willard Carrier verifiably kill?

QUESTION

ANSWER

SOURCE

41. What verification exists that the Rosewood Masonic lodge existed?
42. What were the denominations of Rosewood's churches?
44. What was the order of founding of the churches?
45. Why, between 1870 and 1900, did migration patterns into Rosewood drastically change?
46. Which Rosewood churches had bells?
47. In what manner was Lizzie Screen wounded?
48. What relation did Fred Hayward have to Rosewood?
49. Which of Lexie Gordon's daughters were said by some survivors to be killed?
50. Who is believed in his home community to have murdered Lexie Gordon?
51. How many deceased white men did Philomena Goins see when she fled across the front porch of the Carrier home?
51. How many marital ties existed between Carriers and Bradleys?
52. What did Willard Carrier have in common with Troy Jones?
53. What word was carved on the stock of Sylvester Carrier's shotgun?

54. What persons were held in jail after Monday night?
55. How many corpses did Frank Coburn say he found?
56. What cash occupation sustained Lexie Gordon after her husband's death?
57. What were the trade-off factors in quality of home life of Rosewood lumberjacks versus sawmill hands?
58. Why did only grown men from Rosewood work turpentine?
59. Why was Mac McKenzie disliked by Rosewood survivors?
60. What seminal event in the history of Rosewood just prior to 1923 was thought by some residents to have cursed the town?
61. What duties did Sarah Carrier perform in the Rosewood church besides playing music?
62. Which of her daughters played the organ in church?
63. Where did that daughter live in 1923?
64. Who were the main purchasers of land from Rosewood survivors after 1923?
65. Which survivor held on longest to the land?
66. Data about which purchasers most strongly suggests Florida Boom influence?

67. What bank is implicated in irregularities in transactions involving Rosewood land after 1923?
68. What land ownership patterns connected Florida Governor Cary Hardee to Rosewood in 1923?
69. How many fatalities of Jan. 1-7, 1923, were demonstrably accorded death certificates?
70. Why?
71. How did they die?
72. What aspects of James Turner's testimony suggest that as many as 20 persons may have been in the mass grave?
73. How many witnesses have provided geographical evidence as to the location of the mass grave?
74. After about 1916 there were no more of what major form of wild mammal around Rosewood?
75. For what reason were palm trees particularly common around Rosewood and Sumner?
76. What card game was played predominantly at the Sumner Jook (not poker or blackjack)?
77. How did the Rosewood jook differ?

QUESTION	ANSWER	SOURCE
78. On what scholar's authority do most etymologies of the word "jook" rest?		
79. What other words used in Rosewood suggest African origins?		
80. What other location outside the United States, besides Africa, is said by survivors to have been a major influence on their heritage?		
81. What was a "white horse"?		
82. At what times of day did the Sumner work whistle blow, and what bearing did this have on the beginning of the Rosewood violence?		
83. Who was arguably the most prosperous African American resident of Sumner?		
84. Why?		
85. Who were the women in Rosewood who worked in Sumner?		
86. What were their respective occupations?		
87. What bearing did these occupations have on the violence?		
88. Where, in relation to the Rosewood depot, did Jonathan Griffin live?		
89. How did Hardee Davis's wife escape the Rosewood violence?		
90. Who did Virginia Smith desert as she fled?		

91. What young Rosewood mother defended her home with a garden hoe on January 5?
92. What Rosewood "Older Head" refused to leave and guarded his home with a gun?
93. Who returned to Cedar Key with mutilated souvenirs?
94. What occupations were most heavily represented among whites who verifiably attacked Rosewood?
95. What precipitating event in late 1922 helped bring whites to the Rosewood violence from across the Suwannee River?
96. What was Wesley Bradley's relationship with the Suwannee River bridge?
97. When and why did this relationship end?
98. Who in Rosewood owned automobiles?
99. What was the structure of the telephone network that spread information about the Rosewood violence to other towns?
100. What previous experience did Sheriff Elias Walker have with mob violence?
101. What tensions existed between Poly Wilkerson and Clarence Williams?
102. Was Poly Wilkerson a lawman as stated by white witnesses?

103. What white residents of the Rosewood area--besides John Wright--are said to have hidden black refugees from the mob?
104. What resident of Rosewood hid from the mob in, successively, a cypress pond and a laundry cart?
105. Which administrators at Sumner defied the mob?
106. What evidence exists directly linking the Rosewood violence to the Ku Klux Klan?
107. Through what individual Klan members?
108. Who is said to have murdered Mingo Williams?
109. For what motive?
110. What was the connection of Starke, Florida, to the Rosewood violence?
111. Of Potter, Georgia?
112. Of Phoenix Park in Jacksonville?
113. How many houses in Rosewood were left standing after the violence, and to whom did they belong?
114. What is the evidence for and against the presence of military or paramilitary personnel at the Rosewood violence?
115. What Florida law enforcement organization is implicated in furthering murder at the Rosewood violence?

QUESTION

ANSWER

SOURCE

116. Which press article of 1993 has presented information that is verifiably false--if not falsified--with regard to Ku Klux Klan involvement at Rosewood?
117. What hallucinatory symptom was displayed by a member of the Hall family as she fled?
118. Which witnesses have said or implied that Fannie Taylor's back fence was broken down in the initial attack?
119. Who has said the opposite?
120. Which residents of Rosewood did Victor Johnson see after Thursday night?
121. What was the significance of the Sumner community center during Jan. 5-6, 1923?
122. List the following by race:
- John Griffin
 - Elizabeth Smith
 - Henry Odom
 - Johnny Screen
 - Hamp King
 - John Hall
 - C.B. Hall
 - Sam King
 - Sam Hall
 - Sebie Fersener
 - Ira Carter
 - Sam Carter
123. What was one of the chief distortions of press accounts about Rosewood in mainstream dailies in 1923?

QUESTION	ANSWER	SOURCE
124. What was the principal distinguishing feature of George Bradley?		
125. What cure for whooping cough was used on Eloise King?		
126. What cause for bitterness had existed between Sam King and Will Ingram?		
127. What was John McCoy's principal cash crop?		
128. What black resident of Rosewood had been a law enforcement officer?		
129. How many two-story homes were in Rosewood?		
130. Who kept an ear in his pocket?		
131. Whose ear was it?		
132. How was Suzie White killed?		
133. What two African American men were the founders in Rosewood of the main kinship groups existing in 1923?		
134. What racial atrocity case in early 1923 pushed Rosewood off the front pages of some newspapers?		
135. Which residents of Rosewood were soldiers in World War I?		
136. What events in Sumner and Tampa during World War I showed a predisposition among whites to conspiracy delusions about blacks?		
137. What is the evidence that the Chicago Defender's story about Ted Cole and Rosewood is not true?		

138. What are other documented instances of fabrication of news stories by the Chicago Defender?
 139. What news organization sent a photography crew to Rosewood in 1923?
 140. What was the probable place of employment of the main author of dispatches about the Rosewood violence during Jan. 1-7, 1923 (not the Associated Press)?
 141. For what similar reasons had both Stephen Hall and Charlie Goins left Rosewood?
 142. Where had Rita Carrier been imprisoned?
 143. What was the single most noted cause of death among males from Rosewood?
 144. Who was superintendent of the Rosewood school?
 145. What schoolteacher had become a resident of Rosewood by 1923?
 146. Who slept in the upper story of Nettie Joyner's house?
 147. How many black-owned stores had existed in Rosewood?
 148. How did the mail-order boom after 1895 create cash employment in Rosewood?
 149. How did Nader Bradley lose his eye?
 150. What became of Sylvester Carrier?
-

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

September 27, 1993

Maxine Jones, Ph.D.
Co-Director
The Rosewood Investigative Team
Department of History
Belamy Building
Florida State University
Tallahassee Florida 32306

Dear Dr. Jones:

Enclosed please find summaries of taped material I hold relating to the violence at Rosewood, Florida, in 1923.

The sheets on Jason McElveen and George Zarur are of a different nature from sheets on core witness tapes, but are germane to the total picture of evidence. McElveen and Zarur do testify on audio tapes I hold, so I included them here.

In addition, I hold a great deal more information taken as notes from witnesses and such contemporary records as exist. Although the official records from 1923 are meager, the endeavor of cross-referencing them with a large volume of witness testimony has brought gratifying results.

Your September 10 letter also requested that I send "requirements regarding compensation for your research,--to date, compiled."

Pursuant to that end, would you advise me of budgetary constraints on the Investigative Team and on your meaning of "compiled." Please feel free to notify me by collect phone call if necessary.

Original contacts from the committee expressed intent that I be hired as a consultant, which would seem inevitable, for the true picture of Rosewood cannot be ascertained without putting in the years of work that I have done, and the Investigative Team must report by November 22. The \$50,000 plus additional university funds allocated would certainly seem to be for such uses.

If the Team does still plan to pursue this course, then this must be factored in with any bill I present. Particularly since so little time is available, it seems that the Investigative Team must partake of my consultation if it is to interpret the voluminous materials I have amassed.

You have in hand my response to your request for information that demonstrates in detail why my physical presence in Florida is to be desired.

A compiled description of what my research shows does, of course, appear in the Tropic magazine article of March 7, 1993, to which your letter referred. Naturally I assume that the Team, after spending half its allotted time gathering newspaper articles, possesses a copy of this article, which is the only definitive account.

If by compiled research you mean detailed analysis of my sources for each fact and event cited in the Tropic story, perhaps we can quickly reach agreement as to how such analysis can be finalized and compensated.

However there is much more in my research into the Rosewood events and life in Rosewood before 1923--two subjects the Investigative Team is mandated to explore--than a general interest magazine article could display. I had hoped my knowledge in this direction could also be explored.

By phone Dr. Rogers mentioned his conviction, after seeing my questionnaire about life in Rosewood, that many of the names I included there must be "plants"--that is, false information placed to test knowledge. In fact the only main plant was the one I pointed out to him in advance (Mingo Williams did not live in Rosewood; he lived in Bronson). The other names and events in the questionnaire represent critical aspects of Rosewood that seemed completely new to Dr. Rogers because he knows Rosewood only through 1923 press accounts. To dismiss Rosewood's real residents as "plants" is to traduce victims who for decades were trivialized and shunted aside. 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 beyond anyone's reasonable doubt.

Unfamiliarity with this data demonstrates that knowing Rosewood is possible only through painstaking encounters with witnesses--and certainly not through 1923 newspaper articles laced with such gloating references as "Sylvester Carrier, negro desperado" and "the hut" (referring to a two-story house with a parlor piano). Such 1923 articles (The Washington Post and The Chicago Defender are cited in the two references above) took no interest in the real life of Rosewood. Dr. Rogers expressed bafflement as to why one Rosewood fatality was named by the newspapers as "Bertha Carrier." This was simply because white mainstream newspapers felt no compulsion to verify even minor details with regard to African American communities: the real Bertha Carrier had moved from Rosewood to Hawthorne, Florida, before the 1923 violence. The newspapers were in fact referring to Sarah Carrier, Bertha's aunt.

Without voluminous acquaintance with Rosewood as revealed in witness testimony, the Investigative Team cannot make responsible assessment of these matters.

But on a happier note:

By phone with Dr. Rogers on September 25, I expressed reluctance to provide the names of living witnesses to the committee until full formal arrangements specifying my relation to the committee had been finalized, as I believe might have been done in August when the RFP was approved.

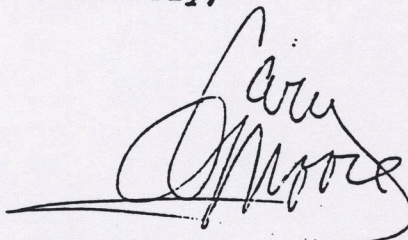
However I feel now that time is running short in this extremely important work, and in the spirit of cooperation I have provided names and summaries for all witnesses, both living and deceased, who appear on my audio tapes (with the exception of a few whose information is tangential and of little presumable interest to the Investigative Team, since even main testimony still remains to be analyzed).

Following anthropological usage, and in situations that preclude tape recording, I have recorded many other witnesses in notes rather than on tape. As I previously wrote to the Investigative Team, I have interviewed at least 82 witnesses in all, including eyewitnesses and collateral witnesses. My Tropic article makes that clear. I will summarize this material too if necessary but I think that beforehand it is long past time for formal arrangements to be made.

It is a bit coy for the Investigative Team to stipulate that I must sign an agreement requiring that I receive no outside compensation as an expert witness before the Team says whether I will receive \$10 or \$10,000 for materials I have amassed over a time period far exceeding the time that will be spent by the Investigative Team.

All of this could have been handled in a single phone conversation with a followup letter in August. Why it didn't is beyond my understanding.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gary Moore". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Gary Moore

EDITH FOSTER

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore, with typed transcripts

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date recorded</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Edith Foster	4/14/83	Edith Surls	16	Sumner

Status

Direct Eyewitness, adolescent
Collateral witness

General Subjects

The life of Rosewood prior to 1923
The destruction of Rosewood in 1923

Testimony covers

Shooting of Lexie Gordon
Destruction of King house
Shooting of James Carrier
Confrontation with Sylvester Carrier
Whites who sheltered black refugees
Shooting of C.P. Wilkerson
Names of Riot Participants
Structures Left in Rosewood after violence
Structures in Rosewood before violence
Florida Boom as background to violence
Churches in Rosewood
Manhunt for Jesse Hunter
Shooting of Sam Carter
Biography of Sam Carter
Masonic belief as background to violence
Physical layout of Sumner
Biography of James and Fannie Taylor
Attack on Fannie Taylor
Corroborating opinion of witness Elizabeth Smith
Looting of Rosewood during the violence
Racial attitudes in Sumner
Ku Klux Klan activity in Levy County in 1920s
Making of coffins for Rosewood victims
Residents of Rosewood who had left by 1923
Number of fatalities from violence
Beliefs among whites about uprisings
Orientation of presentday Rosewood to 1923 site

SAM HALL

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore, with typed transcripts

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date recorded</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Sam Hall	4/25/83 4/27/83	same	16	Rosewood

Status

Direct Eyewitness, adolescent
Collateral witness

General Subjects

The life of Rosewood prior to 1923
The destruction of Rosewood in 1923

Testimony covers

Manhunt for Jesse Hunter
Capture of Aaron Carrier
Biography of Sylvester Carrier
Dynamics of racial tensions Jan. 1-5, 1923
Confrontation with Sylvester Carrier
Residents of Rosewood
Shooting of James Carrier
~~Detailed list of houses in Rosewood in 1923~~
List of fatalities of the violence
Biography of Sam Carter
Participants in the violence
Destruction of the Carrier house
Biography of Henry Andrews
Shooting of Elias Carrier
Churches in Rosewood
Goins Bros. Turpentine in Rosewood
Hall family history
School in Rosewood
Stores and credit in Rosewood
Whites who helped the refugees
The question of James Hall
Making of coffins for victims of violence
History of race relations in Rosewood
Pursuit of refugees by whites
Disposition of Rosewood land after 1923
Events on January 5-6, 1923
Biography of the Wright family

MINNIE LANGLEY

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore, with typed transcripts

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date recorded</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Minnie Langley	4/23/83	Minnie Mitchell	11	Rosewood
	4/27/83			

Status

Direct Eyewitness, child
Collateral witness

General Subjects

The life of Rosewood prior to 1923
The destruction of Rosewood in 1923

Testimony covers

Manhunt for Jesse Hunter
Capture of Aaron Carrier
Confrontation with Sylvester Carrier
Flight from the violence
Carrier family history
~~Attempts to recover lands after violence~~
Separation of families by the violence
Land ownership in Rosewood
Shooting of James Carrier
Dynamics of racial tensions Jan. 1-5, 1923
List of persons in Carrier house
Fatalities of the violence
Convict activity leading up to 1923
Shooting of Ruben Mitchell
Corroborating opinion of witness Eloise King
Churches in Rosewood
Contents of Emma Carrier's house
Kinship ties in Rosewood
Fatalities among whites at the violence

FRED KIRKLAND

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore, with typed transcripts

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date recorded</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Fred Kirkland	4/1/83	same	14	Geiger Creek (Sumner)

Status

Direct eyewitness, adolescent
Collateral witness

General Subjects

Events of January 1-7, 1923
in Rosewood and Sumner
Racial tensions and underlying
causes of the violence

Testimony Covers

Manhunt for Jesse Hunter
Presence of governmental representatives during violence
Participants in the violence
Shooting of Sam Carter
Biography of C.P. Wilkerson
Confrontation with Sylvester Carrier
Capture of Aaron Carrier
Tensions between mob and sheriff's department
Physical layout of Sumner
Sheltering of refugees by whites
Tensions between Cummer Lumber and mob
~~Shooting of James Carrier~~
History of Rosewood

ELIZABETH SMITH

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Elizabeth Smith	same	29	Sumner

Status

Direct eyewitness, adult
Collateral witness

General Subjects

Events of January 1-7, 1923
in Rosewood and Sumner
Racial tensions and underlying
causes of the violence

Testimony Covers

Attack on Fannie Taylor
Biography of Fannie Taylor before and after violence
hunt for Jesse Hunter
Efforts to hide refugees from mob
Corporate policy of Cummer Lumber toward the violence
Fatalities of the violence
Racial attitudes in Sumner
Work connections between Taylors and Carriers
Biography of Sarah Carrier

JAMES TURNER

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
James Turner	same	14	Bronson

Former Levy County Sheriff
Former President, Florida Sheriff's Association

Status
Direct eyewitness, adolescent
Collateral witness

General Subjects
Events of January 1-7, 1923
in Rosewood and Sumner
Mass^ggrave

Testimony Covers

Details of events during visit with his father to the scene of the
Rosewood violence on Friday, January 5, 1923, with eyewitness account
of the location of and number of persons in the mass grave in Rosewood.

Shooting of Mingo Williams in Bronson with names of alleged perpetrators

WILLY EVANS

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary MooreZ

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Willy Evans	same	15	Rosewood

Status

Direct eyewitness, adolescent
Collateral witness

General Subjects

Events of January 1-7, 1923
in Rosewood
Life of Rosewood prior to 1923

Testimony Covers

Physical layout of Rosewood
Economic and agricultural picture of Rosewood
History of the Edwards family
inship ties in Rosewood
Manhunt for Jesse Hunter
Shooting of Sam Carter
Confrontation with Sylvester Carrier
Shooting of Elias Carrier
Flight from Rosewood
Protection of residences from the violence
List of persons believed to have been killed in violence
who in fact survived
Detailed refutation of numerous beliefs held by persons
who had been children during the violence or who were
descendants
Capture of Aaron Carrier
School in Rosewood
Conflicts within Rosewood
Disposition of Rosewood land ownership after 1923

LONNIE CARROL

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Lonnie Carrol	Lonnie Carrier	13	Rosewood

Status

Direct eyewitness, adolescent
Collateral witness

General Subjects

Destruction of Rosewood
Life in Rosewood prior to 1923

Testimony Covers

History of the Carrier family
Killing of James Carrier
Flight from Rosewood
Confrontation with Sylvester Carrier
Belief structures about the violence
Help from neighbors extended to refugees
Physical layout of Rosewood

JOHN YEARTY

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
John Yearty	same	12	Otter Creek

Former Levy County Commissioner

Status

Direct eyewitness, child
Collateral witness

General Subjects

Destruction of Rosewood
Life in Rosewood prior to 1923

Testimony Covers

Departure of Henry Andrews for Rosewood
Biography of Henry Andrews
History of Rosewood
Race relations in Otter Creek/Rosewood/Cedar Key
Official involvement in the violence
Shooting of Sam Carter
Biography of Sam Carter
Underlying competition as cause for the violence
Attitudes of the mob during the violence
Spreading of the violence to other communities
Arrival of participants from a large radius
Confrontation at the Carrier house
Economic life in work camps and company towns
Convict practices in 1923 Levy County
Churches in Rosewood
Physical appearance of Rosewood just after the destruction

ELOISE DAVIS

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Eloise Davis	Eloise King	8	Rosewood

Status

Direct eyewitness, child
Collateral witness

General Subjects

Destruction of Rosewood
Life in Rosewood prior to 1923
Racial tensions and underlying
causes of the violence

Testimony Covers

Manhunt for Jesse Hunter
Economic life of Rosewood
Biography of the King family
Shooting of Lexie Gordon
Destruction of the King residence
Flight from Rosewood
Corporate policy of Cummer Lumber toward the violence
Sheltering of refugees by neighbors
Separation of families by the violence
Disposition of land ownership in Rosewood after 1923
Confrontation with Sylvester Carrier
Underlying competition contributing to the violence
Physical layout of Rosewood
List of persons who survived the violence
Traumatic effects of the violence
Efforts by survivors to recover
Official secrecy covering the violence
Presence of uniformed governmental representatives during the violence

JOHN SCREEN

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
John Screen	same	born just afterward	Otter Creek

Status

Collateral witness, son of Lizzie Screen who as an adult fled
the Rosewood violence, losing her home

General Subjects

Destruction of Rosewood as told by survivors
Life in Rosewood prior to 1923
Effects of the violence on families

Testimony Covers

Flight from Rosewood
Physical layout of Rosewood
Screen-Hayward family history
Confrontation with Sylvester Carrier
List of persons who survived the violence
Emotional effects of the violence
Life in Florida work camps
Evolving belief structures about the violence

FRANK COBURN

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tapes recorded by Gary Moore

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Frank Coburn	same	22	Cedar Key

Status

Direct eyewitness, adult
Collateral witness

General Subjects

Destruction of Rosewood
Life in Rosewood prior to 1923

Testimony Covers

Cedar Key contingent of whites who helped destroy Rosewood
Destruction of the Carrier house
Discovery of adult male corpse in Rosewood
Behavior and beliefs of mob during the violence
Beliefs in Cedar Key about African American uprising
History of Rosewood and departure of white residents
Economic history of Rosewood/Cedar Key area
Emotional effects of the violence on mob members

JASON MCELVEEN

Witness testimony pertaining to
the destruction of Rosewood, Florida, January 1-7, 1923

Audio Tape recorded by the Cedar Key Historical Society

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name in 1923</u>	<u>Age in 1923</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Jason McElveen	same	28	Summer

Status

Direct eyewitness, adult
Collateral witness

*Give Mr. Moore
this tape
Dye*

Note

This cryptic tape, in the most part inaudible and made under conditions never satisfactorily explained, contains fragments of some of the least credible portions of McElveen's testimony.

In the main, the only usefulness of this tape is as corroboration of much more detailed notes taken by myself from the same subject, Jason McElveen, on occasions much earlier than this tape was recorded, and having no relation to the circumstances of this tape recording.

I am aware that the committee possesses a copy of this tape, as Mr. Dye was good enough to give me a copy, which I have played with great interest.

However it is not appropriate material for use in genuine investigation. It would be useful only in the credulous purveyance of myth for reasons of personal gain. The great bulk of information on the tape has disappeared, leaving questions as to whether there was purposeful erasure or other manipulation, in order that the remainder might be ambiguous enough not to conflict with some scenario that was deemed presentable.

The context of the few sentences that emerge from the strange static on the tape is not clear. Transcripts available to the committee will underscore that reference to this tape as supposed verification of real events would constitute delusion if not deception.