

## **Shadows in the Sunshine: Race and Ethnicity in Miami**

By Raymond A. Mohl

Few places have captured the American imagination so completely and so consistently during the twentieth century as have Miami and South Florida. Although a raw tropical frontier at the turn of the century, Miami was soon turned into a tourist spot of some renown as a result of the railroad building and urban boosterism of Henry Flagler. With typical promotional hype, Flagler established a newspaper in 1896, calling it the *Miami Metropolis*; Miami was barely three months old and had about 300 residents at the time. By 1913, when Flagler died, Miami was not yet a metropolis, but it had become a thriving town of 11,000 permanent citizens and about 125,000 annual tourists. Across the bay, Carl Fisher, the "Fabulous Hoosier," was building up Miami Beach as a rival tourist destination, using sensational publicity and promotional activities to grab the national spotlight. Not far away, George Merrick was developing and, with some help from William Jennings Bryan, selling exclusive lots in the planned "City Beautiful," Coral Gables. As one writer observed in 1916 in the midst of all this activity, "Florida is the native home, the birthplace, the congenial atmosphere, the permanent abiding place of the booster." The incredible South Florida real estate boom of the 1920s, and then the disastrous bust, kept the national attention focused on Miami, the "Magic City."<sup>1</sup>

### **Miami's Public Image**

The pattern of image making continued in successive decades. In 1936, in an article entitled "Paradise Regained," *Fortune* magazine reported that "today Miami is one of the most fantastic cities of the Western Hemisphere." The article never fully substantiated that statement, and even admitted that Miami's "only salable product" was its

---

Dr. Raymond A. Mohl is Professor of History and Chairman of the Department at Florida Atlantic University. A specialist on American urban and social history, he is currently completing a scholarly book on the history of race and ethnicity in twentieth century Miami.

climate; but it is clear that the *Fortune* piece was referring to the city's ability to maintain its resort glitter even in the depths of the Great Depression. By the 1930s, Miami's resort image was firmly implanted in the American media, if not in widespread public perceptions. When people thought of Miami and South Florida, they could hardly help but think of perpetual sunshine and wide sandy beaches and gentle ocean breezes, of Gulf Stream and golf course, of race tracks and polo matches, of the rich and famous and infamous cavorting in what even mobster Al Capone proclaimed to be the "Garden of America."<sup>2</sup>

This public imagery hardly changed in the 1940s and 1950s. According to Miami journalist Henning Heldt, by the late 1940s the multifarious attractions of Miami and Miami Beach drew a "circle of celebrities, who, for a few brief weeks each winter, [gave] this point on the map as cosmopolitan a population as ever gathered anywhere. The political great, the sinister characters of the underworld, business tycoons and those born to wealth, the current stars of stage, screen, and radio, and those struggling on their way up, all find their way sooner or later to Miami and Miami Beach." For journalist Heldt of the *Miami Herald*, the incongruities of the 1940s were fascinating and delightful: "Winston Churchill visits in a North Bay Road home not far from Al Capone's Palm Island refuge," he wrote. Politicians, labor leaders and entertainers "rub elbows at the same racetracks. Puerto Rican sugar millionaires play at the same beach clubs as dime-store heiresses. Wives of Latin American political exiles mingle with society leaders from Oshkosh, Toledo, and Trenton. President Herbert Hoover fishes in the same waters as a Chicago Democratic ward boss."<sup>3</sup>

In the 1950s, the long-established pattern of Miami imagery persisted. With the advent of television, Miami became instantaneously synonymous with Arthur Godfrey and Jackie Gleason, who despite different TV faces shared an affection for the good life in the sunbelt before Americans had ever heard that term. But there was also a darker side to South Florida. In the 1920s, prohibition had created new opportunities for rum-runners from Cuba and the Bahamas. Gambling and racketeering became integral aspects of the Miami tourist industry in the 1930s, and organized crime became well-entrenched. By the 1950s, knowledgeable folk knew that Meyer Lansky and company lurked in the background, ran the lucrative rackets, and bought up beachfront hotels to legitimize their activities. For most Americans, Miami

continued to appear a glitzy resort capital, but for locals in the know the tourist playground image was admittedly losing some of its luster.<sup>4</sup>

### The New Miami

A new ingredient was added to the old Miami image at the end of the 1950s. The success of Fidel Castro's ragtag revolutionaries unleashed a massive wave of Cuban exiles, almost 600,000 between 1959 and 1973, most of whom settled in Miami and who gradually began to change Miami into a bilingual, multicultural city. Thus, a new Miami, and a new kind of national imagery, began to emerge side by side with the old--a city of exile newcomers soon putting down more permanent roots and living out the American Dream, but also a city of militant anticommunists, many of whom inhabited the dark, shadowy world of the CIA and international intrigue.<sup>5</sup>

The two separate Miami's coexisted uneasily through the 1960s and 1970s. In retrospect, the place was experiencing enormous social, economic, and cultural change during those years, although for the most part the political structure of the area remained in old, familiar hands. And so it went until 1980, an incredible year in which Miami once again exploded into the national consciousness. Nineteen-eighty was the year of the Liberty City riots, a rage of black ghetto violence that harked back to the racial disorders of urban America in the 1960s. In the same year, Americans watched with fascination the exodus to Miami of 125,000 new exiles from the Cuban harbor of Mariel. During the same period, some 50,000 or more Haitian boat people washed up on South Florida beaches in rickety, overcrowded sailboats, some dying in the surf almost within reach of their goal. The irony of these separate events could not be missed. Miami's blacks were burning down their neighborhoods; Liberty City had become a symbol of hopelessness and despair. But for the new Cuban and Haitian exiles and refugees, Miami loomed up as a symbol of freedom and hope for the future, a place to build new and better lives.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that each of these events was televised nightly over several months into the living rooms of America brought South Florida, and Miami, especially, to national prominence once again. And the attention continued into the decade of the 1980s, with more riots, more refugees, bitterly divisive ethnic politics, high rates of crime, murder, and drug-dealing, even an enormously popular television series celebrating Miami's attributes, such as they are (and I am not talking about

"The Golden Girls"). Books on Miami by T. D. Allman, David Rieff, Joan Didion and Edna Buchanan, as well as prominent articles in *Newsweek*, *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times Magazine*, and other nationally distributed publications kept the American fascination with Miami alive in 1987 and 1988. Miami, in short, has been a long-standing media event of tremendous interest through the twentieth century.<sup>7</sup>

### **The Hidden History of Black Miami**

The problem for historians, of course, is that imagery and symbolism only partially represent reality, or perhaps even distort reality considerably. The national preoccupation with Miami and South Florida, as just described, generally was based on images filtered through the newsreels, the movies, the gossip columns, the promotional extravaganzas, the television cameras, and the print media. Because perceptions of South Florida have for so long been shaped by such popular imagery, it has been difficult to get beyond widespread public belief to the underlying historical reality.

One aspect of that hidden reality can be uncovered by exploring the history of Miami's black community. Blacks have always made up a substantial portion of the Miami area population, but until the ghetto riots of the 1960s and the more recent Liberty City riot of 1980, they were segregated out of the widespread popular image of the place. In fact, however, there is a third Miami--black Miami--whose hidden history has never been fully explored. And when the tourist images and promotional extravaganzas were being created, black Miami was shuffled off into the shadows. The remainder of this paper will seek to establish some alternative images of Miami--the black Miami--images based not on fantasy but on the hard realities of black life in a Deep South state before the end of official segregation.

### **Black Immigrants and Racism**

Miami is generally thought of as a new immigrant city, but the fact is that Miami and South Florida have always had a magnetic attraction for peoples of the Caribbean. Black immigrants from the Bahamas, in particular, gave immigration to Miami its special character in the early years of the twentieth century. As the building of Miami began after the mid-1890s, Bahamian blacks were attracted to South Florida by work



**Bahamian families gathered in Coconut Grove for a group photo. (Munroe Collection)**

opportunities in housing and railroad construction, the citrus and vegetable industries, and service jobs in tourist hotels and restaurants. Some were migrant laborers, coming to Florida six months of each year, but others settled permanently and began building a black ethnic community. By 1920, almost 5,000 black islanders, almost all from the Bahamas, made up fifty-two percent of Miami's black community and over sixteen percent of the city's entire population. At that time, Miami had a larger population of black immigrants than any other city in the United States except New York.<sup>8</sup>

Like the European immigrants who were pouring through Ellis Island in the early twentieth century, the Bahamians came to Florida seeking economic opportunity and a better life. What they found was not always what they had anticipated. Doubtless there was economic opportunity for most, since the Bahamian economy had little vitality. But going to Florida had its costs. One early twentieth-century

Bahamian immigrant interviewed by Ira Reid for his 1939 book, *The Negro Immigrant*, reported his disenchantment with conditions in Miami:

Having passed the immigration and customs examiners, I took a carriage for what the driver called "Nigger Town." This was the first time I had heard that opprobrious epithet employed . . . I was vividly irked no little. Arriving in Colored Town, I alighted from the carriage in front of an unpainted, poorly-ventilated rooming house where I paid \$2.00 for a week's lodging. Already, I was rapidly becoming disillusioned. How unlike the land where I was born. There colored men were addressed as gentlemen; here, as "niggers." There policemen were dressed in immaculate uniforms, carried no deadly weapon, save a billy; here, shirt-sleeved officers of the law carried pistols, smoked and chewed tobacco on duty. Colored Miami certainly was not the Miami of which I had heard. It was a filthy backyard to the Magic City.<sup>9</sup>

While the Bahamians found economic opportunity in Florida, they also encountered segregation and white racism for the first time. As early as 1898, for instance, one Bahamian labor migrant in Miami petitioned Queen Victoria for protection against lynching and injustice: "We live in fear of mob violence from the Southern white element at all times arising from the old curse of slavery." Police brutality directed at blacks quickly emerged as a long-standing matter of concern among Bahamians in Miami. In 1907, islanders complained to British Ambassador James Bryce about unwarranted police shootings of Bahamians in Key West and Miami. Bryce urged the Foreign Office to investigate, but candidly admitted that "there seems no doubt that the aggressors were whites and the victims blacks and, in such cases, little hope can be entertained of getting justice in certain Southern States." In such states as Florida," Bryce wrote, "where colored people are not treated with much consideration, such cases frequently occur." During a subsequent investigation in 1908, a British consular official reported that in Florida "it is a common occurrence for negroes to be shot" by police while allegedly evading arrest.<sup>10</sup>

Twenty years later, in 1927, a Miami police shooting of a Bahamian after a traffic arrest produced an international incident in which the British government demanded compensation for the victim's family. Miami police claimed that the Bahamian, Erskine Nemo, pointed a

revolver at an officer, while another policeman shot him from a distance of ten feet. But medical evidence showed that Nemo's wounds angled downward from his shoulder, leading one very skeptical attorney to suggest that "in order to have inflicted them from a distance of ten feet, the policeman would have been obliged to be twenty-five feet tall."<sup>11</sup>

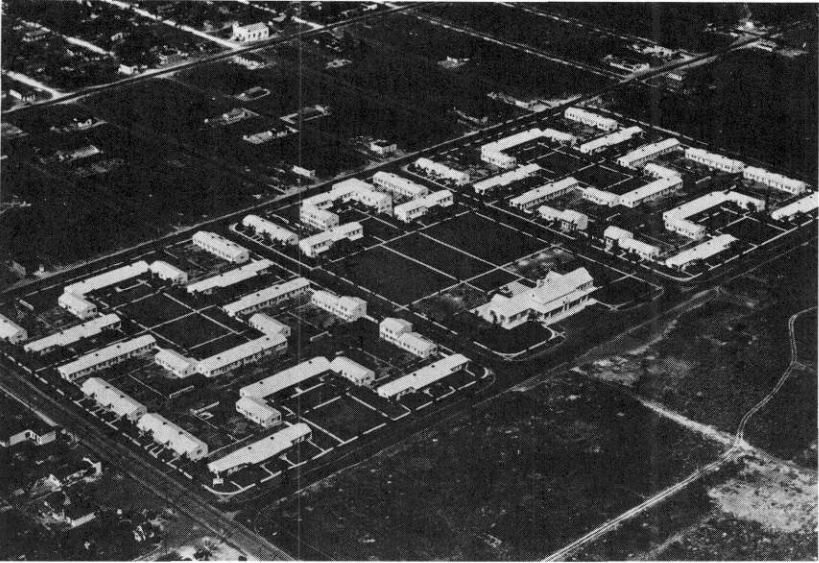
The ubiquitous pattern of police harassment of Miami blacks is also reported by actor Sidney Poitier in his autobiography, *This Life*. The son of Cat Island tomato farmers, Poitier arrived in Miami as a fifteen-year-old boy in 1943. He was dismayed by the white racism he encountered in the land of opportunity, and he survived several frightful encounters with both the Ku Klux Klan and the Miami police. As Poitier wrote, "I decided Miami wasn't so good for me when I began to run into its not so subtle pattern of racism." For early black immigrants to the Magic City, Miami's tourist playground image had little relevance or meaning.<sup>12</sup>

### **Building Liberty City--A New Ghetto**

Housing and neighborhood issues were matters of vital concern among Miami blacks. By the early 1930s, most of Miami's black population of about 25,000 was crowded into a small neighborhood of shacks and slums just northwest of the central business district known at the time as "Colored Town." Today it is called Overtown. Blacks were heavily concentrated in this shacktown because local policies of racial zoning meant that there were few other places in the Miami area where they were permitted to live. White business leaders, however, were interested in pushing out the boundaries of the relatively small, downtown business district at the expense of Miami's black community. In the mid-1930s, New Deal public housing programs provided the first such opportunity. A black public housing project named Liberty Square was completed in 1937 on undeveloped land five miles northwest of the center of Miami. The city's civic elite conceived of this development as the nucleus of a new black community that might siphon off the population of Overtown and permit downtown business expansion. The availability of federal housing funds mobilized the civic elite, who seized this opportunity to push the blacks out of the downtown area.<sup>13</sup>

Simultaneous efforts were under way at the same time to achieve the same goal. In 1936, for instance, the Dade County Planning Board proposed a "negro resettlement plan." The idea was to cooperate with the City of Miami "in removing [the] entire Central Negro town to three





**This aerial view of the newly built Liberty Square housing project demonstrates its isolation in Northwest Miami.**

Negro Park locations, and establishment there of three model negro towns." Located on the distant agricultural fringes west of Miami, the three proposed black towns would be served by "an exclusive negro bus line [linking] these negro areas to the heart of Miami," where blacks worked primarily in service jobs in the city's tourist economy. A year later, in a speech to the Miami Realty Board, Coral Gables developer George Merrick proposed "a complete slum clearance . . . effectively removing every negro family from the present city limits." As late as 1945, Miami civic leaders were still discussing "the creation of a new negro village that would be a model for the entire United States."<sup>14</sup>

These proposals were never implemented, but New Deal housing agencies such as the Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration contributed to changing racial patterns. Through their appraisal policies, both agencies "redlined" Miami's black community and nearby white areas of "transition," thus hastening the physical decay of the inter-city area. In fact, the Liberty Square housing project became the center of a new and rapidly growing blackghetto--the enormous, sprawling, fifteen-square-mile area now known as Liberty City. A tacit agreement among city and county officials, real estate developers, and some black leaders designated the northwest area of Miami for future black settlement. Previously confined to the limited



territory of Overtown, blacks rapidly pushed out the boundaries of Liberty City, sweeping into undeveloped areas as well as white working-class neighborhoods on the northern fringes of Miami. As in such cities as Chicago and Detroit, the racial turnover of existing neighborhoods in Miami was a process filled with tension and conflict over several decades. The process was often accompanied by white protest meetings, harassment of blacks, cross burnings, even shootings and bombings. In 1951, for instance, the decision of a private developer to rent apartments to blacks in a formerly all-white housing complex on the fringes of Liberty City touched off a wave of dynamitings at the site and throughout the Miami area.<sup>15</sup>

The effect of new public housing patterns and federal redlining was to hasten the physical decay of the city and strengthen the process of residential segregation. As a consequence, as several sociological studies have demonstrated, Miami had the highest degree of residential segregation by race of more than one hundred large American cities in 1940, 1950, and 1960. This was not a racial pattern that happened by accident, but one that reflected the controlled expansion of black



Typical Overtown street scene during the 1960s.



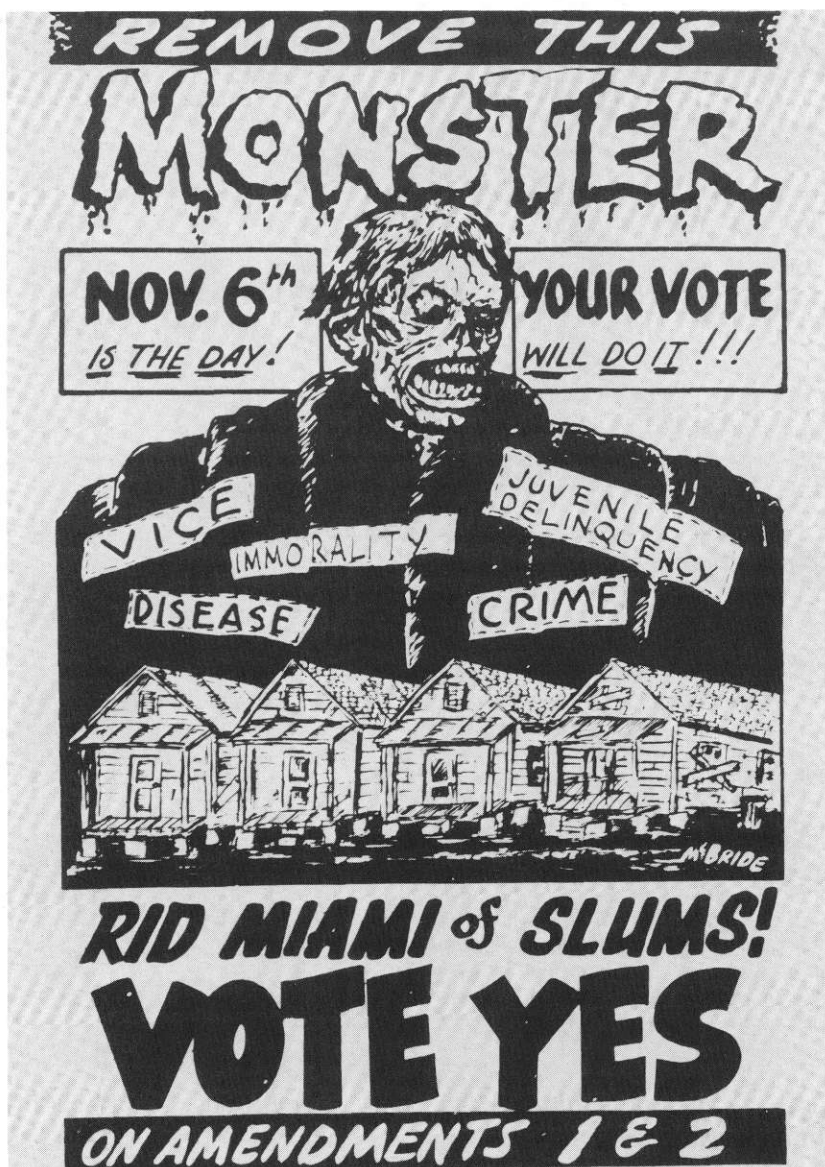
**A major interchange in what was the heart of Overtown. (Florida Department of Transportation)**

residential areas through most of that period. By 1970, Miami's "index of residential segregation" had improved somewhat compared to other Southern cities, but ninety-two percent of Miami blacks still lived in segregated neighborhoods. In 1980, after twenty-five years of civil rights activism in urban America, Miami still ranked near the top of a list of sixty metropolitan areas in the extent of black residential segregation.<sup>16</sup>

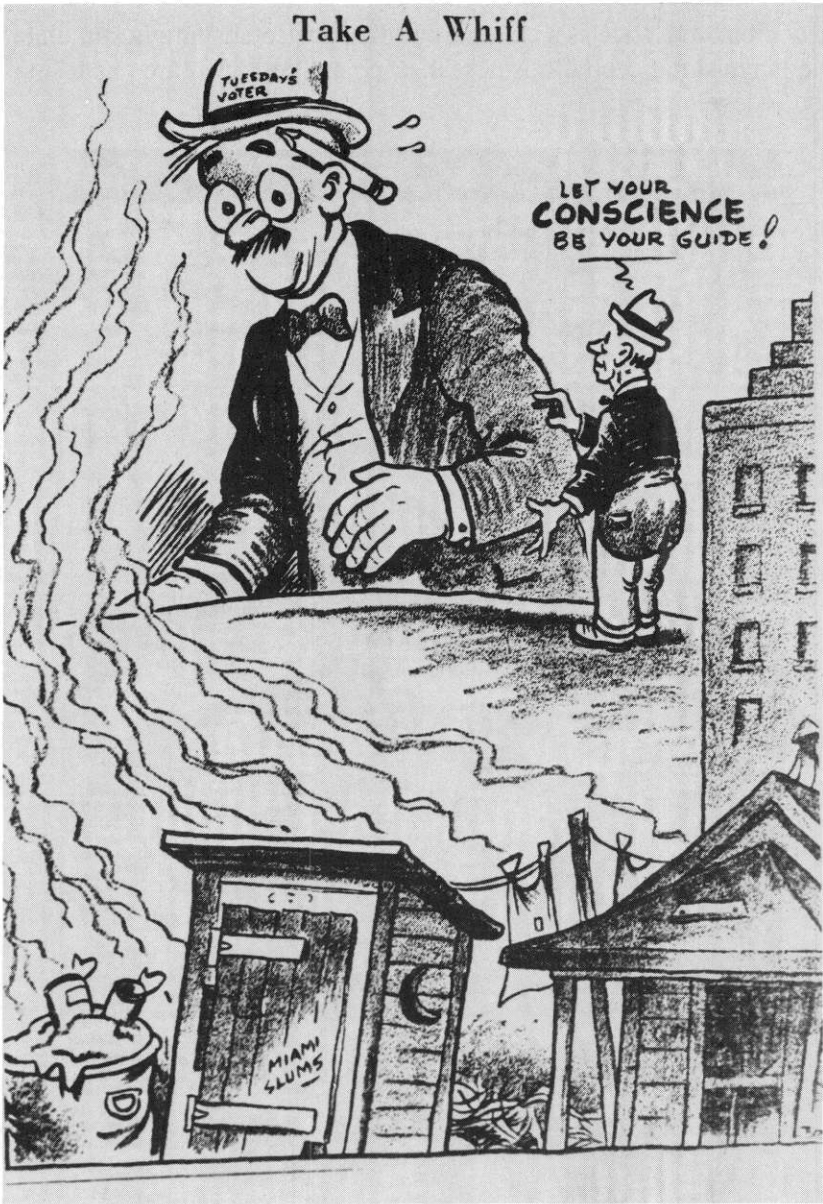
### **The Miami Expressway and Overtown**

Liberty City became the nucleus of a new black ghetto, as Miami's white business leaders of the 1930s anticipated. But their plans to eliminate Overtown--to move all the blacks out of Miami and beyond the city limits--were unsuccessful by the 1950s. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the federal interstate highway program provided a new opportunity to raze the Overtown community and push the blacks to more distant residential areas on the northwest fringe of the metropolitan area. At the same time, Miami's white civic leadership perceived the

new urban interstate as a massive building project that might stimulate the languishing central business district and permit future expansion and redevelopment.



Poster from the early 1950s advocating for public housing in Miami. (From the papers of Elizabeth Virrick)



Political cartoon from the *Miami News* in the 1950s, in support of slum clearance efforts.

In retrospect, it is clear that the construction of the interstate highway system has had an enormous impact in reorganizing and reshaping the spatial order of American metropolitan areas. In urban

areas across the nation, the interstates drove to the hearts of cities. In the process, they destroyed wide swaths of built-up urban land, often uprooting entire communities--usually black or working-class ethnic neighborhoods. By the mid-1960s, when interstate construction was well under way, it was generally believed that the new highway system would ultimately displace at least a million people from their homes. A general pattern developed of using highway construction to eliminate what were called "blighted" neighborhoods and to redevelop valuable inner-city land. In most big cities, the forced relocation of blacks and other low-income urbanites from inner-city housing triggered a spatial reorganization of residential neighborhoods throughout urban areas. As inner-city housing was destroyed, rising black population pressure meant that dislocated blacks began moving into neighborhoods of transition--formerly white districts on the fringes of the black ghetto where low-cost housing predominated. This process of residential movement and change underlay the creation of what historian Arnold S. Hirsch has called, in a study of post-war Chicago, the "second ghetto."<sup>17</sup>

The building of Interstate-95 in the Miami metropolitan area provides a devastating example of the human and social consequences of urban expressway construction. A 1955 plan for the Miami expressway, prepared by the Miami City Planning Department, routed a North-South Expressway along the Florida East Coast Railway corridor into downtown Miami-- a route that had little impact on housing in nearby Overtown. However, a new plan prepared in 1956 for the Florida State Road Department shifted the route to the west and directly through Overtown. Despite community objections, the new route was accepted by the road department and supported by various downtown Miami officials and groups like the Chamber of Commerce. Specifically, the Florida East Coast Railway right-of-way was rejected, as the planning documents stated, in order to provide "ample room of the future expansion for the central business district in a westerly direction."<sup>18</sup>

Consequently, the new expressway ripped through the center of Overtown, wiping out massive amounts of housing as well as Overtown's main business district--the business and cultural heart of black Miami. Some 40,000 blacks made Overtown home before the interstate came, but less than 10,000 now remain in an urban wasteland dominated by the expressway. One massive expressway interchange alone (I-95 and I-395) took up about twenty square blocks of densely settled land and destroyed the housing of about 10,000 people. By the end of the



expressway-building era, little remained of Overtown to recall its days as a thriving center of black community life, and when it was known as the Harlem of the South.<sup>19</sup>

The dislocation of blacks from Overtown also stimulated the growth of the second ghetto in Miami, as Liberty City began pushing out its boundaries into nearby white neighborhoods. Since the 1960s, a large corridor of black residential housing has emerged in the northwest quadrant of Dade County, reaching beyond Liberty City to Opa-locka and Carol City. The concentration of blacks in this area stemmed from the racial zoning and housing decisions of earlier decades. But it is also quite clear that the outflow of black population from Overtown after expressway construction and other urban development in the 1960s intensified the transformation of Miami's residential space.<sup>20</sup>

Expressway building through Overtown also left a legacy of mistrust and suspicion among Miami's black leaders. The story of what happened to Overtown has become part of the political folklore of black Miami. Black politicians and civic leaders regularly remind the white establishment of what they did to Overtown. "Overtown still bears the scars of the highway," a black city planner in Miami noted in 1981. T. Willard Fair, director of the Greater Miami Urban League, recalled in 1986 that "urban renewal and the coming of the expressway helped to destroy the community." The Reverend Bryan Walsh, director of the Catholic Services Bureau in Miami and a long-time activist in community relations, stated in a 1981 interview: "I believe that I-95 represents a sociological disaster for Miami. Many of the problems faced by the city today are traceable to I-95 and not to the refugee influx . . . . What is clear is that the planners had little understanding or concern for the human problems involved." As one *Miami Herald* reporter put it in 1983, "a whole generation of wary black leaders suspect the latest redevelopment plans are the final land grab in a long history of official deceit." The traumatic events of the expressway-building era have remained etched in the historic memory of black Miami.<sup>21</sup>

### Conclusion

This point brings us back to the national imagery with which this paper began. Buried beneath the avalanche of promotional extavaganzas and media attention and hyperbole, there have always been other Miamis. Black Miami has been hidden in the shadows, but it has always been an integral part of the real Miami. Until recently, there has never



been much hoopla in this city over police misconduct, housing discrimination affecting blacks, and public policy decisions such as expressway construction that uprooted entire communities. But it should be quite clear that such actions and such decisions have had an enormous impact in shaping the physical and social development of the Miami metropolitan area. As the events outlined here suggest, public perception and national imagery must be modified to account for and to incorporate the black Miami, as well as other Miamis created by Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and other newcomers to this sunbelt metropolis.

### Notes

1. L. H. Cammack, *What About Florida?* (Chicago: Land and Lee, Inc., 1916), 147. On Flagler's boosterism in Florida, see Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1949); David Leon Chandler, *Henry Flagler: The Astonishing Life and Times of the Visionary Robber Baron Who Founded Florida* (New York: Macmillan, 1986); and Edward N. Akin, *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron* (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1988). On Carl Fisher, see Jane Fisher, *Fabulous Hoosier: A Story of American Achievement* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Co., 1947); and Joe McCarthy, "The Man Who Invented Miami Beach," *American Heritage*, 27 (December, 1975), 64-71. On Merrick and Coral Gables, see Kathyne Ashley, *George E. Merrick and Coral Gables, Florida* (Coral Gables: Crystal Bay Publishers, 1985). On the Florida boom generally, see Victor Rainbolt, *The Town That Climate Built: The Story of the Rise of a City in the American Tropics* (Miami: Parker Art Printing Association, 1924); Stuart B. McIver, *The Greatest Sale on Earth: The Story of the Miami Board of Realtors, 1920-1980* (Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., 1980); David Nolan, *Fifty Feet in Paradise: The Booming of Florida* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1984); and John Rothchild, *Up for Grabs: A Trip Through Time and Space in the Sunshine State* (New York: Viking, 1985).

2. "Paradise Regained," *Fortune*, 13 (January, 1936), 35.

3. Henning Heldt, "Miami: Heaven or Honky-Tonk?" in Robert S. Allen, ed., *Our Fair City* (New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1947), 79.

4. *Ibid.*, 88-91; *Miami Herald*, May 4, 1955; "Miami: Mob Town, U.S.A.," *Newsweek* (February 13, 1967), 38-39; Hank Messick, *Syndicate in the Sun* (New York: Macmillan, 1968).

5. On the changes brought to Miami by the Cuban exodus, see Thomas D. Boswell and James R. Curtis, *The Cuban-American Experience: Culture, Images, and Perspectives* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld, 1983); Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 167-206; Raymond A. Mohl, "Miami: The Ethnic Cauldron," in Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice, eds., *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 58-99; Barry Levine, "The Capital of Latin America," *The Wilson Quarterly*, 9 (Winter 1985), 47-69; Joan Didion, *Miami* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

6. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Confronting Racial Isolation in Miami* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1982); Bruce Porter and Marvin Dunn, *The Miami Riot of 1980: Crossing the Bounds* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1984).

7. T. D. Allman, *Miami: City of the Future* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987); David Rieff, *Going to Miami: Exiles, Tourists, and Refugees in the New America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1987); Edna Buchanan, *The Corpse Had a Familiar Face: Covering Miami, America's Hottest Beat* (New York: Random House, 1987); David Rieff, "The Second Havana," *New Yorker*, 63 (May 18, 1987), 65-69; Robert Sherrill, "Can Miami Save Itself?" *New York Times Magazine* (July 19, 1987), 18-24; Tom Morganthau, et al., "Miami: America's Casablanca," *Newsweek* (January 25, 1988), 22-29.

8. On the Bahamian immigration generally, see Raymond A. Mohl, "Black Immigrants: Bahamians in Early Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 65 (January 1987), 271-297; Howard Johnson, "Bahamian Labor Migration to Florida in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *International Migration Review*, 22 (Spring 1988), 84-103.

9. Ira De A. Reid, *The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 189.

10. Charles A. Perpall to Queen Victoria, May 22, 1898, CO 23/251, Public Record Office, England; James Bryce to Edward Grey, June 21, 1907, CO 23/262, *ibid.*; Bryce to Grey, April 1, 1908, CO 23/264, *ibid.*; H. W. Kennard, "Report on Enquiry into the Circumstances of the Death of Robert Hulbert, a British Subject at Miami," March 29, 1908, CO 23/264, *ibid.*

11. *Nassau Tribune* (Bahamas), July 8, 1931.

12. Sidney Poitier, *This Life* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1980), 1, 36-52, quotation on 42-43.

13. Raymond A. Mohl, "Trouble in Paradise: Race and Housing in Miami During the New Deal Era," *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives*, 19 (Spring 1987), 7-21.

14. Dade County Planning Board Minutes, August 27, 1936, George E. Merrick Papers, Box 2, Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami, typescript; Dade County Planning Council, "Negro Resettlement Plan," 1937, National Urban League Papers, Part I, Series VI, Box 56, Library of Congress, mimeo; George E. Merrick, *Planning the Greater Miami for Tomorrow* (Miami: Miami Realty Board, 1937), 11; *Miami Herald*, April 5, 1945.

15. Mohl, "Trouble in Paradise," 14-20; Charles Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors: A Study of Prejudice in Housing* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), 120-136; Reinhold P. Wolff and David Gillogly, *Negro Housing in the Miami Area: Effects of the Postwar Housing Boom* (Coral Gables: University of Miami, 1951); Harold M. Rose, "Metropolitan Miami's Changing Negro Population, 1950-1960," *Economic Geography*, 40 (July 1964), 221-238.

16. Donald O. Cowgill, "Trends in Residential Segregation of Non-Whites in American Cities, 1940-1950," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February 1956), 43-47; Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), 39-41; Annemette Sorenson, et al., "Indexes of Racial Residential Segregation for 109 Cities in the United States, 1940-1970," *Sociological Focus*, 8 (1975), 125-142; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Trends in the Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians: 1970-1980," *American Sociological Review*, 52 (December 1987), 802-825; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Suburbanization and Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas," *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (November 1988), 592-626; *Miami Herald*, December 30, 1987.

17. National Commission on Urban Problems, *Building the American City* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 81; Thomas H. MacDonald, "The Case for Urban Expressways," *American City*, 62 (June 1947), 92-93; Thomas H. MacDonald, "The Interstate System in Urban Areas," May 16, 1950, mimeo, Thomas H. MacDonald Papers, U. S. Department of Transportation Library,

Washington, D.C. See also Arnold S. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and Mark I. Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 222-234.

18. Miami Planning and Zoning Board, *The Miami Long Range Plan: Report on Tentative Plan for Trafficways* (Miami: City of Miami, 1955); Wilbur Smith and Associates, *A Major Highway Plan for Metropolitan Dade County, Florida, Prepared for State Road Department of Florida and Dade County Commission* (New Haven: Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1956), 33-44.

19. Raymond A. Mohl, "Race and Space in the Modern City: Interstate-95 and the Black Community in Miami," paper presented at annual meeting of Organization of American Historians, Reno, Nevada, March 24, 1988.

20. *Psycho-Social Dynamics in Miami* (Coral Gables: Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1969), 531-554; Metro-Dade County Planning Department, *Mobility Patterns in Metropolitan Dade County, 1964-1969* (Miami: Metropolitan Dade County, 1970); Teresa Lenox, "Opa-locka: From Dream to Ghetto," graduate seminar paper, Florida Atlantic University, 1988; Metro-Dade County Planning Department, *Population Projections: Race and Hispanic Origin, Dade County, Florida, 1980-2000* (Miami: Metropolitan Dade County, 1987).

21. *Miami Herald*, November 29, 1983; *Miami Times*, March 20, June 5, 1986; interview with Rev. Bryan Walsh, December 23, 1981, interview conducted by Jennifer Braaten. See also Athalie Range, "Citizen Participation in the Metropolitan Transportation Planning Process," in U. S. Department of Transportation, *Metropolitan Transportation Planning Seminars: Miami, Florida, January 7-8, 1971* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Transportation, 1971), 39.