

# Black Miamians in *The Miami Metropolis*, 1896-1900

by Thomas F. Fleischmann

Before there was a city, there was *The Miami Metropolis*.<sup>1</sup> Its purpose was simple and clear: to insure the survival of the new settlement which rapidly sprung to life with the arrival of Henry M. Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway in April 1896.<sup>2</sup> Financed and encouraged by Flagler, the journal sought to attract new settlers and developers by sketching a tropical paradise and by focusing on civic, commercial, and social expansion.<sup>3</sup>

Just as the *Metropolis* reflected the effervescence of this new frontier city, it also mirrored racial attitudes present during the settlement's beginnings.<sup>4</sup> Since most of the new town was made up of Southerners, the newspaper's reporting implicitly portrayed blacks in a stereotypical fashion. In this respect, the *Metropolis* was not unique. Other newly established Miami institutions, saw blacks the same way.<sup>5</sup> Nationally, many Northern newspapers and literary magazines also displayed overt hostility toward blacks.<sup>6</sup>

From its inception, *The Miami Metropolis* had an ambiguous editorial policy toward blacks. Sometimes it espoused a sympathetic, although paternalistic attitude. This sentiment was



found in an article reprinted in the *Metropolis* from the *Atlanta Constitution*, entitled "A Black Mammy." The "black mammy" was an anonymous black woman who had been slave and servant to the Howard Family of Atlanta for her entire lifetime.<sup>7</sup>

The newspaper, however, also supported severe punishment for recalcitrant blacks. The city was a little less than a year old, on July 2, 1897, when the *Metropolis* carried news of a riot at Key West. Sylvanus Johnson, a 19-year-old black male, allegedly raped Mrs. Livingston Atwell, a white woman, while she and three of her friends were gathering flowers. She identified Johnson as her assailant, and he was jailed. That night, 25-30 men gathered with the intention of lynching Johnson, but failed because the jail keeper refused to cooperate. Key West blacks were outraged, but their outcry did not prevent a second try. On this occasion, the sheriff and an armed posse of black citizens thwarted the attempt, but a white man was killed as he approached the jail.<sup>8</sup>

While assessing these incidents, the *Metropolis* noted that the racial trouble was precipitated by C.B. Pendleton, founder, owner, and editorial manager of two Key West newspapers, the *Democrat* and the *Equato Ecuador*. Pendleton asked if there were not enough white men present to lynch Johnson. The *Metropolis* reported that this statement warned blacks of a possible lynching, giving them time to organize themselves to prevent it. "If Pendleton had remained silent," the *Metropolis* mused, "and a quiet meeting had been held in secret and arrangements perfected for a necktie party, it might have been accomplished with very little excitement."<sup>9</sup>

Realizing the potential destructiveness of such a confrontation for Miami, the *Metropolis* called for a military company or company of naval reservists to preserve order in case a similar incident occurred in Miami. "There is no telling," it reported, "at what moment some fiendish act similar to that perpetrated at Key West last week may occur in this city or vicinity and precipitate a race war."<sup>10</sup>

Though the newspaper hoped no such incident would occur, it felt that there was a possibility, if not a probability, one could happen. The newspaper theorized that a trained military company would be more effective than a hastily gathered, undisciplined posse. "The organization of a company of naval

reserves at the Port of Miami would be a big advertisement for the place," it concluded, "and splendid medicine in the case of a race war or of a riot over quarantine or health regulations, contingencies which should always be kept in mind."<sup>11</sup>

The *Metropolis* supported deportation as a solution to the race problem. In a long editorial on September 1, 1899, Editor William M. Featherly showed his sentiment by quoting at length from a letter by Senator M.C. Butler of South Carolina.<sup>12</sup> "It is impossible," Butler wrote, "to unite in peace while they hold equal rights as citizens people of the highest race of the world and those of the lowest race, as in the case in the Caucassian[sic] and the Negro."<sup>13</sup>

Butler reasoned that if the gradual and permanent separation of the races failed to take place, tension would mount and atrocities would be committed. While Butler saw the black's fate as pathetic and pitiful, he also saw working whites suffering because of competition from cheap black labor. Butler suggested that landowners throw off cheap labor and allow room, "for an intelligent, thrifty class of white laborers who would intelligently diversify agricultural, improve the land and make plenty and prosperity where stagnation and degradation now hold sway."<sup>14</sup> Finally, Butler believed, with blacks gone and whites in control, "The terrors which beset the females of their families would give place to a feeling of security and composure; society would adjust itself on lines of safety and enlightened progress."<sup>15</sup>

The *Metropolis* also viewed blacks as humorous and harmless. Often, whites portrayed blacks in the popular black-face minstrel shows. These presentations reflected negative themes and stereotypes of blacks as shiftless and unintelligent people who loved to sing and dance. Usually, the *Metropolis* commented how well white players portrayed blacks. For example on July 2, 1897, the newspaper observed that:

Atkinson, in our opinion, made the most natural looking 'nigger,' and a lady in our hearing said he reminded her of an old darkey who used to live on the farm where she was brought up in Georgia. His face was perfectly blank, and evidence of intelligence was conspicuous by its absence. His jokes were mostly original and very dry, and he brought in many local hits.<sup>16</sup>

In the same column, it noted that “Moran made a nice, chubby nigger and his well fed appearance indicated that he had been raised in a section where hog and hominy are abundant.”<sup>17</sup> The tabloid also remarked on all the participants’s performances. In reviewing the skit, “Fun in the Gambling-room,” the *Metropolis* wrote:

Wolfe as a tramp was good. Garthside as an African dude was high strung. Castellano as Prof. Seven-eleven was expert. Barker as Big Foot Sue of West Palm Beach was gorgeous. Moran as Candy Jim was sweet, and Townley, whose name was not down on the programme, worked in his mouth for all it was worth and made several hits.<sup>18</sup>

The *Metropolis* carried this so-called humorous theme in other stories. For instance, it printed a story about an anonymous sign which read: “Notice to Negro Bicycle Riders. You are not wanted east of this sign on a bicycle. Take warning and save your head and wheel.”<sup>19</sup> The *Metropolis* interpreted this threat as the work of a prankster who provided a humorous diversion by alarming black bicyclists. As the newspaper concluded, “No one contemplates that anything more serious than fun was contemplated by the author of the above.”<sup>20</sup>



**A view of the sewer ditch; looking north on Miami Avenue at today’s S.E. 3rd Street.**

In another example, the newspaper described how a black man fell into a ten-foot-deep sewer ditch in front of the *Metropolis*’ office while crossing Avenue D, a major artery. After he managed to climb out,

he discovered his hat missing. Leaning over to look for it, the black man lost his balance and fell back into the ditch. While no injury resulted, the *Metropolis* reported that the man wanted to know, "Why dey done dug dese wells so many in du street?"<sup>21</sup>

In a third example, the newspaper related the story of an unnamed black prisoner, held for petty larceny, who escaped from the county jail while emptying slop buckets. The *Metropolis* reported, "that in his flight he came across a running deer and yelled to it to get out of the way as he was coming and could not wait."<sup>22</sup>

Blacks were also depicted as violent, aggressive and unclean. On August 21, 1896, the *Metropolis* reported that George Grandberry shot and killed Matthew Stevens in northwest Miami. The shooting resulted from a card game when Stevens, who owed Grandberry \$1.75, refused to pay the debt. Words were exchanged until finally a fight broke out. Stevens beat up Grandberry and threw him out. Grandberry returned a few minutes later and when Stevens attempted to hit him again, Grandberry shot him in the neck. Stevens died a few days later and Grandberry, who had initially escaped, was eventually caught and charged with murder.<sup>23</sup> The newspaper described Grandberry as "a worthless negro who lives by gambling and robbing the negroes who work at cards. He is not in very good odor in the negro section of West Palm Beach and his presence was given away as a result."<sup>24</sup>

When alcohol-related injuries occurred, it was deemed the result of a drunken brawl.<sup>25</sup> Other injuries were reported as senseless. In its edition for September 2, 1898, the *Metropolis* reported:

A lot of indiscriminate firing occurred Monday night in the negro quarters, during which a negro by the name of July Jenkins was shot in the knee. The wound was not serious. As one negro (said) to the writer when he went to investigate the shooting about 12 o'clock at night: 'The d\_\_\_d niggers were just shooting because they had guns and all of them ought to be arrested.'<sup>26</sup>

Domestic violence also attracted the attention of the *Metropolis*. When Andrew Dorsey was shot twice by Jane Davis. The newspaper noted:

It appears that Dorsey had not of late been paying Jane all the attention she thought he should and she set out to adjust matters between herself and Dorsey to her satisfaction Monday night or adjust Dorsey to a coffin if he did not appear to be of her tenor of thought. To make things go her way Jane carried along a .32 caliber revolver as a persuader.<sup>27</sup>

Davis was arrested and jailed; however she was later released when Dorsey refused to press charges.

In another story, the *Metropolis* reported that jealousy caused the knifing of a black man in the north end of the city. Although the victim reported that he did not know who cut him, the *Metropolis* surmised that, "he was paying too much attention to one of the colored damsels when his best girl thought it time to saw off his jugular vein with her 'razor', and came near doing it."<sup>28</sup>

When blacks assaulted whites, even after whites provoked or instigated the attack, the *Metropolis* thought that the whites' actions were justifiable. For example, G.W. Nelson, a black waiter, aroused considerable excitement when he assaulted Elbert Froscher, a white watchman at the same hotel. Reportedly, Froscher was eating supper with a lady friend one Sunday evening when Nelson entered drunk and cursing. Froscher warned Nelson to stop, but Nelson allegedly became more abusive. This prompted Froscher to strike Nelson with a chair. Nelson was sent to his room and told to stay there.<sup>29</sup>

Instead, Nelson armed himself with a razor and returned to get Froscher. Again, Froscher knocked Nelson down. During this altercation the *Metropolis* reported that, "the depravity in the negro's nature asserted itself,"<sup>30</sup> as Nelson pulled out the razor and wildly slashed at Froscher, cutting him several times before he ran away. Nelson was caught and detained at the city jail. That evening the *Metropolis* wrote, "trouble might grow out of the affair, but sound judgment prevailed and what apprehensions existed along that line were unfounded, as everything was quiet

during the night."<sup>31</sup> The next morning Nelson was arraigned on the charge of assault with intent to murder and jailed in default of a \$1,000 bond.

A follow-up story a week later reported Froscher recovering from his injuries and glad no injury came to his attacker because, "He did not think the negro bright and for that reason had taken occasion to temporize with him more than he would otherwise have done in handling him the day of the trouble."<sup>32</sup> Still incarcerated eight months later, Nelson pleaded guilty to aggravated assault and was sentenced to 30 days in jail.<sup>33</sup>

In another incident reported in the *Metropolis*, Milton, a black man, injured Emmitt Turnage, a white waiter at the Hotel Miami, because, "The negro was somewhat disposed to be impudent when Turnage gave him a talking to."<sup>34</sup> Milton allegedly threw a heavy object at Turnage that hit him on the head. He also cut his hand. Another white waiter came to Turnage's defense with a meat cleaver. He chased Milton and struck him in the back, but Milton managed to escape. The newspaper predicted that "Had the negro not escaped he would have been used up in short order."<sup>35</sup>

The *Metropolis* reported that a G.W. Lewys was accosted by two black highway robbers who knocked him down from behind and beat him about the face and head with a rock, fracturing his skull in two places. One of the robbers then drew a knife, and while the other one held Lewys, threaten to cut his throat. Lewys was able to free one of his hand and grab hold of the knife and snap the blade. At this point, realizing that he could no longer battle the two, Lewys offered his money in exchange for his life. Instead, as he reached for his money, he pulled out a large pruning knife and slashed the highwaymen, who managed to steal \$18 anyway.<sup>36</sup> The *Metropolis*, however, gloated that Lewys took that much out of their hide. Commenting at the speed at which Lewys was recovering from his wounds, the newspaper remarked that Lewys only asked for an opportunity to meet either one of his two assailants single-handedly, "He says there will be no delay on his part in settling accounts in full; but from what some of his friends say they hope to have a hand in the matter. They claim the assailants are in need of a necktie and they are prepared to furnish it."<sup>37</sup>

In another incident that was ruled justifiable homicide, James

Barnes, a white, shot and killed Ben Watkins, a black. Watkins allegedly entered Barnes' cabin while he slept and took his wallet from his pants. "Barnes was not in a sound sleep" the *Metropolis* reported, "and had a dim dreamy impression that some one had entered the cabin."<sup>38</sup> Awakening, he arose and went outside to confront Watkins. Here the newspaper reported that, "The negro pretended to get very indignant and denied any knowledge in the matter."<sup>39</sup> Barnes insisted on Watkins' guilt and demanded his stolen pocketbook. The *Metropolis* reported that Watkins suddenly grabbed a large pole while attempting to hit Barnes over the head, when Barnes, "who had drawn his revolver, shot him through the chest, killing him instantly."<sup>40</sup>

The *Metropolis* also reported stories of black arrests, confinements, and convictions on such crimes as gambling, liquor smuggling, drunkenness, and disorderly conduct.<sup>41</sup> Stolen goods usually consisted of a few dollars, food, and articles like shoes and hats.<sup>42</sup>

Sometimes, the *Metropolis* used black incidents as object lessons to draw public attention to the need for stricter law enforcement and emergency facilities. For instance, when an inebriated black man was found tied to a pole, the newspaper saw it as, "another forcible reminder that the city is badly in need of a jail."<sup>43</sup> After Lucius Harris and William Bownan were shot by two other black men over a twenty-cent gambling debt, the article ultimately used the shooting to make a pitch for, "a good hospital with a well appointed surgical ward."<sup>44</sup>

When a controversy erupted between two white preachers over jurisdiction of a congregation in Miami, the *Metropolis* prefaced the article with a description of a similar incident in a black West Palm Beach church. After the two ministers fought to gain control of the congregation for two years, the courts sold the church. During the litigation, the judge admonished the two black minister's unseemly conduct by stating that, "they should conduct their affairs in a peaceful and orderly manner the same as white people conducted their churches."<sup>45</sup>

If the *Metropolis* generally viewed black Miamians as violent and disruptive, it also realized that Miami could not exist without them. Four days before Miami incorporated on July 28, 1896, the *Metropolis* reported that there were 438 registered male voters in the precinct of which 182 (41.5 percent) were



black. Present, but not included, were over 100 potential voters still eligible to register before the election and 200 more who were ineligible because they did not fulfill the six months residency requirement. These figures were significant because under Florida law in 1896, any municipality containing less than 300 registered voters was a town, while one with 300 or more was a city.<sup>46</sup> Blacks held the decisive balance of power on election day. Three hundred forty-four, or nearly 80 percent, of the registered voters cast their ballots for incorporation. Even if every one of the 256 registered white males had voted for incorporation, the number would have been 44 short for incorporation as a city.<sup>47</sup>

Less than three years later, on May 10, 1899, black votes were again used to win the county seat back from Juno by a count of 690 to 468. The *Metropolis* openly acknowledged the importance of black voters in the southern half of Dade County:

Everything went off smooth from morning until night and all worked in harmony for the general good, and for once the color line was obliterated and every one of the black and tan vote counted. White men were riding through the streets with the colored fellows, and there was a full determination that the colored fellow should vote just as he wished, which fortunately was for Miami, and that his vote should be counted.<sup>48</sup>

Miami's electorate cast 403 votes in this election; 398 were for in support of Miami as county seat.

The northern end of the county also recognized the importance of Miami's black vote. When Sheriff Chillingworth attempted to prohibit blacks from voting, the newspaper construed his action as arbitrary. The *Metropolis* reported that the local election board protested the sheriff's action and ordered him not to come within fifteen feet of the polls unless requested by the board. Guarding the city's interest, the *Metropolis* criticized the sheriff's tactics of intimidation:

As a general thing the arbitrary action of Sheriff Chillingworth at the polls and his abusive language when remonstrated with is thought, to say the least, to have been unwise, and certainly uncalled for. The

only reason he might have to be in the polling place would be to keep order if there was any disorder. There was never a more quiet election held in the state, and never was there a more honest election held.<sup>49</sup>

The *Metropolis* also reported that, "It was known that several colored men would not go to the polls and vote while the Sheriff was there."<sup>50</sup>

Occasionally, the *Metropolis* reported more positively and announced gatherings of city and county blacks for local celebrations, picnics, boat, and train excursions, parades, festivals, and bicycle races.<sup>51</sup> The newspaper also reported church news including baptisms, concerts and services as well as the arrival and departure of ministers.<sup>52</sup> When Reverend J.M. Trammell left Miami in June, 1898, for a six month tour through Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, the Missionary Baptist Church of Coconut Grove wrote a letter to the editor praising Trammell's pastoral service: "He has served us with dignity and ability and has established confidence in his moral, social, and intellectual worth. We know nothing of him but as a Christian and a gentleman."<sup>53</sup>

Black churches and their ministers were extremely important to black Miamians. While churches were primarily houses of worship, they were also places where blacks found dignity and respect. Families looked to the church to reinforce individual worth and help instill values in their children. The churches also held events where young people could meet and socialize. The ministers provided guidance and leadership and acted as spokespersons for the black community in an effort to allay the social inequities thrust on blacks by the white community.<sup>54</sup>

Education was also reported in a positive way. The hiring and appointing of black teachers and principals in Miami and Dade County schools was regularly reported.<sup>55</sup> Requests from the area's black communities for teachers, schools, and school equipment was also noted. The petition from F. Henry and others asking for a colored school in Linton appeared with a comment that the superintendent was ordered to investigate and report.<sup>56</sup>

Several weeks later, the newspaper reported that the superintendent found that the Linton black settlement had 35 people of which 15 were between the ages of six and 21. The superin-

tendent added that the people owned their land and that they were willing to provide a school house at no cost to the Board. After the report, the Board voted to hire a teacher.<sup>57</sup> At the next meeting, the School Board announced that the Linton School would open on October 8, 1898.<sup>58</sup>

The *Metropolis* praised the communities that exhibited concern for their schools and education. For example, Coconut Grove was singled out as exceptional.

That the Coconut Grove colored school should be the leading one of its kind in the county is scarcely to be wondered at, when it is remembered that the parents of the children are a wide-awake, well-behaved class who are realizing more and more that knowledge means power and power money, and that knowledge is found best in the school room.<sup>59</sup>

The *Metropolis* also noted, however, that this recognition and achievement could not have been obtained without the aid of benevolent whites: "Then, too, the white people of the Grove have taken such an interest in them that they are encouraged and helped in very many ways."<sup>60</sup> In reality, scarce resources, underpaid teachers, and harsh conditions were difficult obstacles for blacks to overcome. In 1900, given Miami's racial attitude, school administrators considered an elementary education sufficient for blacks who were expected to perform physical labor and little else.<sup>61</sup>

Though the *Metropolis* did not print stories of black resistance, it sometimes indirectly revealed blacks response to perceived injustices. When a coroner's inquest acquitted Frank McClelland, a white deck foreman, in the killing of William Clare, a black deck hand, a group of dissatisfied blacks got a warrant issued for McClelland's arrest. At a hearing, testimony showed "that the negro had been surly, mean, and guilty of trying to raise a difficulty for some days."<sup>62</sup> Clare allegedly threatened to throw McClelland overboard once the ship left Key West bound for Miami. McClelland reportedly learned of this threat and kept on his guard. During the first day out, McClelland reprimanded Clare after McClelland gave orders to the men to perform a job with which Clare was supposedly

unhappy. Reportedly, "Clare continued to show an ugly spirit all day, and had made repeated threats of breaking McClelland's neck, smashing his head, etc."<sup>63</sup> That evening McClelland, with three or four other black men, encountered Clare. Clare allegedly attacked McClelland who responded by striking and killing Clare with an iron bar.<sup>64</sup> Upon hearing this testimony, the judge released McClelland ruling there were no further grounds for holding him.<sup>65</sup>

When Charles Peacock and Son's store and Post Office were robbed at Coconut Grove, the *Metropolis* reported that, "Two strange negroes who had been in the store during the evening were suspected and were captured the next day."<sup>66</sup> After first taking the prisoners to Miami to be tried by the Circuit Court, the authorities decided to return the suspects to Coconut Grove for hearing before the U.S. Commissioner. That night one of the prisoners, Mose Tate, escaped. He was reportedly seen on Sunday morning. By Monday afternoon, however, his body was found floating in the Miami River. An inquest was held which rendered a verdict of accidental death by drowning.<sup>67</sup>

Not satisfied with the findings, the dead man's friends called for a physician of their own. After examining the body, the doctor discovered that Tate's neck was broken which fueled suspicions that he had been lynched and later thrown into the river. The *Metropolis* questioned this allegation because Tate was seen Sunday morning. The newspaper explained the broken neck by stating, "There is a theory that as his body was handled very roughly in taking it from the water, as it was drawn out with a rope around the neck and that his neck, if it was broken, was fractured after death."<sup>68</sup> Oddly, the authorities released the second prisoner two days later for lack of evidence.

When the County Commissioners granted a liquor license to a black saloon, group of neighborhood residents protested the action. A short time later, the saloon was burned down, and Ira Minard, a black fireman at one of the city's electric light plants, was arrested. The saloon's owner, who was also black, testified, "that Minard had told him repeatedly that he would burn the building, and burn them as fast as he (the owner) could put them up for such purpose."<sup>69</sup> The *Metropolis* reported that the authorities considered this testimony sufficient to hold Minard

for grand jury action.<sup>70</sup>

Though the *Metropolis* posted largely negative stories which inferred that blacks had little regard for work and family, several articles contradicted these images and acknowledged that, at times, blacks suffered considerably. In October 1899, Key West blacks asked for state assistance when a large number were unemployed due to a yellow fever epidemic. "The negroes of Key West," the *Metropolis* reported, "have sent out an appeal which has the endorsement of the mayor of the city asking the people of the state for relief as they are suffering for food and the necessaries of life."<sup>71</sup> When yellow fever hit Miami a month later, Miami's unemployed blacks petitioned city authorities for work. Both the public and private sectors took up the request by deciding to pave Avenue B from 10th Street to the train depot. This move, the newspaper felt, would employ about 75 men for 30 days when the city hoped to return to its normal routine.

Once, the *Metropolis* published a column entitled, "Among the Colored People," by Rev. J.M. Trammell, which provided a rare look into Miami's black community. Trammell commented on the community activities of local and county blacks just as "Miami Mince Meat" did for whites. He mentioned such social events as marriages, engagements, organizational and church services as well as celebrations and visitations. Trammell's column also showed that some blacks were not immune to the rhetoric of Miami boosterism so prevalent at the time. "Now is the time," he wrote, "for the colored people as well as the white people to begin purchasing lots to build neat homes upon. Let us begin now. Don't wait. Miami is bound to stand among the leading cities of Florida."<sup>72</sup>

It is clear that at the turn of the twentieth century, Miami's magic was not for everyone. Although the *Metropolis* did not practice the extreme racism found in some other papers, the newspaper's coverage did reflect a strong racial bias. While it opposed lynching as an affront to decency and law and order, when Key West experienced a near lynching, it expressed no criticism. Although at times leaning toward a paternalistic point of view, the newspaper saw no contradiction in supporting the deportation of blacks as a solution to the South's racial problem. The paper portrayed blacks as either happy-go-lucky or

aggressive. Yet, it also recognized the city's need for their help in incorporating and in winning back the county seat. The *Metropolis* was clearly inconsistent. From 1896 to 1900, it covered a black community concerned with its neighborhood, its church, education, and the treatment they received from authorities, while practicing the racism in the society it reflected.

## NOTES

1. The city of Miami incorporated July 28, 1896. See "Miami Already a City," *Miami Metropolis*, 24 July 1896, and "Miami Incorporated," *Miami Metropolis*, 31 July 1896.

2. Edward Nelson Akin, *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1988). Sidney W. Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens: 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: Mac Millan Publishing Company, 1986). Edward Nelson Akin, "Southern Reflection of the Glided Age: Henry Flagler's System, 1885-1913," (Ph.D. dissertation University of Florida, Gainesville, 1975). Paul S. George, "Criminal Justice in Miami, 1896-1930" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1975), 1-35.

3. "Salutatory," *Miami Metropolis*, 15 May 1896; *Miami Metropolis*, 1 April 1898; "Again We Greet You," *Miami Metropolis*, 2 September 1898.

4. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Codes'," *Florida Historical Quarterly* LV (January 1977): 277-98.

5. Paul S. George, "Colored Town: Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* LVI (April 1978): 432-47; "Policing Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* LVII (April 1979): 434-50; "Criminal Justice in Miami, 1896-1930," Chapters 7 and 8.

6. Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*, enlarged edition, 4th printing (London: Collier-MacMillan Ltd., 1969), 165-275, 371-392. This book originally appeared as *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* in 1954.

7. "A Black Mammy," *Miami Metropolis*, 19 March 1897.

8. "Riot at Key West," *Miami Metropolis*, 2 July 1897.

9. *Ibid.*

10. "A Military Company Needed," *Miami Metropolis*, 2 July 1897.

11. "Request for Military Organization and Presence in Reserve Form," *Miami Metropolis*, 2 July 1897.

12. "Separate the Races," *Miami Metropolis* September 1, 1899.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. *Miami Metropolis*, 2 July 1897.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid. Also, *Miami Metropolis*, 5 January 1900 for other examples.

19. "Work of the Funny Fellow," *Miami Metropolis*, 21 May 1897.

20. Ibid.

21. *Miami Metropolis*, 4 December 1896.

22. *Miami Metropolis*, 13 October 1899. For other examples of blacks used as objects of humor in the *Metropolis*, see "Compliments for One Only," 26 May 1899; "Almost a Suicide," 26 November 1897; and the issues for 10 September 1897; 24 August 1900; and 20 April 1900.

23. "He Got It In The Neck," *Miami Metropolis*, 21 August 1896; "George Grandberry's Necktie," *Miami Metropolis*, 28 August 1896.

24. "Geo. Grandberry's Necktie," *Miami Metropolis*, 28 August 1896. For other shooting incidents/deaths stemming from gambling debts, see "Shooting at North Miami," *Miami Metropolis*, 9 July 1897; "Duckett Gets His Man," *Miami Metropolis*, 16 October 1896; "Caught Up Into Glory," *Miami Metropolis*, 21 October 1898.

25. *Miami Metropolis*, 23 December 1898; "Another Shooting in North Miami," *Miami Metropolis*, 20 November 1896; "Avery Will Probably Pull Through," *Miami Metropolis*, 27 November 1896.

26. *Miami Metropolis*, 2 September 1898. See *Miami Metropolis*, 23 June 1899 and *Miami Metropolis*, 24 November 1899 for other examples.

27. "Dorsey Catches Two Bullets," *Miami Metropolis*, 6 October 1899 and *Miami Metropolis*, 13 October 1899.

28. *Miami Metropolis*, 24 November 1899. See "A Bad Cutting Scrape," *Miami Metropolis*, 3 July 1896; "A Brutal Murder," *Miami Metropolis*, 29 July 1898; *Miami Metropolis*, 19 February 1897; "A Negro Murdered," *Miami Metropolis* 19 No-



ember 1897; "Willie Sent Up," *Miami Metropolis*, 27 July 1900 and *Miami Metropolis*, 23 October 1896 for more examples of attacks as the outgrowth of quarrels.

29. "A Serious Cutting Affray," *Miami Metropolis*, 28 July 1899.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. *Miami Metropolis*, 4 August 1899.

33. *Miami Metropolis*, 20 April 1900 and *Miami Metropolis*, 4 May 1900.

34. *Miami Metropolis*, 5 March 1897.

35. Ibid.

36. "Worse than Sandbagging," *Miami Metropolis*, 15 May 1896.

37. Ibid.

38. "Negro Killed at Snake Creek," *Miami Metropolis*, 2 October 1896.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. *Miami Metropolis*, 28 August 1896; 9 June 1899; 25 September 1896; and 23 April 1897.

42. *Miami Metropolis*, 22 September 1899; 8 June 1900; 5 May 1899; 19 November 1897; 21 May 1897; 27 July 1900; 28 May 1897; and 13 October 1899.

43. *Miami Metropolis*, 6 November 1896.

44. "Shooting at North Miami," *Miami Metropolis*, 9 July 1897.

45. "Division in Churches," *Miami Metropolis*, 21 May 1897.

46. "Miami Already a City," *Miami Metropolis*, 24 July 1896.

47. "Miami Incorporated," *Miami Metropolis*, 31 July 1896.

48. "It is Miami's," *Miami Metropolis*, 12 May 1899.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. *Miami Metropolis* 31 July 1896; 18 September 1896; 27 November 1896; 25 December 1896; 7 January 1898; 24 June 1898; 10 March 1899; 19 May 1899; and 27 October 1899.

52. *Miami Metropolis*, 19 November 1897; 3 December 1897; 27 May 1898; 30 March 1900; 14 July 1899; 18 September 1896, and 1 January 1897.

53. "Colored Church Compliments Its Pastor," *Miami Metropolis*, 17 June 1898.

54. Diane Dunbar, Marcia M. Hencinski and Raymond Morris, "A Brief History of Black Churches in Miami, 1896-1910," in Carlos Arias, et al, eds., *Blacks in Miami, 1896-1990: African Americans and Bahamian-Americans* (Miami: Department of History, Florida International University, 1990), 33-34.

55. "Dade County Schools," *Miami Metropolis*, 24 June 1898; "School Board Meeting," *Miami Metropolis*, 6 January 1899; *Miami Metropolis*, 23 June 1899; "School Board Minutes," *Miami Metropolis*, 18 September 1900; "School Board Proceedings," *Miami Metropolis*, 7 August 1900; "Appointments of School Teachers," *Miami Metropolis*, 25 June 1897; "More School Teachers Appointed," *Miami Metropolis*, 23 July 1897; and "Monthly School Board Meeting," *Miami Metropolis*, 9 December 1898.

56. "Dade County Schools," *Miami Metropolis*, 24 June 1898.

57. "Meeting of the County School Board," *Miami Metropolis*, 5 August 1898.

58. "Monthly Meeting of School Board," *Miami Metropolis*, 9 September 1898.

59. "The Colored School at Coconut Grove," *Miami Metropolis*, 28 April 1899.

60. Ibid.

61. Maria Elena Ramirez, Arthur Biconamia, and Raul J. Lopez, "History of Miami: Report on Education circa 1900," in Carlos Arias et al eds., *Blacks in Miami, 1896-1990*, 68.

62. "Wm. Clare Killed," *Miami Metropolis*, 27 July 1900.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. "Robbery at Coconut Grove," *Miami Metropolis*, 7 August 1896.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. "Colored Saloon Burned," *Miami Metropolis*, 28 September 1900.

70. Ibid.

71. *Miami Metropolis*, 13 October 1899.

72. "Among the Colored People," *Miami Metropolis*, 1 January 1897.