# Ocoee Election Day Violence – November 1920

Report No. 19-15 November 2019



November 2019

Report No. 19-15

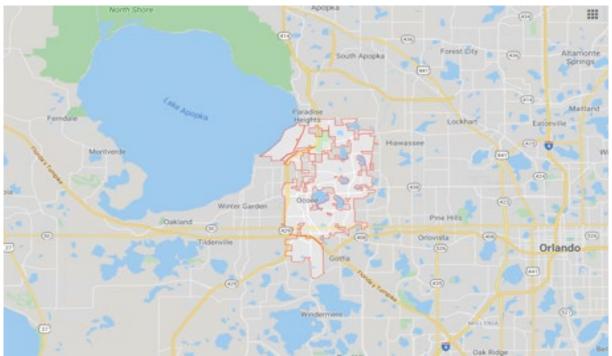
# **Ocoee Election Day Violence – November 1920**

As directed by the Legislature, OPPAGA conducted a historical review of the 1920 Election Day violence in Ocoee, Florida to provide information on the scope and effects of the incident. To complete the research for this brief, OPPAGA reviewed academic papers and books, maps, oral histories recorded by the Works Progress Administration, congressional testimony, census records, property deeds, interview notes from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) officials, death certificates from the Florida Department of Health's Bureau of Vital Statistics, draft cards from World War I, collections at the Orange County Regional History Center, mortuary records, and hundreds of newspaper articles. In cases where there were conflicting accounts of the events, this review favors those accounts provided by eyewitnesses or people with first-hand knowledge of the event.

## BACKGROUND

Ocoee, Florida, is a city in Orange County with a 2019 population of about 47,500 people. The city is approximately 10 miles west of Orlando and is located near the southeastern edge of Lake Apopka, between Apopka and Winter Garden and surrounding Starke Lake. (See Exhibit 1.)

### Exhibit 1



Map of Ocoee, Orange County, Florida

Source: Google Maps.

The area was incorporated in the early 1920s and became the City of Ocoee in 1925. Early white settlers began to establish homesteads near Starke Lake in the 1850s, after the Seminole Indians had been resettled west of the Mississippi River or fled to South Florida. James D. Starke, Ocoee's first white settler, is listed as a physician and slave owner in the 1855 Orange County tax roll and is included in the 1860 Orange County Census. After the U.S. Civil War ended, Bluford M. Sims, a former captain in the Confederate Army, arrived in Orange County around 1867; he built a house near the western shore of Starke Lake and in the early 1870s began planting and selling citrus trees, establishing profitable orange groves in the area.

In the late 1800s, the number of African Americans moving to Ocoee began to increase. These new settlers included two African Americans from South Carolina—Julius (July) Perry and Moses (Mose) Norman. Both built homes in Ocoee. Perry became a leader in the African-American community, a deacon in the church, a labor leader, and a member of the local fraternal lodge. Norman eventually purchased and worked a 100-acre family orange grove, was one of the first automobile owners in Ocoee, and was also a member of the local fraternal lodge.

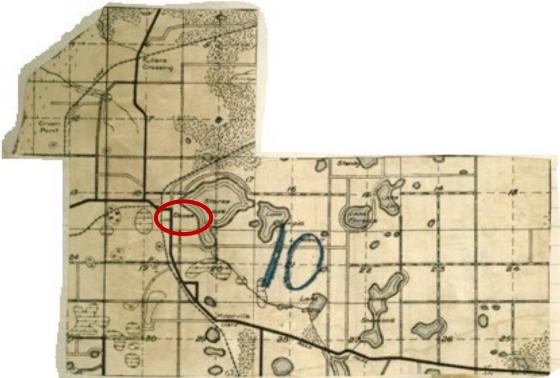
Racial violence in the United States during the early 1900's was high, with the number of lynchings of African Americans increasing from 38 in 1917 to 58 in 1918. In addition, 1920 was a presidential election year, and November 1920 was the first general election held after the end of World War I and the first election where women were permitted to vote after the ratification of the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment to the U.S. Constitution.<sup>1</sup> White, Republican politicians in the South were working with local African-American leaders to register African-American voters who tended to vote for Republican candidates. To counter this effort, the Ku Klux Klan staged Florida marches in Jacksonville and Orlando to intimidate African Americans before the election. The Ku Klux Klan Grand Master in Florida also sent a letter to William R. O'Neal, an Orlando attorney and Republican politician, threatening him if he continued his efforts "...going out among the negroes of Orlando and delivering lectures, explaining to them just how to become citizens, and how to assert their rights." A copy of this letter was also sent to local attorney and former judge John Cheney. Cheney also reported that the local branch of the Ku Klux Klan in Ocoee had stated that if any African-American residents attempted to vote "...there would be serious trouble."

# On Election Day 1920, violence in Ocoee resulted in multiple deaths and destruction of African-American property

Although Ocoee was not an incorporated area of Orange County in November 1920, Precinct 10 was the Orange County voting district that included the developed area that eventually became the city of Ocoee. (See Exhibit 2.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Republican Party nominated Warren G. Harding, a U.S. Senator from Ohio, and the Democratic Party nominated James M. Cox, the Governor of Ohio. Harding won the presidential election in a landslide, but Cox won all of the southern states, except for Tennessee.

### Exhibit 2 Election Precinct 10 Map



Source: 1928 Orange County Voter Registration Book, District 10.

The 1920 Census reported 255 African-American residents and 560 white residents of Ocoee. (See Appendix A for list of African-American residents recorded in the census.) There were two areas in Ocoee where most African Americans lived: the Northern or Methodist Quarters (near the northwestern part of Starke Lake) and the Southern or Baptist Quarters (near the southwestern and south-central parts of Starke Lake).

On the day of the general election, November 2, 1920, Mose Norman went to the polls to vote but was told that he was not permitted to do so because he had not paid his poll tax. Norman left the polling area and traveled to Orlando to meet with attorney and former judge John Cheney (also the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1920), who recommended that he return to the polling place in Precinct 10 and record the names of anyone who was not permitted to vote and the names of the polling officials who were denying anyone the right to vote.

When Mose Norman returned to the polling place, he was again denied the opportunity to vote. There are conflicting reports regarding what happened with Norman related to this second trip to the polls. In one account, the local constable examined a shotgun in Norman's car, took the shotgun from him, and sent him on his way. In another account, a group of white residents searched his car, found the shotgun under a seat, and assaulted Norman when he returned to his car; he managed to escape on foot. Both accounts agree that Norman went to the home of July Perry before fleeing Ocoee later that day.

Later in the day, some white Ocoee residents formed a posse and were deputized by Orange County Sheriff Deputy Clyde Pounds. The posse, led by Ocoee resident Sam Salisbury, a former Army colonel and former Orlando Chief of Police, was charged with arresting July Perry and Mose Norman. Norman had already fled Ocoee. In the process of attempting to arrest Perry, who was at home with his wife and daughter, several posse members were wounded (including Sam Salisbury), and two were killed (Leo R. Borgard and Elmer McDaniels). Perry and his 19-year-old daughter, Caretha, were also wounded by gunfire during this confrontation.

The posse retreated from Perry's house and requested assistance from Orlando and other areas in Orange County. Perry and his wife left the house during this lull. After additional people and Orange County Sheriff Frank Gordon arrived, the posse captured Perry's daughter in the house. July Perry was captured in a sugarcane patch near his house and transported to a hospital in Orlando to treat his gunshot wounds. After leaving the hospital, Perry, in the custody of the Orange County Sheriff's Office, was taken by a white mob, lynched by hanging, and shot. Estelle Perry and Caretha Perry were transported by Orange County sheriff's deputies to the county jail in Tampa, reportedly for safekeeping and to prevent further violence.

After the posse captured July Perry and his family, a mob set fire to all of the African-American buildings in the northern (Methodist) African-American area of Ocoee throughout the night, as late as 4:45 A.M. on November 3, 1920. The fire destroyed more than 20 houses, two churches, and one fraternal lodge.<sup>2,3</sup> There is a wide range in the reported number of African Americans killed during this violence. The lowest number of reported African Americans killed was 3, including July Perry, and the highest number was close to 60. A Methodist pastor, Reverend J. A. Long, and a Baptist minister, Reverend H. K. Hill, both from Orlando, reported that they had heard of 35 African-American deaths in Ocoee as a result of the fires and shootings. While state death certificates are incomplete for this period, there are some records of deaths. One report noted that five new graves were dug in the African-American cemetery days after the incident. Additionally, undertaker memoranda from the evening of November 2 reported that three African Americans who had been burned to death in their home were buried in one grave.

### Following the Election Day violence, African Americans fled Ocoee and their property was transferred to white owners

The day after Election Day and for several days following, former soldiers (veteran's groups) from Orlando and surrounding areas set up patrols to restore order in the area. With subsequent threats and violence directed toward the remaining African-American residents of Ocoee in the months that followed, they fled Ocoee, leaving their homes and property.

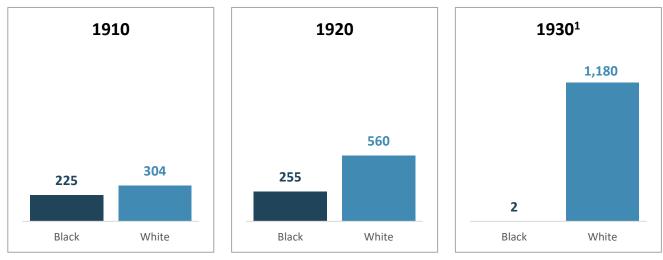
This violence included an attack on former African-American Ocoee resident George Betsy. On July 23, 1921, the Orlando Sentinel reported that a mob of 15 men removed Mr. Betsy from the custody of two Orlando police officers who had arrested him for violating the prohibition law. He was found the next morning injured and chained to an electric light post because he had "...talked too much about the trouble at Ocoee last November." On August 14, 1921, the Orlando Sentinel reported that the Orange County sheriff had arrested five men and charged them with dynamiting and firing into an African-American house near Ocoee in early July 1921. William Moore and Frank Saunders of Ocoee were found guilty of these charges in September 1921. (See Appendix B for a timeline of events before, during, and after November 1920.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These churches were the Ocoee African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Friendship Baptist Church.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The fraternal lodge was Ocoee Lodge 66. Both Mose Norman and July Perry held leadership roles in the lodge, and many of its members were prominent members of Ocoee's African-American civic and business communities.

Based on data from the U.S. Census, at least 253 African Americans were displaced from Ocoee after the Election Day violence. The number may have been greater due to undercounting of African Americans in the census.<sup>4</sup> The 1910 U.S. Census shows 304 whites and 225 African Americans (43%) in Ocoee, the 1920 census shows 560 whites and 255 African Americans (31%), and the 1930 census shows 1,180 whites, 11 Indians, and 2 African Americans (0.2%). (See Exhibit 3.) Census data also show that African Americans did not return to live in Ocoee until the 1970s.

#### Exhibit 3 Decennial Census Population Count for Ocoee, Florida by Race



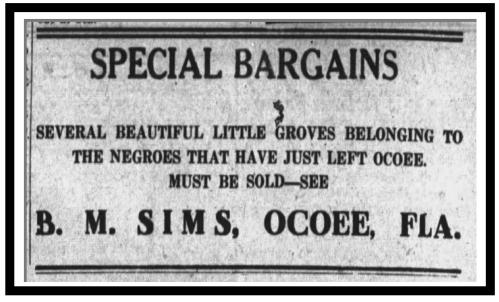
<sup>1</sup> Analysis of 1930 Census excluded 11 residents whose racial identity was recorded as Indian. These residents were not in the 1910 or 1920 Precinct 10 census sheets.

Source: OPPAGA analysis of U.S. Census Bureau Records.

White residents of Ocoee moved quickly to dispose of African-American property. There were several newspaper advertisements in Orlando and Miami newspapers offering the sale of groves and grove land in Ocoee within two weeks of the Election Day violence. As shown in the example in Exhibit 4, this happened relatively quickly, with an advertisement in the Orlando Sentinel in December 1920.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Analyses of the 1920 Census estimate an undercount of 5-8% of the total population. Analyses of differences between racial categories estimate that undercounts for African Americans would be a few percentage points higher relative to whites.

Exhibit 4 Ocoee Land Sale Advertisement - December 12, 1920



Source: The Orlando Sentinel, December 12, 1920.

It is difficult to discern if Ocoee's African-American residents were compensated, or compensated at a fair market value, for their property. In the case of property owned by July Perry, Bluford Sims was appointed by the Orange County Court as administrator of Perry's estate. Three years later, Perry's surviving family filed a court petition to recover his estate in which they claimed they were uncompensated. When the court ordered Sims' guardian, Eva Sims, to provide an accounting for the property, she did not comply. After the February 1924 deadline for her report passed, no further court action occurred. The deed for the property had been amended to state, "It is further agreed that the herein named property cannot be sold to or otherwise conveyed to a negro." Thus, Perry's family not only failed to inherit the property, they were excluded from purchasing it. Property deed records show that other African Americans transferred the ownership of their property in the months after Election Day. However, it is difficult to determine to what extent they were fairly compensated because property records do not necessarily include assessed value. Records also indicate continued transfer of property once held by African Americans in Ocoee to new owners from 1921 through 1925.

# Election Day violence was widely reported and was the focus of several investigations; no legal action was taken in response

The violence that occurred in Ocoee on November 2 and 3, 1920, was widely reported in newspapers throughout the United States and Canada.<sup>5</sup> Following the violence, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent a representative, Walter F. White, to Ocoee to investigate, and he arrived in Florida on Friday, November 5, 1920. White, posing as a real estate agent interested in purchasing orange grove property, interviewed several residents in Ocoee and Orlando with knowledge of the Election Day violence. His research in Ocoee was used as a basis for testimony to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Appendix C for a list of published materials related to the Election Day violence.

U.S. House of Representatives Census Committee on December 29 and 30, 1920, in which he discussed the violence in Ocoee as part of testimony related to preventing African Americans from voting.

In addition, the National Equal Rights League requested that U.S. Attorney General Alexander Mitchell Palmer investigate July Perry's lynching and the Election Day violence to determine if any federal statutes were violated. The U.S. Department of Justice assigned its investigation to Florida District Attorney Herbert S. Phillips, who sent three investigators to Ocoee. Phillips narrowly defined the scope of his investigation to whether or not federal election laws were violated and issued a report stating that there was "...no attempt to intimidate any Negroes in the casting of their ballots, and that there was no interference with the voting of qualified Negroes." Additionally, an Orange County grand jury, empaneled by Judge Charles O. Andrews of the 17<sup>th</sup> Judicial Circuit Court, found "no evidence against any one or group of individuals as to who perpetrated the fatalities" that occurred on November 2, 1920. The same grand jury exonerated Estelle and Caretha Perry from charges related to the deaths of Leo R. Borgard and Elmer McDaniels and recommended they be released from jail in Tampa, which they were on Tuesday, November 30, 1920.

## **APPENDIX A**

### Black Residents of Precinct 10 (Ocoee) in the 1920 Census

The table below lists the names of black residents of Ocoee as reported in the 1920 Census, grouped by household. We also present additional information and alternative names or spellings from other source documents, such as property deeds and military records.

#### Exhibit A-1 Census Data

Last Name	Fisrt Name	Relationship <sup>1</sup>	Home Owned /Rented	Sex	Estimated Birth Year	Marital Status	Birthplace	Occupation	Alternative Names or Spellings
Akes	William	Head	Rent	Male	1871	Married	Georgia	Farmhand	Will Aker
Akes	Ida	Wife		Female	1876	Married	Georgia		
Akes	Lilly May	Daughter		Female	1904	Single	Georgia		
Akes	Matty Lou	Daughter		Female	1908	Single	Georgia		
Akes	William	Son		Male	1910	Single	Georgia		
Akes	Emma	Daughter		Female	1912	Single	Florida		
Akes	Rufus	Son		Male	1915	Single	Florida		
Akes	Albert	Son		Male	1917	Single	Florida		
Alexander	Levy	Head	Rent	Male	1888	Single	Alabama	Laborer	
Alexander	Edward	Head	Rent	Male	1895	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Alexander	Rosa	Wife		Female	1901	Married	Florida		
Anderson	Garfield	Head	Own	Male	1883	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Anderson	Janey Bell	Wife		Female	1888	Married	Florida		Janie Bell
Anderson	Sidney	Son		Male	1907	Single	Florida		
Anderson	Edgar	Son		Male	1909	Single	Florida		
Hamilton	George H	Nephew		Male	1911	Single	Florida		
Anderson	Benjamin	Head	Rent	Male	1870	Married	South Carolina	Laborer	Ben Anderson
Anderson	Amanda	Wife		Female	1881	Married	Florida		Mandy Anderson
Barns	Wesley	Head	Rent	Male	1868	Single	Georgia	Laborer	
Battsey	Ernest	Head	Rent	Male	1898	Married	Florida	Laborer	Earnest Betsey
Battsey	Lula	Wife		Female	1903	Married	Florida		
Battsey	Randolph	Head	Own	Male	1864	Married	Florida	Farm Owner	Randall D. or R.D. Betsey
Battsey	Anna	Wife		Female	1873	Married	Florida		Annie Betsey
Battsey	Alice	Daughter		Female	1902	Single	Florida		
Battsey	Bessie	Daughter		Female	1904	Single	Florida		
Blackshear	Martin	Head	Own	Male	1870	Married	Florida	Farmer	
Blackshear	Forndyce	Wife		Female	1876	Married	Florida		
Blackshear	Morgan	Son		Male	1895	Single	Florida		
Blackshear	Abraham	Son		Male	1897	Single	Florida		
Blackshear	Pearl	Daughter		Female	1899	Single	Florida		
Blackshear	Stella	Daughter		Female	1901	Single	Florida		
Blue	Sanborn	Head	Own	Male	1880	Married	North Carolina	Farmer	Sanders, Sanderson, or Sanborri Blue

Last Name	Fisrt Name	Relationship <sup>1</sup>	Home Owned /Rented	Sex	Estimated Birth Year	Marital Status	Birthplace	Occupation	Alternative Names or Spellings
Blue	Tilly	Wife	/Hontou	Female	1890	Married	North Carolina	occupation	Lillie or Lilly Blue
Edwards	William	Boarder		Male	1882	Single	South Carolina	Laborer	
Boatwright	Prince	Head	Rent	Male	1857	Married	South Carolina	Laborer	
Boatwright	Ella	Wife		Female	1873	Married	South Carolina		
Bostick	Aaron	Head	Rent	Male	1873	Married	South Carolina	Farmhand	
Bostick	Molly	Wife		Female	1885	Married	Florida		
Bostick	Hermon	Son		Male	1910	Single	Florida		
Brown	Jacob	Head	Rent	Male	1872	Single	South Carolina	Laborer	Jake Brown
Bruden	Alonzo	Head	Rent	Male	1898	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Bruden	Lena	Wife		Female	1901	Married	Florida		
Canty	Simon B	Head	Rent	Male	1869	Single	South Carolina	Farmhand	
Carter	Nathan	Head	Rent	Male	1893	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Carter	Rosey	Wife		Female	1902	Married	Florida		
Chandler	Nathan	Head		Male	1894	Single	Georgia	Laborer	
Dennis	Thomas	Head	Rent	Male	1864	Married	Georgia	Laborer	
Dennys	Thomas N	Head	Own	Male	1882	Married	Georgia	Laborer	
Dennys	Lucinda	Wife		Female	1891	Married	Georgia		
Dickson	William A	Head	Rent	Male	1879	Widowed	Georgia	Laborer	
Dighs	Edward	Head	Own	Male	1887	Married	Alabama	Farmer	
Dighs	Wilina	Wife		Female	1896	Married	Alabama		Willamina Dighs
Dotts	William	Head	Rent	Male	1900	Married	Georgia	Laborer	
Dozier	Gregory	Head	Rent	Male	1891	Married	South Carolina	Laborer	
Dozier	Illa	Wife		Female	1894	Married	South Carolina		
Dozier	James B	Son		Male	1911	Single	Florida		
Dozier	Mabel	Daughter		Female	1915	Single	Florida		
Thomas	Evelyne	Cousin		Female	1912	Single	South Carolina	Laborer	
Edwards	Marcus	Head	Rent	Male	1882	Married	Alabama	Laborer	
Edwards	Gussie	Wife		Female	1887	Married	Alabama		
Edwards	John	Head	Own	Male	1882	Married	Florida	Farmer	
Edwards	Gence	Wife		Female	1875	Married	Florida		Genie Edwards
Edwards	Osteen	Son		Male	1906	Single	Florida		
Edy	John	Head	Rent	Male	1882	Widowed	South Carolina	Farmhand	John Eady
Edy	Rosa	Daughter		Female	1905	Single	Alabama		Rosa S. Hamiter Eady
Edy	Ernestine	Daughter		Female	1906	Single	South Carolina		
Edy	Josephus	Son		Male	1920	Single	Florida		
Elder	Albert	Head	Rent	Male	1874	Single	Georgia	Laborer	
Findley	Thomas F	Head	Rent	Male	1897	Single	Florida	Laborer	
Finley	Morris	Head	Rent	Male	1894	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Finley	Pearl	Wife		Female	1899	Married	Florida		
Forell	James	Head	Rent	Male	1857	Widowed	Georgia	Laborer	
Frank	Daniel	Head	Own	Male	1879	Married	South Carolina	Farmer	D.R. Franks
Frank	Carrie	Wife		Female	1885	Married	South Carolina		Carrie or C.E. Franks

Last	Fisrt	Deletter	Home Owned	0	Estimated	Marital		0	Alternative Names
Name Jones	Name	Relationship <sup>1</sup> Son-in-law	/Rented	Sex Male	Birth Year 1895	Status Married	Birthplace Tennessee	Occupation Laborer	or Spellings
	Early							Laburer	
Jones	Ella	Wife Son		Female	1901 1902	Married	Florida		
Frank	Allen			Male		Single	Florida		
Frank	Forest	Son		Male	1907	Single	Florida		
Frank	Lea	Son Adapted Con		Male	1910	Single	Florida		
Frank	Frank	Adopted Son		Male	1912	Single	Florida		
Fremain	Olive	Head	Rent	Male	1869	Widowed	North Carolina	Laborer	
Futch	Herman	Head	Rent	Male	1887	Single	Georgia	Farmhand	
Green	Charles H	Head	Rent	Male	1870	Single	Alabama	Laborer	
Green	Sally	Head	Own	Female	1880	Widowed	Florida	Farmer	Sallie Green
Green	Victoria	Daughter		Female	1901	Single	Florida		
Green	Jeremiah	Son		Male	1902	Single	Florida		
Green	Willie Boy	Son		Male	1908	Single	Florida		
Green	Walter	Son		Male	1911	Single	Florida		
Green	Eva	Daughter		Female	1913	Single	Florida		
Green	Racy	Son		Male	1917	Single	Florida		
Green	Walter	Head	Rent	Male	1883	Single	Florida	Farmhand	
Green	Cyrus	Head	Rent	Male	1872	Married	Georgia	Laborer	
Green	Sally	Wife		Female	1872	Married	Georgia		
Hall	James	Head	Rent	Male	1873	Single	Georgia	Laborer	
Howard	James	Boarder		Male	1886	Single	Georgia	Laborer	
Hamriton	Jackson	Head	Own	Male	1860	Married	Alabama	Farm Owner	Jack or J.H. Hamite
Hamriton	Annie	Wife		Female	1870	Married	Alabama		Annie Hamiter
Hamriton	Rosa S	Sister		Female	1863	Single	Alabama		R.S. Hamiter
Hightower	Valentine	Head	Own	Male	1871	Married	South Carolina	Farm Owner	Valantine or V.T. Hightower
Hightower	Janie	Wife		Female	1880	Married	Florida		Jane Hightower
Hightower	Annie	Daughter		Female	1904	Single	Florida		
Hightower	Josephus	Son		Male	1906	Single	Florida		
Hightower	Armstrong	Son		Male	1908	Single	Florida		
lines	Jackson	Head	Rent	Male	1880	Married	Florida	Laborer	
lines	Lucie	Wife		Female	1894	Married	Florida		
Hines	Lela Mary	Daughter		Female	1909	Single	Florida		
Jackson	Henry	Head	Rent	Male	1873	Single	Alabama	Laborer	
Jackson	De Forest	Head	Rent	Male	1874	Married	Florida	Farmhand	
Jackson	Lorenza	Wife		Female	1876	Married	Florida	Washwoman	
Jackson	Lena	Daughter		Female	1896	Single	Florida		
Jackson	Arizona	Daughter		Female	1900	Single	Florida		
Jackson	Etta	Daughter		Female	1902	Single	Florida		
Jackson	Easy	Son		Male	1905	Single	Florida		
Jackson	Flora Bell	Daughter		Female	1908	Single	Florida		
Jackson	Arden	Son		Male	1911	Single	Florida		
Jackson	Esther	Daughter		Female	1913	Single	Florida		
lackson	Rosa	Daughter		Female	1915	Single	Florida		
		-			10	v			

Last	Fisrt	Relationship <sup>1</sup>	Home Owned /Ponted	Sex	Estimated Birth Year	Marital Status	Birthplace	Occupation	Alternative Names or Spellings
Name Jackson	Name Katie Bell	Daughter	/Rented	Female	1916	Status	Florida	Occupation	or Spellings
Jackson	Jessie	Son		Male	1917	Single	Florida		
Jackson	Baby	Daughter		Female	1920	Single	Florida		
Johnson	Stephen	Head	Own	Male	1849	Married	South Carolina	Laborer	Steve Johnson,
Johnson	Julia	Wife		Female	1870	Married	South Carolina		Stephen Johnson, Sr.
Johnson	James	Grandson		Male	1907	Single	Florida		
Johnson	Fredrick	Grandson		Male	1911	Single	Florida		
Johnson	Grefus	Grandson		Male	1912	Single	Florida		
Jones	Richard	Head	Rent	Male	1885	Single	Florida	Laborer	
Kares	Andrew	Head	Rent	Male	1861	Married	Florida	Farmhand	
Kares	Lula	Wife	Hom	Female	1866	Married	Florida	rannana	
Langned	James	Head	Own	Male	1879	Married	Georgia	Farmer	James Langmead,
Langneu	James	neau	UWI	Male	10/9	Marrieu	Georgia	Faillei	James Langmede
Langned	Eva	Wife		Female	1888	Married	Florida		Eva Langmede
Langned	Starland	Son		Male	1909	Single	Georgia		
Lynch	Richard	Head	Own	Male	1857	Married	South Carolina	Laborer	
Lynch	Fanny	Wife		Female	1868	Married	South Carolina		
Mcras	William	Head	Own	Male	1880	Married	South Carolina	Farmhand	W.M. McRhea, William or W.M. McRae
Mcras	Dida	Wife		Female	1884	Married	South Carolina		Dider or Doda McRae
Miller	William	Head	Rent	Male	1894	Single	South Carolina	Laborer	
Milton	William	Head	Rent	Male	1886	Married	Florida	Farmhand	
Milton	Katie G	Wife		Female	1887	Married	Florida		
Milton	Maude	Daughter		Female	1920	Single	Florida		
Mingo	Thomas	Head	Rent	Male	1884	Widowed	South Carolina	Farmhand	
Monroe	Duncan	Head	Rent	Male	1872	Widowed	North Carolina	Laborer	D.A. Monroe
Monroe	Annie Lee	Daughter		Female	1897	Single	North Carolina		
Moore	Rocky	Head	Own	Male	1870	Married	South Carolina	Farmer	
Moore	Daisy	Wife		Female	1875	Married	Georgia		
Moore	Annie M	Daughter		Female	1905	Single	Florida		
Moore	Leola	Daughter		Female	1907	Single	Florida		
Moore	William	Son		Male	1908	Single	Florida		
Moore	Cliford	Son		Male	1911	Single	Florida		
Moore	Imogene	Daughter		Female	1916	Single	Florida		
Morris	Alonzo	Head	Rent	Male	1875	Married	Tennessee	Laborer	
Morris	Mary N	Wife		Female	1891	Married	Florida		
Morris	Aaron M	Son		Male	1909	Single	Florida		
Morris	Willie B	Son		Male	1911	Single	Florida		
Morris	Charles D	Son		Male	1913	Single	Florida		
Morris	Milma	Daughter		Female	1915	Single	Florida		
Morris	Alonzo	Head	Rent	Male	1870	Married	Tennessee	Farmer	
Morris	Minnie	Wife		Female	1888	Married	Florida		
Morris	Aaron	Son		Male	1907	Single	Florida		
Morris	William	Son		Male	1910	Single	Florida		
					11				

Last	Fisrt	Deletterskint	Home Owned	<b>6</b> -11-1	Estimated	Marital	Distington	Occurred's	Alternative Names
Name Morris	Name Abraham	Relationship <sup>1</sup> Son	/Rented	Sex Male	Birth Year 1911	Status Single	Birthplace Florida	Occupation	or Spellings
Morris	Melvina	Daughter		Female	1913	Single	Florida		
Naly	Robert	Head	Rent	Male	1866	Married	Florida	Laborer	R.B. Nealy, Robt. Neely
Naly	Nettie	Wife	neni	Female	1800	Married	Florida	Labuiei	n.d. Nediy, nobi. Neely
Naly	Mary	Daughter		Female	1905	Single	Florida		
Naly	Ida	Daughter		Female	1905	Single	Florida		
-	John	Son		Male	1900	Single	Florida		
Naly Naly	Paul	Son		Male	1907	Single	Florida		
•		Son		Male	1908	-	Florida		
Naly	George		<u> </u>			Single			
Nealy	John	Head	Rent	Male	1896	Married	Florida		John R. Nealy
Nealy	Edna	Wife		Female	1899	Married	Florida	Farmhand	
Nelson	Stephen	Head	Own	Male	1882	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Nelson	Julia	Wife		Female	1896	Married	Florida		
Nelson	Ellen	Daughter		Female	1906	Single	Florida		
Nelson	Edward	Son		Male	1907	Single	Florida		
Nesson	James	Head	Rent	Male	1883	Married	Georgia	Laborer	
Nesson	Anna	Wife		Female	1885	Married	Georgia		
Nesson	George G	Son		Male	1909	Single	Georgia		
Nesson	Jenny Vera	Daughter		Female	1911	Single	Georgia		
Nesson	Louis S	Son		Male	1915	Single	Georgia		
Norman	Moses	Head	Rent	Male	1871	Single	South Carolina	Farmer	Mose or M.N. Norman
Parrish	Henry	Head	Rent	Male	1896	Married	Georgia	Laborer	
Parrish	Viola	Wife		Female	1900	Married	Georgia		
Parrish	Cyntia	Daughter		Female	1915	Single	Florida		
Parrish	Arthur	Son		Male	1917	Single	Florida		
Penger	Perry F	Head	Own	Male	1873	Married	Florida	Farmer	Kerry Penzer
Penger	Elisa	Wife		Female	1882	Married	Florida		Elisa Penzer
Penger	Camilla	Daughter		Female	1901	Single	Florida		
Penger	Cory	Daughter		Female	1903	Single	Florida		
Penger	Edna	Daughter		Female	1904	Single	Florida		
Penger	Edson	Son		Male	1906	Single	Florida		
Perry	Julius P	Head	Own	Male	1870	Married	South Carolina	Laborer	July or J.P. Perry
Perry	Stella	Wife		Female	1884	Married	Georgia		Estella Perry
Perry	Corycha	Daughter		Female	1901	Single	Florida		-
Perry	Charles	Son		Male	1904	Single	Florida		
Perry	Clifford	Son		Male	1906	Single	Florida		
Perry	Louise	Daughter		Female	1908	Single	Florida		
Perry	Adolph	Son		Male	1910	Single	Florida		
Perry	Isaiah	Head	Rent	Male	1895	Single	Florida	Laborer	
Puy	John	Head	Rent	Male	1875	Married	South Carolina	Laborer	
Puy	Anna	Wife		Female	1883	Married	South Carolina		
Roberts	Alexander	Head	Rent	Male	1880	Married	Georgia	Laborer	
Roberts	Maggie	Wife	TION	Female	1891	Married	Florida		
	IVIAYYIC	VVIIC		ICIIIAIC	1091	IVIAITIEU	riuliua		

Last	Fisrt	Delational 1	Home Owned	0	Estimated	Marital		0	Alternative Names
Name Roberts	Name Arthur	Relationship <sup>1</sup> Son	/Rented	Sex Male	Birth Year 1906	Status Single	Birthplace Florida	Occupation	or Spellings
Roberts	Blanche	Daughter		Female	1900	Single	Florida		
Roberts	Robert	Son		Male	1907	Single	Florida		
			Dont					Laborar	
Roe	James C	Head Wife	Rent	Male	1875	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Roe	Essie			Female	1891	Married	Florida		
Roe	Bertha	Daughter		Female	1914	Single	Florida		
Roe	Gussie	Daughter		Female	1917	Single	Florida		
Roe	Edward	Son		Male	1918	Single	Florida	<u> </u>	
Rose	Charles E	Head	Rent	Male	1867	Married	South Carolina	Laborer	
Rose	Emma	Wife		Female	1871	Married	Georgia		
Bostwick	Lilian	Stepdaughter		Female	1909	Single	Florida	Laborer	
Shard	John P	Head	Rent	Male	1866	Married	North Carolina	Farmhand	
Shard	Delia	Wife		Female	1877	Married	Florida		
Shard	Alonzo	Son		Male	1900	Single	Florida		
Shard	Martin	Adopted Son		Male	1906	Single	Florida		
Shard	John Henry	Adopted Son		Male	1914	Single	Florida		
Simmons	George T	Head	Rent	Male	1873	Widowed	Georgia	Laborer	
Simmons	Stry	Head	Rent	Male	1892	Married	Florida	Farmhand	
Simmons	Odessy	Wife		Female	1898	Married	Florida		
Simmons	Viola	Daughter		Female	1916	Single	Florida		
Simmons	Willie	Son		Male	1918	Single	Florida		
Simmons	Rooseweldt	Son		Male	1919	Single	Florida		
Simpson	Bessie	Head	Rent	Female	1894	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Simpson	Clarence	Son		Male	1913	Single	Florida		
Simpson	Cornelius	Son		Male	1915	Single	Florida		
Slater	Victoria	Head	Own	Female	1895	Widowed	Georgia	Washwoman	
Slater	Mason S	Son		Male	1913	Single	Georgia		
Surrency	Jessie	Head	Own	Male	1884	Married	Georgia	Farmer	J.C. Surrency
Surrency	Grace	Wife		Female	1882	Married	Georgia		Gracy Surrency
Surrency	Anna Louisa	Daughter		Female	1901	Single	Georgia		
Surrency	Eamett	Son		Male	1906	Single	Georgia		
Surrency	Pearl	Daughter		Female	1908	Single	Georgia		
Surrency	Ruth	Daughter		Female	1909	Single	Georgia		
Thomas	Wilson B	Head	Rent	Male	1867	Single	Tennessee	Laborer	
Tremont	Charles	Head	Rent	Male	1871	Married	Georgia	Laborer	
Tremont	Stella	Wife	וזכוונ	Female	1871	Married	Georgia	Labuiti	
			Dont				-	Formhand	
Turner	Peter	Head	Rent	Male	1883	Single	Alabama	Farmhand	
Warn	Wade	Head	Rent	Male	1885	Married	Florida	Laborer	
Warn	Rena	Wife		Female	1895	Married	Florida		
Warn	Ramon	Son		Male	1912	Single	Florida		
Warn	Bulah	Daughter		Female	1915	Single	Florida		
Warn	Wilbur	Son		Male	1917	Single	Florida		
Warn	Edward	Son		Male	1918	Single	Florida		

Last Name	Fisrt Name	Relationship <sup>1</sup>	Home Owned /Rented	Sex	Estimated Birth Year	Marital Status	Birthplace	Occupation	Alternative Names or Spellings
Warn	Boyd	Son	/Hontou	Male	1920	Single	Florida	oooupadon	or oponings
Warren	Wade	Head	Own	Male	1874	Married	South Carolina	Laborer and Farmer	Wade Warron
Warren	Rhina	Wife		Female	1895	Married	Florida		Rhina Warron, Rena Warren
Warren	Rosie	Daughter		Female	1913	Single	Florida		
Warren	Porter	Son		Male	1914	Single	Florida		
Warren	William	Son		Male	1916	Single	Florida		
Warren	Edward	Son		Male	1918	Single	Florida		
Warren	Baby	Son		Male	1920	Single	Florida		
Wheeler	William	Head	Rent	Male	1875	Single	Florida	Laborer	
Younger	Linus	Head	Rent	Male	1896	Single	Alabama	Laborer	Lynus Younger

<sup>1</sup> The category head in the 1920 Census refers to head of household, a term the Census Bureau used until 1980. The head of household was used to provide a reference to others in the household. For example, the category of daughter would mean the daughter of the head of the household. In 1920, the Census Bureau's practice was to classify the husband as the reference person (head) when a man and woman were married and residing in the same household.

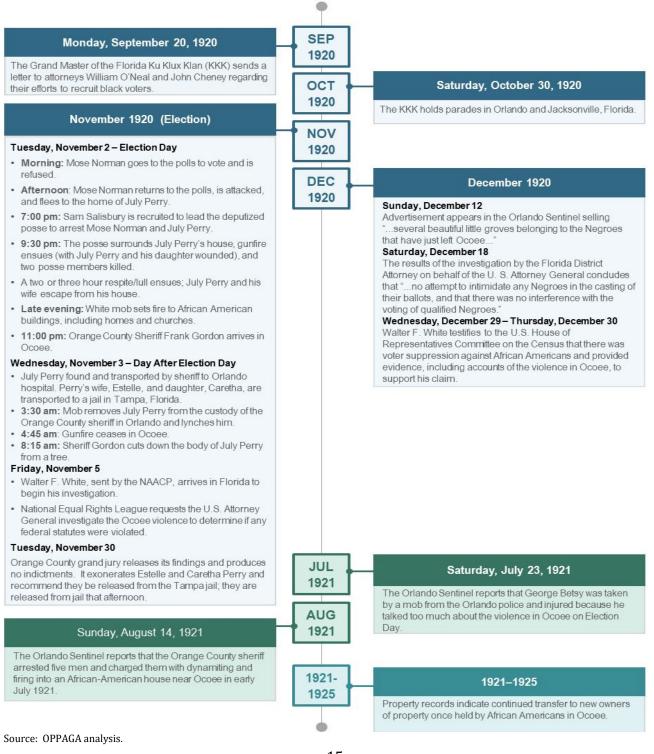
Source: List of black residents in the 1920 Census, Fourteen Census of the United States, Orange County, Florida, Precinct 10.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **Timeline of Ocoee Election Day Violence Events**

This exhibit briefly describes events that occurred before, during, and after Election Day 1920 in Ocoee, Florida.

### Exhibit B-1 Dates of Key Events



### **APPENDIX C**

### **Literature Review**

The following list of resources represents a list of published material related to the Election Day violence in Ocoee, Florida on November 2, 1920, and its aftermath.

#### Exhibit C-1 Florida Newspaper Articles

Newspaper	Edition Date	Author	Headline	Summary
Daytona Daily News	11/3/1920		Race Riots Near Orlando. Two White Men Dead, One Negro Hanged, Others Killed; Negro Huts Burned—Trouble Started at Ocoee By Negro Who Brought Shot Gun to the Polls	Reports of a riot in Ocoee after Mose Norman showed up at the polls with a shotgun. Estimates of 15 African Americans killed and all the African-American houses in town burned.
The Florida Times Union	11/3/1920		Race Riot in Orange County	Reported race riot in Ocoee stating one African American was killed and 50 car loads of men left Orlando to help preserve order.
The Ocala Evening Star	11/3/1920	Associated Press (AP)	Outbreak at Ocoee	Reports that Perry was lynched and deaths of two white men and "an unknown number of negroes." States that 50 carloads of men left Orlando to help preserve order.
The Orlando Evening Star	11/3/1920		Eight Known to Be Dead as Result of Ocoee Riot	Reports that Leo Borgard and Elmer McDaniels were killed in the attempt to arrest Mose Norman. Also reports that "six negroes are known to be dead" and July Perry lynched. Perry was taken to the Orange General Hospital by Sheriff Gordon
The Tampa Daily Times	11/3/1920		Negro Who Killed Two Men at Ocoee Now Hangs in Tree	Reports that Perry of Ocoee, who killed two white men, was hanging from a tree outside of Orlando.
The Tampa Morning Tribune	11/3/1920		2 Whites Killed, 3 Wounded, Near Ocoee	Reports that two white men were killed and three white men and at least one African American were wounded. States than Orange County sheriff Frank Gordon, accompanied by "a dozen or more" deputies, led a party of more than 100 men to the scene.
The Daily Democrat (now the Tallahassee Democrat)	11/4/1920	AP	Eight Slain in Orlando Riot	Reports that the area near Ocoee is quiet while being patrolled by former service men after "two whites and six blacks were killed in the clash."
The Florida Times Union	11/4/1920		Serious Clash in Orange County Election Day	Reports that July Perry carried a shotgun to the polls and that two white men were killed. July Perry was killed, an "unknown number of negroes killed," and 25 houses, two churches, and one lodge were destroyed by fire. Same article goes on to say that Mose Norman was the one who had not paid his poll tax and was not allowed to vote. Also reports that Orlando Chief of Police Vistel arrested Perry and took him to the county jail.
Jacksonville Daily Journal	11/4/1920		Several Killed in Election Riot	Report of two whites shot to death, one African American lynched, and several African Americans perished when buildings were burned. Also reports that more than 20 buildings were burned, with explosions occurring from large amounts of ammunition. Reports that July Perry had attempted to vote but was denied because he had not paid his poll tax.
Miami Daily Metropolis	11/4/1920	AP	Patrolling Streets of Ocoee Prevents Recurrence of Riot	Reports that former service men are patrolling Orlando and Ocoee. Reports eight dead from the clash including two whites and six African Americans.

Newspaper	Edition Date	Author	Headline	Summary
The Miami Herald	11/4/1920		Number of Dead in Ocoee Not Known	Article states that the full casualty list was not received but that two whites were shot, one African American was lynched, and several others perished. The report states that towns in Orange County were being patrolled by sheriff's deputies and American Legion members. Orlando was being patrolled by 250 ex-service members under three Army captains.
The Ocala Evening Star	11/4/1920	AP	A Severe Lesson to the Negroes	Reports quiet after former service men patrolled the area where two whites and six African Americans were killed. This article also states, "twenty-five negro houses, two negro churches, and a negro lodge destroyed by fire."
Orlando Morning Sentinel	11/4/1920		As Negro Houses Burned at Ocoee, Great Mass of Ammunition is Exploded	Reports that a fight broke out in Ocoee after July Perry carried a shotgun to the polls. Reports two whites and an unknown number of African Americans killed. Also reports that the local post of the American Legion, led by Captain LeRoy Giles, had established patrols to restore order in Orlando and Ocoee. Also reports that two deputies from Orlando transported Estelle and Caretha Perry to Tampa.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	11/4/1920		The Race Trouble	Short article reports death of "two white men and several negroes." States that Orange County has "a long, clean record in racial matters."
The Pensacola Journal	11/4/1920	AP	Three Dead in Election Riot	Reports two whites shot to death, one African American lynched, and several African Americans perished when more than 20 buildings in the African-American settlement burned. The report also states that Perry was taken by a mob and lynched after having his wounds treated at the hospital.
St. Petersburg Daily Times	11/4/1920	AP	Orange County Awakes After Election Riots	Reports more than 20 buildings, including two churches and a lodge hall, were burned in Election Day violence in which one African American was lynched, two whites were killed by gun fire, and ammunition stored in the church exploded.
The Tampa Morning Tribune	11/4/1920		Ocoee Race War Ends with Death List at Eight	Reports the death of two whites and six African Americans. Reports that the posse was led by Sam Salisbury, who served as a Major in World War I. Also reports that a white mob overpowered officer T. P. Smith, who was the only officer on duty at the jail where July Perry was being detained. Also reports that Perry's wife, Estelle, and daughter, Caretha, were taken to Tampa.
The Florida Times Union	11/5/1920		Negroes Leave Ocoee: All Reported Quiet	Reports that Perry's wife and daughter, Caretha, were taken to Tampa. Also reports that African Americans were seen walking away from Ocoee but not leaving by train.
The Ocala Banner	11/5/1920		Eight Persons Killed as the Result of Ocoee Riots	Reports eight dead: Leo Borgard, Elmer McDaniels, and six African Americans, including five who died in fires and July Perry.
The Orlando Evening Star	11/5/1920		Negro Boy Hid Away for 48 Hours Without Food or Water	Reports that Chester Plummer, 17 years old, hid out under a store for two days. He was employed by J.F. Hodges, who owned the Coca Cola Bottling Works in Ocoee.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	11/5/1920		All Quiet at Ocoee and Orange County	Reports that all is quiet in Ocoee and throughout Orange County, with heavy pickets of men on the Ocoee road. The commanding officer of the patrols was Captain Ayers.

Newspaper	Edition Date	Author	Headline	Summary
The Tampa Daily Times	11/5/1920		Eight Dead in Orlando Riots	Reports that Orlando and surrounding communities are quiet following race trouble in Ocoee and that the whole county was under patrol of ex-servicemen the previous night. Also reports eight deaths from the violence. Perry's wife, Estelle, had escaped to Apopka and was delivered to authorities there for fear of reprisals.
The Tampa Morning Tribune	11/5/1920		The Ocoee Horror	Provides an editorial comment on the Ocoee violence and recommends "any trouble-inclined negroes in Florida to get it out their head at once that the Republican victory in the national election is going to mean one single thing different in the matter of racial affliction and rights in Florida."
The Florida Times Union	11/6/1920		Small Negro Boy Hid Under Store at Ocoee 48 Hours	Report of 15-year-old Chester Plummer, an employee of the Chero Cola Bottling Works, hiding out under a store for two days. Reports that Ocoee is quiet "but most of the homes of the colored folks and one church were burned."
The Ocala Evening Star	11/6/1920	AP	The "Martyred" Perry	Article states that the National Equal Rights League asked the U.S. Attorney General to investigate the lynching of Jules Perry.
The Ocala Evening Star	11/6/1920		Ocoee's Deplorable Affair	Opinion piece suggesting that African Americans should not arm themselves with high powered rifles and large stocks of ammunition. Suggests that news prior to the incident was designed to cause discontent and promote strife. States that now that the disturbance has ended, all citizens should forget it.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	11/6/1920		Requests Attorney General to Investigate the Ocoee Race Riots	Reports that the National Equal Rights League requested a federal investigation of the lynching of July Perry and the other deaths in Ocoee. The request was made of the U.S. Attorney General because the "federal government should defend a citizen's right to vote."
Orlando Morning Sentinel	11/6/1920		The Ocoee Horror	Reprints a copy of an editorial from the Tampa Tribune that states "there will always be some things reserved exclusively for the white men and women of this state; but there will always be the same old willingness to help the negro, as a race and as individuals, to all that is good for them and for the best interests of both them and their white friends."
The Tampa Morning Tribune	11/6/1920		Charge Ocoee Affair to the Ku Klux Klan	Reports that the National Equal Rights League requested Attorney General Palmer to investigate the lynching of Jules Perry.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	11/7/1920		Card of Thanks From Bereaved Family at Winter Garden	Reports that Mr. W.C. Borgard and family wanted to thank their friends and the community for those who shared their sorrow over the death of their son, Leo Borgard, who was "killed by the negro, July Perry."
The Ocala Evening Star	11/9/1920			Article states that the Orlando Reporter-Star "warns the negroes of Orange County not to encourage any move toward investigation" by the federal government.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	11/11/1920		City to Play Host to All Ex-Service Men at Big Supper	Reports that the city of Orlando voted to have all ex- service men as guests of the city for their service following "patrolling of the city during the period immediately following the Ocoee trouble." A resolution of thanks was also passed by the city commissioners.
The Ocala Banner	11/12/1920			Reports that the entire African-American population has deserted Ocoee.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	11/13/1920		Reunion of Vets Came to Close After Notable Session; Are Greatly Pleased	Reports that veterans of the Confederacy participating in a reunion in Orlando toured Ocoee, "the scene of the recent race riot."

Newspaper	Edition Date	Author	Headline	Summary
The Tampa Morning Tribune	11/18/1920			Notes that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) announced that 30 African Americans were killed in Ocoee but states that the NAACP lied.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	12/1/1920		Grand Jury Gives Report Ocoee Trouble	Provides the results of the grand jury empaneled by Judge Charles O. Andrews to conduct an inquiry into the Ocoee trouble. The jury found "no evidence against any one or any group of individuals as to who perpetrated the fatalities" after interviewing 21 witnesses.
Miami Daily Metropolis	12/2/1920	AP	Return No Indictments In Ocoee Election Riot	Reports that the special grand jury investigating the Ocoee violence failed to develop evidence which would warrant indictments. Also reported that the sheriff in Tampa released Estelle and Caretha Perry.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	12/2/1920		Widow of July Perry, Lynched Near Ocoee, Released from Jail	Reports that Tampa Sheriff B.A. White released the wife and daughter of July Perry. Also reports that a party of four men from Orlando called on the two women in jail but were refused admission.
St. Petersburg Daily Times	12/2/1920		No Indictments in Race Riots	Reports that the special grand jury investigating the Election Day riot in Ocoee failed to develop evidence that would warrant indictments. Also stated that Perry's wife and daughter were exonerated from any participation in the trouble.
The Tampa Daily Times	12/2/1920		Perry Women Turned Loose	Reports that Estelle Perry and Caretha Perry were released from jail on Tuesday (11/30/1920) when the grand jury held no one responsible.
The Tampa Morning Tribune	12/2/1920		Grand Jury's Findings in Ocoee Trouble Are Blank	Reports that grand jury empaneled by Judge C. O. Andrews of the 17th Judicial Circuit Court found "no evidence against any one or any group of individuals as to who perpetrated the fatalities." The jury also exonerated Perry's widow and daughter and recommended their release from a Tampa jail.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	12/3/1920		Ex-Service Men, Attention	Notice to all ex-servicemen who volunteered their services during "the Ocoee trouble" are invited to a banquet at 8pm at the San Juan Coffee Shop hosted by the city.
The Palm Beach Post	12/3/1920	AP	Find No Indictments in Election Riots	Reports that the special grand jury investigating the riot at Ocoee failed to develop evidence which would warrant indictments. The article reports that "while the bodies of five negroes were identified after the riot, it is said that others were killed." The article also states, "the verdict of the coroner's jury was to the effect that the two white men and Perry met death at the hands of 'unknown parties.'"
The Tampa Morning Tribune	12/11/1920		Evidence or Accusation?	Editorial comment on the lack of evidence that the South was not allowing African Americans to vote and that the man trying to vote in Ocoee was not qualified to vote.
The Tampa Morning Tribune	12/15/1920		Ku Klux Klan Seeks "Invasion" New York	Reports that the NAACP made public a letter requesting the federal district attorney investigate the establishment of a Ku Klux Klan branch in New York. Also stated that the NAACP has evidence of killing of more than 30 African Americans in election riots in Florida.
Lakeland Evening Telegram	12/17/1920	AP	Ocoee Riot to be Probed by Federal District Attorney	Reports that the federal district attorney for Florida has been instructed by the Department of Justice (DOJ) to determine if any federal statutes were violated.
Miami Daily Metropolis	12/17/1920	AP	Investigation of Election Riot in Florida Ordered	Reports that the federal district attorney in Florida has been instructed by the US Department of Justice to investigate the Election Day violence in Ocoee to determine if federal statutes were violated. Also reports that Henry F. White of the NAACP told DOJ officials that between 32 and 35 African Americans were killed after Mose Norman attempted to vote.

Newspaper	Edition Date	Author	Headline	Summary
The Ocala Evening Star	12/17/1920		Herbert Philips Will Make a Report on the Killing November 2nd of Negroes at Ocoee	Reports that US DOJ has instructed Federal District Attorney Phillips to investigate the Ocoee election riots to determine if federal statutes were violated.
The Tampa Daily Times	12/17/1920		Ocoee Election Riots to be Probed by the Government	Reports that the federal district attorney for Florida has been directed by the US Department of Justice to investigate the riots in Ocoee, Florida.
Miami Daily Metropolis	12/18/1920	AP	Only Five Deaths in Election Day Riots in Ocoee	Reports that the federal district attorney, Herbert S. Phillips, stated that only five deaths occurred as part of the Election Day violence in Ocoee, including two African-American women, one African-American man, and two white men. He stated that the report by the NAACP of more than 30 African Americans killed "is greatly exaggerated or highly misleading." The report also states that the Orlando Morning Sentinel staff found 3 African Americans dead in addition to July Perry.
Orlando Morning Sentinel	12/18/1920		Race Trouble at Ocoee, FLA Nov 2 is Exaggerated	Reports that federal investigators only reported five deaths, while the NAACP reported over 30. The Florida federal district attorney, Herbert S. Phillips, reported five deaths (two African-American women, one African- American man, and two white men).
St. Petersburg Daily Times	12/18/1920	AP	Denies Killing of 30 Negroes	Reports that the federal district attorney for Florida contradicted statements attributed to Henry F. White and that only five deaths occurred during the trouble in Ocoee—two African-American women, one African-American man, and two white men.
The Tampa Daily Times	12/18/1920		Negro Voting Charge to be Investigated	Reports that the House Census Committee will hear charges that African Americans in the southern states were not permitted to vote. Also reports that the federal district attorney of Florida, who investigated the riots in Ocoee, reported a total of five deaths—two African-American women, one African-American man, and two white men.
The Tampa Morning Tribune	12/18/1920		Only Five Killed in Ocoee Race Trouble	Reported the results of the investigation by Federal District Attorney Herbert S. Phillips of the deaths of two African-American women, one African-American man, and two white men in Ocoee. The report by the district attorney also stated that African Americans reported "no attempt to intimidate any negroes in the casting of their ballots, and that there was no interference with the voting of qualified negroes."
The Tampa Sunday Tribune	12/19/1920		The NAACP Lied	Provides an editorial comment on a letter received from NAACP representative Walter F. White and the report by the federal district attorney of Florida and concluded that the NAACP lied about the number of deaths in Ocoee.
The Ocala Banner	12/24/1920			Reports that the federal district attorney of Florida has been directed by US DOJ to investigate the election riots in Ocoee. Henry F. White of the NAACP said that there were reports of 32-35 African Americans killed.
The Tampa Daily Times	12/29/1920		Charges Start Hot Battle in Meeting Today	Reports of testimony to the House Census Committee on Ku Klux Klan parades in Jacksonville, Florida and that one African American killed in Orange County, Florida was a qualified voter.
Lakeland Evening Telegram	12/30/1920		Southern Congressmen Roused by Insulting Reference to the South	Southern members of the US House aroused over charge from Walter White that most southern white people are lawless. References made to the committee regarding Ocoee and Ku Klux Klan in Jacksonville, Florida.
The Tampa Daily Times	12/30/1920		Floridians Will Refute Charges That Negroes Not Allowed to Vote in State	Reports on the charges against Florida by Walter F. White that 32-35 African Americans were burned in Ocoee.
Miami Daily Metropolis	12/31/1920	AP	FLA Congressmen to Refute Charge Made by Negroes	Reports that Florida congressmen announced that they would go before the House Census Committee to refute charges of discrimination against African-American voters.

Newspaper	Edition Date	Author	Headline	Summary
The Tampa Daily Times	12/31/1920		Floridians Will Refute Charges	Reports that Florida congressman announced that they will go before the House Census Committee to refute charges by the NAACP regarding alleged discrimination against African-American voters.
The Pensacola Journal	1/1/1921	AP	Refute Charges of Discrimination	Reports that members of the Florida congressional delegation will go before the House Census Committee to refute charges of alleged discrimination against African-American voters. Article quotes a statement from Representatives Clark and Sears stating, "as far as the Ocoee matter is concerned, the Department of Justice has exploded the idea of any thirty or more persons have been killed there and reported about five, two of whom were whites."
The Lakeland Evening Telegram	7/23/1921		Negro at Orlando Taken from Police and Whipped	Reports that George Betsey, said to be implicated in the Ocoee race riots, was taken by a mob from police custody and whipped.
The Orlando Sentinel	9/7/1986	Jay Hamburg	Ocoee Living Down Past 66 Years After Race Riot	Article discusses work by the city of Ocoee to welcome and to hire African Americans 66 years after the Election Day incident.
The Orlando Sentinel	9/7/1986	Bill Bond	Fiery Battle Smolders in City's Past	This article provides a summary of the Election Day events as recounted by Richard Allen Franks and Coretha Perry Caldwell.
The Orlando Sentinel	2/21/1989	Karen Samsock	Hurston's Vivid Tale of Riot Comes Alive in Magazine	Reports the publication in Essence Magazine of an account of the Ocoee riot written by Zora Neale Hurston in the 1920s and 1930s.
The Orlando Sentinel	2/21/1993	Trish Martin	90-Year-Old Looks Back on Uncle's Lynching	Interview with Allen Frank, nephew of July Perry, about his recollection of the Election Day incident. He had previously been interviewed by Lester Dobbs for his master's thesis.
The Orlando Sentinel	3/27/1994	Jerry Fallstrom	Victims of Ocoee Violence Have Little Hope of Payment	Article reports that attorneys for the Rosewood survivors say that "the state would have no obligation to compensate the survivors or descendants of the Ocoee riot" because the Ocoee event lasted less than one day and were paid for their land losses.
Orlando Weekly	10/1/1998	Edward Ericson, Jr	Dead Wrong	Reports on a Borders Books forum on the Ocoee incident and work by Francine Boykin of the Democracy Forum to collect a list of African Americans who owned homes or property in Ocoee in 1920. The article lists African-American residents of Ocoee in 1920.
The Orlando Sentinel	2/5/2001	Michael McLeod and Joy Wallace Dickinson	Ocoee Race Riot Scars Generations	Article reports on the letter from an African-American midwife, Mrs. JH Hamiter, and the changes in the African-American population in Ocoee.
South Florida Sun Sentinel	6/1/2002	Gregory Lewis	Armstrong Hightower, Fled After Lynching	Obituary for Armstrong Hightower, who died on May 24, 2002, at age 94 and had been forced to flee Ocoee when he was 12 years old in November 1920.
The Orlando Sentinel	1/26/2003	Beth Kassab	Ocoee Strives to Bury Past by Fixing Cemetery	Article reports that an Ocoee cemetery for African- American families that was abandoned in 1920 will be restored after a vote by the Ocoee City Commission.
The Orlando Sentinel	4/21/2018	Stephen Hudak	Ocoee Struggles With Racial Legacy as National Memorial Recognizing Lynching Victims Opens	Reports on the opening of the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama. The memorial includes a marker for Orange County with 33 victims, 32 linked to Ocoee, according to the Equal Justice Initiative.
The Guardian	1/3/2019	Richard Luscombe	"The Sunrise City": Florida Community Reconciles with History of 1920s Race Riot	Reports that the Alabama-based Equal Justice Initiative incorporated Ocoee into its National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama and discusses work by Ocoee to come to terms with its past.

Source: OPPAGA review of Florida newspapers articles.

### Exhibit C-2 Out-of-State Newspaper Accounts

U.S. State, Territory, or Foreign Country	Number of Articles on Ocoee Violence or Its Aftermath
Alabama	14
Arkansas	4
Arizona	5
California	9
Canada	11
Colorado	2
Connecticut	3
Delaware	3
District of Columbia	6
Georgia	3
Hawaii	1
Illinois	11
Indiana	18
lowa	15
Kansas	28
Kentucky	6
Louisiana	6
Maryland	2
Massachusetts	9
Michigan	5
Minnesota	2
Mississippi	5
Missisippi	6
Montana	6
Nebraska	3
North Carolina	29
North Dakota	2
New Jersey	3
New Mexico	1
New York	24
Nevada	2
Ohio	14
Oklahoma	14
	3
Oregon	22
Pennsylvania South Coordina	6
South Carolina	
Tennessee	13
Texas	18
Utah	6
Vermont	11
Virginia	10
Washington	1
West Virginia	1
Wisconsin	18
Wyoming	1

Source: OPPAGA review of newspapers from other states and Canada.

### Exhibit C-3 Academic Papers

Author	Date	Title	Summary
Armstead, Cathleen L.	February 2002	Competing Narratives, Fragmented Community: Stories of the Ocoee Massacre of 1920	This study, published in <i>Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference</i> of <i>Historians</i> , documents the work of the Democracy Forum, a small, diverse group of Central Florida residents who conducted research related to July Perry and the Ocoee massacre.
Cardwell, Kathy A. F.	May 1992	Racial Justice: Orange County 1920-1970	This master's degree thesis uses newspaper accounts and Dabbs' thesis to describe the Ocoee incident in the context of new voting rights in 1920 for women and the assertion of voting rights by African-American males returning from World War I.
Cassanello, Robert	2016	The Right to Vote and the Long Nineteenth Century in Florida	This article examines the right to vote in the U.S. in the 1800s and early 1900s. The article makes the point that the U.S. is unique because there were national, state, and local voting regulations that applied. Ocoee is briefly mentioned in the context of actions by whites to suppress voting by African Americans.
Colburn, David R.	1997	Rosewood and America in the Early Twentieth Century	This article specifically mentions the Ocoee incident on page 190, which notes the death of six African Americans and the presence of a "deputized posse."
Dabbs, Lester, Jr	1969	A Report of the Circumstances and Events of the Race Riot on November 2, 1920, in Ocoee, Florida	This master's degree thesis paper describes the community of Ocoee and the events of November 2, 1920. It provides a total population of 1,100 but in an area that was not well-defined, as Ocoee was not yet incorporated. It also mentions Clyde Pounds as the deputy sheriff deputizing 20 men as a posse.
Fussell, Melissa	2016	Dead Men Bring No Claims: How Takings Claims Can Provide Redress for Real Property Owning Victims of Jim Crow Race Riots	This law review article examines the specific case of July Perry from Ocoee and explores the legal case for taking claims as a means of redress for descendants of victims who lost real property as a result of this incident.
Gama, Yuri K.	2015	Parramore and the Interstate 4: A World Torn Assunder (1880-1980)	This master's degree thesis discusses the history of Parramore, an African-American neighborhood in Orlando, and the effects of constructing Interstate 4 through this neighborhood. On page 65, the paper briefly describes the Ocoee incident in a broader context of challenges to voting rights by African Americans.
Hoffmann, Carlee and Strom, Claire	2014	A Perfect Storm: The Ocoee Riot of 1920	This article provides a detailed account of the Election Day events at Ocoee. The article states that the total number of African Americans killed in the riot is unknown and that within days of the riot, nearly all African Americans had left the town.
Jackson, David H. and Elliott, Kimberlyn M.	2016	African Americans in Florida, 1870-1920: A Historiographical Essay	This essay is a review of the scholarly works published on the subject of African Americans in Florida from 1870 to 1920. Ocoee is specifically mentioned on page 166 and reports 60 African Americans and two whites died and 496 African Americans were displaced.
Lawrence, Jennifer	April 2000	A Tale of Two Histories: The Historiographical Journey of the 1920 Ocoee, Florida Race Riot	This senior essay examines the remembrances of Lester Dabbs (former mayor of Ocoee) and Jack Hamiter (nephew of a survivor of the Ocoee Election Day violence). The paper talks about the different versions of Ocoee, with an African-American heritage versus a success story of white supremacy.
Parrish, Vernon E.	1949	Bloodshed, the Price of History	This term paper uses newspaper articles and personal interviews to report the events of the Election Day violence in Ocoee.
Parry, Katherine K.	2008	Constructing African American Histories in Central Florida	This master's degree thesis paper discusses the struggle to construct a truthful narrative about the Election Day violence in Ocoee.
Ricks, Lenehn; Glass, Courtney; Skinner, Jeremy; and Dove, Sylvia	2007	Southern Truth and Reconciliation: Narrative Summaries and Chart	This document is a collection of the work of several groups throughout the United States working on reconciliation from racial violence. Pages 2-5 discuss the work of the Democracy Forum in Ocoee.

Source: OPPAGA review of academic journal articles.

#### Exhibit C-4 Books

Author	Title	Publishing Information	Summary
Bell, Gladys Franks	Visions Through My Father's Eyes	AuthorCentrix, 2018	This book is written by the daughter of Richard Allen Franks, who was 17 years old at the time of the incident and was the son of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) minister in Ocoee. It includes a collection of newspaper articles related to the Ocoee incident in addition to family accounts of the incident.
Chalmers, David	Notes on Writing the History of the Ku Klux Klan	University Press of Florida, 2013	Page 53 briefly mentions the work of Walter White of the NAACP to research the Ocoee incident and states that "the election day had cost more than thirty lives."
Dunn, Marvin	The Beast in Florida: A History of Anti-Black Violence	University Press of Florida, 2013	Pages 89-96 provide a detailed account of the Ocoee incident. Accounts say that Sheriff Gordon's representative, Clyde Pounds, authorized deputizing a posse to arrest Mose Norman and July Perry.
McCarthy, Kevin	African American Sites in Florida	Pineapple Press, 2007	Page 196 provides a short account of the incident and states that "all of the blacks of the town who were alive after the attack left town as quickly as they could."
Newton, Michael	The Invisible Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Florida	University Press of Florida, 2001	Page 50 provides a brief account of the Ocoee incident and suggests that the white mob gathered outside of July Perry's home was made up of "armed vigilantes, probably Klansmen."
Ortiz, Paul	Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida From Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920	University of California Press, 2005	Pages 220-224 provide a detailed account of the incident. They include the account from Hattie Smith of Ohio that "my poor sister-in-law, her husband and child had perished in the flames along with probably twenty others"
Shofner, Jerrell H.	History of Apopka and Northwest Orange County, Florida	Sentry Press, 1982	Pages 193-194 provide a brief overview of the Ocoee incident, noting that American Legion posts from Orlando, Winter Garden, and Apopka sent men to Ocoee.

Source: OPPAGA review of books.

### Exhibit C-5 Magazine Articles

Author	Title	Issue	Summary
Byrne, Jason	Ocoee On Fire: The 1920 Election Day Massacre	Florida History – Medium November 23, 2014	This article discusses the friendship between July Perry, Mose Norman, and Valentine Hightower as they established their homes in Ocoee and the events of Election Day, November 2, 1920.
Hurston, Zora Neale (with an introduction by Vertamae Smart- Grosvenor)	The Ocoee Riot	Essence Magazine, February 1989	This essay includes an introduction written by Vertamae Smart- Grosvenor. The original piece was written as part of the Federal Writers' Project. The essay recounts the incident in Ocoee. The account states that African Americans in Ocoee were "swarming to the polls" and voting peacefully until a group of whites from Winter Garden urged the white residents of Ocoee to stop them.
Maraniss, Andrew	Legacy of Bloody Election Day Lingers in Florida Town	The Undefeated, November 4, 2016	This article provides a summary of the Ocoee incident and the efforts of reconciliation in the community.
Trillin, Calvin	U.S. Journal: Ocoee, Florida	The New Yorker, July 7, 1980	This article discusses an agenda item on the Ocoee City Council to secede from Orange County and form their own county. The article summarizes the Election Day riot and states, "before it was over, two white men had been shot and killed, at least eight black people had been killed, a number of houses in the black section of town had been burned to the ground, and July Perry had been lynched."
Ware, Adam	The Conflicting Testimony Continues: The Ocoee Riot, 95 Years Later	Reflections: The Quarterly Magazine of the Historical Society of Central Florida, Spring 2015	This article summarizes what was known about the Ocoee incident in 2015 and notes that the number of African Americans killed is "somewhere between four and 56."

Author The Weekly Challenger	Title The Ocoee Massacre	Issue The Weekly Challenger, November 5, 2015	Summary This article describes the Ocoee incident and states that "about 500 African Americans in total were driven out of Ocoee" and that Walter White learned that "about 56 African Americans were killed
			in the massacre."

Source: OPPAGA review of magazine articles.

### Exhibit C-6 Digital Archives

Source	Title	Link
E.O. Painter Printing	History of Orange County Florida	http://www.genealogytrails.com/fla/orange/chapt7.html
Company	Narrative and Biographical	
Equal Justice Initiative	Lynching in America: A Community	https://eji.org/news/eji-unveils-historical-marker-recognizing-
	Remembrance Project	<u>lynching-in-orlando-florida</u>
Florida Memory, State	Ocoee Church Records and	https://floridamemory.com
Library and Archives of	WWI Service Cards	
Florida		
Footprints in the Dust	The Ocoee Massacre	http://sob-leaningleft.blogspot.com/2011/06/florida-racial-
Blog		<u>violence.html</u>
Monroe Work	Map of White Supremacy Mob	http://www.monroeworktoday.org/explore/
	Violence	
National Association for	Eleventh Annual Report of the NAACP	http://media.mnhs.org/things/duluthlynchings/00001826.pdf
the Advancement of	for the Year 1920	
Colored People		
UCF RICHES Mosaic	Interview with historian Paul Ortiz;	https://richesmi.cah.ucf.edu/omeka/items/show/2502
Interface	focuses on the Florida Voter	
	Registration Movement of 1919-20,	
	the sociopolitical climate at the time	
	of the election, and the issue of	
	African-American military men	
	returning from WWI to find	
	democracy in unrest.	
UCF RICHES Mosaic	The Legacy of the Ocoee Riot	https://richesmi.cah.ucf.edu/omeka/items/show/2454
Interface		

Source: OPPAGA review of online sources.

This page is intentionally left blank



OPPAGA provides performance and accountability information about Florida government in several ways.

- <u>Reports</u> deliver program evaluation and policy analysis to assist the Legislature in overseeing government operations, developing policy choices, and making Florida government more efficient and effective.
- Government Program Summaries (GPS), an online encyclopedia, <u>www.oppaga.state.fl.us/government</u>, provides descriptive, evaluative, and performance information on more than 200 Florida state government programs.
- <u>PolicyNotes</u>, an electronic newsletter, delivers brief announcements of research reports, conferences, and other resources of interest for Florida's policy research and program evaluation community.
- Visit OPPAGA's website at <u>www.oppaga.state.fl.us</u>.

OPPAGA supports the Florida Legislature by providing data, evaluative research, and objective analyses that assist legislative budget and policy deliberations. This project was conducted in accordance with applicable evaluation standards. Copies of this report in print or alternate accessible format may be obtained by telephone (850/488-0021), by FAX (850/487-3804), in person, or by mail (OPPAGA Report Production, Claude Pepper Building, Room 312, 111 W. Madison St., Tallahassee, FL 32399-1475).

**OPPAGA website:** <u>www.oppaga.state.fl.us</u> Project supervised by Claire K. Mazur (850/717-0575) Project conducted by Jim Clark, Todd Clark and Laurie Scott R. Philip Twogood, Coordinator