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***Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* by Robert P. Ingalls**

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Overall, however, this edition is an exact copy of the first edition, published in 1978. It is “revised” by inclusion of a new foreword that devotes a paragraph or two to each of the chapters, describing changes that have occurred in the interim. It is clear that this has not been carried to appropriate notes in the appendices. For instance, the river otter is shown to be on the increase in the original mammal checklist—and in this edition, but Mr. Campbell states in the revisionary note for the relevant chapter that “the otter population shows a substantial decline. . . .” Similarly, it would have been useful in a truly revised edition to show an up-dated map that reflects relevant island changes in the past decade of vigorous growth. This work might more accurately be described as an annotated reprinting.

Regardless of revisionary shortcomings, George Campbell’s wit, charm, firm opinions and solid knowledge of natural history make this a book every person concerned about Sanibel Island biology should have. If you already own a copy of the first edition, however, you will probably not find it necessary to buy this second one.

Willard W. Payne

Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936. By Robert P. Ingalls. Knoxville, 1988. University of Tennessee Press. Pp. xx, 286. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Cloth. \$29.95.

Urban Vigilantes is anchored at one end by the 1882 lynching of an English immigrant, and, at the other, by the 1934 mob murder of a black prisoner and the flogging death in 1935 of a white radical. Between these mob actions, the author carefully documents a series of Citizens’ Committees created by Tampa’s business and professional elite and designed to thwart union efforts by cigar employees who were preeminent, among the city’s work force. Frightened by the ease with which manufacturers of luxury, handrolled cigars could relocate, and worried about the devastating economic effects of relocation on their own fortunes, the elite kidnapped and exported labor leaders, smashed the labor press, destroyed equipment in the soup kitchens feeding striking workers, shot an AFL leader in 1903, and took the lives of two Italian immigrants in 1910 and of a northern-born Socialist in 1935. Throughout the book, the author argues that all of the vigilante actions, including the lynchings of black men in 1903 and 1934, were part and parcel of establishment violence, emerging from the traditions of community-justice and republicanism in the Old South and continuing into the New.

One has to wonder, however, just how “southern” this elite was, and whether all of the violence, including the non-labor-associated lynchings and attempted lynchings, can be traced to the same social sources. The pre-war economy of Tampa was based on cattle ranching, not the production of staple crops, and early lynchings, which occurred in 1858, resembled those committed under frontier conditions; that is, they were of common criminals who flooded the town in the wake of Florida’s last Indian war. Clearly, a prominent member of the Citizens’ Committees of 1887 and 1892 led the lynching of the Englishman in 1882, but establishment violence against blacks did not occur in Tampa during Reconstruction, and by the turn of the century, the local elite opposed mob murders as “bad for business.” Consequently, the killing of Lewis Jackson in 1903 was done secretly by a well-organized band of fifty people. In contrast, condemnation of lynchings by the business community did not occur in much of the South until



Two Italian immigrants lynched by vigilantes during the 1910 stike by Tampa cigarworkers.

Photograph from *Urban Vigilantes in the New South*.

after World War I. Killing in secrecy, rather than before large crowds, was more characteristic of the late 1930s than 1900.

In 1917 and again in 1927, Tampa leaders acted firmly to prevent lynchings, requesting assistance from the National Guard and joining the forces protecting the prisoners in both cases. In 1927, they formed a “vigilance committee” of “600 ‘leading citizens’” which patrolled the streets along with other military and police personnel. Who then were the 1,000 people who tried to storm the jail in their quest for alleged murderers in 1917 and 1927? Obviously, they were angry, for they rioted for three days in the latter year, ceasing only after soldiers killed six of them. What socio-economic interests did they represent? What tensions, in addition to labor, beset this community? Is it possible that Tampa’s labor violence was less “southern” than Ingalls supposed and that the non-labor-affiliated lynchings and attempted lynchings were less “establishment?”

These possibilities deserve consideration, but they should not obscure the importance of Ingalls’ contribution. Although he does not analyze conflict among Tampa whites, he documents impressively the unlimited ends to which American businessmen would go to defeat labor, the support throughout the nation which such actions could generate, and the persistence of radical proclivities among Tampa’s cigarworkers, despite, or perhaps in part because of, their lack of success. He also argues persuasively that class solidarity existed across ethnic lines, in the case of native businessmen and immigrant manufacturers on the one hand, and white and minority union members on the other. In short, rather than explicating some uniquely southern phenomenon, this book reveals a great deal about the American establishment and the lengths to which it will go, when given tacit approval, to protect class hegemony. It deserves a wide reading.

Gail W. O’Brien

In the Way of Our Grandmothers: A Cultural View of Twentieth-Century Midwifery in Florida. By Debra Anne Susie. Athens, Georgia, 1988. University of Georgia Press. Pp. ix, 254. Preface. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Cloth. \$25.00.

In this book, Debra Anne Susie provides an excellent account of lay midwifery mostly from the perspectives of African-American lay midwives and the women they served. She tells the story of the “granny” midlife in Florida, stressing her values, principles, commitments, tradition and noting the skills she acquired from “hands on” experience. She also describes various strategies employed by Florida State Health officials to discredit the lay midwife and to eliminate her practice. Significant among these was the plan of Health officials, who saw the lay midwife as a “necessary evil to be borne until medical services were improved” (p. 8), to establish a public health care program to educate and license midwives. This, the author says, was the immediate goal; but the longterm plan “was to replace the lay midwives with modern medical and hospital services, to improve, regulate, and eventually to eliminate midwifery” (p. 8).

Attainment of this ultimate goal took a long time. This was true, first, because hospital facilities frequently failed to reach outlying rural areas where the bulk of the black population lived. Most importantly, because of the segregated environment in the southern United States,