TRUTH ABOUT LYNCHING:

COVER STORIES, MOB VIOLENCE THAT HAVE EMBEDDED WITHIN THEM MYTHS AND REALITIES vii

WELLS DISASSEMBELD AND TARGETED SEPARATELY THE MANY CONTRADICTIONS AND HYPOCRISIES BUILT INTO THE BROAD MYTHS THAT WHITE SOUTHERNERS USED TO JUSTIFY LYNCHING vii

LYNCHING’S COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP TO SYSTEMS OF POWER AND DOMINATION

SYSTEMATIC PROGRAM OF SPREADING FEAR AND TERROR, “AN ACT OF TERROR PERPETRATED AGAINST A RACE OF PEOPLE IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN POWER AND CONTROL - 3 INTIMIDATION DESIGNED TO RETARD THE PROGRESS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN SOCIAL, POLITICAL , AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

“PASSIONATE DESIRE OF SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP TO REGAIN CONTROL OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND TO SECURE WHITE SUPREMECY -11

HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR, RARELY DURING RECONSTRUCTION, BUT AFTER….. Lynchings, mob violence steadily increased after rad reconstruct, and had with the ‘’first peak” in 1892 -8

AND NOT JUST AGAINST MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN AS WELL

“AN EXCUSED TO GET RID OF NEGROES WHO WERE ACQUIRING WEALTH AND PROPERTY AND THUS KEEP THE RACE TERRORIZED AND “KEEP THE NIGGER DOWN.” -4

Easy victims to economic exploitation, political intimidation, and violence” -7

1892 wells reports 242 mwc lynched in 26 states. 160 WERE AF AMER, MOST IN SOUTHERN STATES

DESCRIBED VIVIDLY BRUTAL ACTS AT THE HANDS OF A LAWLESS MOB, KILLINGS FOLLOWED A RITUALISTIC PROGRAM OF HANGING AND THEN SHOOTING BULLETS INTO THE LIFELESS BODY…SOMETIMES FOLLOWED BY BURNING -27

AFTER CIVIL WAR LYNCHING WAS “NEEDED TO REPRESS ALLEGED RACE RIOTS”, DURING RECONSTRUCTION IT WAS ‘’SUPPOSED TO PREVENT ‘UNLAWFUL DOMINATION’ OF WHITES BY AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND AFTER RECONSTRUCTION THE EXCUSE WAS THE ‘’RAPE OF WHITE WOMEN” - 32-33

STATISTICS GATHERED BY ‘white men” show “ THAT DURING THE PRECEDING 30 YEARS, “MORE THAN 10K NEGROES HAVE BEEN KILLED IN COLD BLOOD, WITHOUT THE FORMALITY OF JUDICIAL TRIAL AND LEGAL EXECUTION” - 75

MISCONCEPTIONS SHE THOUGHT WERE WRONG:

Raping of white women, POST RECONSTRUCTION EXCUSE southerners “coded all that was wrong in the south by asserting the urgent need to defend their women and THE “NECESSary act to stop ‘black MALE brutes’ “ -28

“I FELT THAT I OWED IT TO MYSELF AND TO MY RACE TO TELL THE WHOLE TRUTH NOW THAT I WAS WHERE I COULD SO FREELY” ANTI-LYNCHING CAMPAIGN GROWS -18 THIS WAS IN NEW YORK AFTER 3 FRIENDS COLUM AND OFFICE BURNING AND THREATS. BECAME NATIONAL AND LATER AN INTERNATIONAL FIGURE

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS: DEFENSE OF WHITE WOMEN’S VIRTUE – 28 WHEN ACTUALLY LYNCHINGS WERE DONE AS RESONSES TO MANY ALLEGED CRIMES : INCLUDING RAPE, MURDER, ARSON, ROBBERY, ASSAULT, poisoning water and livestock, being insolent, insulting whites, and o ther perceived offenses, or that there were no charges at all -29

WOMEN INCLUDED TOO, AND EVEN CHILDREN

1. THAT LYNCHINGS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN AREAS WHERE LAW ENFORCEMENT WAS READILY PRESENT AND COULD DEAL WITH PROBLEM and were not necessary as some sort of act born out of ‘frontier justice’ -28

2. charges being leveled were not limited to rape, no urgent need for punishment outside the law

3. “crimes” charged were really reactions to ‘’achievements” success, voting, speaking for rights, not showing respect

4. alleged rapists ‘were often in consensual liaisons with white women” - 28

Rape not at all the reason for many, MANY WERE consensual relationships. “with the consent and quite often at the instigation and ecourangement of white women” -29 willing partners

Wrong to make men the culpable party for ‘’succumbing to the ill-considered advances of white women” which did not make them guilty. No conerns of this nature before civil war, no evidence of character flaws to support claim that women where unsafe in the presence of black men – 30

That black women should be blamed for not being capable of providing a “stabilizing and moral influence for their men” – 30

COVER STORIES TO PERPETUATE AND EVIL MYTHOLOGY – 30 LYNCHING AS “RIGHT ACTION TO AVENGE THEIR HONOR, THEIR MANHOOD, THEIR WOMEN” -32

THE RAPE OF WHITE WOMEN BECAME A SYMBOL FOR ALL THAT WAS WRONG, OUT OF ORDER IN SOUTH, ATTRIBUTED MUCH OF THIS FEELING TO THE LIBERTIES THAT HAD BEEN AWARDED AFRICAN AMERICANS AFTER WAR. -32

RAPE NOT AS MUCH VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, BUT AS AN ASSAULT ON WHITE MALE HONOR -32

‘THE FALSE CHIVALRY OF LYNCHING CAST [WHITE] WOMEN AS CHRIST-LIKE SYMBOLS OF RACIAL PURITY…AND TRANSLATED EVERY SIGN OF BLACK SELF-ASSERTION INTO A METAPHOR FOR RAPE” -32

WHAT WERE THE REAL REASONS SHE BELIEVED:

“NOBODY IN THIS SECTION BELIEVES THE OLD THREADBARE LIE THAT NEGRO MEN ASSUALT WHITE WOMEN -52

DESIGNED TO CONCEAL A RACIST AGENDA AND TO KEEP POWER IN THE HANDS OF SOUTHERN WHITE MEN -28

TO USE CHARGES OF RAPE TO JUSTIFY LYNCHING AND OTHER MOB VIOLENCE IN ORDER TO TERRORIZE, OPPRESS, AND CONTROL AFRICAN AMERICANS” PLACING THEM “BEYOND THE PALE OF HUMAN SYMPATHY” -32

WHITE WOMAN OFTEN WERE ACCEPTING OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH BLACK MEN, JUST AS WHITE MEN HAD DESIRES FOR BLACK OR MULATTO WOMEN, WHY CAN’T THE OPPOSITE BE TRUE unspeakable at the time

THE POST-RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD WITHOUT FEDERAL TROOPS AND OVERSIGHT, LOCAL GOVERNMENTS CREATED LAWS AND PRACTICES THAT TOOK AWAY LIBERITES THAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED BY THE 13TH, 14TH AND 15TH AMENDS

1877 HAYES HAD GIVEN ‘HOME RULE’ TO THE SOUTH AND THAT FULL POWER TO EX-CONFEDERATES AND SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS. 1878 NATL ELECTIONS DEMOCRATS CONTROLLED SENATE AND HOUSE, BEGINNING PROCESS -11

JIM CROW LAWS ENACTED…BECOMING THE “WAY OF SOUTHERN LIFE’ UNTIL CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 -12

PRESIDENTIAL PARDONS OF OLD LEADERSHIP LED TO THE SAME TO PARTICIPATE IN NEW GOVERNMENTS AND DECSIONS IN THE SOUTH. ENACTED LAWS TO KEEP FREED MEN AND WOMEN IN A STATE OF VIRTUAL BONDAGE” -6

THE BLACK CODES ‘REMINISCENT OF THE OLD SLAVE CODES” CONTIUNED IDEA THAT AFRICANS WERE PROPERTY AND NOT HUMAN BEINGS. AND WERE DESIGNED TO SECURE A CHEAP LABOR FORCE, AND STATED THAT AFRO AMERS WERE INFERIOR BEIGNS, AND TO CONTROL THEM POLITICALLY, SOCIALLY, AND ECONICALLY IN SOCIETY 6 VARIED FROM STATE TO STATE : no firearms, alchohol, interracial marriage, exclusion form some trades and businesses, no insults the radical republicans of the north tried address the problems, with RECONSTRUCTION ACTS OF 1867. THIS REQUIRED SOUTHERN STATES TO adhere to 13, 14, 15 amends. -8 Withdrawal of troops in 1877 changed everything back to repressive DURING THIS PERIOD LYNCHING AND OTHER ACTS OF MOB VIOLENCE BEGAN TO ESCALATE “ -8

WHITE SOUTHERNERS UNHAPPY WITH HAVING TO ACCOMMODATE AND ALLOW FREEDOMS TO BLACKS, AND JUSTIFIED LYNCHING DUE TO EXCUSE THAT “LAW AND ORDER DOES NOT SATISFY THE NEEDS OF JUSTICE AND THEREFORE CAN BE RIGHTLY IGNORED OR CIRCUMVENTED” THE LAW WAS “OUT OF ORDER” -9

WHAT STRATEGIES OF PERSUASION AND WHAT EVIDENCE SHE USE: SIMPLE AND DIRECT, NO MINCING OF WORDS 2

TELL THE WORLD THE FACTS” -157 BECAUSE “WHEN THE CHRISTIAN WORLD KNOWS THE ALARMING GROWTH AND EXTENT OF OUTLAWRY IN OUR LAND, SOME MEANS WILL BE FOUND TO STOP IT” -157

SHE SHOWED THE HYPROCRISY OF AMERICA’S CLAIM TO STAND FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY AT HOME AND ABROAD, BUT THAT THE NEGLECT OF IT’S OWN CITIZENS REALLY CAST THE WHITE LEADERSHIP AND CITIZENRY AS “SAVAGES’’ IN A “CIVILIZED” WORLD” - 34

MADE TWO TRIPS TO BRITAIN, GAINED SUPPORT FORM ELITES WHO WERE ABLE TO HELP HER APPLY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE ON THE SOUTH. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP OF THE U.S. WANTED THE COUNTRY TO BE PERCEIVED AS RESPECTABLE, AS MAJOR PLAYERS IN THE WORLD, NOT AS BARBARIC COUSINS ACROSS THE SEA WHO DEMONSTRATED ALL THE EVILS OF IMPERIALISM” 36

WANTED TO EMBARRASS THE U.S., MANY BRIT BUSINESS EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO QUIT DOING BUSINESS WITH THE SOUTH IF IT WAS EMBRACING LYNCHING, MOB VIOLENCE, AND RACISM. Memphis acted quickly, affecting public opinon and action. Memphis did not have another lynching for twenty years. -36 2nd tour brought wider audience cuz she wa hired by the white owned Chicago paper INTER OCEAN.

KNOWING THE TRUTH OF INJUSTICE REQUIRES ACTING AGAINST IT, NOT JUST IN THE INTEREST OF AF AMERS, BUT IN THE INTEREST OF THE NATION.” 33

TO CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT laws “had been violated and that the united states, as a land of freedom and opportunity, needed to take immediate action” -28

To show that not all were rape, SHE WANTED TO SHOW THAT IF MOST LYNCHINGS WERE NOT CAUSED BY THE HORROR OF RAPE, THEN THE BARBARITY WITH WHICH LYNCHING WAS BEING APPLIED….WAS EVEN MORE UNJUST, ESPECIALLY SINCE ALL OF THE OFFENSES, INCLUDING RAPE, WERE ONLY ALLEGED. SHOULD HAVE BEEN COURT AND NOT MOB -29

RAPE WAS MORE APPLICABLE TO WHITE MEN’S ASSAULTS ON BLACK WOMEN, WELL KNOWN AND EVIDENCED BY ‘MULATTO CHILDREN, AND WENT WITHOUT PENALTY BEFORE AND AFTER CIVIL WAR -31 BLACK WOMEN VIOLATED MORE FREQUENTLY BY WHITES, THEN WHITE WOMEN BY BLACKS – 31

TO SHOW THAT AFRICAN AMERICANS DID NOT HAVE THE SAME LICENSE TO LYNCH, WHICH SUPPORTS THEORY THAT MOB VIOLENCE AND LYNCHING WAS ‘’WRONG ON SEVERAL COUNTS” 31

TO DEBUNK MYTHS IN EFFORTS TO PRESERVE TE LIVES OF HER PEOPLE AS WELL AS LAW AND ORDER AND JUSTICE -31

CHRONICALED AND CATLOGS SPECIFIC EXAMPLES, 400 IN A RED RECORD, USING CHIC TRIBUNE FIGURES TO POINT OUT “RACIAL AND REGIONAL PATTERNS “ TAKING PLACE -27

SOUGHT TO RECAST LYNCHING IN THE PUBLIC EYE SO THAT IT WAS NO LONGER PERCEIVED AS AN UNDERSTANDABLE THOUGH UNPLEASANT RESPONSE TO HEINOUS ACTS BUT AS ITSELF A CRIME AGAINST AMERICAN VALUES” -27

She claimed that ynching “encoded several race and gender stereotypes regarding pleasure and desire. White women were pure, viriginal, respectable, chaste, vulnerable, and needed and deserved protection, and uninterested in sexual desire, black women were “wanton, licentious, and promiscuous”, unredeemable and irrelevant, and black men were “ignorant brutes” -30

SHE FIRST ENCOURAGED BLACKS TO EMIGRATE, TO LEAVE MEMPHIS AND GO TO KANSAS – 4 MANY DID THIS

COLLECTED DATA, STATISTICS…………FROM WHITE PAPERS. NOTABLY CHICAGO TRIBUNE REPORTED FINDINGS

First editorial may 21, 1982 on 8 lynchings, suggested the truth about lynching 2

HAD SOUGHT FEDERAL LEGISLATION AGAINST LYNCHING, NOT SUCCESSFUL, BUT BELIEVED THAT PUBLIC AWARENESS OF LYNCHING AND CALLING FOR ACTION WOULD STIMULATE CHANGE PLACE LYNCHING ON THE NATIONAL AGENDA -26

Her five point plan in A RED RECORD, 1895: DISSEMINATE THE FACTS TO EVERYONE, HAVE CHURCHES, GROUPS AND ALL CONNECTIONS WITH SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE CONDEM AND PROTEST EVER INCIDENT OF LYNCHING, REFUSE TO DO BUSINESS WITH ANY PLACE WHERE “LAWLESSNESS AND MOB VIOLENCE HOLD SWAY, ‘THINK AND ACT ON INDEPENDENT LINES IN THIS BEHALF’, AND PASS THE BLAIR BILL WHICH CALLED FOR A COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE NUMBER, LOCATION, AND DATE OF ALLEGED ASSAULTS BY MALES UPON FEMALES IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. DID NOT PASS. 154-55

If labor is withdrawn capital will not remain, the white man’s dollar is his god, the afr amer is the backbone of the south emigrating and non support of the areas engaged in lynching could lead to a “bloodless revolution” -68

WHO WAS SHE BORN IN 1862,, “CAME OF AGE DURING RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD” – 14

HAD SENSE OF GREAT EXPECTATIONS AND HOPES FOR THE FUTURE, PARENTS STRONG ROLE MODESL, FORWARD LOOKING PEOPLE, EXPECTED JUSTICE UNDER THE LAW -14

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FAME, leader in the black club-women’s movement, STARTED WITH EVENING STAR, OWNED SOON ‘FREE SPEECH’ NEWSPAPER. COLUMN WRITING UNDER IOLA NAME FOCUSED ON CONDITIONS AND PROBS OF CONCERN TO HER PEOPLE, RECEIVED SYNDICATION NATIONWIDE -16

JOURNALIST -INVESTIGATIVE PUBLIC SPEAKER COMMUNITY ACITVIST OUTSPOKEN AND STEADFAST CRUSADER ACTIVE IN CHURCH, COMMUNITY ACTIVIST

though champion of may causes during her life, anti-lynching was perhaps the most prominent, and why remembered 2

THREE PAMPHLETS SOUTHERN HORRORS: LYNCH LAW IN ALL ITS PHASES, A RED RECORD, MOB RULE IN NEW ORLEANS

BORN A SLAVE, PARENTS INSTILLED

CLEARLY STATED POSITION ON LYNCHING, REVEALLING THE INSIGHT AND PERCEPTION WITH WHICH SHE WAS ABLE TO LAUNCH THE MOST SUCCESSFUL OF THE EARLY ANTI-LYNCHING CAMPAIGNS vii

PUBLISHER OF THE FREE SPEECH, A MEMPHIS WEEKLY WROTE FIRST EDITORIAL MAY 21, 1892 IN THE POST-RECONSTRUCTION ERA

BETWEEN 1892-1900 WAS THE PEAK OF HER ACTIVITY, FIRST CAUSED BY THE LYNCHING OF THREE FRIENDS WHO RAN THE PEOPLES GROCERY STORE IN MEMPHIS, MARCH 1892 MANY ROUNDED UP, GUNS TAKEN, DEFENDING THEIR PROPERTY FROM A MOB. NOT A CAPITAL OFFENSE

SHE FIRST THOUGHT LYNCHINGS WERE ACCEPTABLE BECAUSE RAPE AND OTHER CRIMES THAT INCITED IT, BUT THE MEMPHIS CASE WAS CLEARLY UNJUST. THEY WERE FRIENDS, PROPERTY OWNERS “HER EYES WERE OPENED TO THE TRUTH” -3

AFTER THE PUB OF a red record in 1895, new leaders were emerging, and an “ideology of accommodation” , and new black clubwoman’s groups, well goes into semi retirement, raising her large family and concentrated mostly on community issues in Chicago, but she continued to speak, write, and investigate lyncings. And was named chairman of the revived AFRO-AMERICAN COUNCIL’S ANTI-LYNCHING BUREAU, AND became a founding member of the NAACP in 1909