154045 -

A STUDY OF MOB ACTION IN THE SOUTH

John R. Steelman

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of North Carolina in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Sociology

Chapel Hill, N. C.
1928

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Two points should be emphasized at the outset in this study of mob violence in the South --- the importance of the general subject throughout the nation and special reasons why such a study relating particularly to the South should be made. Regarding the first, it must be said that the United States is, and has ever been, characteristically a lawless nation. In all crimes of violence America is said to lead the world. As Judge Tally of the court of General Sessions in New York, on inducting into office a new jurist, said:

> One of the things that you will come to learn is that you have come on the bench of the greatest criminal court in the world ... at a time when this country is suffering under an indictment which proclaims it to be the most lawless on earth. You will find that the United States must plead guilty to that indictment.[1]

There are no less than ten thousand murders annually in this country. Our homicide rate is about twelve times that of England. In 1923 there were 200 homicides in England and

---

1. Quoted in the New York Herald Tribune. See Literary Digest Vol. 82, Sept. 13, 1924. p. 32.

Wales combined, while in the United States there were more than 10,000. Statistics show that no other country measurably approaches the United States in the murderous tendency of its people. If similar comparative figures were available as to crimes of burglary and robbery, it is thought that our excess over other nations in the matter of murders would fade into comparative insignificance. In 1921 there was 95 robberies in England and Wales combined while in New York, during the following year, there were 1,445; and in Chicago, 2,417. These are not our worst cities. Criminal statistics from several southern cities, as well as other facts which we shall note later, indicate that at least in certain respects the South is the most lawless section of the country.

There are other reasons why a study of mob violence relating particularly to the South is not inopportune at this time. At present the South is more largely in the center of attention than any other section of the country. Like the West in days gone by it is that section of our country to which the eyes of many are turned, and where things are "going on" - where development of practically every type is taking place at hitherto unknown strides. Today the South is recognized even beyond the country's borders as the new "Land of Opportunity". It has been referred to as "the last great undeveloped section of the North Temperate Zone, its one place left for pioneering on a vast scale."[2]

---

2. America Discovers Dixie, by Clarence Poe, in American Review of Reviews, April, 1926. pp. 371ff.

To describe the economic development of this section during the Twentieth Century would be to reiterate a story told over and over again during the past decade. That this progress has been no less than phenomenal is recognized in all sections of the country. The story of the educational progress of the South since 1900 is without parallel in the nation, even though much remains yet to be done.

Unfortunately the otherwise bright picture of the South is marred by a form of lawlessness which, as it deserves, brings criticism from not only other sections of the country, but from across the sea as well. Now mob violence - even lynching - is a national and not a sectional crime, but it is characteristically Southern and is becoming more so. While other sections of our country have little occasion for sharply criticising the South in this respect, possibly on the whole such criticism has been beneficial. It results partly from a long-established habit, and possibly in part from hurt national pride. It is true that the disruptive effects upon the individuals and communities where mob violence breaks out is not all that it costs.

The horror and frequency of mob violence in the South often brings comments from beyond the bounds of our country that doubtless injure us as a nation. Whether the South is in general more lawless than other parts of the country is beside the point: the fact that is is so considered, and that there is enough truth in the accusation to bring it about is what counts so far as the South is a part of a nation desirous of being highly esteemed by others. It is true

that, equally with and possibly even more than the phenomenally high homicide rate of the country, southern mob violence is widely known and commented upon abroad more than any other form of American lawlessness. Irrespective of comparisons, this alone means that southern mob violence is a national and intersectional problem as well as a local menace.

An English writer comments as follows: "Judged by the standards of Britain and the British colonies, the Southern White man cannot be regarded as a law-abiding person." Such criticisms would come irrespective of the horror of specific cases of mob action in the South because it is so very different from the more common types. In order to imagine the askance with which a distinguished Hindoo recently listened to the story of inter-racial progress in the South, one will have to remember that America is the only nation, Christian or heathen, where lynching is common, and that it is the only civilized country in the world where men are burned alive. Not being satisfied with the assurance of progress which was showered upon him, he insisted upon more concrete evidence; whereupon he heard, but evidently did not fully understand, the following story: During the past year[3] less than twenty people were murdered by mobs. Two of these were white, and only one was a woman. Of the total number who met death at the hands of mobs, only two were burned to death, and one was burned after being hanged and shot. No wonder the visitor from a country and a race that we sometimes "look down upon" could

---

3. The year was 1925.

not understand how such a situation as had been described to him could possibly be considered hopeful. He had evidently come to the wrong place for information on inter-racial integration.

Possibly he would have been more bewildered still had he been informed at the time that two men and a woman had just been lynched in South Carolina, and that this episode was "immediately followed by a determined drive against Sunday golf in that community, backed by the governor of the state and the sheriff of the county." Of course, many golfers were arrested but no one was ever indicted for the lynching, although very soon afterwards the Governor knew by name the men who did the lynching.[4] Such inconsistencies add to the criticism that is deservedly heaped upon the South.

In German newspapers commenting upon Woodrow Wilson's message against lynchings, it was stated that in America mob murders are common. The St. Louis Republic replied in an article under the caption, "America Pleads Guilty". The comic newspapers of Moscow have compared Africa and America as follows: The former is represented by a group of African cannibals seated around a fire waiting for a helmeted white man to be roasted, the picture being labeled, "In Barbarous Africa". Another picture represents a Negro burning at the stake, surrounded by a mob of gleeful whites, and is labelled, "In Cultured America". Says Arthur Ruhl: "This aspect of our

4. W. W. Alexander, Have We Really Improved as to Lynching? article in the Christian Advocate, Dec. 30, 1927. p. 10.

civilization, which puzzles nearly all Europeans, is an easy target for satire, and every once in so often comes a cartoon of this sort or an editorial on "The Brute With a Veneer of Civilization."

An English author recently wrote to an American as follows: .... "I may be permitted to express to opinion that your country has still something to do to make America safe for democracy and to insure the respect for constitutional methods." The occasion for this letter was the publicly announced and attended burning of Henry Lowery in Arkansas in 1921. Commenting on the same case an editorial from Tokyo, Japan, maintained that the creation of a strong public opinion throughout the world will be necessary in order that sufficient pressure may be brought to bear "on the American government to adopt effective measures at once so as to make it impossible for the American mobs to resort to these barbarous excesses."[5] In sharp criticism of the nation generally, the Review continues: "Americans vociferously claim to be the champions of justice and humanity yet they do not hesitate to trample upon these very principles and perpetrate the foulest deed ever conceived .... It is an indelible stain on the name of America .... It goes to demonstrate the utter callousness of hearts of the American public."

Unfortunate as it may be, it is nevertheless inevitable that foreign discussions of this subject be concerned with "America" and "Americans". Nations see one another as a

---

5. Asian Review, May-June, 1921.

whole and not by sections. Such criticism as we have noted is growing in volume. It is not complimentary, and doubtless does some harm. It seems to indicate, along with other facts to be noted subsequently, that mob violence, especially as manifested in the South is a problem of sufficient importance to merit a better understanding than our attention to it has yet brought forth.

If the Japanese and the Europeans speak of America as a lynching nation and hold all Americans responsible, so are different sections within the nation referred to in little less sweeping terms. With all the means of communication, it is very largely true that one section of the country does not know and understand what is going on in the other. The prevalence of the fallacy of universals, possibly as much as anything else would warrant any degree of effort that a better understanding of the causes and nature of mob action in the South might be better understood.

Again the time is ripe for any new light that may be thrown on the subject. This is true for at least two good reasons: Mob action in the South is, we have said, very largely an inter-racial matter. The first available statistics show that more white men than negroes were being lynched annually. Along with the increasing sectional concentration of mob violence as shown in Chapter V, there has been a steady concentration on the Negro race. From 1889 to 1918, 78 per cent of those lynched were negroes. From 1914 to 1918, 81.2 per cent and from 1917 to 1928 practically 95 per cent of all

persons lynched were negroes.[6]

Henry W. Grady long ago pointed out a fact now more generally recognized as such. It is up to the people of the South to settle the problem of the harmonious adjustment of the two races who do and must live here side by side. The Negro has gradually and increasingly interwoven himself into the fabric of southern life. It has been said that the longest road ever traveled by a race in three hundred years was from Jungle in Africa to Highway in American civilization. The American Negro has made that journey, for now he is in the Highway - as well as in the By-ways - of our life. He is found, even in the South, in practically every business and profession. What is possibly more important still is the general recognition on the part of the more enlightened folk that whatever makes for greater success on the part of the Negro, makes for greater wealth and happiness for the South as a whole. We are - regardless of the reticence with which some would admit it - racially interdependent. This is not only true in matters economic, and in matters of health and sanitation, but is coming to be so culturally as well. Each year brings added proof that the Negro has his contribution to make to the whole life of the South and the Nation.

That the Negro is veritably - and admittedly - an indispensable part of our economic structure in the South is shown by an incident which at the same time indicates some-

6. It is interesting to note further that 74 per cent of all whites lynched during the past decade met that fate in the South.

thing of the nature of the problem of adjustment as yet to be made complete. During the World War when labor was scarce and wages high in the North, negroes started forth by the thousands. They wanted better wages, but even more than that they wanted justice before the law and better educational opportunities.[7] Some of the southern states exerted great effort to see that the Negroes did not leave. First, "moral suasion", then force was employed to impede the movement northward. City ordinances required that labor agents pay as high as $1000 license fees. In Macon, Georgia, - the state which leads in lynchings - the City Council raised the license fee for labor agents to $25,000.

> At Greenvile, Mississippi, trains were stopped. Negroes were dragged therefrom and others were prevented from boarding them. Strangers were searched for evidence that might convict them as labor agents.[7]

Whereas a generation ago it was only the few who realized the importance, or contemplated the ultimate solution, of the vast problem of racial adjustment, today it may be said that all people of any appreciable degree of enlightenment are concerned about it. Roughly it may be said that the beginning of the Century marked a change in attitude on the part of an ever-increasing number of southern people. Before that time, and often since, inter-sectional accusations interspersed with sharp enough epithets have been the principal contributions of the North and the South toward the problem of racial adjustment. It is true that this has been needed, and has been somewhat

7. Negro Migration During the War, Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, No. 16, Chapter IV.

effective. Such "outside" organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have on the whole done tremendously more good than harm. The only "harm" they are known to have done is that in a few instances they have afforded an excuse for trouble that apparently would have happened anyway.[8] It is highly probable that the next generation of Southerners will more appreciate this particular organization than has the present one. Together with many people of the South who have increased in number throughout the past generation, they have helped to bring before the general public a problem hitherto contemplated by the few. The result is that what once sounded new - almost as if it had fallen out of the skies - is today commonplace, even taken for granted, by a majority of the southern people. In 1906, Hon. William H. Fleming, said in Athens, Georgia:[9]

> This much seems clear, beyond doubt, that the whites are going to stay in this Southland for all time, and so are the negroes... If, then, both races are to remain together, the plainly sensible thing for statesmen of this day to do is to devise the best modus vivendi, or working plan, by which the greatest good can be accomplished for ourselves and our posterity.

Today these words would not bring newspaper comment and personal letters from all over the nation. Not so much that they are not appropriate, or needed; they are too commonplace for wide comment. Today no Southern Governor would make public announcement, to be carried in large headlines hours

---

8. See Chapter VII, Cases No. 7, 10.
9. Slavery and the Race Problem in the South, An address before the Alumni Society of the State University in Athens, Georgia, June 19, 1906.

in advance, that he is powerless to prevent a lynching. No Southern Congressman would stand on the floor of the United States Senate today and say:[10]

> Yes, we have stuffed ballot-boxes, and will stuff them again; we have cheated niggers in elections, and will cheat them again; we have disfranchised niggers, and will disfranchise all we want to; we have killed and lynched niggers and will kill and lynch others; we have burned niggers at the stake and will burn others; a nigger has no right to live anyhow, unless a white man wants him to live. If you don't like it you can lump it.

There is not a southern state whose leaders would stand for that sort of "representation" at the National Capital.

Once critics at the North cursed the South and praised the Negro. The South in turn cursed both the North and the Negro - the former for "butting in" and the latter largely as a matter of habit. The time when this was generally true is no more. There has come with the passing of the years a diminution of that type of "Americanism" which held, (1) that no issue can have two sides; (2) that if through some grave error of Nature or Man, in a single issue there are two sides, one of them must be eradicated. Today there is a large degree of sympathy and some understanding back and forth across the Mason-Dixon line. When there is an outbreak of mob violence in the North or South, neither objects to the criticism of the other, and generously adds its own. Since the beginning of the Century, and more especially during the past decade the number of southern newspapers readily con-

10. See J. E. White, Thinking White about the Negro in the South, p. 124, quoting from a speech by a South Carolina Senator.

demning mob violence has grown steadily. The time is gone, consequently, when the tone of an editorial about southern lawlessness indicates the section, or even the state, from which it comes.

Moreover, - and some have claimed this to be the last "tack in the coffin" of lynching - southern women in large groups have repudiated the idea that men are lynched for their protection. They have asked that more stringent law enforcement take the place of lawlessness in their name. Thus it would seem that the time has come when it no longer suffices for the North to call Southerners in general "dastardly murderers", and for the South to answer through a Senator of the type quoted above. When public opinion in both sections is against mob violence, there must be some other reason than a murderous intent that is general for its continuation. It is with the hope of throwing some light on the problem thus raised that this study is made. The aim and purpose of the study is to picture the actual situation with regard to the characteristic type of mob action in the South, and to approach an explanation of its persistence in the Twentieth Century.

Attitude and Method of Approach

Irrespective of sectional lines those who today concern themselves with the phenomena of mob action in the South are roughly divisible into two groups. First, there are those who are outraged at the situation, and who, upon hearing of some manifestation of mob violence, vociferously pronounce the whole state or section of the country in which

it occurs as being "rotten to the core". They then proceed to remedy matters by describing and lambasting in a general way large sectors of the whole population of the nation. The following quotation is possibly a fairly representative statement from this group: "Let it be clearly known that the lyncher is a murderous dastard, trying to skulk behind a woman's petticoats, to avoid being known as the vile thing he is. The statistics prove conclusively that the talk of protecting womanhood by torturing and burning men at the stake is an insolent lie, and known to be such by those who most find it convenient to make use of the subterfuge.... This is an exhibition of Deleware morality under the strain of race prejudice."[11] If it be granted that every word of the statement is true, they contain little enlightenment for him who would either remedy or understand. From this group, as in the past we have generously received, in the future we may expect, a superabundance of possibly well-meaning but ill-formed moral enthusiasm, and little else.

Then, there are those - apparently much smaller in number - who conceive of human nature as being much the same everywhere. They believe when a criminal outburst, such as an episode of violence, takes place that psychologically this is not different in nature from any other human activity. All behavior is conceived as the response of the human organism to stimuli. This group asks such questions as this: In so far as every single reaction is the normal one, presumably

11. Italics are mine.

the only possible one in fact, for that particular organism to make in that particular situation; where there is mob action which is classed as abnormal and undesirable from the standpoint of present concepts of civilization, is it not because there are abnormal individual, cultural, social, political, economic or other conditions existing in the particular individuals and communities at the particular time in question? To approach the study in this attitude means that state-wide and sectional generalizations are important only as backgrounds for an analysis of the local situation involved in the particular episode of mob violence under consideration. The method of approach is, therefore, largely that of regional sociology with emphasis on the social-psychological.

For those who believe in social guidance there is hope in such a study for a worth-while contribution toward attaining an insight into the proper nature of, hence the proper remedy for, a perplexing social problem. For those who follow the philosophy that "in the long run our uncivilized propensities will be outgrown," but that "meanwhile there is no cure," there is yet hope of being able to look ahead and see whither, and at what rate, we are going. Indeed it is not the principal purpose here to discover and elaborate remedies. Rather the aim is to picture as accurately as possible the actual situation with regard to mob violence in the South, especially as it persists in the Twentieth Century. Those more directly concerned with amelioration are continually in need of information concerning the fundamental nature of the problem with which they deal. There are, and

have long been, many whose concern it is to eradicate lawlessness from the cultural complex of the American people. There is an ever-enlarging group of those especially desirous that the type of lawlessness exemplified in lynchings and floggings characteristic of the South shall cease to be. Yet among this group there are those who are not far removed from the Astronomer of the Middle Ages who kept an idiot in his observatory, hoping that by his inarticulate mutterings the secrets of science might be revealed. They hesitate, even falter, at the workings of the human mind, which through the ages has remained a mystery still. However, if we are to understand human behavior we must approach it through the mental and physical processes involved.

The human behavior called mob violence is no exception. To understand this type of phenomena permits of no "revelations" such as the astronomer sought. We cannot longer expect, for example, to understand why men hang and burn one another, without setting ourselves to the task of studying these men as reacting organisms in particular social and physical environments.[12] They are not "American" or "Southerners," or even "Georgians" and "Mississippians." They are particular Americans with particular behavior-equipments coming from particular physical and cultural inheritances, reacting in specific situations to specific stimuli. It is thus that we get particular reactions, - floggings, mobbing, lynching, hanging, burning, etc.

---

12. Cf. Hollingworth, Leta S., The Psychology of Subnormal Children, p. 170.

Approaching the task from the point of view indicated, it seems advisable to combine the historical, statistical and case study methods. Through the historical approach we may determine the type of situations conducive to the origin and perpetuation of mob violence. We may point out how particular forms of this phenomena arose and how they have persisted. From a detailed statistical analysis the extent, general nature and characteristics of mob action may be discovered, - facts hardly to be ascertained, otherwise. Moreover, it is from such an analysis that we may discover those particular sections of the South where mob action is so characteristic as to require more specific consideration. Having the historical and statistical data before us as a background, through the case-study method we may more specifically and concretely get at the nature and effects of particular mob episodes.

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY OF MOB VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

The theory of the new historian holds true in all social phenomena. A thing is about what it is because of what it has been. Mob violence is not to be understood merely by a study of its Twentieth Century manifestations. It is one of the oldest, one of the most deeply rooted of all American practices. In a manner, as we shall see, this practice was eminently respectable in its origin. It is, possibly because of this fact, yet regarded by its adherents not as in opposition to the established laws, but rather as a supplement to them - a species of common law which is as old as the country. Therefore, as a social and cultural background for a detailed consideration of mob violence in the South, it is important that we trace the history of this practice in the United States.

Stories concerning the origin of the term "lynch-law" are numerous.[1] Although many of them are apparently

1. For many years "lynching" was a general term used as "mob violence" is used today.

pure fiction, at the same time they throw light on the history of the practices described and for that reason are worth relating here. Later we shall relate what seems to be the true story of the origin of the term. Meantime, in chronological order, we take up those which have been offered with more or less evidence at different times. The oldest one of these comes from across the sea.

James Fits-Stephen Lynch, Mayor and Warden of Galway, Ireland, is said to have publicly hanged his own son in defiance of a mob bent upon rescuing him from the hands of the law. Various versions of this story are to be found. The substance of all of them is that the Mayor, who condemned Walter F. S. Lynch to death for the murder of the son of a Spanish friend, was determined that the law should take its course. The Mayor's wife assembled her powerful kinsmen who were about to storm his house where the son was confined. Fearing that justice might be diverted, the Mayor took his son to a second story; "there he secured the end of a rope which had been previously fixed around the neck of his son, to an iron staple which projected from the wall, and, after taking from him a last embrace, he launched him into eternity." It is pretty evident that this incident really happened, and, although its connection with extra-legal punishment in this country is obscure, yet many people have given this as the true origin of "lynch-law". The window from which young Lynch is supposed to have hung is shown to the traveler today. Under it he reads: "This memorial of the stern and unbending justice of the chief-magistrate of the city, James

Fitz-Stephen Lynch, elected mayor A. D. 1493, who condemned and executed his own guilty son, Walter, on this spot, has been restored to its ancient site."[2] It is said that there is contained in the minutes of the council books of Galway this entry: "James Lynch, mayor of Galway, hanged his own son out of the window for defrauding and killing strangers, without martial or common law, to show a good example to posterity."[3] Concerning its connection with lynch-law in this country, Cutler discounts the Galway story stating that it may be dismissed with but little consideration. So far as we know the term lynch-law has always connoted a form of summary punishment without, or in opposition to, established law.[4] On the other hand, it is pointed out, the Mayor of Galway was the legally constituted authority in whose court his son, presumably[5] by a fair trial, was sentenced to hang. Thus the victim in this story was not "lynched", but was executed by a judge of the court. It would appear that the connection of the Galway story with lynch-law as we know it came after the term had been coined. Although this story is told over and over again, its source is from Hardiman, the Galway annalist, who narrated it in proof of "the unsullied

---

2. Cf. Chambers Journal, January 1, 1916. p. 16.
3. James E. Cutler, Lynch Law, p. 15. Cf. Hardiman's History of Galway, Dublin, 1820, p. 70; London Spectator, April, 13, 1889. Through the "Miscellany of the Irish Archeological Society", 1846, Vol. 1. pp. 44-80, in possession of Mr. Albert Matthews of Boston, the story can be traced back as far as the year 1674.
4. Cf. H. C. Featherston, Green Bag, March, 1900, 12:150ff.
5. According to most of the accounts given of the affair.

honour, the strict adherence to truth, and love of impartial justice" which was proverbially characteristic of Galway. Commenting on Hardiman's narrative, the editor of "Chambers Journal" has pointed out that his heart was more generous than his head was logical, "for what he calls 'an appalling instance of inflexible justice' occurred in opposition to the wishes of the townsfolk whose love of justice he praises."[6] It is doubtful that many of the early settlers in this country knew this story. "Lynch-law" did not become prevalent in Ireland.

There is what is known as the "pirate story" of the origin of the name lynch-law. One named Lynch was sent from England to America about 1687 under a commission to suppress the growing evil of piracy. It is supposed that, due to the difficulty of complying with the usual forms of law, this Judge Lynch "was empowered to proceed summarily against pirates", thus giving rise to the term lynch's law.[7] Cutler considers this story - in so far as it accounts for the term lynch-law - as "equally fanciful and fictitious but less romantic" than the Galway story. He concludes as follows: "Whatever the facts may be about the methods employed by this man Lynch to suppress piracy, there is no evidence to show that they were ever known as Lynch's law, or had any connection whatever with lynch-law." (page 16) At least there was a

---

6. Op. cit. p. 15.
7. London Gazette, No. 2319, February, 1687; The American Cyclopedia (1875 edition), "Lynch Law"; A. G. Bradley, "The Origin in Lynch Law", Chambers Journal, May, 1915; Cutler, op. cit. p. 16.

man named Lynch who practiced "lynch-law" whether it was so called or not. The story represents the early practice rather than name of the practice.

A Tory named Major Beard was hanged on Lynch Creek in Franklin County, North Carolina, in 1778. The name lynch-law has been ascribed to this incident. A false alarm to the effect that Tories were near is said to have caused the hanging to take place prematurely, before an intended court-martial. Afterward realizing the illegality of the hanging, it is related that:

> The body was then taken down, the court reorganized, he was tried, condemned and re-hung by the neck until he was dead. The tree on which he was hung stood not far from Rocky Ford, on Lynch's Creek; and it became a saying in Franklin, when a person committed an offence of magnitude, that 'he ought to be taken to Lynch Creek'; and so the word 'Lynch law' became a fixture in the English Language.[8]

There is also a Lynch Creek in South Carolina. Albert Matthews has found reason to believe that possibly it was here that lynch-law derived its name.[9] Boston newspapers of 1768, dated Charlestown, South Carolina, indicate the existence of "Regulators" at the time, and that they held meetings on Lynch Creek. One of their methods of punishment was by whipping. It is true that for many years this was called, along with other more severe forms of punishment, simply "lynching".

In Niles' Register we find still another anecdote under the caption, "Origin of Lynch's law".[10] It is rather

---

8. John H. Wheeler, Reminiscences and Memories of North Carolina, (1884) p. 172.
9. The Nation, Dec. 4, 1902, 75:439ff.
10. Vol. 48, August 8, 1835, p. 402.

indefinite and in other ways apparently fictitious, but it throws light on the practice under consideration. The following occurrence, according to the writer, took place "in Washington County, Pennsylvanis, many years ago": A certain unpopular man had been ordered to quit the community within twenty-four hours. When he failed to comply, a small group of his neighbors went to his home, tried him "in due form, choosing one of their number, a farmer named Lynch, to be judge." This "judge" pronounced a sentence of three hundred lashes "well laid on" and an extension of his time for twenty-four hours and then, if he should still be in the community, he was again to receive three hundred lashes.

> The first part of the sentence was inflicted on the spot with such good intent as to render its repetition unnecessary. The culprit made off as fast as his lacerated limbs would permit him.

Cutler points out that this was "merely an instance of recourse to summary procedure against an unpopular individual", and that it may or may not have been known at that time as punishment by Lynch's law. Evidence that it was known by this name is lacking. That the practice described was known in Pennsylvanis "many years ago" before 1835, is not to be doubted. Let us turn now to a somewhat detailed consideration of what is known as the "Virginia story" of the origin of the term "Lynch-law".

Tories and Desperadoes in Virginia

The most generally accepted account of the origin of the term lynch-law - an account for many years unquestioned

on either side of the Atlantic - is that which centers about one Charles Lynch of Bedford County Virginia.[11] The story has reference to the kind of law administered by this Charles Lynch during the latter part of the Revolutionary War. From the beginning there has been a considerable opposition to the movement for independence, and this was especially true in the mountainous sections of Virginia. In Bedford County where Lynch lived there was quite a number of Tories. At the time, also, this section of Virginia sheltered many desperadoes. Both Tories and Desperadoes harassed the Continentals and plundered property with impunity. Horse-stealing in particular was a lucrative practice due to the high prices paid by both armies for them. At the time, moreover, the inefficiency of the judiciary made punishment almost out of the question. The county courts were merely examining courts in all felony cases, and the final court for all cases sat at Williamsburg, more than one hundred miles away. To take prisoners there was practically impossible. Frequently while on the way with prisoners, officers would be attacked by outlaws or captured by British troops.

It was under these circumstances that Charles Lynch

11. Cutler, op. cit. (pp. 23ff) gives a full account of this story, which he takes from the following sources: Julia Mayo Cabelle, Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg, (1858), pp. 9-23, concerning the Lynch family of Virginia; Thos. W. Page's article in the "Atlantic Monthly", Dec. 1901, (88:731ff), and an article in the Green Bag, March 1900, (12:150ff) by H. C. Featherston with information pertaining especially to Charles Lynch.

conferred with his neighbors as to what might be done. The situation was becoming unbearable. After some deliberation they decided to take matters into their own hands, to punish lawlessness of every kind and thereby to restore peace and security to the community. An organization with Mr. Lynch at the head was formed. Suspected persons were brought to his house where they were tried by an orderly court composed of Lynch as presiding justice, and his three neighbors, William Preston, Robert Adams, Jr., and James Calloway acting as associate justices.

The procedure of this court is interesting when noted in the light of more modern "lynching". It illustrates the "devolution" of the practice through the years that have passed. The accused was brought face to face with his accusers. He was permitted to hear the testimony against him, and to defend himself by calling witnesses in his behalf. If acquitted, as was often the case, he was allowed to go, not infrequently with apologies and reparation. If convicted, he was sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back; and, if found to be a Tory, he must either shout "Liberty Forever"! or else hang by the thumbs until he did so. The execution of the sentence always took place immediately upon conviction. Due possibly to Lynch's Quaker proclivities, or to his "native sense of humanity", the death penalty was never paid under the shadow of the famous old Walnut tree on Lynch's lawn. Page cites evidence to show that "both custom and sentiment were violently opposed to visiting capital

punishment upon the detected Tory conspirators."

There is said to have been only three instances of capital punishment in Bedford County between the time of its organization and the Revolution. The first of these was a Negro slave, Hamilton, convicted of "Administering Poysonous Medicines to Ann Payne", his master's wife. His value being determined by the court and paid to Payne, Hamilton was "hanged by the Neck till dead", after which he was cut into quarters "and his quarters hung up at the Cross Roads."[12]

Lynch was made a Colonel and was placed in command of a regiment of militia. Encouraged by the news of the invasion of Virginia by Cornwallis in 1780, the Bedford Tories formed a conspiracy to sieze the stores which Lynch had collected. News of the conspiracy, through one of the Tories themselves, according to tradition, reached Lynch and he immediately had a number of them arrested. They were considered by Lynch as being guilty of treason against the Revolutionary government. It was true, of course, that the General Court alone had jurisdiction in cases of treason, but Lynch was up against a practical difficulty. He was about to set out for the front; he could not afford to take the Tories along on a rapid march, and felt it unsafe to turn them loose after

12. In proof of the contention that at this time race prejudice did not operate against the Negro in the matter of justice before the courts, Page states that during the same year (1756), at the same place, "a negro was tried for murder, another for poisoning, and a third for arson, and all were cleared." Cf. Cutler, op.cit. p. 31.

administering the usual thirty-nine lashes and extracting the unwilling cry of "Liberty"! He therefore sentenced the whole group, including a former fellow justice on the county bench, to terms of imprisonment ranging from one to five years.

After the close of the War there were threats of prosecution on the part of some of those who had suffered this illegal sentence, whereupon Lynch brought the whole matter before the Virginia Legislature in 1782. After much debate a law was passed, the substance of which is as follows: Although the measures taken by Lynch and his friends Preston, Adams and Galloway, "and other faithful citizens", may not have been strictly warranted by law, they had, by timely and effective measures, suppressed a conspiracy formed by "divers evil-disposed persons in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty... (who) did actually attempt to levy war against the commonwealth." Their measures were, therefore "justifiable from the imminence of the danger". It was enacted that these gentlemen "and all other persons whatsoever concerned in suppressing the conspiracy" be exhonerated.[13] Page says that the lengthy debate in the Virginia Legislature about this bill "aroused the interest of the whole country" and that "the proceedings in Bedford which the legislature thus pronounced to be illegal, but justifiable, were imitated in other parts of the State, and came to be known by the name of Lynch's Law." Numerous citations from as many books and articles written

13. Quoted by Cutler, from Hening's Statutes at Large, Vol. XI, pp. 134-135.

within the next few years indicate this as the true source of the expression "lynch-law".[14]

There is considerable evidence to show that the term lynch-law was not in use, certainly not to any general extent, before this time. This, together with the fact that soon after the legislative enactment the term was in general use, largely discredits the Carolina stories given above. It is true, for example, that "regulating" was known in South Carolina in 1768, and doubtless meetings were held on Lynch Creek as per the newspaper announcement referred to above. But "regulating" began earlier than 1768 and far away from Lynch Creek in South Carolina. At least two years earlier the practice was in vogue in Granville, Orange, and Anson counties, North Carolina. In a general meeting held on April 4, 1768 the appelation of "mob" which seems to have been adopted by themselves, was dropped by those who had been taking part in the proceedings and the name of "Regulators" was formally adopted.[15] Moreover, when the practice of "regulating was introduced into South Carolina, apparently in the summer of 1767, it was not in the region of Lynch Creek. There is little reason to suppose, therefore, that when regulating reached this region its name would have been changed from "regulating" to "lynch-law".[16]

---

14. See the numerous and lengthy footnotes given by Cutler, op. cit. pp. 30-37.
15. Cf. Cutler, p. 20; Alexander Gregg, History of the Old Cheraws, (1867) p. 129; F. X. Maxin, History of North Carolina, (1812) Vol. II, pp. 228, 233; Hugh Williamson, History of North Carolina, (1812), Vol. II, pp. 128, 131.
16. J. B. O'Neal, The Annals of Newberry, (1859), pp. 78-79.

Thirty-three years before he wrote the story cited above to show how "lynch-law" became a word of the English language by its use in Franklin County, North Carolina, Wheeler had written in his History of North Carolina an account of the hanging of "Captain Beard about 1778". While by the two accounts, as well as other facts, it is evident that the "Captain Beard" referred to is the same in both accounts, in the first written there is no reference whatevery to the term lynch-law. It would seem that this term had come into use before his second writing, at which time it was added to the account. It is very plausible that, after the Beard incident, the people of Franklin County, North Carolina, - at least some of them - used the expression 'he ought to be taken to Lynch Creek'. This, however, would not mean that "lynch-law" became "a fixture in the English language".

Etymologically the concept involved has been traced much further back of any of the dates considered. To quote from Cutler:

> On its etymological side the word lynch has been traced to an old Anglo-Saxon verb 'linch', meaning to beat severely with a pliable instrument, to chastise or to maltreat, which is said to have survived in this cognate meaning in America, as have many other words and expressions long obsolete in Great Britain.

While he maintains that there is no authority for this derivation, it would seem that his statement to the effect that all evidence that "such an Anglo-Saxon verb ever existed" is wanting, is a bit extreme.[17] C. A. Bristed, in an Essay on

17. His supposition is based upon the fact that he failed to find the verb 'linch' or 'linge' in either Bosworthis Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, or Stratmann's, Middle-English Dictionary.

the English Language in America, says that 'Linch' in "several of the northern-county dialects means to beat or maltreat. Lynch Law, then, would be simply equivalent to club-law."[18] He points out that the change of a letter may easily be accounted for by the fact that the name Lynch "is as common in some parts of America as in Ireland". Cutler quotes, to the disfavor of Bristed, the most significant statement made by him in this connection. After Bristed had ingeniously traced lynch-law back to the verb 'linch', Cutler points out, he then proceeded to remark that "if there ever was a phrase deemed particularly Trans-atlantic in origin, it is that of 'Lynch Law' for summary and informal justice."[19] It would seem that Bristed, being a linguist, was speaking of one thing while Cutler was concerned with another - and that both were right, except in so far as the latter denied that such a verb ever existed. From English versions of our subject, it would seem beyond doubt that 'linch' is an old term, and that it carries the connotation now inherent in it. Thus in "Chambers' Journal" quoted above, after a review of the "Galway story", the writer continues:

> We may suspect, I think with reason, the various American stories, which profess to derive the word from some Judge Lynch, if we remember that there is a good English provincialism, 'to lynch', 'linse', or 'linch', meaning 'to beat', and that the phrase 'club-law' means much the same as 'lynch-law'. 'To lynch' would not be the first English provincialism to survive amongst our American cousins with an extended meaning.

---

18. Cambridge Essays, (1855), p. 60.
19. Quoted by Cutler, Note, No. 2, p. 17.

There is, however, no direct evidence that the term lynch-law was used anywhere in the world before 1782. Copious private correspondence as well as many historical works give abundant evidence for the account now most generally accepted; that lynch-law came from Virginia and is directly connected with the actions of Charles Lynch and his neighbors.[20]

It is quite clear that within the next thirty or forty years lynching - signifying any sort of summary punishment - was known by that name over wide areas of the country. There are possibly two reasons for this quick spread of the term, both of which have already been clearly indicated. In the first place it seems well within the range of plausibility to grant that the Anglo-Saxon verb 'to linch' was a part of the mental equipment of early settlers in this country. There seems to be no reason why Bristed should have traced the word further back had its origin been American. Furthermore to doubt the North Carolina saying "he ought to be taken to Lynch Creek" is unwarranted. It is true also that the "regulators" held meetings on Lynch Creek in South Carolina. Moreover, it is possible that many of the Irish in America knew the story of Galway. When, therefore, the term lynch-law and lynching were used in Virginia after the legislative enactment which was widely discussed, it is very easy to

20. Due apparently to a statement in Haydon's Dictionary of Dates (1860) to the effect that Lynch-law derived its name after John Lynch who summarily punished fugitive slaves and criminals in the dismal swamp of N. C. seems to have become the accepted story in France. Cf. Revue de Deux Mondes, May, 1891.

understand how the word should have taken hold in these other sections. When we remember how the culture areas gradually extended out from each of the Atlantic states on toward the West, it is not difficult to understand why by 1830 lynchings were so called from every part of the country then inhabited by English. The other apparent reason for the rapid spread of the term under consideration is that the practice of which it was the name, was wide-spread. The early history of this practice which was later named lynch-law deserves a fuller treatment, to which we now turn our attention.

Early American Lynch-Law

The origin of the term "lynch-law" does not mark the origin of the practice which it indicates. The latter might be traced back to the origin of courts, for since that time, in every country so far as we know, there has been some sort of extra-legal punishment analogous to the American practice. The Vehmic courts of Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries grew out of a necessity not wholly unlike that which brought the practice to America. "Cowper justice" and"Jedburg justice" originated on the early Scotch border where desperadoes are said to have been hanged without a trial. Cutler quotes from and Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish language that "in mockery of justice, assizes were held upon them after that they had suffered". (p. 8) There is an English proverb which runs as follows: "First hang and draw, then hear the cause by Lidford law." In a dictionary of the

seventeenth century, Lydford law is defined as "a certain Law whereby they first hang a Man and afterwards indite him".[21] Thus the Franklin County North Carolinians who hanged Beard and tried him afterwards followed an old precedent.

All these expressions are so many different names that characterize the methods employed in various parts of other countries for executing popular justice. Like the Vehmic tribunals in Germany, Lydford law and Halifax law in England, and Cowper Justice and Jedburg Justice in Scotland gradually gave way along with the more effective execution of established laws by the officials.[22] While Cutler is doubtless correct in maintaining that lynch-law as we know it cannot be traced back to these medieval practices, they were not originally as different in nature from our lynch-law as he suggests. He points out that "These practices differ from lynch-law in not dispensing with all regular proceedings", and that "the death penalty was not at first inflicted under lynch-law". As for dispensing with regular proceedings, this was a later development; for all early references to summary punishment indicate that the common practice was to hold a regular trial "in due form". True, lynching was once synonymous with whipping, but the Conditions out of which it came were not unlike those which occasioned Lydford law and Jedburg justice; and summary hangings, although not so called before 1782, had long been the practice in this country. To these practices immediately the

21. Quoted from The New World of Words, or A General English Dictionary. (1678, 4th. edition) by Edward Phillips.
22. Cutler, op. cit. p. 5, 6.

term lynch-law was applied. The dictionary definitions of lynch-law during the first half of the nineteenth century indicate that it meant merely punishing without trial. In the latter half of the century however the term was taking on a more specific meaning, as is illustrated by the following definitions:

> To punish without the forms of law; specifically to hang by mob-law. (1885). (Cutler, p. 10).
>
> Lynch: To inflict punishment upon, especially death, without the forms of law, as when a mob captures and hangs a suspected person. (1893). Cutler, p. 11).

With the passing of time the operation of lynch-law became more severe, until by the end or soon after the Civil War it was practically synonymous with capital punishment by a mob.[23] Since the Reconstruction period, therefore, the specific meaning of "lynching" has necessitated the use of the specific terms "flogging", "tarring and feathering", etc. for minor punishments by mobs. Mob-violence is now the more generalized term covering both categories, as well as such phenomena as strikes and race riots.

In the earliest recorded act of mob-violence in the country Negroes played only a minor part. Two men, Bowem and Morrill, killed two Indians in 1753, who were accused of carrying off two Negroes the year before. The night before these men were to be tried for murder, - on March 20, 1754 -

---

23. The term "mob" which we shall discuss more at lenght in Chapter VIII, is very old. It is traced back to about 1680, and is of latin origin. Its connotation is "mobile", "emotional", "rabble". Encyclopedia Brittanica, 11th, ed. "Lynch Law", Vol. XVII, p. 169.

a mob broke open the jail and set them free. A reward offered by Governor Wentworth, as well as the great excitement aroused in the community by the "outrage" failed to affect an apprehension and trial of the murderers.

> ..In a short time they went openly about their business, without fear of molestation, and the men engaged in breaking the jail at Portsmouth, though well known, were never called to account, but, on the contrary, were considered as having performed a most meritorious act. In fact, some of the most substantial men in the country were engaged in the rescue.. and the Government could not have made an arrest had they made the attempt.[24]

About the middle of December, 1763, there occurred what is claimed by some to have been the first instance of lynch-law in this country. The Scotch-Irish who had settled around Paxtang, now Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, had little patience with the Quaker government which treated with contempt their appeals for help in dealing with the Indians. The settlers of Lancaster and Cumberland counties, therefore, formed themselves into several companies of Rangers for the purpose of patrolling the borders and giving protection to their families. Under the leadership of one Matthew Smith, the Rangers went out to an Indian settlement. One on the Rangers upon seeing an Indian whom he is said to have recognized as the murderer of his Mother, shot him down. Then the "Furious mob rushed into the cabins, and killed all the Indians whom they found there, some six in number."[25]

---

24. Quoted by Cutler from New Hampshire Provincial Papers, VI, 262-266 in possession of Albert Matthews of Boston.
25. Cutler, op. cit. p. 42.

Fourteen of the Indians escaped and fled to Lancaster where they were lodged in jail for protection. Word was received by the men at Paxtang that an Indian who had murdered relatives of their number was among those in jail. Under the leadership of Lazarus Stewart about fifty of the Rangers on December 27, marched to Lancaster, broke open the the jail, and "with the fury of a mob, massacred every Indian contained therein, man, woman, and child".[26] There are other instances of such summary dealings with the Indians,[27] but it seems that these were after all rather isolated incidents and that the practice of "summary justice" had a different origin.

There is no sharp break in the counter-atrocities against Indians from the time of the arrival of the Europeans until after law courts had long been established. It is quite certain that before the earliest cases on record, which we have recited, there was a form of summary justice called "regulating". This practice was found, not only out on the boarders, but also in the older and better organized communities. The first record of this type of lynch-law is to be found in the December 18, 1752 copy of the New York Gazette, which intimates that the practice was not old enough to be well known at that time. "Regulars" are mentioned as giving most severe whippings to men who were known to beat their wives. That these men were not following out the wishes of the community in general is indicated by the fact that they

---

26. Cf. C. A. Hanna: The Scotch-Irish, (1902) p. 60.
27. Cf. W. H. Smith: The St Clair Papers, (1882) II, 351, 374, 376, 396-97; Cutler, op. cit. p. 45.

dressed themselves in women's clothes and painted their faces.[28]

In the New Jersey Archives (1879) is found a copy of a letter dated December 7, 1753, written by one "Prudence Goodwife". After telling how her husband had beaten her, she says in part:

> My case being nois'd abroad, induced several generous young men to discipline him. These young Persons do stile, or are stiled Regulators: and so they are with Propriety: for they have regulated my dear Husband, and the rest of the bad Ones hereabouts, that they are afraid of using such Barbarity.

Mention is then made of certain men, presumably wife-beaters, who had been instrumental in, or had attempted to, "have those dear Regulators indicted", indicating that their actions were considered as lawlessness.

Regulating was early practiced in North Carolina.[29] The purpose was at first that of "regulating public grievances and abuses of power", and especially to resist extortionate exactions of government officials. Their chief method of punishing was by whipping. Not unlike later developments of "summary justice" however the "regulating spirit" spread, so that four or five years after the first recorded instances of "regulating" we find lawlessness in the extreme. In September, 1770, an attack was made upon superior court in session at Hillsboro, by about 150 Regulators. Several men who had incurred their enmity received a severe whipping, and

---

28. Cutler, op. cit. p. 46.
29. Cf. H. Williamson: History of North Carolina (1812) II, 262-3; 270-1.
J. H. Wheeler: History of North Carolina, (1851) ii, 306.

considerable property was destroyed. The leaders were later arrested. This brought on more trouble between the law and the lawless, so that in 1771 Governor Tyson had to call out the militia. After a battle in which each side lost several men the Regulators were defeated and their organization broken up. At least for the time being, and forever so far as the "Regulators" were concerned, the law had won.

CHAPTER III

BORDER LYNCHING AND ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION

The frontier variety of lynching may be said to have originated in South Carolina.[1] Before 1769 there were no courts of criminal and civil jurisdiction except "that which was holden in Charles-town." As early as 1752 a need for better court procedure was felt.[2] Failure to comprehend the real nature of border conditions, and thereby ignoring this need, resulted in a decided opposition between the frontiersmen and the Government. According to private correspondence, and to the South Carolina Gazette[3] "Regulation" in the case of horse theives and robbers seems to have become a regular and necessary practice by the year 1767 in the section around Pine Tree Hill.[4] The cutlaws are referred to as "The gang of Villains from Virginia and North Carolina" who

1. Cf. Alexander Gregg: History of the Old Chenaws (1867) Chapter VII.
2. At this time an appeal of this nature was made to the General Assembly. Loc. cit.
3. May 26 and July 17, 1767.
4. Now Camden.

Persisted in horse-stealing, robbery and other outrages "notwithstanding the late public examples made of several of them."

> The at present range in the Forks between Broad, Saludy, and Savannah Rivers. Two of the gang were hanged last week at Savannah, viz., Lundy Hart and Obadiah Greenage. Two others, James Ferguson and Jessie Hamberson, were killed when these were taken.[5]

That this was no isolated occasion is indicated by an address of the Governor to both Houses of the Assembly on November 5, 1767. Speaking of the "unhappy situation in the Back Parts of the Country" he said:

> The means to suppress those licentious spirits that have so lately appeared in the distant parts of the Province, and, assuming the name of Regulators, have, in defiance of Government, and to the subversion of good order, legally tried, condemned, and punished many persons, require an attentive deliberation.[6]

During the following year "new irregularities" on the part of the Regulators took place. "Seeming to despair of rooting out those desperate villains", they proceeded "to punish such offenders as they can catch", including "an infamous woman" who received corporal punishment.[7] In the year 1769 seven new courts were established in the interior, with suitable jails and courthouses. "This marked the end of the Regulation movement in South Carolina. The condition of affairs which had called it into existence had ceased to prevail and the practice of "regulating" was, therefore,

---

5. Gregg, op. cit. p. 134.
6. Gregg, op. cit. p. 136.
7. Gregg, op. cit. p. 138.

discontinued.[8]

The practice of tarring and feathering, was "particularly characteristic" from around 1775 when the "Sons of Liberty" were active around Boston in stirring up resistance to the British Government.[9] This method of punishment had been practiced several years before[10] and no doubt was known by the earlier immigrants before they came to America.[11] The more modern practice of stripping the clothes from a Negro suspect who is gazed at by women unashamed is not new. As an example of this and the fact that "a mob is a mob" irrespective of time or place we quote from the Boston Chronicle for October 26-30, 1769:

> Last Saturday evening a person suspected to be an informer, was stripped naked, put in a Cart, where he was first tarred, then feathered, and in this condition, carried through the principal streets of the town, followed by a great concourse of people.

During the same year there were instances in which summary punishment was resorted to in other cases than those of a political nature.[12] Before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War tarring and feathering was common throughout the Colonies.[13] Although the "Regulators" on the South Carolina borders had disbanded, in the year 1775 there was a "Secret Committee" in Charleston. During that year they tarred and feathered unpopular men, of whom at least two were stripped of their

---

8. Cutler, op. cit. p. 57; Gregg, op. cit. p. 151-2.
9. Cutler, op. cit. note 1, p. 59.
10. Cf. Boston Evening Post, Sept. 12, 1768 (1720, p. 3); Sept. 19, 1768 (No. 1721, p. 3)
11. Cf. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II, p. 21; Cutler; p. 61.
12. Cutler, pp. 67-69.
13. Cutler, pp. 68-69.

clothes and carted through the streets.[14] During the next year they burned a white man. "John Roberts, a dissenting minister, was seized on suspicion of being an enemy to the rights of America, when he was tarred and feathered; after which the populace, whose fury could not be appeased, erected a gibbet on which they hanged him, and afterwards made a bonfire, in which Roberts, together with the gibbet, was consumed to ashes."[15]

Summary punishment - more than once approved by the Legislature - seems to have been very prevalent in Virginia from about 1779 to 1792.[16] While evidence covering the period from then up to 1830 is mostly limited to notes made by travelers, there is little reason to believe that it suddenly ceased or even diminished after 1792. E. W. Gould gives good reasons for mob violence in the Mississippi Valley during this time. Pointing out that "no country known to civilization has been the theater and battlefield of more tragic events and bloodcurdling incidents than has been this beautiful Valley of the Mississippi", he proceeds:

> Succeeding the treachery and massacres from the Indians and the bloody battles that so often followed, encouraged by the French and English authorities, came The OUTLAW, THE PIRATE, THE ESCAPED CONVICT, and the DESPERATE HIGHWAYMAN from all parts of the world.

So vital a part of the background for later lawlessness in this section, it seems justifiable to dwell at length on

14. John Drayton: Memoirs of the American Revolution (1821), I, 273-274. Frank Moore: Diary of the Revolution (1875) pp. 90-91. Edward McCrady: South Carolina in the Revolution (1775-1780) (1901), p. 24.
15. Frank Moore: Diary of the Revolution (1875) p. 359.
16. Cutler pp. 71-76.

this situation which inevitably led to extra-legal punishment. The case quoted below is only one of several, or possibly many, that could be quoted from the literature of the period between 1800 and 1830. We may well suppose that in the secrets of eternity are many others.

The Crow's Nest

In the year 1809 'Island number 94', or Stack Island, or, as it is sometimes called, 'Crow's Nest', 170 miles above Natchez, was notorious for many years as a den for the rendezvous of horse thieves, counterfeiters, robbers and murderers. It was a small island in the middle of 'Nine Mile Reach'. From thence they would sally forth, stop passing boats, murder the crew, or, if this seemed impracticable, would buy their horses, flour, whiskey, etc., and pay for them.

Their villanies became notorious, and several years pursuit by the civil officers of the law failed to produce any result in the way of punishment or eradication. But they were at length made to disappear by the application of lynch law, from several keel boat crews. The full history of this affair has never been unfolded, and perhaps never will be. But for terrible retribution and complete annihilation outside of any authorized decrees, it never had its equal in any administration of lynch law, the recitals of which cast so many shadows on the West and South.

The autumn of 1809 had been marked by many atrocities on the part of the bandits of the "Crow's Nest". Several boats and their entire crews had disappeared at that point, and no traces of them could be found afterwards. The country around, and up and down the river, had been victimized and robbed in almost every conceivable form by depredators, whose movements could be traced satisfactorily toward the Crow's nest. At one time it occurred that several keel boats were concentrated at the head of Nine Mile Reach, within speaking distance of each other, being detained by heavy contrary winds.

The crews of these boats were well informed as to the villanies of those who harbored on the little island a few miles below them. Many of them had friends and comrades on the boats that had been among missing ones. By what means it was brought about, or at whose suggestion or influence, it was never known. But one dark night, a few hours before daylight, eighty or ninety men from these wind-bound crafts, well armed, descended in their small boats to the Crow's Nest and surprised its occupants, whom they secured after a short encounter, in which two of the boatmen were wounded and several of the robbers killed. Nineteen men, a boy fifteen, and two women, were thus captured. Shortly after sunrise, the boy, on account of his extreme youth, and the two women, were allowed to depart. What was the punishment meted out to the men, whether shot or hanged,

was never ascertained with any degree of certainty.

None but the boy, the boatmen and the two women, however, ever left the island alive, and by twelve o'clock noon, the crews were back to their boats, and, the wind having calmed the night before, they shoved out, and by sunset were far down the river and away from the scene of the indisputably just, although unlawful retribution. Two years afterward came the terrible earthquake, which, with the floods of 1811 and '13, destroyed every vestige of the Crow's Nest, leaving nothing of it to be seen but a low sand-bar, and with it passed away from public sight and mind all signs of the bandits, their crimes, and the awful doom that awaited them.[17]

We know that the name and the practice of lynch-law were known and experienced as far West as Indiana by 1819.[18] Some time prior to that date an English traveler commented on the rapid development of society "in our new country" and pointed out that the Americans were "anxiously studious of mildness" in forming their laws; that only murder "of the first degree" called for the death penalty in any western state, and according to his belief the same was true of all States in the nation. Due to the fact that they had from the first been accustomed to rely on their own powers, he continued, "<u>they surrender with reluctance</u>,

17. E. W. Gould, <u>Fifty Years on the Mississippi</u>, pp. 58-59, Nixon-Jones Ptg. Co., St. Louis, 1889.
18. W. Faux, Memorable Days in America, London (1823) p. 304-5.

and only by halves, their right of defense against every aggression even to the laws which they themselves have constituted." The writer pointed out that "savage and ferocious violence" was too common to be abhorred in the frontier states,[19] but that such events would hardly be tolerated in a more settled state like Kentucky, to which he proudly referred with the prediction that soon mob violence would be only a matter of history in Illinois and Indiana.[20]

One of the most interesting points to be gained from Blaine's notes is that already in cases of prosecution of those involved in extra-legal punishment, juries "knowing the bad characters of the prosecutors" would give but trifling damages, which divided among so many, amounted to next to nothing for each individual.[21] Concerning his conversation with some of the chief ones among the Regulators the narrator states:

> They very sensibly remarked that when the country became more thickly settled, there would no longer be any necessity for any such proceedings, and that they should all be delighted at being able to obtain justice in a more formal manner.[22]

In general it may be said that the practices of "summary justice" which the English seem to have brought with them to America, practiced in Colonial and Revolutionary

---

19. Indem, pp. 96-98.
20. Somewhere in this section and before 1822, the practice of cutting off the ears of the culprit had arisen.
21. Loc. cit. Although lawlessness in the form of extra-legal punishment was considered a necessity these men were consistent in that they fined one another. This has not always been the case since that day.
22. An Excursion through the U. S. and Canada. 1822-23. London 1824, pp. 233.6.

times, were then carried westward during the half century after the Revolution where they persisted by necessity and possibly grew somewhat harsh for the same reason.[23] At least in some of the cases an orderly trial was held and no mob phenomena whatever were exhibited. According to Cutler's discussion of the subject it would appear, indeed, that there was generally more order in the extra-legal punishment on the border than in New England, and later in the other seaboard Provinces, where the necessity for such practices was certainly less urgent.[24]

The subsequent history of lynch-law in the West is a story of the working out of the principle early set forth by the Virginia Legislature when it declared that, under peculiar circumstances such as are often met when established law is weak, measures not strictly warranted by law may be justifiable from the immanence of the danger involved. We shall review more reasons still why this principle was the natural and often the necessary salvation of the pioneers exposed to the vicissitudes of frontier life. First, however, we turn attention to a different and very important aspect of the history of lynch-law in America.

Anti-Slavery Agitation

In the East, as we have noted, summary practices, although not confined within the limits of political troubles,

23. If a thief refused to quit the community after a whipping he was whipped again and his ears cut off. Blaine, pp. 233-6.
24. Cutler, op. cit. Chapter III.

seem largely to have grown out of them. After the Revolution there was little excuse for, and little evidence of, summary punishment in this section. In the more southern states, however, the frontier gave away slowly. The population spread out faster than it increased, so that well-organized and thickly populated communities - unattractive to depredators - were more slow to develop. Almost before "regulation" had ceased and while lynching was a part of the culture-complex in these regions, anti-slavery agitation began. Thus while lynch-law was moving westward, and before it had been forgotten on the seaboard, there arose an occasion for its revival. This revival was characterized by less reasoning and more emotionality - and, therefore, more heedless and severe punishments. In September 1831, in North Carolina, "three ring leaders of the late diabolical conspiracy were executed at Onslow Court House".[25] The editor of the Liberator, as subsequent history indicates, was doubtless justified in the following comment: "'Executed by the people', doubtless means executed by a mob, on suspicion of guilt, without investigation or trial." That emotionality often had the upper hand - and that such being frequently the case in the South today is not altogether modern - is indicated by the following incidents:

John Lamb of Georgia, in 1831, subscribed for Garrison's anti-slavery paper. He was violently taken from his house, tarred and feathered; then oil was poured on his

25. Liberator, Nobember 5, 1831. Vol. I, p. 180.

head and set on fire, after which he was ducked in the river and later whipped at a post.[26]

In Petersburg, Virginia, a man was "lashed on the bare back" for saying, "that black men have, in the abstract, a right to their freedom." He was ordered to leave never to return under threat of being treated "worser".[27]

During this same memorable year the paranoid Negro preacher, Nat Turner, who had several years earlier decided to "call the attention of the civilized world to the conditions of his race", on a Sunday night, August 21, opened his famous insurrection. About sixty whites, men, women and children, were slaughtered by this erratic but sincere Negro and his followers. A letter to President Jackson from a committee of citizens of Southampton, dated August 29, gives some conception of how the incident spread both fear and horror among the white people:[28]

> ...So inhuman has been the butchery, so indiscriminate the carnage, that the tomahawk and scalping knife have now no horrors. Along the road traveled by our rebellious blacks, comprising a distance of something like twenty-seven miles, no white soul lives to tell how fiend-like was their purpose... The excitement is so great that were the justices to pronounce a slave innocent, we fear a mob would be the consequence.

Many of the slaves who had rebelled, as well as some who were innocent, were shot on sight. The heads of some of them were left up on poles for weeks as a dreadful warning

---

26. Liberator, Oct. 1, 1831 (1:157).
27. Liberator, Oct. 29, 1831 (1:174); Cutler, op. cit. p. 92.
28. Quoted by W. S. Drewry, Slave Insurrections in Virginia, p. 84.

to others who might contemplate rebellion. A negro woman who had attempted to kill a white woman was lynched. According to Cutler, "It is said that some of the slaves suffered fearful torture, being burnt with red-hot irons and their bodies being horribly mutilated, before death came to their relief." Turner was tortured with pin-pricks, soundly whipped, and put in jail to await trial. Fifty-three negroes connected with the massacre were tried by the courts. Twenty of them were released, twelve were transported, and seventeen executed. Turner and his associate-leaders were tried again in Superior Court. Turner and two others were executed. With one exception, all of those who were executed were buried in a "decent and becoming manner". The body of Nat Turner was delivered to the doctors, "who skinned it and made grease of the flesh."[29]

Possibly the total influence of this insurrection cannot yet be written. The general effect was to center attention on the slave question. To the North it brought a more pronounced conviction than ever as to the evils of slavery. To the South it brought intense excitement and fear. New plots were believed to exist in North Carolina. A rumor was spread, and for a while accepted, to the effect that Wilmington had been burned, half the inhabitants killed, and that "the negroes of several counties were on the march for

29. Cutler, op. cit. p. 95. McMaster, History of the People of the United States, Vol. VI, states that 55 white persons were killed, and, concerning the negroes, "A hundred are said to have been shot, 19 executed." p. 74.

Raleigh."[30] Likewise, without the least foundation, a "plot" was discovered in Deleware and Maryland. While there is no evidence that Turner or any of his followers ever saw a copy of the "Liberator", Garrison and his publication were credited with instigating the massacre. Sharp debates over the question of slavery became more frequent; and prejudice against negroes, slave and free, grew more intense. Forgetting important parts of the Constitution, some "gentlemen of the first respectability" at Columbia, South Carolina, formed themselves into a "Vigilance Association" and offered a reward of fifteen hundred dollars "for the conviction of any white person found circulating the Liberator, Walker's Appeal, or any other publication of seditious tendency."[31]

In North Carolina the Grand Jury brought an indictment against Garrison "for the circulation and publication of the 'Liberator' in the county in contravention to the act of the last General Assembly." According to a law of Georgia, a five thousand dollar reward was offered for the conviction of any one concerned with the circulation of "seditious" literature.[32] The Governor of Virginia credited the Nat Turner insurrection, "and the plots discovered elsewhere," to the "fanatics of some of our neighboring states", and called for a revision of the laws "intended to preserve in due

30. McMaster, loc. cit. p. 74.
31. United States Gazette, Oct. 12, 1831; McMaster, op. cit. 75.
32. Laws of Georgia, 1831, p. 255. Act approved on December 15, 1831.

subordination the slave population of our State." An act providing for the removal of free negroes was passed by the legislature. Pressure was brought to bear upon the officials of the states in which "incendiary literature" was being issued to stop it. A sharp cleavage between the pro and the anti slavery factions was drawn in the East, where negroes were treated with contempt. In Boston some of the Christian people were so overcome with rece prejudice that they expelled colored members from their churches.[33] Thus along with the growing resentment between the two sections of the country, prejudice became more general in both.[34]

The term "lynch-law" now came into general use, and the practice spread far and wide. In the older states it was administered first to abolitionists, and then - true to the nature of mob violence - it spread out until a stranger, for some offence "unknown to the inhabitants was tarred and feathered in true Yankee style, marched out of town and let run."[35] At the same time out on the borders from Vicksburg to St. Louis, gamblers and robbers were being treated to lynch-law. A whipping with orders to move on generally made up the sentence. In Vicksburg, in 1835, a group of gamblers refused to obey orders to quit the town. This resulted in an attack upon the gamblers in which a highly respected

---

33. McMaster, op. cit. pp. 76-79.
34. Chapter VIII gives some conception of how race prejudice in the South has persisted, being often the reason given for a lynching episode.
35. Quoted by Cutler from the Liberator, Sept. 27, 1834.

citizen of the town was killed. Five of the gamblers were taken to the common gallows and hanged, their bodies being left suspended for twenty-four hours. About this time an insurrection in Madison County, Mississippi, was suspected. As a result five white men and several negroes, "some ten or fifteen" were hanged without due process of law. In connection with the border conditions and methods of punishment, Ingraham makes a significant statement. In discussing the habit of the people "of improving upon the courts by taking the laws into their own hands," he says: "The want of a penitentiary has had a tendency to keep this custom alive in this state longer than it would otherwise have existed. When an individual is guilty of any offence, which renders him amenable to the laws, he must either be acquitted altogether or suffer death."[36] At this time eleven crimes were punishable by death in Mississippi.[37]

In May, 1835, two negroes murdered two children in Mobile, Alabama, "with such peculiar circumstances of barbarity" that, although a trial was given them in which "the Court pronounced the only sentence known to the law" they were immediately afterward burned. The implication is that they had committed rape. "They were seized, taken to the place where they had perpetrated the act, and burned to death."[38]

In April of the next year a free mulatto killed a Deputy Sheriff in St. Louis, Missouri, while resisting

36. J. H. Ingraham, The South-West, Vol. II, pp. 185-187.
37. Cutler, op. cit. p. 101.
38. Liberator, July 4, 1835, (5:108); Cutler, p. 108.

arrest for helping a prisoner to escape. He was captured, locked in jail, and later taken from the jail by a mob who had threatened to tear it down if the officers did not give the mulatto up. He was conducted to the outskirts of the city by the "congregated thousands, seized upon and impelled by that mysterious, metaphysical, and almost electric phrenzy." With a chain around his neck he was fastened to a tree a few feet from the ground. There he was "roasted alive".[39] It became the duty of Judge Lawless - according to subsequent criticisms not incorrectly named - to bring the case of the burning before the Grand Jury. At that time he laid down a doctrine as old as Napoleon and one which functioned in countless instances since his day. Lawless said that a crime which if committed by one or two persons might properly bring the death sentence, could be perpetrated by a mob with impunity as an act "beyond the reach of human law." Attempts to curb the freedom of the press were no longer reserved for anti-slavery literature; an editor who criticised the doctrine of Lawless had his printing office demolished.[40]

The St. Louis case is supposed to have been the occasion for Lincoln's oft-quoted speech on "The Perpetuation of our Political Institutions" in which he gave an account of the general conditions of lawlessness over the whole

---

39. Niles Register, June 4, 1836, (50:234).
40. After this the editor turned strongly anti-slavery in attitude. For refusing to stop his publication which he had again set up in Alton, Illinois, he was killed on the night of November 7, 1837, after his press had three times been destroyed by mobs.

country, and expressed a fear that mob violence would destroy the government. After a long resume in which he dwelled especially upon the Mississippi and the St. Louis cases, Lincoln concluded:[41]

> Such are the effects of mob law, and such are the scenes becoming more and more frequent in this land so lately famed for love of law and order, and the stories of which have even now grown too familiar to attract anything more than an idle remark.

Although it was not specifically confined to any section, nor inflicted for any particular offense to the exclusion of others, by 1840 lynch-law was gradually becoming more characteristic of the South and West. In many parts of the latter the law was yet unable to care for the public order, so that thieves, gamblers and desperadoes were "lynched".[42] In older communities, on the other hand, in the South and in parts of the West, lynch-law was resorted to in cases where there was strong feeling that the courts had not inflicted punishment in keeping with the crime; or, in cases "when from excitement the majority will not wait for the law to act, but inflict punishment with their own hands."[43]

Thus, whereasonce lynch-law was practiced on the border settlements as a temporary method of suppressing lawlessness until civil regulations could be affected, it had now turned upon the law which it proposed to protect. This was not always without legal penalty. In Brownsville,

41. Quoted by Cutler from Abraham Lincoln, Works, Vol. I, 9-10.
42. The term still connoted whipping, or tarring and feathering or both. When the death penalty was exacted, it was always specifically stated.
43. F. Murryat, Diary in America, (1839) Vol. I, pp. 232-233.

Tennessee, in 1835, a lynch court convicted one suspected of being a slave stealer, inflicted 500 lashes with a "cowskin" and branded him on the cheek. A jury in the United States Circuit Court gave him a verdict of $2,000 and costs against five members of the lynching party.[44] Three years later two young men in Fayette County, Tennessee, assisted others to ride a man on a rail, during which outrage he received fatal injuries. These gentlemen were fined fifty dollars each and sentenced to three month's imprisonment.[45] In Yazoo, Mississippi, a man was "severely lynched", whereupon he prosecuted two of the mob in circuit court of the county and was awarded a total of $20,000 damages.[46]

Between 1840 and 1850 there seems to have been an increased tendency on the part of the people to take the law into their own hands.[47] The occasion in the South was generally one growing out of the abolition movement. The negroes were often unmercifully flogged, and for serious crimes put to death. Abolition propagandists from the North were frequently lynched, generally by a severe whipping, and then ordered to depart northward. During the latter part of this decade especially the Westward movement was accompanied by such outbreaks of desperadism as to make extra-legal punishment inevitable.

Thus during the following decade, 1850 to 1860, under various names, Vigilance Committees functioned in the

---

44. Liberator, Oct. 27, 1837, p. 174.
45. Liberator, Sept. 14, 1838, p. 146.
46. Niles Register, June 15, 1839, p. 256.
47. Cf. Evans, op. cit. p. 167; Niles Register, 66:428, 320 for lynchings in Texas and Florida.

West from the Mississippi to California. "Each new western state, as it began to be settled, attracted thither villains of every dye, who kept the community in constant fear until it purged itself by the swift and sure executions of mob-ocracy or vigilance committees."[48] The complete story of this decade cannot be written. In California alone, where, it is true, extra-legal "justice" became most necessary, Bancroft mentions by actual count over one thousand murders and hangings for the years 1850-52.[49] According to the District Attorney's Report there were 1200 murders between 1850-1853 in San Francisco, and one case of legal punishment.[50] In 1855 there were 538 homicides, with nine legal executions and forty-seven "informal ones". Between 1850-1856 there were some fourteen hundred murders in San Francisco alone, "and only three of the murderers hung under the law, and one of these was a friendless Mexican.[51] Truly it was the Augustan age of murder. Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico all had their horse thieves, robbers, murderers, - and their Popular Tribunals, floggings and hangings. If law is

---

48. Popular Tribunals, Vol. I, p. 8.
49. This large volume (I) is literally filled with case studies of murder and hangings, more than one per page throughout. It must be remembered too, that these were gathered very largely from San Francisco alone.
50. Bancroft, Vol. I, p. 131; Cf. New York Times, Aug. 10, 1919, quoting from the official records.
51. Bancroft, op. cit. p. 749. After reading through this volume one is not so inclined to disagree with the author as near the beginning of the volume when he read the following: "Had Herod, for the slaughter of the Innocents, been brought before a San Francisco jury at that time he would have been acquitted. Judas Iscariot amongst the California Christians would have passed unscathed so long as any part of his thirty silver pieces remained with him."

"codified human sentiment", human sentiment in general was at what would now be called a low level in these frontier territories. In June, 1860, in Carson City Nevada occurred an incident that well illustrates how weak was the law out there where men who killed were many, while those who loved justice and order were few. A Mexican was accused of attempted robbery and murder by a German couple, a Mr. and Mrs. Hesse. The Mexican was arrested and examined before a judge, who held him to answer before the court. Although the original charges were as stated above, during the examination the woman swore that the Mexican had made improper proposals to her. Her reputation was somewhat shady. "Yet when immediately upon the close of the examination Mrs. Hesse drew from under her shawl her cocked pistol, and placing it against the head of the prisoner fired, causing his instant death, neither judge, sheriff, nor the people made any attempt to arrest her, but permitted her to return to her home in peace, as if she had committed a meritorious act."[52] In the year 1865 there were at least one hundred and fifty homicides, and only two legal executions. It was with such a background as this that the later decades were ushered in; and no better explanation of the available statistics of the eighties and later are needed. Gold-diggers, forest-clearers, prairie-ploughers out beyond the borderline of civilization do not find awaiting their arrival law, sheriffs, juries and penitentiaries. Neither

52. Bancroft, Popular Tribunals, Vol. I, p. 600.

do these things come suddenly after their arrival; it takes many years, as history has shown. In 1887 Bancroft stated as follows: "I have given in this volume many examples...but the half has not been told. It is safe to say that thus far in the history of these Pacific States far more has been done toward righting wrongs and administering justice outside the pale of law than within it." Lynch-law where there was no law; lynch-law where men were left to protect themselves or to die. All quite different from the situation in the South during the decades under consideration. Let us turn again to this section and view the situation before the beginning of the Civil War.

During the last decade before the War lynching seems to have grown more and more common in the South. Lynch-law was no longer reserved solely for slave insurrectionists and abolitionists, as is shown by the following quotation from the "Western Herald" under the caption "Lynch Law in Virginia": "A man named William Hornbeck, living in Lewis County, Virginia, for alleged ill-treatment of his family was lynched by the young men in the neighborhood, one night last week. - Stripped of his clothing, rode on a rail, made to run through a briar patch, a stout paddle used to keep him going, and a coat of tar and feathers applied."[53] This was in 1856. In the following year there was another instance of the degeneration of lynch-law. A great excitement was caused in Barton County, Missouri by "a set of

53. Liberator, May 2, 1856, p. 72.

of lawless wretches" who, while pretending to be after a horse thief, "barbarously beat several men until their lives were despaired of, and when women interferred, some were badly beaten and others violated...."[54] By 1860 it was not safe to be patriotic enough to "hurrah" for Lincoln, especially if his name was connected with the abolitionists. For this crime two white men and a mulatto were arrested at "Mosley Hall" North Carolina. After a trial on the spot they were lynched by being whipped and having their heads shaved.[55]

In 1857 a vigilance committee in the "upper country" of Texas was busy "raking the country fore and aft and swinging every horse thief and murderer" to be found. A traveler reported that he saw twelve bodies suspended from one tree and five from another.[56] This was so much of the border variety of extra-legal procedure; but Texas was concerned with slavery, and thus at this time had a double occasion for lynching. In the summer of 1860 it is said that twenty-four "insurrectionists" were hanged.[57]

A natural outcome of the continuation of the abolition movement was an increasing frequency and severity of punishment of the Negroes.[58] Only the economic value of the slave made him worth more humane consideration than the abolitionist, for whom no punishment was considered severe

---

54. Liberator, Dec. 4, 1857.
55. Liberator, Dec. 31, 1860, p. 211.
56. Liberator, Oct. 2, 1857, Vol. 27:160.
57. Liberator, Aug. 24, 1860, p. 160.
58. By the psychological process called "emotional transfer."

enough. The "Augustan age of murder" was not confined to California; it reigned at the same time in the South. According to an editorial in the Liberator, December 19, 1856 (p. 24): "A record of the cases of "Lynch Law" in the southern states reveals the startling fact, that within twenty years, over three hundred white persons have been murdered upon the accusation - in most cases unsupported by legal proof- of carrying among slave-holders arguments addressed expressly to their own intellects and consciences, as to the morality and expediency of slavery." A study of the literature of the period would hardly permit one to doubt that these figures are overdrawn. They are probably conservative, for, although the "Liberator" made a record of every case possible, it is doubtless true that many lynchings by murder were not reported.

There seems to have been a considerable amount of crime committed by Negroes after 1830.[59] Masters, overseers, and mistresses were murdered by slaves. During the first decade after the beginning of the abolition movement the law was ordinarily allowed to take its course; but as the movement grew, during the next twenty years this was less and less frequent. From 1830 to 1840 one free Negro and three slaves were legally executed for rape; and two slaves, for attempted rape. During the same period four Negroes were burned at the stake, - two at Mobile, Alabama for murdering

---

59. Cf. Cutler, op. cit. p. 124ff.

(possibly after committing rape upon) two children; the free mulatto, McIntosh, at St. Louis for killing an officer; and a slave in Arkansas for murdering his master. There are also during the period reports of summary punishment, not death, being administered to Negroes who induced white girls to run away with them, or who lived with white women.[60]

For the next decade, 1850-1860, the record is different. Forty-six Negroes paid the death penalty for murder. Twenty of this number were legally executed, and twenty-six were killed by mobs. Two of the latter were women, one for beating her mistress to death and the other for poisoning her master. Eight of the remaining twenty-four summary executions were by burning to death. For rape and attempted rape upon white women five were legally executed, and twelve were put to death by mobs. Four of these were burned at the stake, three of whom were charged with the double crime of rape and murder.[61] With the passing of the years under the abolition movement matters became worse generally. Negroes committed more crimes; and the whites, goaded by the abolitionist even more than by the negroes' crimes, tended more and more to tighten the reins on the slave; - to make his life unbearable, yet to lynch him if he did not bear it silently. The general situation in the slave states at the beginning of the Civil War is possibly fairly well described by the following letter,

60. Cutler, loc. cit. p. 126. This was quite different from post-Civil War and Twentieth Century treatment of negroes in the South who "cross the color line".
61. Evans, op. cit. p. 157; Cutler, op. cit. pp. 126-127.

dated August 23, 1860, Houston, Texas, and written to a friend in Hartford, Connecticut:

> Tell your abolition friends to go on and soon they will have the pleasure of seeing the negro reduced to such a state of hopeless bondage that they may well pity them. I solemnly declare that today the negro is not as free as he was two or five years ago; and why? Simply because his master has been goaded to desperation by incendiary acts and speeches. Now he fears the negro, and binds him down as you would a savage animal.... And so it is all over the country. Men are hung every day by the decision of planters, lawyers judges, and ministers. It is not hot impetuous act, but cool, stern justice. It is the saving of wife and daughter, mother and sister from the hand of desecration. It is the stopping of scenes that would make the Druses and Turks blush with shame.[62]

That this fear of the Negro was largely if not wholly unnecessary is indicated by subsequent history. The Negro had been drilled to obey his master; he knew little else and rebelled only when led, or at least influenced, by others. So generally was this true that during the entire period of the Civil War there is no record of a slave who attempted a rebellion, or who committed a crime against a white woman.[63] The records are silent as to the southern white man who feared going to war and leaving his wife and children with the slaves. During all those years they worked on and on feeding the army whose victory would have

---

62. Quoted in the Liberator, Sept. 14, 1860, (30:146); and by Cutler, op. cit. pp. 121-122.
63. Cf. Fleming, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 257; George R. Williams, History of the American Negro, Vol. II, p. 414; M. L. Avary, Dixie After the War, p. 385. After a careful search the writer has been unable to find, even among the most rabid of the Negro's enemies, a single accuser in so far as this period is concerned. Doubtless there were a few cases of rape during the War, but the utter silence of history on the point seems almost a mystery.

spelled their doom, and the wives and children of the men who held them in bondage. But before this test came, the minds of many of the Whites of the South against the Negro as to afford an unpromising beginning for the long, perilous process of readjustment necessitated by its outcome.

CHAPTER IV

MOB VIOLENCE AND RECONSTRUCTION

Reconstruction in the South is a long story, the more fully told the more enlightening on subsequent race relations. In this chapter we can do no more than give a general summary of the most salient factors of the period which had their bearing upon these relationships. However honestly many Americans thought the Civil War would solve the race problem, it really created it. There was no "race problem" as we know it before emancipation. The two races lived side by side in an almost perfect state of accommodation under the master-slave regime. This condition of adjustment had taken long years. Now suddenly came a change in status, from master-slave to man-man. A readjustment on this basis would have been long and difficult enough under the best of conditions. Just how long and difficult we shall never know, for such conditions were not present or forth-coming.

The South had failed in its attempt to set up a new Government. Civil law was only partially and imperfectly

re-established. The "carpet-bagger" - as much a disgrace to the North as an irritant to the South - swarmed hither, with two results not fully to be measured as yet. First there was naturally a continuation and intensifying of the misunderstandings and hostility between the whites of the two sections. It is probable that the North had more friends in the South during the worst of the War than for many years afterwards.[1] Many of the "low-whites" were for the North and against slavery, in the abstract, but they were more hostile to Negro soldiers, policeman, and congressman than were their former masters. They had always hated Negroes; now they hated them more.[2] They were against slavery because they were against the masters, and not because they liked or pitied the slaves. It was their understanding that the latter would be sent out of the country and not to Congress.[3]

Secondly, there was a renewed and intensified fear of the Negro, which resulted in greater hostility toward him. The carpet-bagger" was not wholly responsible for this. It was also due to the unwise and inefficient Reconstruction policy of the Federal Congress. In response to southern laws that would practically have re-enslaved the Negro, the Freedman's Bureau was established and the best citizens of the South were disfranchised and disarmed.[4]

---

1. Cf. W. L. Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, Vol. II, pp. 369-70.
2. Senate Report on Labor and Capital, Testimony, Vol. IV, (1883) p. 38.
3. Fleming, loc. cit. Vol. II, pp. 273,334, 337. Cf. M. S. Evans, op. cit. p. 47.
4. Fleming, Vol. I, p. 90; Coutler, The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky, pp. 442ff.

Negro troops were stationed in South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama.[5] Negro militia regiments were organized in North and South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, and the "Radical" white militia in North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas proved even more objectionable.[6] In Alabama "the Negro population was very dense and Military posts were established at intervals of 20 to 30 miles."[7] In South Carolina in 1870 there were fourteen thousand militia organized into fourteen regiments of one thousand Negroes each.[8]

The Freedmen's Bureau

The need for the Freedmen's Bureau cannot be disputed; the good it accomplished, however, was soon forgotten, possibly but not necessarily because of the harm it did.[9] For it would have been objectionable under any circumstances; it was outside "interference" - the thing which the Southern man had fought against.[10] The occasion for the creation of the Bureau was the very evident intention of the Southern Legislatures to make the Negro a slave again. The most stringent laws had been enacted against the ex-slave before

---

5. Fleming, Vol. I, pp. 47-49.
6. Fleming, Vol. II, p. 34.
7. Fleming, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 443.
8. Fleming, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 76; Cf. Senate Doc. No. 39 the Congress, 1 session, p. 21, Schurz's report to the President on Southern labor conditions.
9. "As soon as the Freedmen's Bureau was organized, it fed to the limit of its supplies the needy whites as well as the Blacks." This has apparently been forgotten by many.
10. Cf. Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi, pp. 261, 265.

the end of 1865.[11] Some of these laws were absolutely impossible to comply with, and meant inevitable re-enslavement of the Negroes.[12] In South Carolina, for example, - and laws passed by other southern states, besides Louisiana, were of the same nature, - an ordinance was passed stating that "no person of color shall pursue the practice, art, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shop-keeper, or any other trade or employment beside that of husbandry, or that of a servant under contract for labor, until he shall have obtained a license from the judge of the county court, which license shall be for one year only." License fees, applicable to Negroes only, ranged from fifty dollars to five hundred dollars. According to a bill introduced into the Legislature of Louisiana, every freed man and woman must, within twenty days, provide themselves with a comfortable home and visible means of subsistence. Any colored persons failing to comply with the Act were to be arrested by the sheriff or constable and hired out to the highest bidder for the remainder of the year.

If the Freedmen's Bureau answered a need for the protection of the Negro in the community in which it was located, at the same time, and partially because it attempted to protect the Negro, it became a source of irritation and trouble.[13] It is true that some few of the branches of the

11. Cf. Fleming, The Sequel to Appomattox, pp. 93-97.
12. Cf. Evans, op. cit. pp. 50ff.
13. Cf. Garner, op. cit. p. 265.

Bureau did not meet with resistance, but these were exceptional. The popularity, - or unpopularity - outside of the natural disfavor resulting from its being an "outside invasion", depended very largely upon the individual officers in charge.[14] It has often been said that there may have been an honest man connected with the Freedman's Bureau, but that he was never discovered. This is too broad a statement, but it is largely true. There was, on the other hand, doubtless some basis for the report of an official in Louisiana who declared that the whites would exterminate the negroes if the Bureau were removed.[15]

This was certainly not the case in all sections of the South. The following is an account given by Coulter of how, in one case, readjustment was made without help or interference. In 1868 the negroes of Fayette County, Kentucky,

> ..held a meeting where they made it plain that they stood ready to enter into (labor) contracts with farmers, "for we have been raised to work, and it don't go hard with us." They told their former masters that God had blessed them "with strong arms to till your fields, and if you will give us work to make a living, we will make Fayette a blessing." They appointed one of their number to be a labor agent

14. Cf. Barner, loc. cit. p. 268.
15. Fleming, The Sequel to Appomattox, p. 112.

through whom they should receive jobs from the white people looking for laborers. Many blacks willing to work were present at the meeting, and all adjourned "with the understanding, that if there was any fault found this year, it shall not be on the part of the colored men"....These negroes set August 20, 1869 as a day of thanksgiving for the good treatment they had received at the hands of the whites.... They stated that "the colored men have labored better, and farmers have treated us better, and God has blessed them all better"....the whites reciprocated this feeling of friendship and cooperation....The hand of the Freedmen's Bureau had not entered into these proceedings, and this explains largely the good relationships that were growing up. Without the meddling of the Bureau and with a more reasonable attitude on the part of the white people to changed conditions, almost complete understanding and accord must have grown up between whites and blacks.[16]

Thus we see an example of readjustment in which the Bureau played no part. Three points deserve note: The willingness of the Negro to work for the White; secondly, the sympathetic attitude and cooperation on the part

16. Quoted from Coulter, op. cit. pp. 346-347. Taken from the following sources: Lexington (Ky) Observer and Reporter, Dec. 26 and 30, 1868; July 17 and Aug. 14, 1869; Weekly Commonwealth, February 18, 1870.

of the whites; thirdly, the absence of the Freedmen's Bureau. Unfortunately, in a great many sections of states further South the first two conditions were not present, and, as a result, the third was present. In numerous instances the Negroes moved to town and refused to work. Some went to politics; and others, into other popular criminal professions of the time.[17]

> Many Negroes, freed from the tradition of two hundred and fifty years of slavery, took a holiday; some resolved not to work any more as long as they lived, and some even appropriated to their own use the produce of their neighbors.

At the same time many of the white men were difficult to deal with. They preferred to re-enslave the Negroes rather than to pay them a fair salary and treat them as "hired hands" on the place. What Coulter relates concerning a county just across from Fayette, in Kentucky, was much more true of other sections:

> But the blame was not all on one side. A Shelby County farmer was frank to state (in 1870) that the farmers of the State showed a too "stubborn indispositin to accept their present situation", and the "prejudice of previous habits." (p. 347).

Dr. Fleming points out that especially in Texas and Florida the Freedman's Bureau proved very obnoxious, due largely to general official incompetence and discrimination in favor of the Negroes.[18] In Virginia it was said that there seemed to be no trouble except where the Bureau was in operation.[19] An authority on the history of Recon-

---

17. Benjamin Brawley, Social History of the American Negro, pp. 262-263.
18. Documentary History of Reconstruction, Vol. I, p. 363.
19. Fleming, Documentary History, etc., Vol. I, p. 365.

struction summarizes the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau as follows:[20]

> It failed to exert a permanently wholesome influence because its lesser agents were not held to strict accountability by their superiors. Under these agents the alienation of the two races began, and the ill feelings then aroused were destined to persist into a long troubled future.

Politics and Negro Soldiers

Political affairs soon fell into the hands of the "carpet-baggers", Negroes and "scalawags". Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina were represented in part by Negroes in the National House of Representatives. Mississippi had two Negro Senators in Washington. All of the Southern States had Negro members of both branches of the Legislature. In 1872 Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina had Negro Lieutenant-governors.

It is doubtless true that these Negro politicians were little less competent than some of the Whites elected along with them: They could hardly have been more hated than were the "carpet-baggers".[21] In the Legislature of South Carolina, in the year 1868, there were one hundred fifty-five members, ninety-eight Negroes and sixty-seven

20. Fleming, The Sequel to Appomattox, p. 117.
21. Cf. J. S. Reynolds, Reconstruction in South Carolina, p.90.

Whites. Twenty-two of the group could not read and write; several could not write more than their names; forty-one signed by an X mark.[22] A South Carolina carpet-bagger, Leslie, from Massachusetts was asked a question concerning the reports that the State was paying for a Negro brothel located just opposite the State House. His reply was: "South Carolina has no right to be a state unless she can support her statesmen."

Negro Soldiers

The presence of Negro soldiers and militia proved especially irritating to the Southerners. Fleming points out that without exception the presence of Negro soldiers was resented; that even at their best these troops were obnoxious to the southern whites.[23] In 1866 Governor Sharkey of Mississippi said: "The great amount of complaints originate from the localities where the negro soldiers are stationed."[24] The presence of Negro soldiers had a bad effect on the Negroes as well as on the whites. They were a constant source of irritation to the latter; and their presence served as a stimulus to a certain amount of laxness on the part of the other Negroes of the community. The literature of the period is replete with evidence concerning the prevalence of intense fear on the part of white women. This has formed a part of the social inheritance

22. See note under Frontispiece, Fleming, op. cit. Vol. II.
23. Fleming, The Sequel to Appomattox, p. 21.
24. Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Pt. iii, p. 134.

of following generations.[25]

The following cases are cited, irrespective of the fact that they may have been, no doubt were, the exception rather than the rule. They constitute - along with many others that could be cited, and possibly still many more not in print - an important part of the social background of subsequent race relationships. Moreover, these cases indicate that the attitudes formed at the time were not altogether without reason. The first is taken from Myrta Lockett Avary's Dixie After the War. We quote from pages 140-142:

The Lone Star of Texas

Entering Rosemont Cemetery, Newberry, S. C., one perceives on a tall marble shaft "The Lone Star of Texas' and this: 'Calvin S. Crozier, Born at Brandon, Mississippi, August 1840, Murdered at Newberry, S. C. September 8, 1865'.

At the close of the war, there were some 99,000 Confederates in Federal prisons, whose release beginning in May, continued throughout the summer. Among these was Crozier, slender, boyish in appearance, brave, thin to emaciation, pitifully weak and homesick. It was a far cry to his home in sunny Galveston, but he had traversed three

25. Cf. Fleming, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 91; Vol. II, pp. 270-6; 331-2; 334; 444; Avary, op. cit. pp. 267, 377, 383, 386. North American Rev., (1889) article by W. T. Parkers, The Evolution of the Negro Soldier; J. M. Mecklin, The Ku Klux Klan, pp. 87-88. Also, Proceedings at the Ku Klux Trials, Columbia, S. C. in the U. S. Circuit Court, November Term, 1871, pp. 187, 425.

states when he fell ill in North Carolina. A Good Samaritan nursed him, and set him on his way again. At Orangeburg, S. C., a gentleman placed two young ladies, journeying in the same direction, under his care. To Crozier, the trust was sacred. At Newberry, the train was derailed by obstructions placed on the track by negro soldiers of the 33d. U. S. Regiment, which, under command of Colonel Trowbridge, white, was on its way from Anderson to Columbia. Crozier got out with others to see what was the matter. Returning, he found the coach invaded by two half-drunk negro soldiers, cursing and using indecent language. He called upon them to desist, directing their attention to the presence of ladies. They replied that they 'didn't care a d--!' One attempted gross familiarities with one of the ladies. Crozier ejected him; the second Negro interferred; there was a struggle in the dark; one Negro fled unhurt; the other, with a slight cut, ran toward camp, yelling: 'I'm cut by a d-d rebel!' Black soldiers came in a mob.

The narrative, as told on the monument, concludes: 'The infuriated soldiers seized a citizen of Newberry, upon whom they were about to execute savage revenge, when Crozier came promptly forward and avowed his own responsibility. He was hurried in the night-time to the bivouac of the regiment to which the soldiers belonged, was kept under guard all night, was not allowed communication with any citizen, was condemned to die without even the form of a trial, and was shot to death about daylight the following

morning, and his body mutilated'.

He had been ordered to dig his own grave, but refused. A hole had been dug, he was made to kneel on its brink, the column fired upon him, he tumbled into it, and then the black troops jumped on it, laughing, dancing, stamping. The only mercy shown him was by one humane negro, who, eager to save his life, besought him to deny his identity as the striker of the blow. White citizens watched their moment, removed his remains, and gave them Christian burial.

Military Misrule in Alabama [26]

The Negro population was very dense and Military Posts were established at intervals of 20 or 30 miles. There was one at Greensboro, Ala., and the Negroes grew under its influence, impudent beyond endurance. One day a young man, Mr. Tom Cowan, resented an insolent remark made to him by a Negro passing on the street. Immediately a Yankee officer stepped up to Mr. Cowan and slapped him in the face. The young man drew his pistol and killed the officer and... hid in a little dark closet... In less than 30 minutes the street was filled with a black, surging mass of howling Negroes, led by the Yankee soldiers, searching for the young man. Two of his friends, by the dim light of a candle in that .. closet, shaved off his mustache, dis-

26. Quoted from Fleming's Documentary History etc. Vol. I, 443-4. MS account by Mrs. T. L. Kennedy, (1867).

guised him completely, and placing him between them, boldly walked out into the mob, and unrecognized went the whole length of the town to a strip of woods, where young Cowan made his escape. The infuriated Negroes soon discovered this and in retaliation they entered every white man's house and seized every gun and pistol thus placing the whites at their mercy. They also went to young Cowan's home - dragged his younger brother forth and declared their intention to keep him as a hostage and .... to hange him if his brother did not return.... In view of the whole town, a tall gallows was erected for the execution of this innocent young boy. The deepest gloom and despair settled down over the whole community.... By chance, someone remembered having heard that General Marsh, who was stationed at a Post about 15 miles off, was a Mason. The news soon spread and the 'Masons' of the town dispatched to this officer, and of course, we do not know by what means it was arranged, but if the sum of $9,000 was paid the boy would be set free. You can form no idea of the poverty of our people after the War, but there were some who had little hoards hid away.... The sum exacted was raised and sent as quickly as possible. It was never known for what purpose it was demanded, unless it was used to buy off Federal officers and soldiers. This transaction was not generally known and promptly at the hour appointed, the Negro mob placed a halter around the young victim's neck - and dragged him through the streets to the fatal place. A more pathetic spectacle was never witnessed than

that of the grey-haired father, walking by his son, exhorting him 'To die like a man'. Just as the lad was ascending the scaffold, the reprieve arrived, in the shape of an order from General Marsh forbidding the execution.

Negro Soldiers and White Girl

In his "Introduction" to Mrs. Avary's volume, C. A. Evans says: "In these pages she renders a public service. She aids the American to a better understanding of his country's past and clearer concept of its present." The author claims that most of the incidents related came from first-hand; that is, they were received from observers and participants of these incidents. The truth of Mr. Evans statement does not depend upon the absolute truth of what is related. However rare and exceptional, or even if absolutely untrue at the source, - which it seems reasonable to doubt - yet by the simple process of verbal conditioning they have played their part in shaping the history of the South since the Civil War. From many that could be cited, we quote the following: (p. 267).

> A congregation in another country church was thrown into panic by balls crushing through boards and windows; a girl of fourteen was killed instantly. Black troops swung by, singing. Into a dwelling a squad of blacks marched, bound the owner, a prominent aged citizen, pillaged his house, and then before his eyes, bound his maiden daughter and proceeded to fight among them-

selves for her possession. 'Though', related my informant with sharp realism, 'her neck and face had been slobbered over, she stood quietly watching the conflict. At last, the victor came to her, caught her in his arms and started into an adjoining room, when he wavered and fell, she with him; she had driven a knife, of which she had in some way possessed herself, into his heart. The others rushed in and beat her until she, too, was lifeless. There was no redress'.

Possibly the author is fully justified in the statement: "Northerners, and Southerners who did not live in that day and in black belts, can form no conception of the conditions which gave rise to the white secret societies of which the most widely celebrated was the Ku Klux."

The Ku Klux Klan and Lawlessness

Out of the conditions described above, social, political, military, together with the general lawlessness of the times, arose an organization the consideration of which cannot be omitted by him who would understand later inter-racial relationships in the South. The Ku Klux Klan of the sixties has been characterized in brief as follows: Its beginning was an accident, its growth a comedy, and its death a tragedy. Beginning in 1866, in a small Tennessee town as a source of amusement for emotion-hungry young ex-confederates, it spread over adjoining states at a phenomenal rate.

During slavery times the movements of the Negro were very largely curtailed, especially at night. After emancipation many Negroes thought it un-Republican not to roam about at night. On the way to and from "Union League" meetings, and others, many temptations arose, not all of which were overcome. And the time soon arrived when irresponsible whites could steal with certainty that the Negro would receive the credit. Petty thievery, Negro soldiers who pushed whites off the sidewalks and not infrequently committed worse crimes, carpet-baggers, Republican domination, and Union Legaues organized into regiments of militia: the Klan was not an organization of entertainment only, for there was "regulating" to be done! Out of the original fraternity of fun-seekers came the bigger organization with purposes social and political. The following quotation from the diary of a southern man doing time in the Federal Prison at Albany as a result of the Anti-Klan Act, indicates the occasion, which was not merely an excuse, for the social-regulatory function of the early Klan:[27]

> ...'War has left so many thousands of widows and defenseless females on isolated plantations' that it became one of the primary duties of the old Klan 'to shield our women and children from the insolence, rapacity, and brutal passions of vile desperadoes white and black'.

Doubtless for a while the influence of the Klan, so far as this aspect of its functions, was wholesome. Its membership was made up of some of the leading citizens of

27. Quoted by J. M. Mecklin, The Ku Klux Klan, p. 87-88.

the South, at the beginning.[28] Wherever the Klan appeared it is said that the nocturnal perambulations of the Negroes diminished to a quite marked degree. "In many ways", says Cutler, "there was a noticeable improvement in a large class that had higherto been causing a great annoyance."[29] It seems to have been the political regulating function that led to the degeneration of the Klan.

Its good influence was of short duration; for within itself were sources of weakness which made the outcome inevitable. In its name members could wreak private vengeance. Non-members could do likewise. It soon came to pass that, whether guilty or not, the Klan was charged with practically all the disorder in the country. The records show that this organization was far from being altogether guiltless.[30] This is shown by the testimony of Klan members themselves during the trials in the United States Court after the passage of the Federal Anti-Klan Act. Defenseless men and women, both white and black, were whipped in great numbers. According to this testimony in particular the Klan in North and South Carolina seems to have been composed largely of young men and boys, illiterate and ignorant, who could "speak of the number of blows with a hickory, which you inflicted at midnight upon the lacerated, bleeding back of a defenseless woman, without so much as

---

28. Cf. Garner, op. cit. Chapter on the Ku Klux Klan.
29. Op. cit. p. 144.
30. Mecklin, op. cit. pp. 54-55.

a blush or sigh of regret. None of you seem to have the slightest idea of, or respect for, the sacredness of the human person."[31] This was in the later stage of the Klan when the former leaders had dropped out. These later members not only whipped; they shot Negroes; they hanged them; they cut their throats; they whipped women, white and colored;[32] they ravished Negro women, and did worse, if possible, to at least one white woman.[33] The following testimony gives some indication of the depth to which the Klan had descended within two years after its organization. First we give, in an abbreviated form, the testimony of a member of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States Circuit Court at Columbia, South Carolina, in 1871: (pp. 505-8).

> Joined Klan in North Carolina, fall of 1867, with understanding that the purpose of the order was 'to advance the Conservative party and put down the Radical party'. This was to be done by killing and whipping, and crowding out men from the ballot boxes. First raid witness went on was in December, 1867. Went with members to get the Negro, Roundtree; were going to kill him. About fifty or seventy-five guns were fired into the windows and cracks of his house. Then burst door down. Roundtree was in the loft. He shot Elija Ross Sepaugh across the breast and also hit him on the wrist, then jumped

31. Proceedings in the Ku Klux Trials, U. S. C. Court, (1871) 789, Judge, in lecture to young men who had entered the plea of guilty to the charge of lawlessness.
32. Proceedings, etc. pp. 777ff.
33. Proceedings, etc. p. 508.

from the loft and was shot down. Someone of the party walked and kicked him behind and told him 'God damn you, go right on and show where the guns are'. 'When they kicked him I let him loose...and he dropped down on his face'. Sepaugh's brother came up. Seeing that Elija Ross was shot, the brother drew a bowie knife and walked to where the nigger had been left lying struggling. 'Some others of them had turned him over on his back, and in a few minutes after Sepaugh went back, some of them came up and said that Henry Sepaugh had cut his throat. I went back to him and seen that his throat was cut. He was dead when we left him'.

Under indictment for violating the Federal Anti-Klan Act, D. Lewis Jolly plead guilty, as follows:

Said that he belonged to the Limeston Klan; Banks Lyle was Chief of the County; he has run away; was on a raid to take a white man out of jail in Spartanburg, who was sentenced to be hung for killing a Negro; also on a raid when Mary Bean was whipped; took her out of bed whipped her a little; whipped her for breaking the peace between a white man and wife; didn't whip the white man; the white man's wife got the Klan to whip her; he was a member of the Klan, and was one of these big wealthy men.

Following is an abbreviation of the testimony of Harriet Simril in the same court. Part of this may be prevarication, but other testimony, some of it by Klan members themselves, tends to corroborate it entirely. It gives an

indication of the political activities of the Klan:[34]

The first time they came my old man was at home; they hollered out, 'Open the door', and he got up and opened the door....and these young men walked up, and they took my old man out after so long, and they wanted him to join this Democratic ticket; and, after that, they went a piece above the house, and hit him about five cuts with the cowhide....They came back after the first time, on Sunday night after my old man again, and this second time the crowd was bigger.

Q. Did they call for your old man?

A. Yes, sir; they called for him and I told them he wasn't here; then they argued me down, and told me he was here; I told them no, sir, he wasn't here;... They searched about a long time, and made me make up a light; and after I got the light made up, then they began to search again, and question me again about the old man, and I told them I didn't know where my old man had gone...

A. Well, they were spitting in my face and throwing dirt in my eyes;...Then they made me blow up the light again, cursing me; and after a while they took me out of doors, and told me all they wanted was for my old man to join the Democratic ticket; if he joined the Democratic ticket, they would have no more to do

34. Proceedings, Ku Klux Klan Trials, pp. 501-502.

with him; and after they had got me out of doors, they dragged me into the big road, and they ravished me out there..three of them..burned her house.

Flogging Proves Insufficient

Shaffer Bowens, quoted above (on page 81) testified regarding another raid:

A. Yes, he had been on one other raid, when they whipped John Wright. This was in January, 1868, went to Negro cabins, found nobody in. Saw three persons running across the hill. They went back to where a woman by the name of Skates lived in a little cabin; they knocked the door of the cabin down. No one in. Yes it was a white women's cabin. Do not know why they broke her door down. Went from there about two miles to Jane Bohelier's house. Couldn't find anybody in the house; jerked up a plank of the floor and there were two fellows, John and Jake Wright. Jerked up another plank and there was Red John Moss. Took them up the road about two or three hundred yards from the house; made them pull their clothes off. Cut twenty-five good hickories; commenced whipping them. After two or three licks Jake Wright and Moss ran, cap burst and gun did not go off; so they got away. Then took John Wright, locked his arms around a sapling and tied his hands. Joe Hardin, the leader, then whipped him severely. Then with the butt of his stick knocked him down two or three times. When he was satisfied

he turned him loose, made him run and shot at him as he ran. Don't think he hit him.

Q. Where did you go next?

A. They turned and went back to the houses; said they hadn't got through. They was going to take that woman out; and they had a pot of tar and lime, and was going to pour her full of it. She was white; Joe Harding said he was going to have it done; went back and ordered her out; made her lie down and held up her clothes. (Objections).....

The Court: We might as well let the people hear, and know what things exist about us. ...

A. Made her lie down and held up her clothes; then ordered Elijah Ross Sepaugh to fetch the pot of tar and told him to pour it in; he obeyed...Poured it into her, as much as he could; and took a paddle and rubbed it on her.

Q. Poured it in where?

A. I don't like to tell ..... Then they told me to give her orders to leave in three days....Mr. Harding was afraid they would recognize his voice...I told her the orders.....then we scattered and went home....

Evidence to the effect that the Klan degenerated into lawless bands of irresponsibles could be piled up. It took the Federal government to disband the organization. In all 1250 were convicted after the Act of 1870. For more than a decade after the close of the War there was a general wave of lawlessness perhaps not equalled before in the South, and

certainly not since that time. Governor Clarke of Mississippi early summarized the situation as follows: "The terrible contest which the country has just passed has aroused in every section the fiercest passions of the human heart. Lawlessness seems to have culminated in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln."[35] It has been estimated that 3500 persons were killed in the South during the first year after emancipation. There were 1884 killed during the year 1868.[36] During the Reconstruction Period lynching took on the connotation of death, following the lead of the West. A new tide of immigration had flocked to the latter section, including a goodly portion of thieves,, robbers and murders, many of whom were lynched. In the South, when lynching by exacting the death penalty now became much more frequent than heretofore, the connotation of death was fixed, and has so remained.

In four counties in Alabama, between April and July, 1865, a total of 17 Negroes were lynched, one of whom was burned. Four of these were woman. "This is only a few of the murders committed on the ... freedmen of the above named counties" said the official in making the report.[37] In the state of Kentucky violence became "the expected order of the day." In 1868 a newspaper correspondent reported from Lebanon, Kentucky, as if it

35. Quoted by J. W. Garner, op. cit. p. 59.
36. Figures cited by Carter Woodson, The Negro in Our History, source not stated. Only an estimate; number unknown.
37. Senate Document No. 2, 39th. Cong. 1st. Session.

were unusual, the following: "I am assured on the best authority that no gentleman has been hung in this neighborhood for the past fortnight." The Franklin, Ky., "Weekly Commonwealth" of March 31, 1871, gave one hundred fifteen instances of violence, such as shootings, hangings, whippings, and jail deliveries that had been reported during the period between 1867 and 1871.[38]

In conclusion Coulter says of the bands of lawless men in Kentucky during this period: "They left a heritage which has been a curse to the state since, a weakened respect for state authority. Lynchings continued long as an outcropping of this spirit, though gradually becoming more infrequent; and feuds grew up in the mountains of the eastern part of the state, spectacular though deadly, to give the state a fame all its own."

Increase in Proportion of Negroes Lynched

In the South there was an increase in the proportion of Negroes to the total number lynched, thanks partially but not wholly due to the Ku Klux Klan. The desperadoes had moved on toward the West, and interracial conflicts grew in number. The following facts were revealed by an examination of the files of "The New

38. Coulter, op. cit. pp. 360-365.

York Times" for the three-year period, 1871-73:[39] During this period there were at least seventy-five lynchings. Only twenty-six of these were in the North and West combined, while forty-nine were in eight Southern states. Of the twenty-six lynched in the North and West, twenty were whites, four were Negroes; one, a Malay, and one an Indian. Two were charged with robbery, and two with keeping a gambling outfit; two were desperadoes, and one a horse thief. One was charged with rape and eighteen with murder.[40] Three Negroes were charged with murder, and one (in connection with a white man) with robbery.[41]

In the eight Southern states there were twenty-one whites and twenty-eight Negroes lynched. Of the whites, nine were charged with murder, one with rape, and three with horse thievery. Of the negroes eight were charged with murder, four with rape, and two with robbery. Fourteen,

---

39. The cases as reported are evidently not complete. Cutler, who made the examination of the files of the New York Times, thinks this is particularly true with respect to the figures for the West; but in the light of the Reconstruction History considered too briefly above, and in the light of the figures available beginning 1882, it would seem that these statistics are just as likely to be incomplete for the South as for the West. The plausibility of this statement is much enhanced when we note that no lynchings are reported for Miss., Texas, Arkansas and Georgia.
40. The only case of rape was that of the Malay who was shot and thrown overboard a ship near the coast of California for ravishing a sick girl, eleven years old.
41. Noticeably throughout our study that the Negro has little trouble due to "crimes against property".

TABLE OF LYNCHINGS FOR THREE YEARS, 1871-73, IN EIGHT SOUTHER STATES

According to the New York Times, from Cutler, pp. 151-2.

Alabama: 1 white, shot for murder.

Kentucky: 2 Negroes hung for rape, 1 white for rape, 1 Negro hung for murder, 3 Negroes shot by masked men, 1 Negro "murdered" by Ku-Klux.

Louisiana: 4 Negroes hung for murder, 3 horse thieves hung.

Maryland: 1 Negro hung for arson.

Missouri: 5 horse thieves hung, 1 Negro hung for rape ("outrage") 1 white hung for murder, 3 whites hung for murder and robbery, 3 whites shot for defending and being bondsmen of county officials accused of peculation.

South Carolina: 2 whites shot for murder, 10 Negroes shot and hung by Ku-Klux.

Tennessee: 2 Negroes hung for robbery and arson, 1 Negro shot and hung for robbery and murder, 1 Negro shot for attempted outrage, 1 Negro hung and shot for murder, 1 white shot for murder of wife.

Virginia: 1 desperado, horse thief and murderer hung.

Totals: 21 whites; 28 Negroes. 17 for murder, 5 rape.

or one-half the total number were lynched "by the Ku Klux Klan" for unknown offenses.[42] Taking the whites and Negroes together, we have a total of seventeen lynched in the southern states for murder and five for rape. Cutler points out that the majority of these cases reported are of those forcibly taken from the custody of the law. "In some instances, the jails were broken into, and the prisoners were taken out and hanged or were killed in the jail; in other instances, the prisoners were taken from the officers and put to death before they could be taken to the jail."[43] (p. 152)

This report contains two other interesting features: First, whereas before the Civil War prosecutions against lynchers were apt to bring a verdict, or at least sometimes did bring a verdict in favor of the prosecution, now the situation had changed. Although a majority of the seventy-five lynched were taken from jails and officers of the law, there were only two cases in which there was any attempt to take legal action against the lynchers. "In these two instances where attempts were made to prosecute the lynchers", says Cutler, "it does not appear that there was any measure of success." We note also that one-half, or fourteen, of

---

42. This is interesting in that it is the beginning, so far as we have discovered, of the practice not yet ended - lynching for"offense unknown".
43. This aspect of the report indicates that it was the cases in which officers of the law were involved that got into the papers. How many others in which they took no part, we shall never know.

those lynched in the eight southern states were lynched by the Ku Klux. It has been said that the death of the Klan was a tragedy, and here we come to an indication of the significance of the statement.

In March, 1869, the Grand Wizard of the Klan,[44] declared that in view of the legislation against the order,[45] and in view of the fact that it had largely served its function of protecting life and property;[46] furthermore, as some of the members had violated positive orders, and others outside the Klan had committed deeds of violence in its name; therefore, in keeping with the power that had been invested in him to decide questions of paramount importance to the interests of the order, he declared that the Ku Klux Klan was dissolved and disbanded.[47] At this time the few respectable citizens who remained in the Klan dropped out; but the Klan was not dissolved. For several years afterward "Ku Kluxing" went on; in some cases by members, and no doubt in others by non-members.

The Ku Klux Klan was an effect, a result, of the conditions that brought it forth as a regulator of political and social matters. It was in turn a cause of

---

44. Gen. N.B. Forrest of Ft. Pillow fame. This possibly throws more light on the nature of the relations of the Klan and the Negro.
45. In extra session, September, 1868, the legislature of Tenn. passed a stringent anti-Klan statute.
46. An ironical statement indeed in view of the testimony quoted above; and yet there must have been some truth in it.
47. Cf. J. C. Lester and D. L. Wilson, Ku Klux Klan (1884).

untold lawlessness. Throughout the realm of social phenomena effects become in turn causes. Here we have the same vicious circle that has characterized race relationships in the South since the days of Reconstruction: The Negro doesn't do to suit us; he hasn't the right color and the right politics, therefore we lynch him and flog him; he is inferior, therefore we do not give him a chance at an education, a chance for improvement; therefore he does not improve even in the qualities where it would be possible - that is, he doesn't improve enough that we can afford to admit his ability to do so; he can't change his color and his past history, and we won't admit his right to equal protection before the law until he does so! It was such a logic as this that came out of those hectic days of Reconstruction and the Ku Klux Klan, and it functions today in the minds of many southern men in a vicious circle of cause and effect, effect and cause, to the detriment of that harmonious adjustment of the two races which hangs always in the distance like a mirage, in sight, possible of attainment, but not reached.

With the regaining of political power by the southern white man during the seventies, began a new era in southern history. The human material upon which the outcome of the new era depended was composed of four million Negroes, uneducated, without property, largely un-moral rather than immoral, helpless and childish; and about eight million whites, materially ruined, "but resolute to

rebuild society, if not on the old lines, on a basis that meant that under no circumstances would they admit to equality those who had been their slaves and who for a few short years had been their rulers." The method of summary punishment of those who were, believed, or acted, differently had been the contribution of the organization that once meant well - the Ku Klux Klan. Respect for law on the part of southern white men had been weakened beyond repair for years if not generations to come. The disposition to settle affairs by extra-legal methods had been strengthened; it had become a thoroughly ingrained trait in the culture-complex of the South; so that lawlessness in general, and flogging and lynching in particular, have since been characteristic of the section.

Here was the beginning of a long, slow, upward trend toward an harmonious adjustment of two racial groups of American citizens to one another in the same physical, economic, political and legal, - and, inevitably social! - environment. The darker side of the history of this process of adjustment of the races to one another, and especially to the socially necessary procedures of law, will largely occupy our attention during the remainder of this study. Let us first turn out attention to a statistical analysis of mob violence since 1881.

CHAPTER V

LYNCHINGS: A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

There are no comprehensive statistics on floggings. During the present century this form of lawlessnes has been a negligible factor except in the case of the modern Ku Klux Klan.[1] A statistical study must, therefore, be confined to lynchings which. however, form the major part of mob violence in the South.

For our first statistics of lynchings we are indebted to the Chicago Tribune which has, since 1881, kept as accurate figures as could be obtained through the newspapers. Holt, in 1883, and Cutler a decade later, found that newspaper figures must be accepted in view of the impossibility of getting personal information from officials and others at the point of lynchings.[1a] Through-

1. The subject of this organization has recently received analytical treatment by Professor J. M. Mecklin (The Ku Klux Klan, 1924).

1a. George C. Holt, Lynching and Mobs American Journal of Social Science, No. 32, Saratoga Papers 1894, p. 67, Library of Congress; Cutler, Lynch Law, p. 156-157.

out this period an annual feature of the Tribune has been the publication of a list of crimes, suicides, lynchings and legal executions. This, as Cutler points out, "gives at least a presumption in favor of fulness and completeness in the record."

Cutler has corrected the Tribune figures up to 1904, it seems, as accurately as it is possible to do. He carefully went over the lists of names of the persons lynched as published each year during the twenty-two year period, 1882-1903. In a few instances he found errors in the totals as listed by the Tribune. Some of these errors were due merely to mistakes in adding up the lists; others were due to a failure to distinguish between a lynching and persons lynched. Cases in which a father and son, or five horse-thieves, or two Negroes had been lynched were found to have been counted as one. During the period studied by Cutler this distinction between lynching and persons lynched was more important than for later years in that more frequently a number of persons were lynched in a single mob episode. In a few notable instances in more recent years a number of persons have perished as a result of one episode of mob action. In this Chapter, however, we shall use the word lynching to denote a person lynched unless otherwise stated.

The Chicago Tribune gives the following facts with regard to lynchings each year: the date of the lynching, the name of the victim, his color and nationality, the alleged crime for which he was lynched, and the town and state where the lynching occurred. In this list are in-

cluded, of course, only those who have met death at the hands of mobs. There is no account of the attempted lynchings, or of the persons who suffered injuries as a result of mob violence. During the past fifteen years, however, the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in New York, have kept records which include attempted lynchings as well as those actually consumated. To these figures reference is made in a later chapter. They are hardly worth considering in any elaborate statistical manner, for they are doubtless more incomplete than figures on actual lynchings. A prevented lynching is often not exciting enough to get into the newspapers, while this is apparently seldom true of an actual lynching.

It must be remembered that on one point the Tribune information is sure to be misleading: viz., the name of the town from which a lynching was reported is listed as the place of its occurrence. It is significant that very few lynchings occur in towns; almost all of them occur in the country. This does not mean, of course, that it is always rural people who do the lynching; often it is not. This same inaccuracy inevitably gets into the Tuskegee and NAACP records, but not so frequently as these institutions give fuller details from which one can more correctly determine the exact place of a lynching. From all available records it is possible to get figures accurate

enough for purposes of statistical analysis. This does not mean that every lynching which occurs gets into the records of all or either of the three sources referred to above. The statistics furnished by the NAACP and by Tuskegee up to the time they began keeping records came from the Tribune. Since this time there is often a slight variance between the figures, especially those of Tuskegee and of the NAACP. The figures of the latter organization and those of the Tribune are in close agreement. The Tuskegee figures are more conservative for the years in which there is a difference, due largely to a difference in the conception of what constitutes a lynching. For example, a posse of white men out hunting for a Negro supposed to have committed a crime come upon this Negro, or some other Negro, who is shot down. Tuskegee would hardly list this as a lynching, whereas the other organizations would consider this a mob murder and would list it.

For our purposes, therefore, it seems advisable to use the NAACP figures, which are at little variance, after all, with those of Tuskegee.[2] The former organization's figures are themselves conservative as they do not list a lynching unless it appeared in print, whereas even yet in certain southern states there are a few lynchings which are not reported in the newspapers.[3] For the

2. The only year in which there is a great variation is for 1915, in which 27 Mexicans were killed in Texas by mobs. These are not listed by Tuskegee as lynchings.
3. Besides those Negroes killed in race riots, who are not listed as lynching victims, personal letters from both Whites and Negroes indicate the truth of the statement made above.

years, 1882-1904, the corrections made by Cutler are included in the analysis, thus somewhat increasing the NAACP figures for those years. Due to the care with which Cutler analyzed the figures up to 1904, and with the vast amount of material available for the period since that time, it would seem that trustworthy deductions and possibly valuable conclusions might be arrived at by a careful analysis, to which we proceed.

Table I shows the number of persons lynched by section and by month since 1882. The total for the South is 3,939; for the West, 717 and for the East, 134, making a grand total of 4,799 lynchings since 1882.[4] Graph I shows that the curve for the East is fairly smooth, with its peak coming in June. The curve for the West is more irregular with a rise in March and April, then a drop in May and another rise in August. The curve for the South is very irregular, running from 250 for February to the peak at 445 for July. After a sharp drop to 331 in September, there is a slight rise to 342 in October. Graph II shows the total for the three sections of the country during the period. The March and October rises come from the South, and are doubtless due largely to the fact that at these periods of the year the whites and Negroes are in closer contact through making arrangements

4. This includes 9 lynchings, month unknown. In this Chapter when "East" is used as a division of the country instead of "North" we are, for the sake of comparison, using the divisions as studied for the earlier period by Cutler in which he listed Missouri as a southern state and Oklahoma as a western state.

TABLE I

LYNCHINGS BY SECTION AND BY MONTH FROM 1882 to 1928*

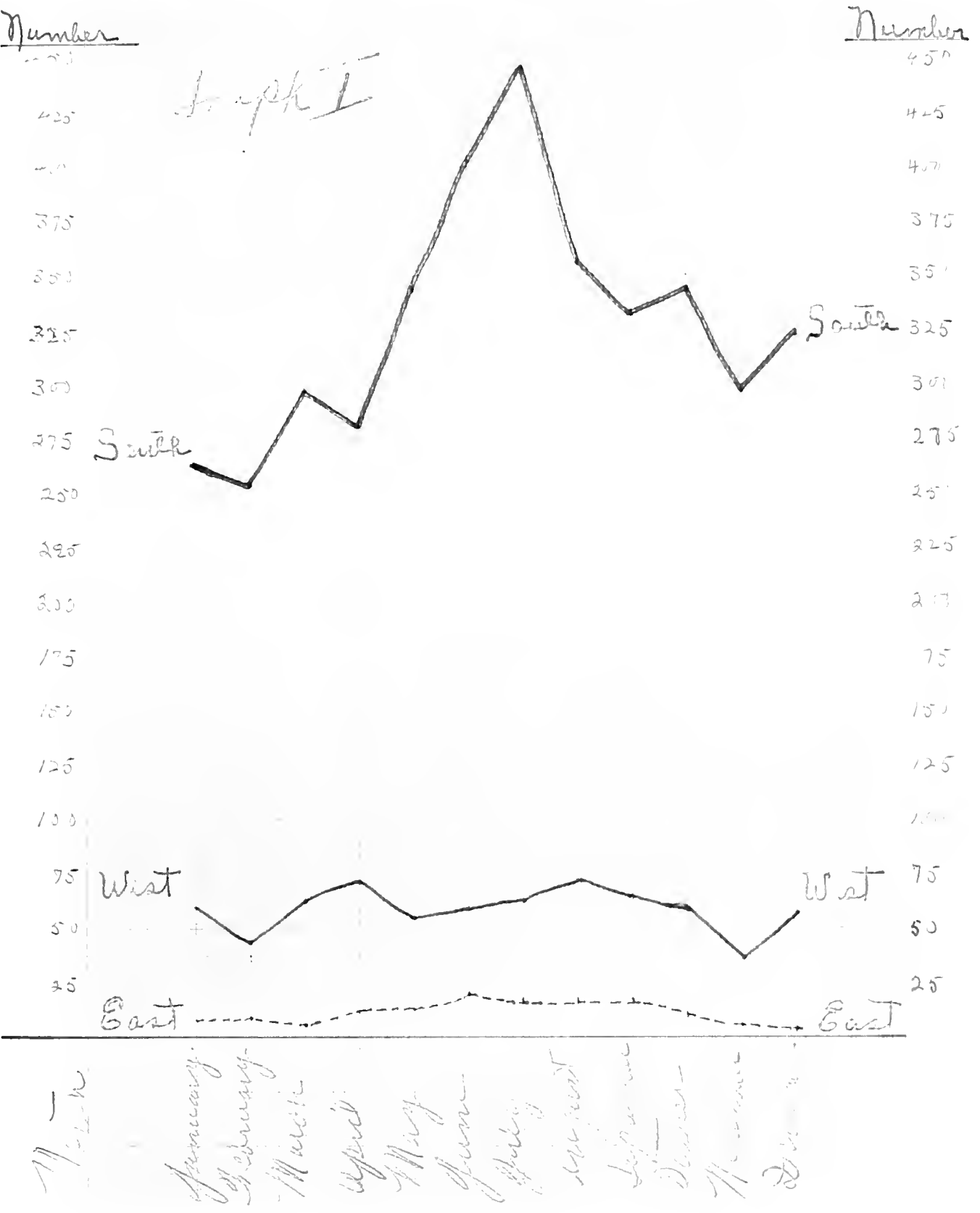
Month	South	West	East	Totals
January	263	60	9	332
February	253	45	10	308
March	297	63	7	367
April	281	72	11	364
May	346	54	12	412
June	403	61	21	485
July	445	64	14	523
August	357	73	14	444
September	331	67	14	412
October	342	63	11	416
November	297	36	7	340
December	324	59	4	387
Unknown month				9
TOTALS	3,939	717	134	4,799

*Compiled from Cutler and from the NAACP files.

for work, and dividing the crops, respectively. The peak comes in July, when more cases of rape and murder are alleged, and when both Negroes and whites are more idle, and thus apt to become involved in conflicts.]

Table II and Graph III show the number of persons lynched per month by section from 1900 to 1928. It will be noted that the curves for the East and for the West during this period are more regular, as well as very low, while that for the South is more irregular than for the whole period for which statistics are available. The rise in March and October is more sharp, while the top of the curve from May to September is more even. The peak comes again in July with 180, but drops only to 179 in August, and 150 in September, with a rise to 176 for October. Table III and Graph IV show the totals for the United States over this period, 1900 to 1928. The drop in the curve for the West in July and the rise of the curves for both East and West in August result in a noticeable difference in this curve; viz., that the peak comes in August, at 199, ten above the July mark. In October it rises again from 166 to 183, then drops to 148 in November, and to 116 in December. The total lynchings per month for the period is 1,878. The month in which 5 lynchings occured is not known, hence the total of all lynchings recorded for the period is 1,883, of which 1,737 occurred in the South.

Lynchings per Month by Sections, 1882 - 1928



GRAPH II

LYNCHINGS, BY MONTHS, IN U. S. From 1882-1928

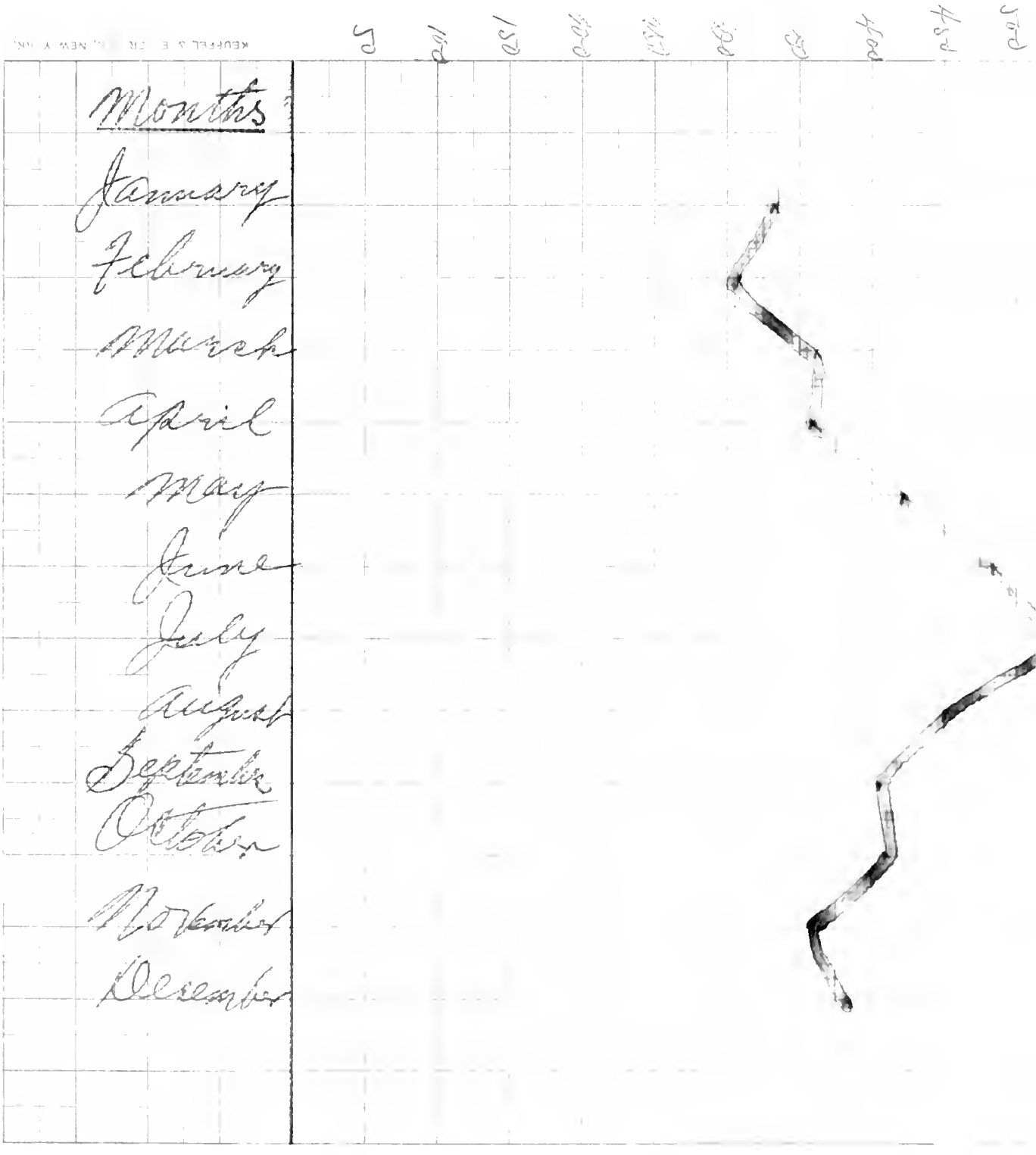


TABLE II

LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES BY SECTION BY MONTH, 1900-1928*

Month	South	West	East	Totals
January	118	10	1	129
February	110	2	2	114
March	140	8	1	149
April	109	12	2	123
May	166	13	0	179
June	169	11	3	183
July	180	7	2	189
August	179	15	5	199
September	150	13	3	166
October	176	5	2	183
November	139	7	2	148
December	97	16	3	116
Unknown	4	0	1	5
TOTALS	1,737	119	27	1,883

* Compiled from the NAACP files.
Cutler maintains that the above figures are in error for the years 1900, to 1903, due to a confusing of "lynchings" and "number of persons lynched". He went over the material very carefully and as a result found that there had been 17 more persons lynched than are shown by the above figures. Thus there have been, according to the correction, 1909 persons lynched since 1900.

Lumbering in Florida by Decades
1910 - 1928

Fig. 12 - III

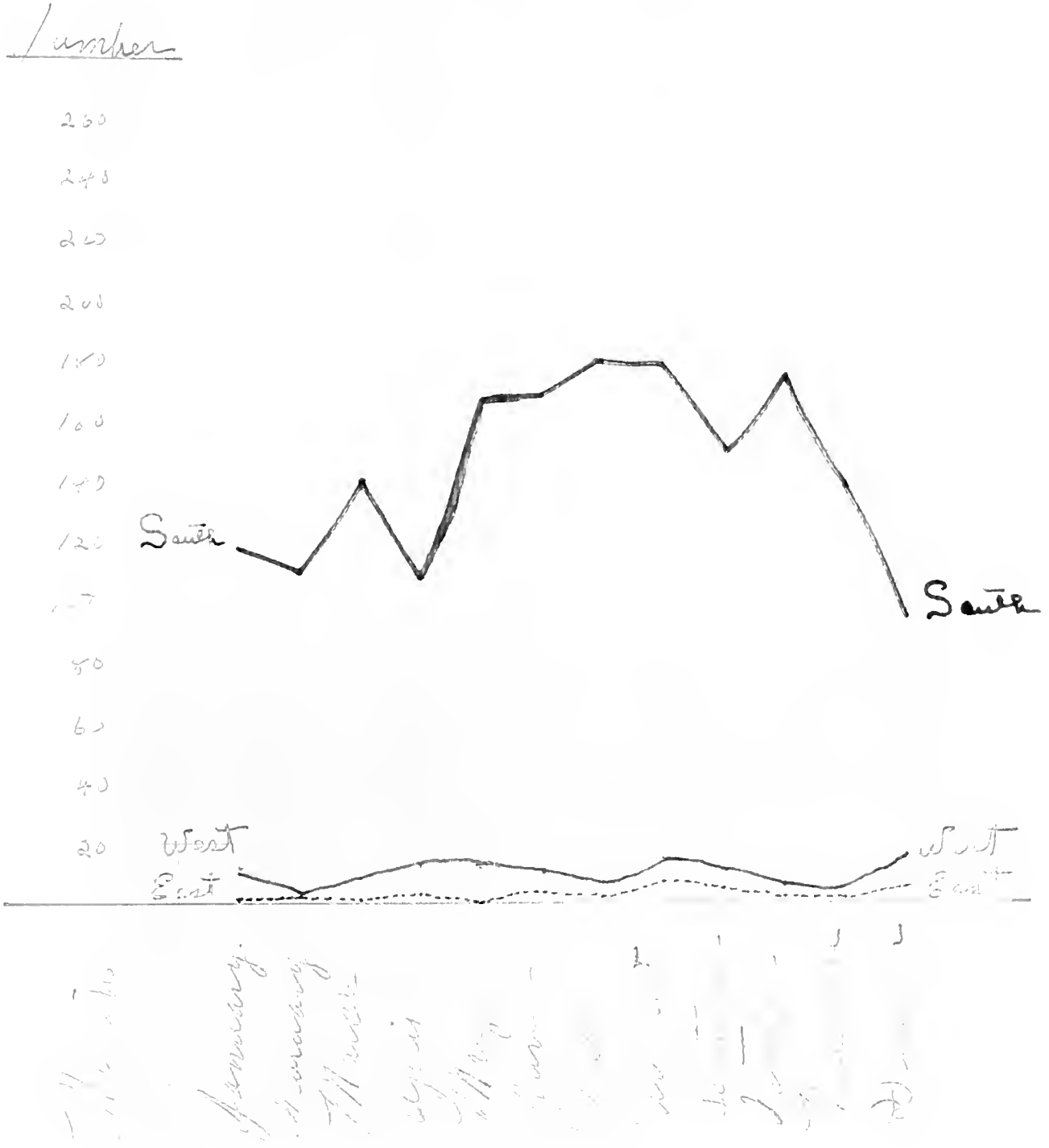


TABLE III

LYNCHINGS PER MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900 to 1928*

January	129	
February	114	
March	149	
April	123	
May	117	
June	183	
July	189	
August	199	
September	166	
October	183	
November	148	
December	116	
TOTAL	1,878	(Month unknown, 5, hence 1883).

* Compiled from the NAACP files.

LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES BY MONTHS, 1900-1928.

GRAPH IV

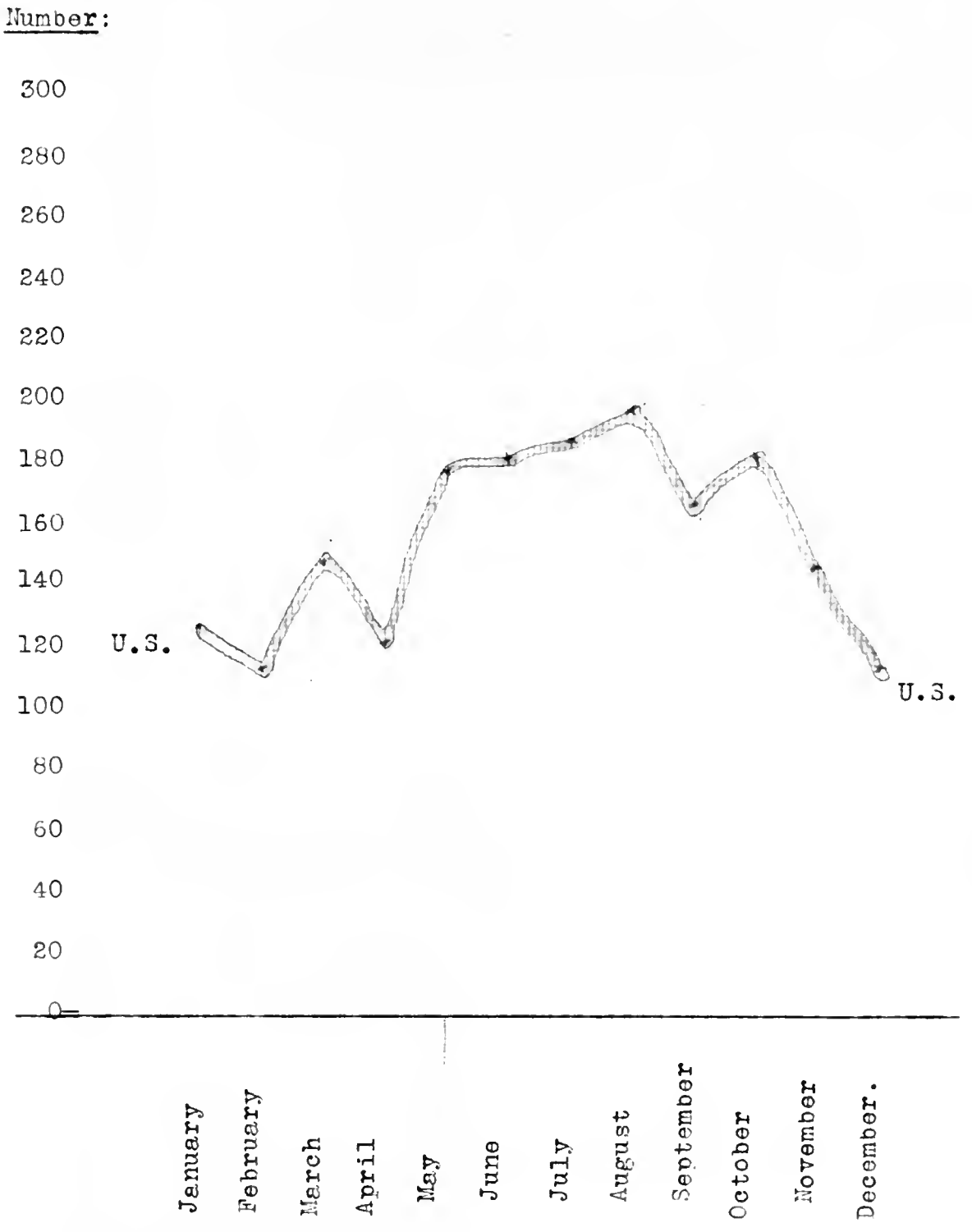


TABLE IV

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED, BY GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS AND STATES, AND BY COLOR, 1889-1928

Section and Division	Total Number	White "Other"	Per Cent	Negro	Per Cent
UNITED STATES	3,614	737	20.4	2,877	79.6
THE NORTH	235	121	51.9	114	48.1
New England	1	1	100.0	0	0
Maine	1	1	100.0	0	0
New Hampshire	0	0	0	0	0
Vermont	0	0	0	0	0
Massachusetts	0	0	0	0	0
Rhode Island	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	0	0	0	0	0
Middle Atlantic	8	4	50.0	4	50.0
New York	3	2	66.6	1	33.4
New Jersey	1	1	100.0	0	0
Pennsylvania	4	1	25.0	3	75.0
East North Central	65	34	53.3	31	46.7
Ohio	13	4	30.7	9	69.3
Indiana	19	10	55.0	9	45.0
Illinois	25	13	52.0	12	48.0
Michigan	4	3	75.0	1	25.0
Wisconsin	4	4	100.	0	0
West North Central	161	82	50.9	79	49.1
Minnesota	7	4	57.1	3	42.9
Iowa	8	5	62.5	3	37.5
Missouri	89	31	34.9	58	65.1
North Dakota	2	2	100.0	0	0
South Dakota	13	13	100.0	0	0
Nebraska	18	15	83.3	3	16.7
Kansas	24	12	50.0	12	50.0
THE SOUTH	3,198	447	14.0	2,751	86.0

TABLE IV (Cont'd)

	Total Number	White "Other"	Per Cent	Negro	Per Cent
South Atlantic	1,016	86	8.5	930	91.5
Deleware	1	0	0	1	100.
Maryland	17	2	11.7	15	88.3
Virginia	83	11	13.3	72	86.8
West Virginia	32	8	25.0	24	75.0
North Carolina	66	12	18.2	54	81.8
South Carolina	134	6	4.5	128	95.5
Georgia	451	28	6.2	423	93.8
Florida	232	19	8.2	213	91.8
Dist. of Col.	0	0	0	0	0
East South Central	1,123	141	12.5	982	87.5
Kentucky	175	45	25.7	130	74.3
Tennessee	207	36	17.4	171	82.6
Alabama	304	35	11.5	269	88.5
Mississippi	437	25	5.7	412	94.3
West South Central	1,059	220	20.7	839	79.3
Arkansas	239	33	13.8	206	86.2
Louisiana	337	50	14.8	287	85.2
Oklahoma	104	62	59.6	42	40.4
Texas	379	75	19.8	304	80.2
THE WEST	166	154	92.7	12	7.3
Mountain	115	106	92.2	9	7.8
Montana	23	23	100.	0	0
Idaho	11	11	100.	0	0
Wyoming	34	29	85.3	5	14.7
Colorado	20	18	90.0	2	10.0
New Mexico	14	12	85.7	2	14.3
Arizona	8	8	100.	0	0
Utah	1	1	100.	0	0
Nevada	4	4	100.	0	0
Pacific Division	51	48	94.1	3	5.6
Washington	17	17	100.	0	0
Oregon	4	3	75.	1	25.
California	30	28	93.3	2	6.4
Alaska and Unknown	15	15	100.	0	0

(Compiled from figures provided by the N.A.A.C.P.).

Table IV shows the number of persons lynched by geographical divisions, by states, and by race from 1889 to 1928. Twenty per cent of the total 3,614 lynched, or 737, were whites and "other" - including Indians and Mexicans. Thus 79.6 per cent, or 2,877 of the persons lynched during the period were Negroes. More than 50 per cent of all persons lynched in every division except the South were whites. In the South only 14 per cent were white and 86 per cent Negroes, although more than 50 per cent of all whites lynched were in the South. Chart I shows the relative number of persons lynched by geographical divisions during the period. Of the total 3,614, there were 235 in the North, 166 in the West, and 3,198 in the South.[5]

Table V shows the number of persons lynched by five-year periods since 1882, by race and by sex. Of the total 781 persons lynched between 1882-87, 490 were whites, four of whom were women, as compared to a total of 291 Negroes, five of whom were women. In no five-year period and in no year since that date have more whites than Negroes been lynched. The peak of the totals comes for the period 1892-97 when 309 whites and 634 Negroes were lynched. This is also the peak for women lynched, when eight white and 18 colored women thus met death. During all but two of the five-year periods since 1882 there has been a decrease in the number of whites lynched. This also holds true for the Negroes.

5. In Table IV and Chart I we have followed the Census method of Divisions.

Persons Lynched by Geographical Division 1889-1927

Chart I

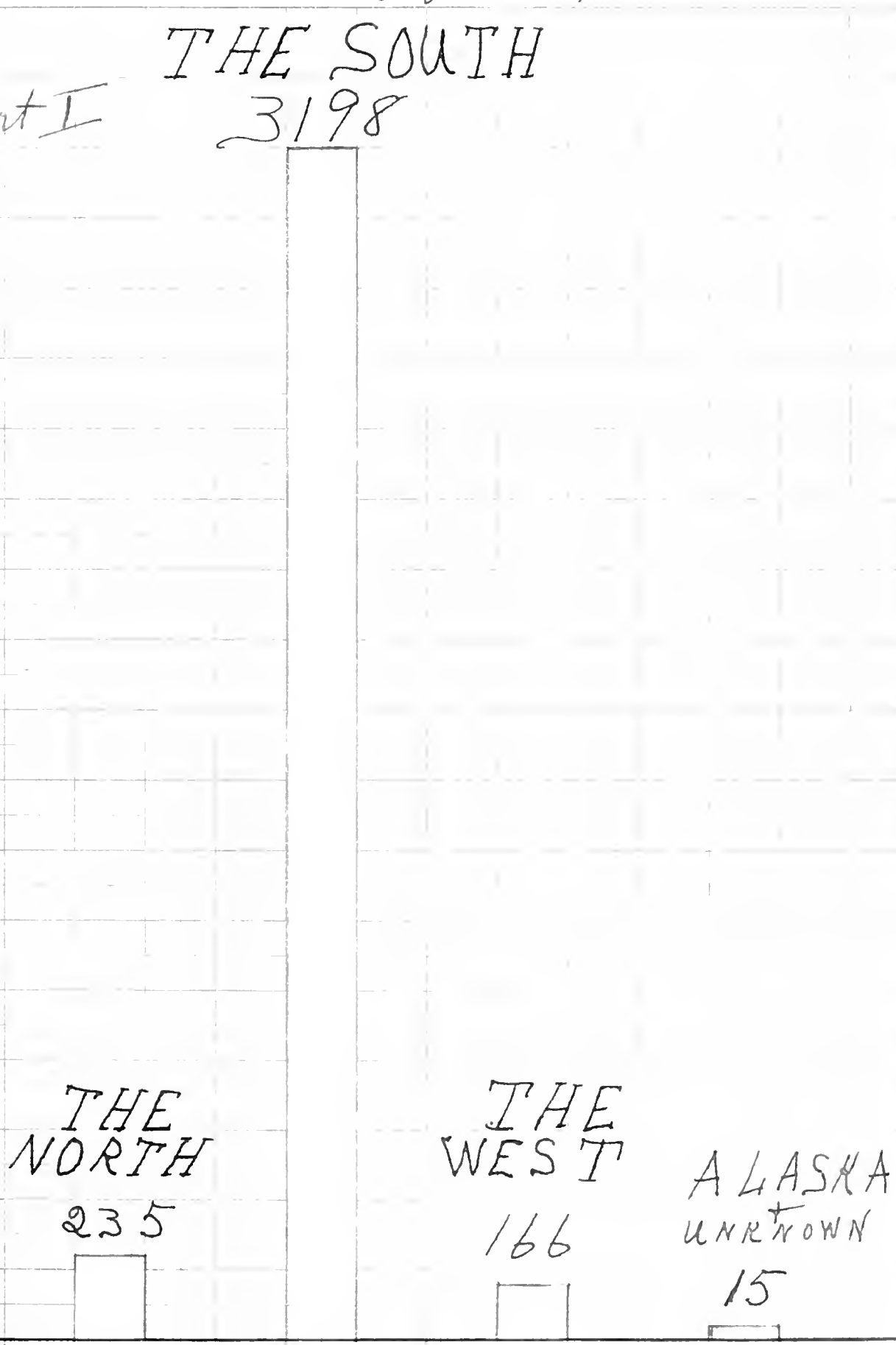


TABLE V

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS, 1882-1928

Negro and White, Male and Female
(Compiled from various available sources)

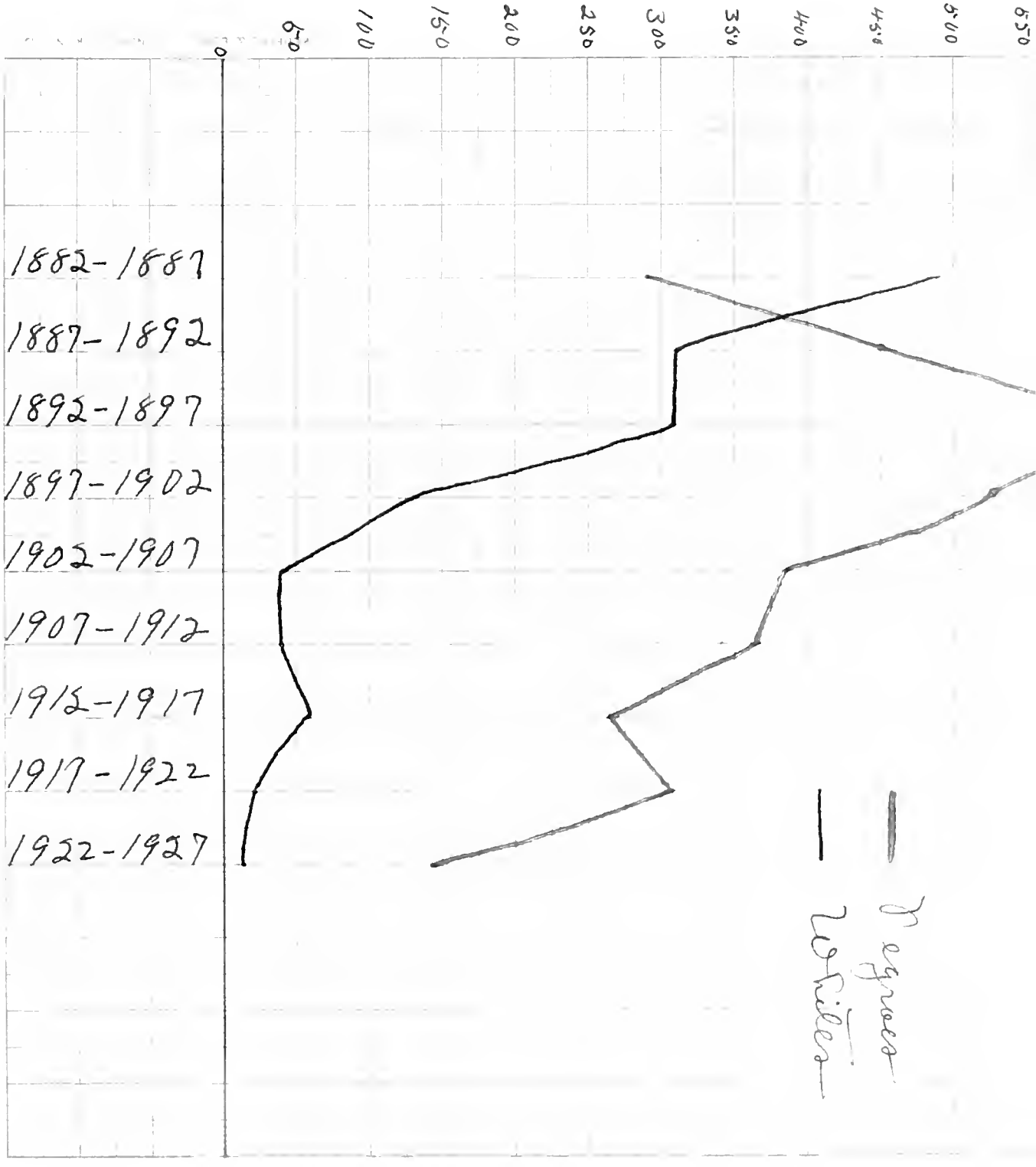
		WHITES				NEGROES			
YEARS	Grand Total	Total	Male	Female	Per Cent White	Total	Male	Female	Per Cent Negro
1882-87	781	490	486	4	62.7	291	286	5	37.3
1887-92	763	310	305	5	40.6	453	448	5	59.4
1892-97	943	309	301	8	32.7	634	616	18	67.3
1897-1902	653	129	123	6	19.7	524	515	9	80.3
1902-07	420	43	43	0	10.2	377	317	5	89.8
1907-12	412	43	42	1	10.4	369	362	7	89.6
1912-17	320	59	59	0	18.4	261	249	12	81.6
1917-22	329	22	22	0	6.6	307	299	8	93.4
1922-27	157	18	18	0	11.5	139	136	3	88.5
(1927)	21	2	2	0	9.5	19	19	0	90.5
TOTALS	4,799	1,425	1,401	24	29.6	3,374	3,302	72	70.5

From 1902-1912 there were 86 whites lynched, 43 for each five-year period. Then in the year 1915 there was a total of 43 white lynched, bringing the five-year total to 59. The two exceptions noted in the general decline in the total number of Negroes lynched comes at the half-decades ending in 1912, and 1922. In 1919 alone 79 Negroes were lynched, bringing the total for the period 1917-1922 up to 299. Since 1897 there have been only seven white women lynched, while there have been 44 Negro women lynched. During 1927 there was a total of 21 lynchings, all males, 19 of whom were Negroes. In the total of 4,799 we have counted 97 for 1902 instead of 94 as listed by the NAACP and the Chicago Tribune. Dr. Cutler went over the material very carefully in 1903 and found that there had been 94 lynchings but 97 persons lynched.

Graph V shows the proportion of Negroes and whites lynched for the period under consideration. The peak for the whites was reached during the first period at 490; then there was a sharp decline to 310. During the next period there was a decline of only one, but following that time came a very sharp decline to 139, then to 43 for the period 1902-1907. During 1927 only two whites were lynched, one in California and one in Florida. Since the first period the number of Negroes lynched has been higher than that of the whites. The percentages for the different periods are shown in Table V. The highest percentage of Negroes lynched was for the period ending 1922, when 93.4 per cent of the 329 persons lynched were Negroes. During

GRAPH V

NUMBER LYNCHED 1882-1927 BY RACE PER FIVE-YEAR PERIODS



the forty-five years under consideration the proportion of Negroes lynched has risen from 37.3 to 90.5 while that of the whites has declined from 62.7 to 9.5. During this time there has been a total of 4,799 lynchings, 3,374 of which were Negroes, or 70.5 of the total.

Graph VI shows the number of persons lynched in the United States since 1882 by race and by years. The line representing the whites reaches its peak at 211 in 1884. The top line represents the total number lynched by years, and reaches its peak at 235 in 1892. Although there has been a general decline since that date, the curves are rather irregular throughout the period.

Graph VII shows the number of whites, Negroes, and "others" lynched in the United States since 1900. Mexicans are considered as whites; the six represented by the "others" line were Indians and Chinese. In 1915 a total of 43 whites, 27 of whom were Mexicans, were lynched, comprising the only sharp irregularity in the curve. For the past ten years relatively few whites - a total of 40 - have been lynched. The curve for the Negroes is very irregular. The peak is at 108 in 1901, then comes a rather marked decline to 59 in 1907. There is a sharp rise to 92 in 1908, which figure has not since been equalled. From 48 in 1917 there was a rise to 63 in 1918 and 79 in 1919. The lowest mark is at 1924 when 15 Negroes were lynched. In 1926 there were 26 Negro men and two Negro women lynched, and in 1927 19 Negro males were lynched.

GRAPH VII

NUMBER OF WHITES, NEGROES AND OTHERS LYNCHED BY YEARS 1900-1928

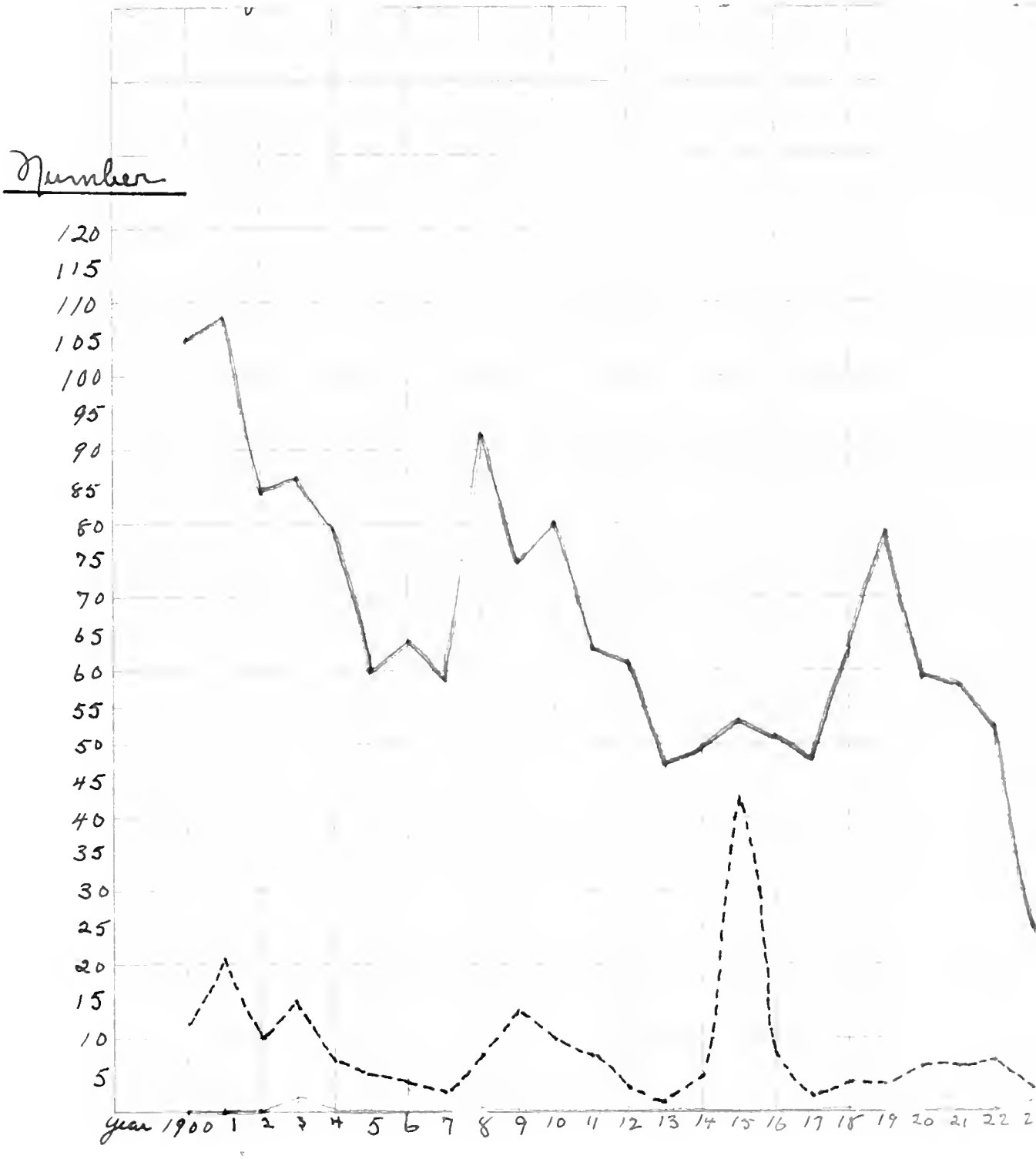


Table VI and Chart II show the proportion of lynchings for various alleged crimes from 1889 to 1928.[6] Of the 3,614 whites and Negroes lynched during the period 1,354 or more than 37 per cent were charged with murder. Of the whites lynched 46.6 per cent were charged with murder as compared to 35.1 per cent of the Negroes. Sixteen per cent of the Negroes as compared to 6.3 per cent of the whites were accused of rape. This does not necessarily mean that 477 or more Negroes have committed rape since 1889. As is indicated in Chapter VII, a Negro is frequently charged with rape or an attack upon a woman when it is for an entirely different reason that he is lynched. It is noticeable in this connection that for crimes against the person other than those involving women about the same percentage of Negroes and whites are lynched. The percentage of persons lynched for crimes against property is high for the whites and low for the Negroes while the reverse is true as to the crime of rape. At least a part of this is possibly to be accounted for by the fact that white men can no longer afford to lynch a Negro without some excuse, and it is more and more necessary to have one better than that the Negro will not pay a bill, or that he refuses to work for a consideration set by the white man. Disputes over property account for many of the murder charges against the Negro. There are, on the other hand,

6. This table follows the NAACP classification of crimes, and is different from that used elsewhere in the study. See Chapter VI et passim.

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED BY OFFENSES CHARGED IN UNITED STATES

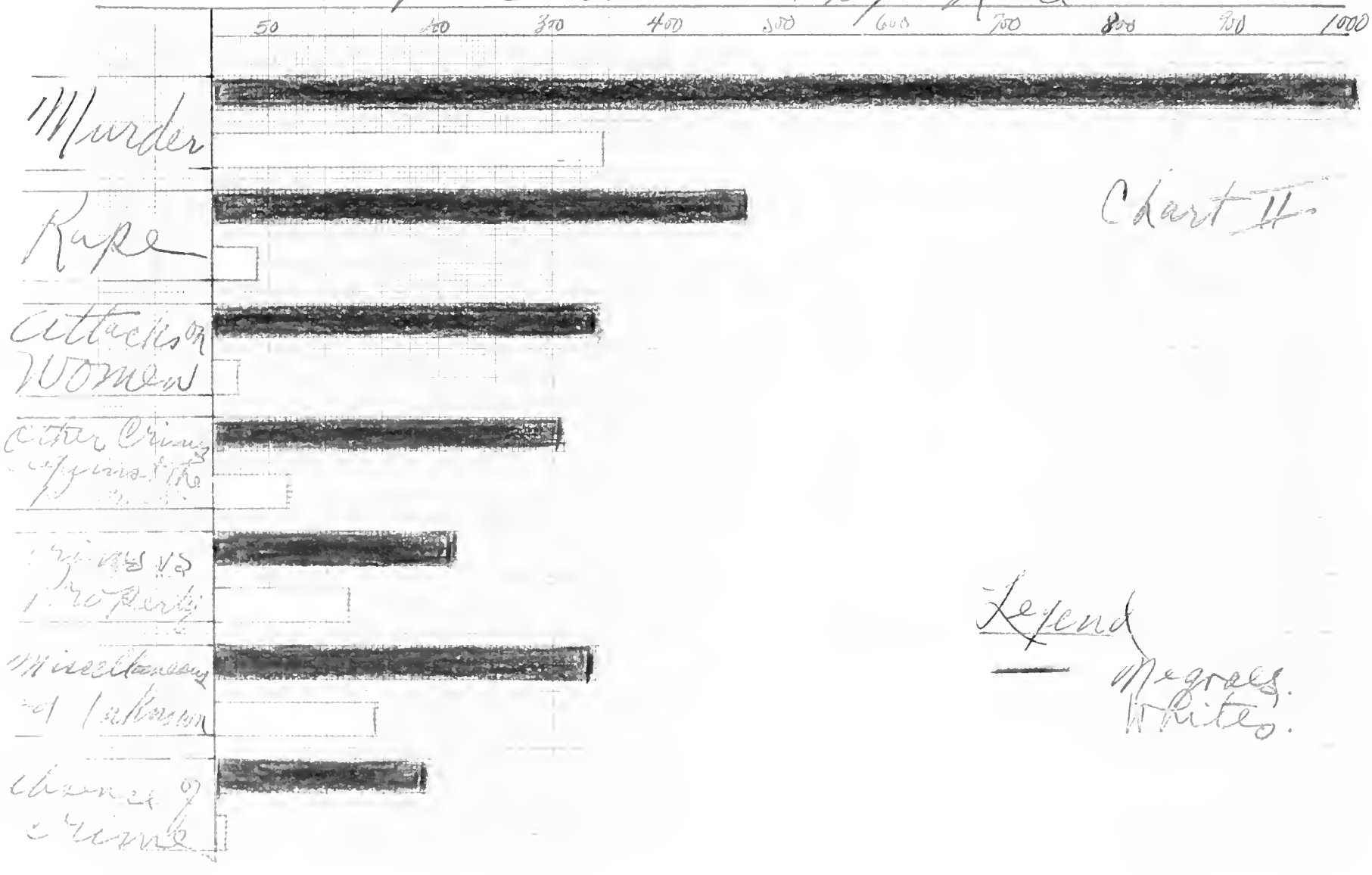
From 1889 to 1928: Totals and by Race

Crimes	Murder	Rape	Attacks on Women*	Other crimes against person	Crimes vs Property	Miscellaneous and Unknown	Absence of Crime**	Totals
Total	1,354	523	362	371	337	475	192	3,614
White	341	46	13	64	121	142	10	737
Per cent of total whites lynched	46.6	6.3	1.8	8.7+	16.5+	18.7	1.3	100
Negro	1,013	477	349	307	216	333	182	2,877
Per cent of total of Negroes Lynched	35.1	16.5	12.1	10.7	7.5	11.7	6.4	100

* This classification includes all cases in which press accounts stated that attacks upon women were made, but in which it was not clear whether rape was alleged to have been consummated or attempted.

** Under this heading are listed such cases as "testifying against whites", "suing whites", "wrong man lynched", "race prejudice", "defending himself against attacks", "relative of man who had been lynched", "relative of one who was alleged to have committed a crime", etc...

Alleged Causes of Lynchings, 1889–1928, By Crime and By Race.



"dangerous Negroes", as there are also white men who do not hesitate to take human life. There are other Negroes who are goaded to desperation and who actually commit murder when they otherwise would not. Still others are goaded into a fight with a white man and are charged with "murderous assault", and thus this crime of fighting with a white man is listed on Table VI as murder.

Lynching States and Negro Population

Turning attention to lynchings in the South, we note that, since 1882, 3,939 or more than 82 per cent of all lynchings have occurred in this section. Between 1889 and 1918 about 88 per cent of all lynchings in the country occurred in the South and for the past twenty years over 90 per cent of all lynchings have occurred in the South. From 1889 to 1918 about 78 per cent of all persons lynched in the nation were Negroes. According to Table IV, from 1889 to 1928, a total of 2,877 of the 3,614 persons lynched were Negroes or 79.6 per cent. From 1914 to 1918, 81.2 per cent of all persons lynched were Negroes, and during the past decade practically 95 per cent of all persons lynched were Negroes. A total of 2,751 or 86 per cent of all Negroes lynched have been lynched in the South. Fourteen per cent of all persons lynched in the South since 1889 have been whites, while more than 60 per cent of all whites lynched have been in the South. Since 1900, 70 per cent, and during the past decade 74 per cent of all whites lynched have been in the South. Thus it is seen

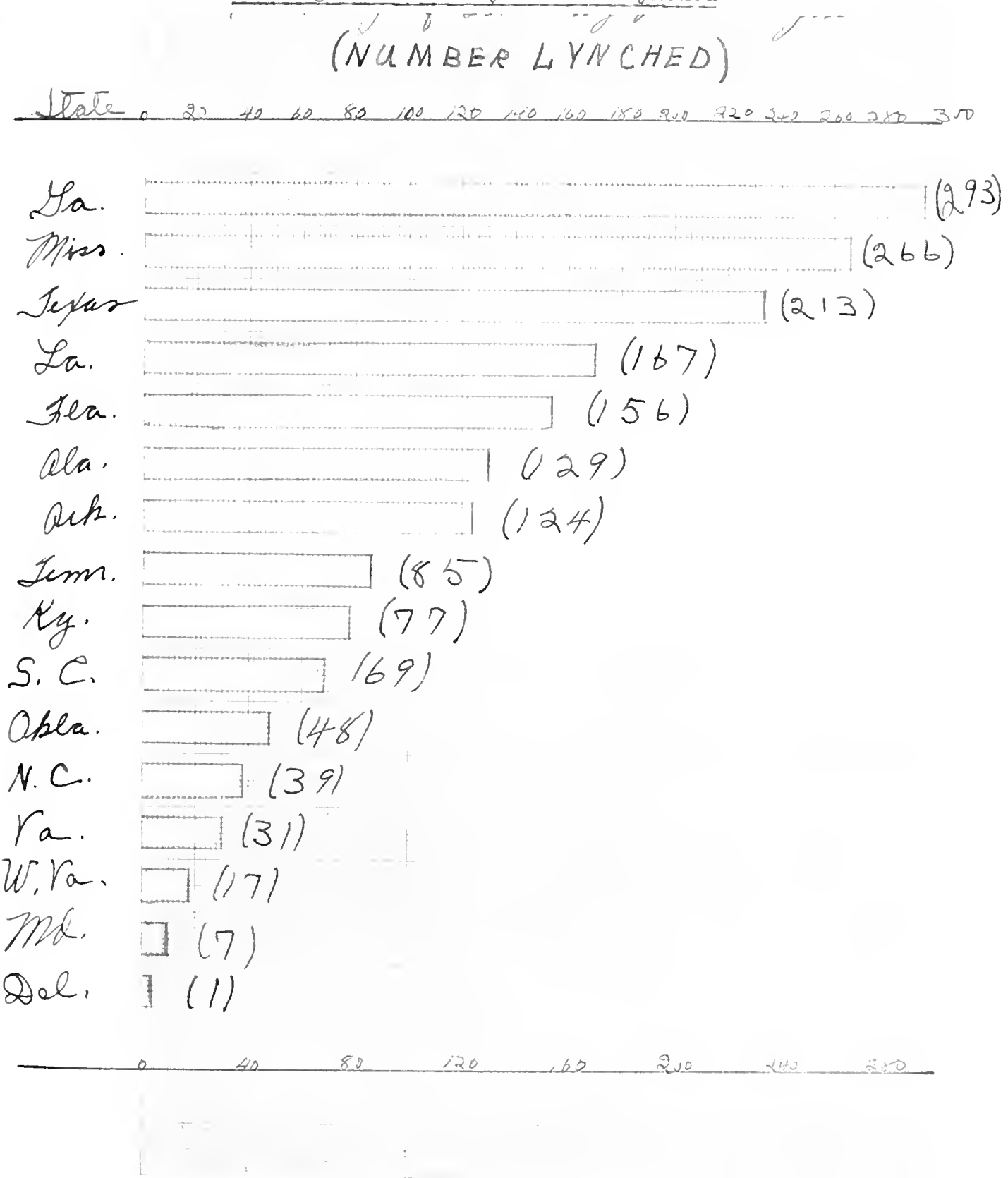
that in general mob violence of this type is characteristically Southern, and is increasingly so with the passing of years.

Chart III shows the ranking of the States of the Union according to the person lynched since 1889. The first eleven states, with a total of 2,997, are southern. All of these states have had more than 100 lynchings during the period, ranging from 104 for Oklahoma to 451 for Georgia. Virginia with 83, Maryland with 17, and Deleware with 1, are the only southern states which have had less than 100 lynchings during the period. Of the 235 persons lynched in the North since 1889, 121 or 51.9 per cent have been white. Practically all (154) of the 166 persons lynched in the West, have been whites and Mexicans. Only three Negroes have been lynched in the Pacific Division, and nine in the Mountain Division since 1900.

It has been noted that during the present Century there has been a more marked concentration of lynchings in the South than for the whole period for which we have statistics. Chart IV shows the rank of the southern states in the number of persons lynched since 1900. The rank of these states is different from that shown in Chart III. Whereas Georgia ranks first for the period 1889 to 1928 it is in the lead of Mississippi by only 14; but during the present Century, Georgia leads all states in the number of persons lynched and is 27 in the lead of Mississippi with 266 lynchings. The whole range is from one for Deleware to

CHART IV

LYNCHINGS BY STATE IN THE SOUTH, 1900-1928
Ranking of States by Persons Lynched



293 for Georgia. Whereas Florida ranks eighth for the period since 1882, during the past 28 years it ranks fifth, with 156 lynchings. North Carolina has changed its rank from the thirteenth to the twelfth. Alabama has shifted from fifth to sixth; Arkansas from sixth to seventh; Tennessee from seventh to eighth; and Virginia from twelth to thirteenth. Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, Louisana, Kentucky, Oklahoma, South Carolina, West Virginia, Deleware and Maryland, rank the same for the two periods.

Thus on the whole there has not only been a concentration of lynchings in the South during the present century but a gradual shift toward the South-east. It is interesting to note that whereas the center of lynchings is moving to the South-east the center of the Negro population is in a different direction. Table VII shows that since 1790 the general trend of the Negro population has been toward the South-west. In 1790 the center of Negro population was in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and by 1880 it had moved 443 miles South-west, to Walker County, Georgia. During each decade since that time there has been a slight shift in the same direction until 1920 when the center had changed to the North-east from Dekalb County, Alabama, back to Walker County, Georgia.

Table VIII shows the total and the Negro population by states, and the per cent Negro of the total population by

TABLE VII

CENTER OF THE NEGRO POPULATION: 1790, 1880-1920

Census Year	Location of Center. Approximate location by towns	Deciennial Movement in Miles
1790	25 miles west-southeast of Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia.	
1880	10.4 miles east of Lafayette, in Walker County, Georgia.	443 miles Southwest.
1890	15.7 miles Southwest of Lafayette Walker County, Georgia.	20.5 miles Southwest
1900	10.7 miles northeast of Fort Payne, Dekalb County, Alabama.	9.5 miles Southwest.
1910	5.4 miles north-northeast of Fort Payne, Dekalb County, Alabama.	5.8 miles West-southwest
1920	1.8 north-northeast of Rising Fawn, Georgia.	21.5 miles Northeast.

(Negro Year Book, 1925-6, p. 441)

states in 1920.[7] Since 1880 there has been a general, though small decline in the percentage Negro of the total population. Taking the successive decades in order from 1880 to 1920 the Negro population formed the following respective percentages of the total population of the South: 1880, 36.0 per cent; 1890, 33.8 per cent; 1900, 32.3 per cent; 1910, 29.8 per cent; and in 1920, 26.9 per cent. During this time the percentage White of the total population for the decades was: 1880, 63.9 per cent; 1890, 65.9 per cent; 1900, 67.4 per cent; 1910, 69.9 per cent and in 1920, 72.9 per cent. During the entire period the percentage of "others"- Indians, Chinese, Japanese, has been less than one-half of one per cent of the total. The foreign born white population is less in the South than in any other section of the country. Thus the population of the South is almost entirely made up of "native" Americans, white and black.

Comparing the rank of the Southern States in Table VIII with Chart III it is shown that numerically Georgia leads in Negro population, as well as in lynchings, with Mississippi coming second. Alabama ranks third according to Negro population, South Carolina fourth, Louisiana fifth, Virginia sixth, North Carolina seventh, Arkansas eighth, Tennessee ninth, and Florida tenth. Thus

7. The 1920 figures are used here for the general purpose at hand. In a later Chapter where more definite statistics are treated according as they apply to particular states and counties, population statistics for 1910 are used along with those of 1920.

it is shown that there is not a very close correlation between the total number of Negroes in a state and the number of lynchings. This is still more noticeable when we note the rank of the states according to the per cent Negro of the total population. Mississippi ranks first with 52.2 per cent Negro population. South Carolina ranks second with 51.4 Negro population, although this state ranks fourth according to the total Negro population, and tenth according to the number of persons lynched within her borders since 1900. During this time, also, there has been only one white man lynched in South Carolina. Georgia ranks third according to the percentage Negro of the total population, although first according to the total number of Negroes, and first according to the number of persons lynched, and the number of Negroes lynched. Whereas Virginia ranks thirteenth in the number of persons lynched since 1900, she ranks seventh in percentage and sixth in total Negro population. Whereas Florida ranks fifth according to lynchings, she ranks sixth in percentage and tenth in total Negro population.

From the foregoing Tables and Charts it is evident that lynchings, although largely concentrated in the South, are not as frequent in all southern states as in some states of other sections of the country. Taking the period from 1889 to 1928 we note that Virgina, North Carolina, West Virginia, Maryland and Deleware rank lower in the number of persons lynched than certain states of other sections. In West Virginia where 5.9 per cent of the

TABLE VIII

TOTAL AND NEGRO POPULATION BY STATES AND PER CENT NEGRO POPULATION OF TOTAL IN EACH STATE IN 1920

STATES	Total population	Negro population	Per cent Negro in total population
NEW ENGLAND			
Maine	768,014	1,310	0.2
New Hampshire	443,083	621	0.1
Vermont	352,428	572	0.2
Massachusetts	3,852,356	45,466	1.2
Rhode Island	604,397	10,036	1.7
Connecticut	1,380,631	21,046	1.5
MIDDLE ATLANTIC			
New York	10,385,227	198,483	1.9
New Jersey	3,155,900	117,132	3.7
Pennsylvania	8,720,017	284,568	3.3
EAST N. CENTRAL			
Ohio	5,759,394	186,187	3.2
Indiana	2,930,309	80,810	2.8
Illinois	6,485,280	182,274	2.8
Michigan	3,668,412	60,082	1.6
Wisconsin	2,632,067	5,201	0.2
WEST N. CENTRAL			
Minnesota	2,387,125	8,809	0.4
Iowa	2,404,421	19,005	0.8
Missouri	3,404,055	178,241	5.2
North Dakota	646,872	467	0.1
South Dakota	636,547	832	0.1
Nebraska	1,296,372	13,242	1.0
Kansas	1,769,257	57,925	3.3
SOUTH ATLANTIC			
Deleware	223,003	30,335	13.6
Maryland	1,449,661	244,479	16.9
District of Col.	437,579	109,966	25.1
Virginia	2,309,187	690,017	29.9
W. Virginia	1,463,701	86,345	5.9
North Carolina	2,559,123	663,407	29.8
South Carolina	1,683,724	864,719	51.4
Georgia	2,895,832	1,206,365	41.7
Florida	968,470	329,487	34.0
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL			
Kentucky	2,416,630	235,938	9.8
Tennessee	2,337,885	450,758	19.2
Alabama	2,348,174	900,652	38.4
Mississippi	1,790,618	935,184	52.2

TABLE VIII (Cont'd)

STATES	Total population	Negro population	Per cent Negro in total population
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL			
Arkansas	1,752,204	472,220	27.0
Louisiana	1,798,509	700,257	38.0
Oklahoma	2,028,283	149,408	7.4
Texas	4,663,228	241,694	15.4
MOUNTAIN			
Montana	548,889	1,658	0.3
Idaho	431,866	920	2.0
Wyoming	194,402	1,375	7.0
Colorado	939,629	11,318	1.2
New Mexico	360,350	5,333	1.6
Arizona	334,162	8,005	2.4
Utah	449,386	1,446	0.3
Nevada	77,417	346	4.0
PACIFIC			
Washington	1,356,621	6,883	0.5
Oregon	783,389	2,144	0.3
California	3,426,861	38,763	1.1

(Negro Year Book, 1925-6, p. 435)

total population is Negro, there have been 17 persons lynched since 1900, fifteen of whom were Negroes. In Maryland 16.9 per cent of the total population is Negro, and yet only seven Negroes and no whites have been lynched since 1900.

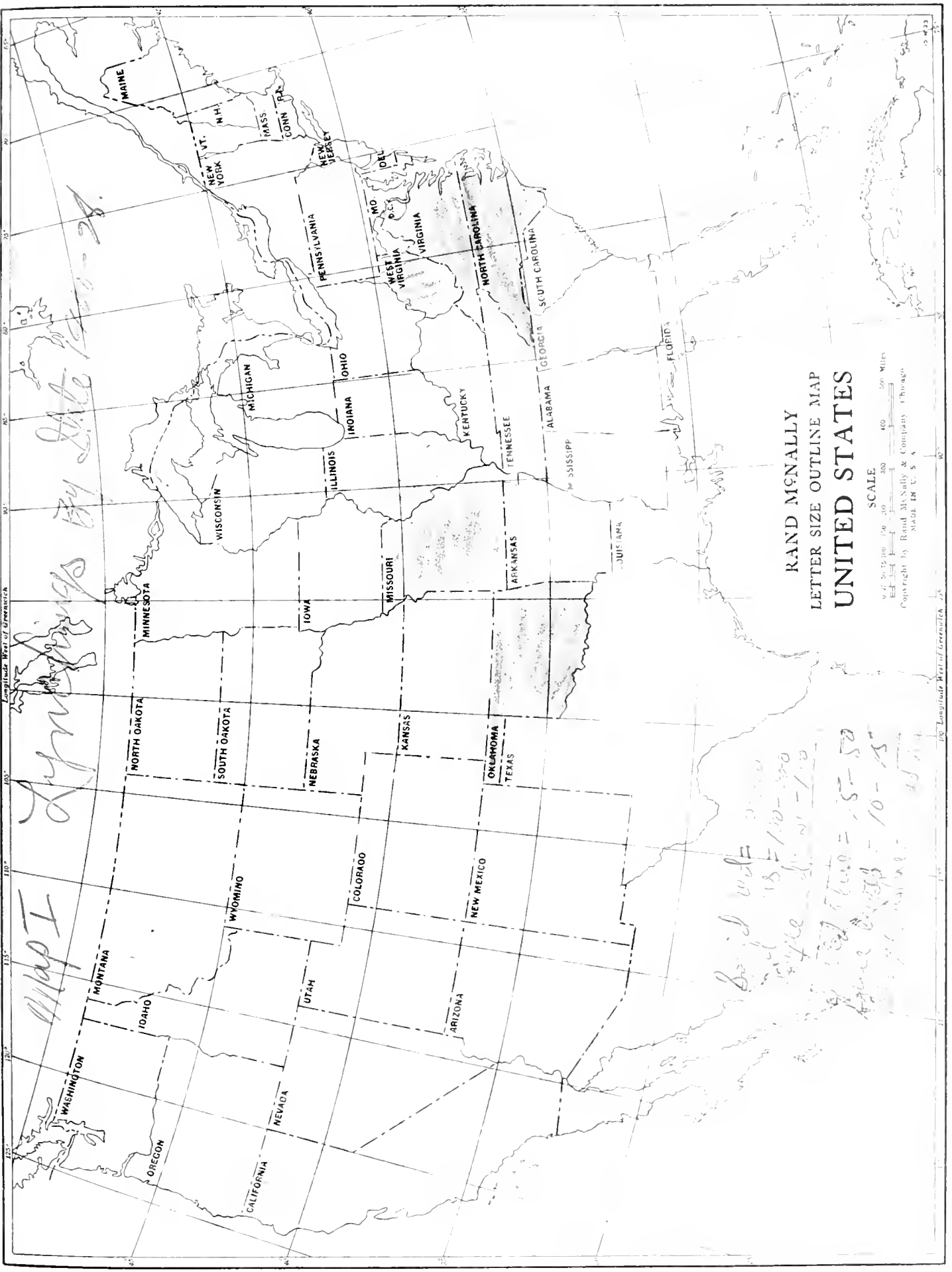
In Illinois, on the other hand, where Negroes furnished only 2.8 per cent of the total population in 1920 (and it was much less before the great migration during and immediately after the World War), there have been during the past twenty-eight years fourteen lynchings, only two of which were whites. Illinois has long been among the first of the non-southern states in the number of lynchings. Since 1890, ten white men and fifteen Negroes have been lynched in that State. While most of the whites were lynched for murder (5), and rape (4), the last one was lynched at Collinsville, Madison County, on April 4, 1919, for "making disloyal remarks". Negroes have been lynched in Illinois for such crimes as "criminal abortion", and "disreputable character".

Whereas nearly 14 per cent of the population of Deleware is Negro, there is only one lynching on record as having occurred in that State. In 1903 a Negro was lynched in New Castle County, near Wilmington, for the double crime of rape and murder. Kansas, with 3.3 per cent Negro population has had eight lynchings, four Negroes and four whites; and Wyoming, with 7.0 per cent Negro population, has had the same number and proportion since 1900. Montana has had 10 lynchings, and California 14 since 1900, only one in each state, however, being a Negro.

In 1920 the Negro population of Missouri was 5.2 per cent of the total. Since 1900 this state has had 42 lynchings, 37 of whom were Negroes. Missouri has had more lynchings than five of the southern states, including Virginia and North Carolina, each of which has about 30 per cent Negro population.[8] Whereas 92 per cent of all persons lynched are in the South, yet five of the northern and western states have each had more lynchings since 1900 than have two of the southern states in which the relative percentage of Negro population is higher. Thus it is evident that the South, when considered by states, is no more a lynching section as a whole than is California, Missouri, Illinois or Montana.

Map I shows graphically that there is not only a concentration of lynchings in the South but a further concentration in particular southern states. Three southern states have had between 200 and 300 lynchings since 1900, and four others have had between 100 and 200. The seven states combined have had 1,347, or more than 78 per cent of the total for the 16 southern states. In the first ten southern states there has been a total of 1,579 lynchings, or about 84 per cent of all lynchings in the Nation. Practically 96 per cent of all lynchings

8. Missouri affords an indication that it is not the location of a state, nor altogether the proportion of negro population, so much as it is other conditions, and attitudes that determine the number of lynchings. For this reason Missouri is included in the discussion of lynchings by states and counties, Chapter VII.



in the South are credited to these ten states. And it is in these states that more than 90 per cent of all women lynched since 1900 have met that fate.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN AND WHITE MEN LYNCHED

Sixty college professors and graduate students from all sections of the country interviewed at a conference in New York, and twenty professors and graduate students at the University of North Carolina expressed surprise at the number of women lynched in the South. Quite a majority of the number, including several of the southern group - both professors and students - had the impression that practically all lynchings are due to the crime of rape, and did not know that women were ever lynched.

A total of 96 women have met death at the hands of mobs since 1882. The early statistics are doubtless inaccurate, for there is not a lynching of a woman recorded for the first two years of the period. The slight increase in the number of white women lynched throughout the remainder of the Nineteenth Century no doubt indicates an increased accuracy of the statistics rather than an actual increase in the number of women lynched. During

the 45 years since 1882, 24 white women and 72 colored women have been lynched. Table IX shows that for every year, excepting 1887 and 1899, to the beginning of the present Century, there was one or more women lynched.

Graph VIII shows that up to the beginning of the Century there was a fairly close correlation between the number of white women and the number of Negro women lynched. Since 1900 there have been only two white women lynched, while the curve for the Negroes is irregular, varying from one to four throughout, excepting the years 1905, 1906, 1924 and 1925 when there were no women lynched in the country. Chart V shows the proportion of women lynched for various causes since 1882.[1] Of the whites nine were charged with murder, five with minor offenses, two with theft, one with arson and the crime of seven is unknown. Of the Negroes 34 were charged with murder, 17 with minor offenses, six with arson, one with theft, two with murderous assault, five with complicity in murder, and the offense of seven is unknown.

It is interesting to note in more detail the lynchings of women during the Twentieth Century. To the present date there has been a total of 41, all but two of whom were Negroes. Chart VI shows the number of women lynched by year and by race since 1900. It is shown that

1. The crimes of women are not listed in Table IX, for the years before 1900. Cutler, p. 172, gives a chart of this nature covering the period up to 1904 but as his information is given in summary the separate crimes are not available from this source.

TABLE IX

WOMEN LYNCHED IN THE U. S. FROM 1882 to 1928
By Race and by Crime and Totals*

Year	Total	White	Colored	Crime alleged in reports
1184**	3	3	0	Crimes of women not listed separately in early information, hence not given here until 1900. For totals, women by crime, see Chart V.
1885	4	1	3	
1886	2	0	2	
1888***	1	1	0	
1889	3	3	0	
1890	1	1	0	
1891	5	0	5	
1892	5	1	4	
1893	4	0	4	
1894	3	1	2	
1895	13	5	8	
1896	1	1	0	
1897	4	2	2	
1898	6	3	3	
1900***	1	0	1	Crime unknown.
1901	4	1	3	N. Implicated in murder.
1902	1	0	1	Implicated in murder.
1903	2	0	2	1 unknown; 1 implicated in murder.
1904	2	0	2	Both charged with murder.
1907***	2	0	2	Both "murderous assault."
1908	1	1	0	"Threats"; lynched along with her husband and two children.
1909	1	0	1	Charged with murder.

* Compiled from Cutler, NAACP files, Clippings, etc.
** No lynchings in 1882, and 1883, according to records.
*** No lynchings in intervening years.

TABLE IX (Cont'd)

Year	Total	White	Colored	Crime alleged in reports
1910	3	0	3	Murder, 1; complicity, 1; Operating disreputable house, 1. (Monroe, La.).
1911	1	0	1	Murder.
1912	3	0	3	Murder, 2; complicity, 1.
1913	1	0	1	Charge, murder; later found innocent.
1914	4	0	4	Murder, 2; Arson, 1; Unknown, 1.
1915	1	0	1	"Resisting arrest"?
1916	3	0	3	"Accomplice to murder"
1917	1	0	1	Murder.
1918	4	0	4	"Unwise remarks", 1; murder, 2; threats, 1.
1919	1	0	1	Unknown cause.
1920	1	0	1	Complicity in murder.
1921	1	0	1	Unknown. Referred to in Gov. Dorsey's pamphlet.
1922	0	0	0	
1923	1	0	1	Shot by men who were searching for her brother who had refused to pay 10¢ interest on 50¢. No offense stated; relatives had probably committed murder; not known.
(No women lynched, 1924, 1925)				
1926	2	0	2	
1927	0	0	0	
TOTALS	96	24	72	

Summary of Crimes: Whites, Murder 10; minor offense, 5, unknown, 6; arson, 1; theft, 2. Total, 24.
Colored: Murder, 35; minor (or no offense), 17; Unknown, 6; Arson, 6; theft, 1; Complicity in murder, 5; murderous assault, 2; Total, 72.

GRAPH VIII

WOMEN LYNCHED 1884-1928 BY RACE

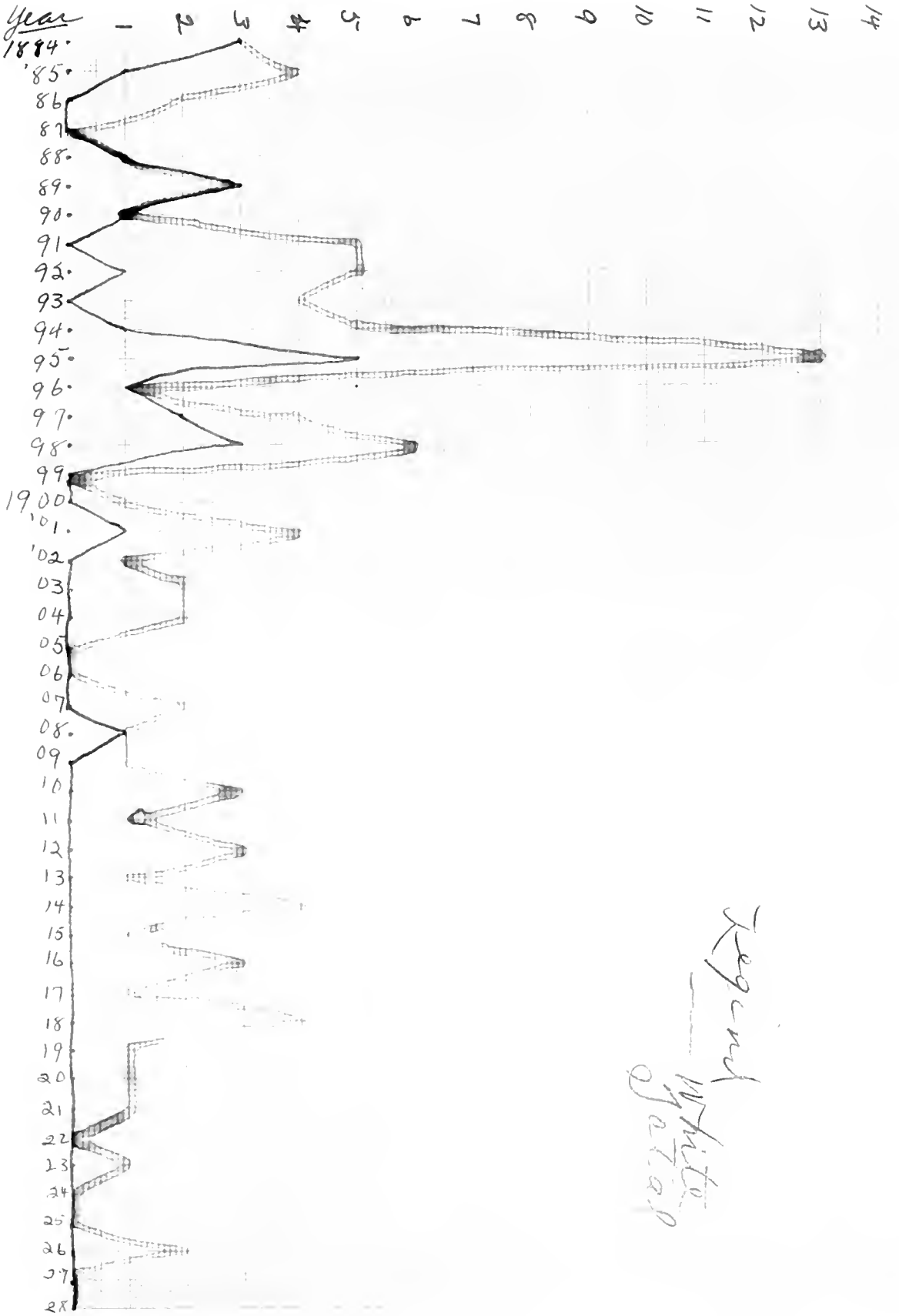


CHART V

WOMEN: PROPORTION LYNCHED FOR VARIOUS CAUSES 1882-1928

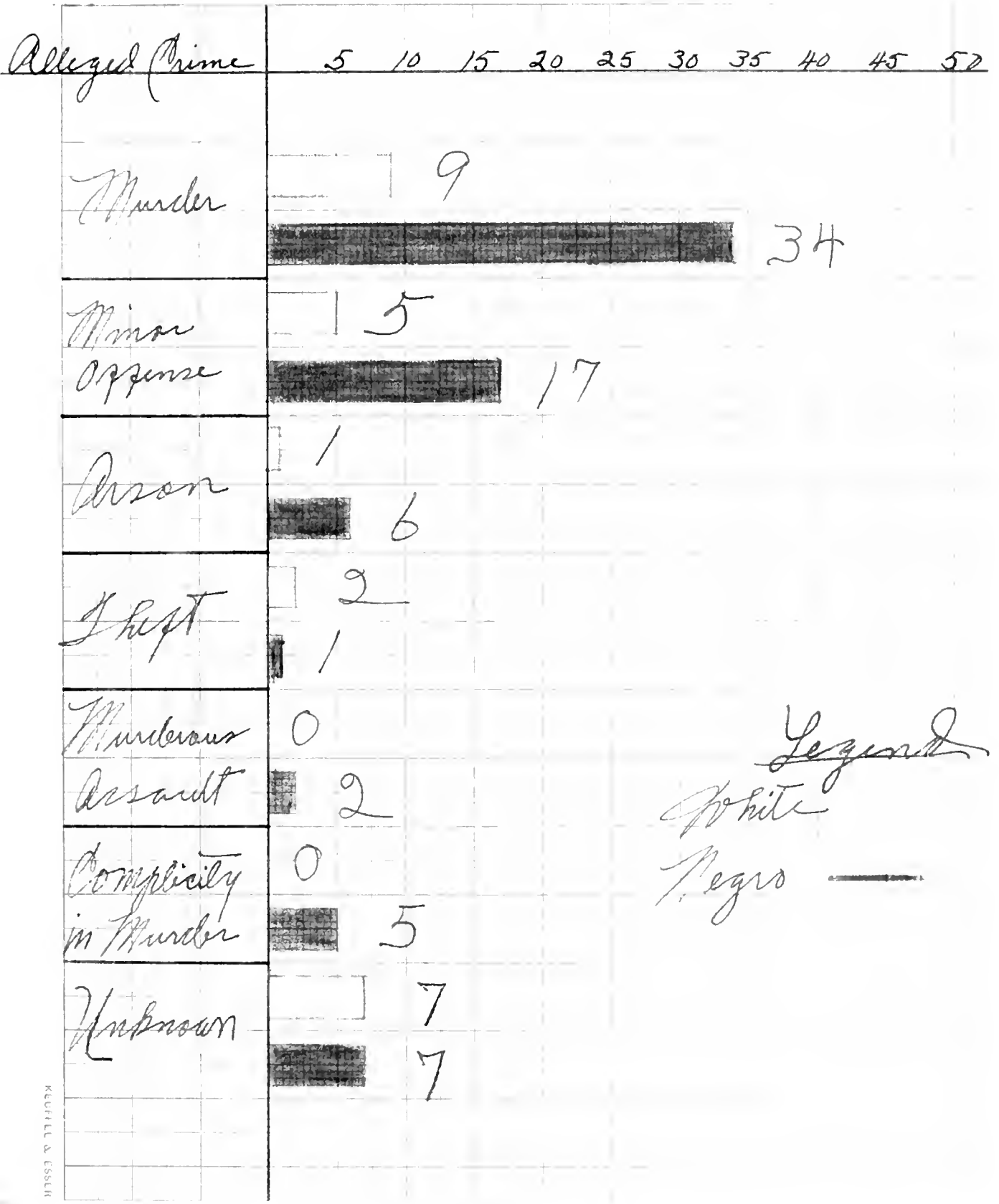
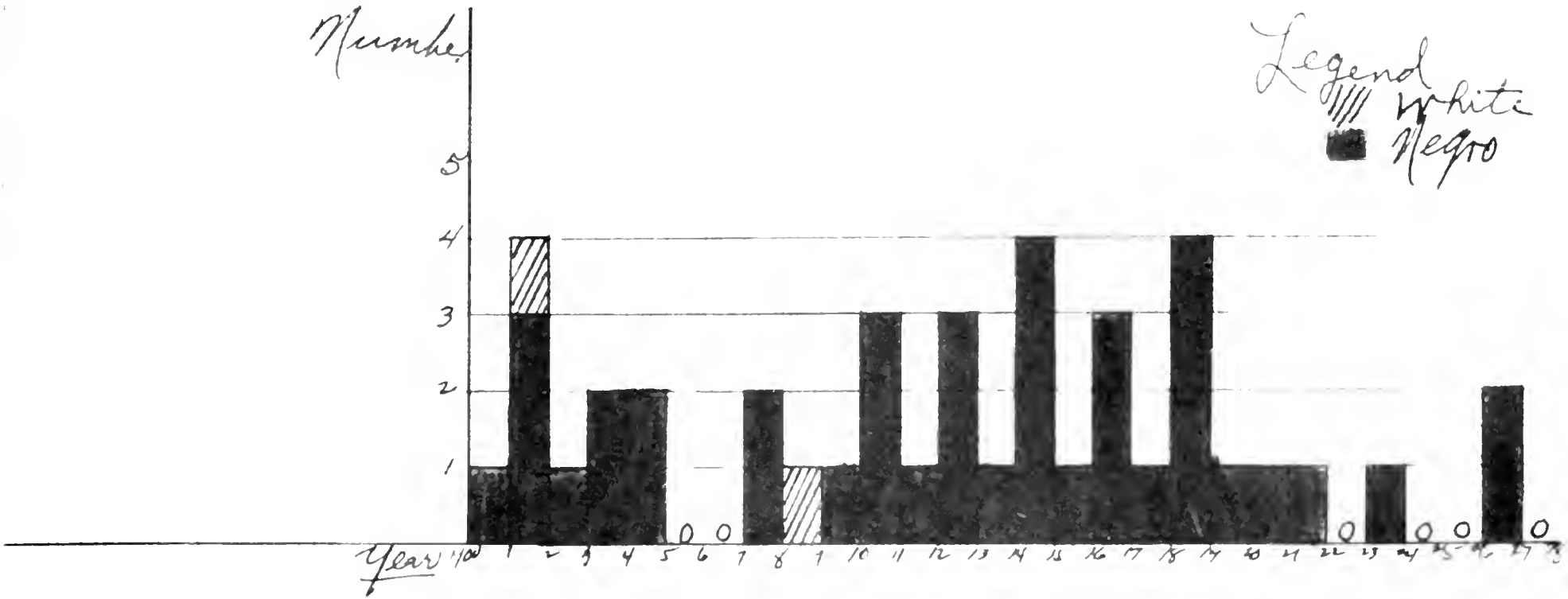


Chart VI

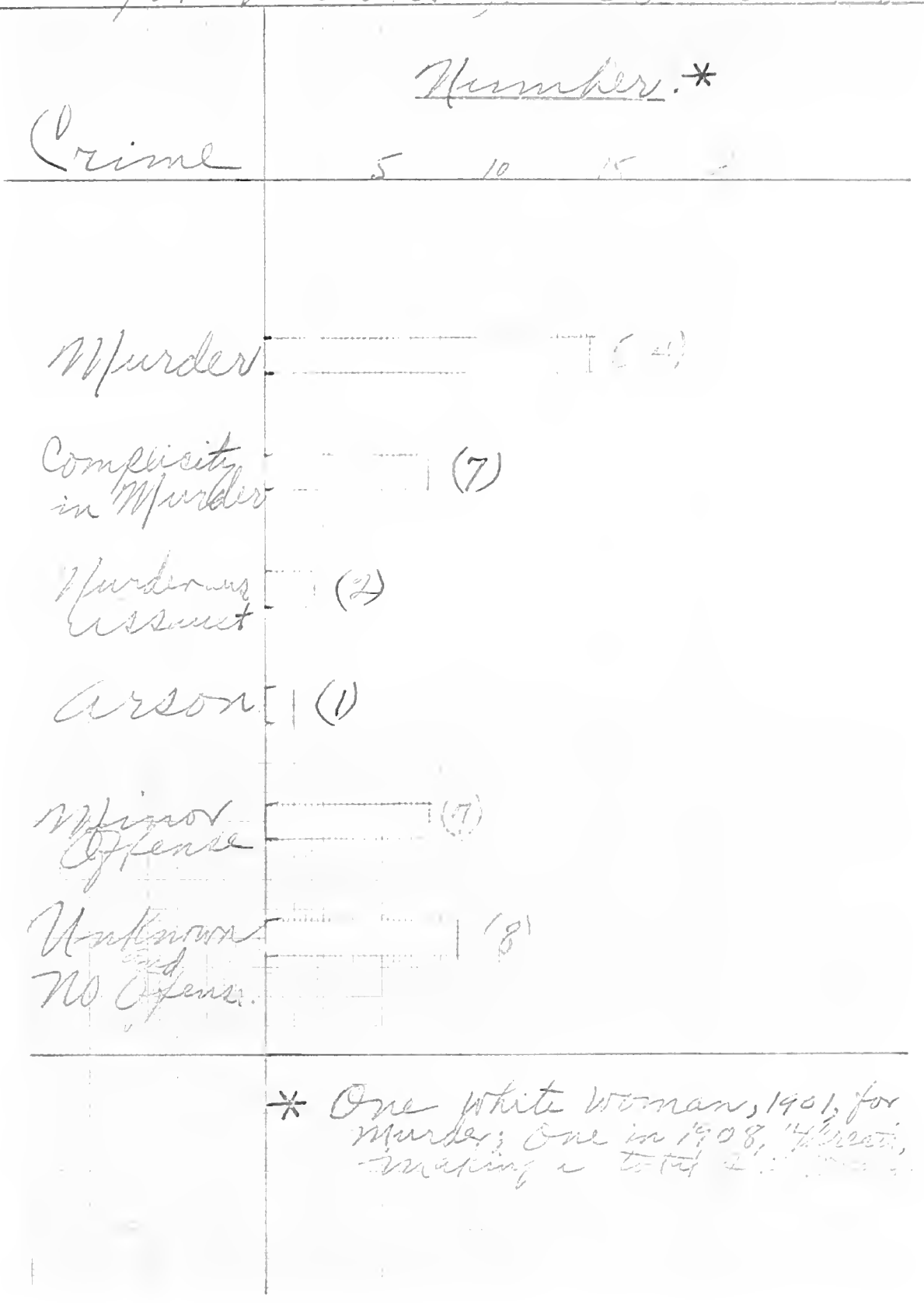
Women Lynched, By Race, 1900-1918.



the majority of the lynchings of women during the period occurred between 1909 and 1922. For each of the twenty-eight years except five, one or more women have been lynched. The two white women were lynched in 1901 and 1908, respectively. In Mississippi County, Arkansas, on April 6, 1901, May Hearn, white, was lynched, - charged with murder. At Hickory Grove, Kentucky, on October 4, 1908, a Mrs. David Wallace was lynched along with her husband and two children. The cause of this lynching according to newspaper reports at the time was "threats". It is very probable that the figures on the number of women lynched are conservative, even since 1900. For the first three years of this period Cutler found a record of eight women lynched, while the NAACP report for this period gives only six. Cutler was certainly not inclined to overstate the number lynched, and we may accept his figures as being more nearly accurate as the NAACP was not in existence at the time and their data was gathered some dozen years later.

Chart VII shows the proportion of Negro women lynched for various causes from 1900 to 1928. Fourteen of the thirty-nine were charged with murder, seven with complicity in murder, two with murderous assault, one with arson, seven with a minor offense, while the offense of eight is not known. One Negro girl was shot by a mob of white men while in search of her brother who had insulted a white man - it is said by refusing to pay ten cents interest on a half dollar which he had borrowed. One

Negro Women: Proportion Lynched for Various Crimes '90 - '1928.



* One white woman, 1901, for murder; one in 1908, "threats," making a total 2.

woman was shot along with her husband who was not specifically charged with any crime at all, but it was thought that probably he had been implicated in a murder which happened several months previously. Two Negro women were shot for threatening to avenge the death of their brother who had been killed by white men. One was shot in Monroe, Louisiana, charged with "running a disreputable house." One was shot by a posse of officers and citizens while "resisting arrest", and another for "unwise remarks" - concerning the lynching of her husband!

As would naturally be expected, a majority of the forty-one lynchings of women since 1900 occurred in the southern states. Of the thirty-seven assigned to the South, Mississippi leads with a total of eleven. Then comes Georgia with eight, one of whom was lynched for murder but was later proved to have been innocent of the crime. Texas and Florida rank next with four each; South Carolina and Arkansas with three each; and Oklahoma and Louisiana with two each. The only charges stated against Rachel Moore, of Rankin Mississippi, who was lynched on Arpil 4, 1921, was that she was the mother-in-law of a man who had been lynched. It is in the same states and in the same localities of these states, where men - black and white - are lynched, that practically all of the women who meet this infamous death depart for the unknown. Women have been lynched for the same trivial offenses for which men meet that fate.

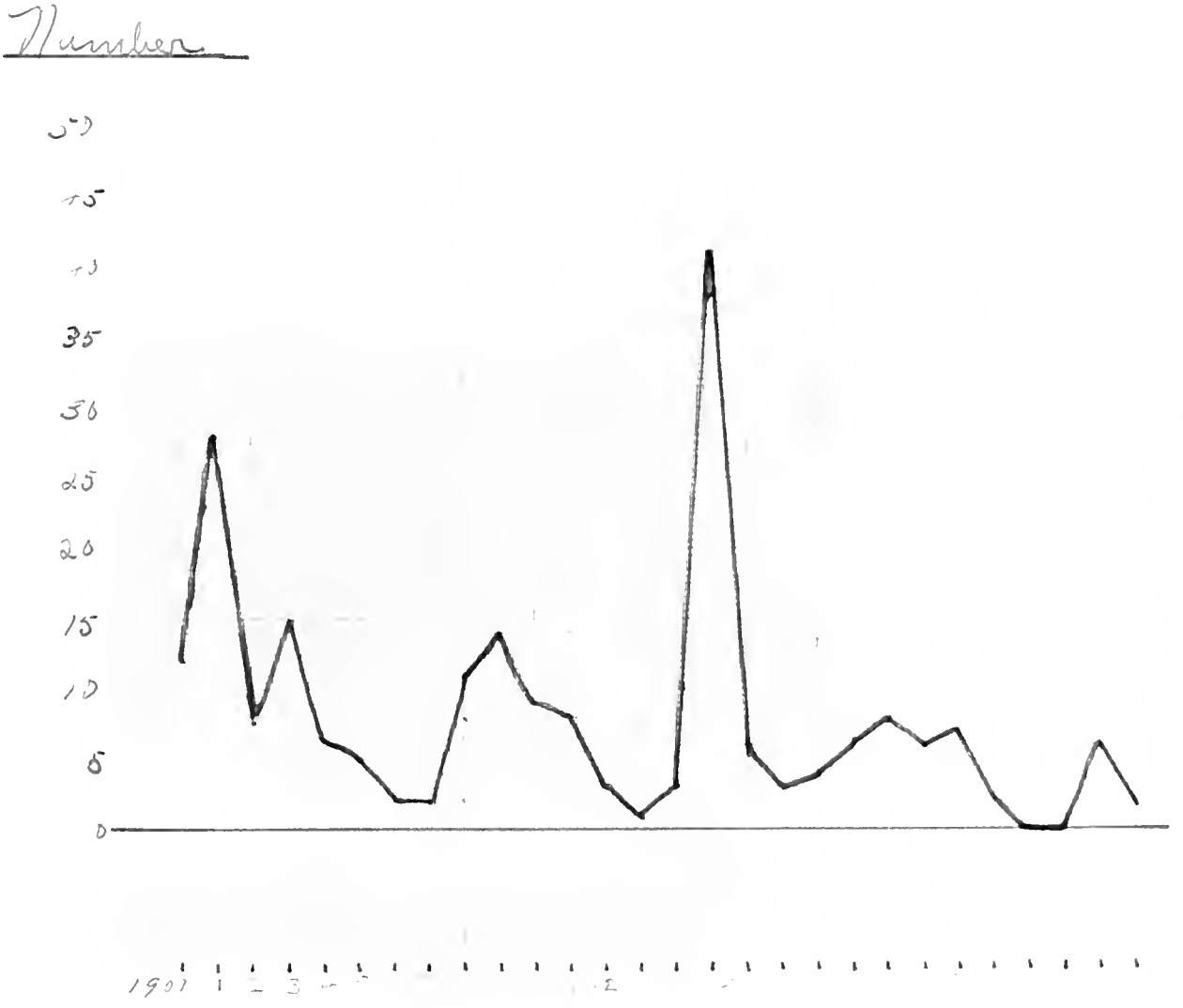
White Men Lynched Since 1900

From questioning many persons on the subject one is led to conclude that there is a general impression abroad that white men are no longer lynched since the settling of the West and the establishment of courts wherein horse thieves and murderers may be brought to justice. This impression is erroneous in two ways: In the first place the lynching of white men has not ceased with the settling of the West, and in the second place it is not primarily in the West that white men are lynched. Thus it seems worth while to dwell upon this aspect of the subject.

Graph IX shows the whites lynched by years since 1900. Beginning with 12 in 1900 there was a rise to 28 in 1901, then a drop to three for 1906 and 1907. In 1908 there were eleven whites lynched with a rise to 14 in 1909; then a drop to 9 in 1910, to 8 in 1911, to three in 1912, and to one in 1913. From three in 1914 the curve reaches the high mark of 41 in 1915 - the highest number of whites lynched in a single year since 1896.[2] There was a sharp drop to six in 1916, since which time there has not been more than eight for any single year. This mark was reached in 1920. There were six whites lynched in 1921, and seven in 1922. In only two years since 1900-1924 and 1925 - is

2. There were 43 whites lynched during 1915 but we have been unable to check up on two of them, hence have omitted them from the list.

Whites Lynched, By Year, 1900-1928



there no record of a white man being lynched. During the past decade there has been a total of 41 whites lynched; and since 1920, thirty-one. In 1926 there were six, and in 1927 two whites lynched.

Table X show the Whites lynched by year and by crime since 1900. There has been a total of 221 during the twenty-eight years, or an average of about eight per year.[3] Before proceeding with an analysis of this chart it is necessary to explain the classification of crimes as causes of lynching which has been adopted and which is used henceforth in this study. The classification of crimes by the NAACP (Table VI) was made for the same purpose for which it has been used in Chapter V - that of indicating the actual or alleged offense committed by the victim lynched. For our purposes henceforth this type of classifaction is inadequate. In any sociological study or psychological explanation of lynchings to take the actual crime committed, although important, is often insufficient. For example, "attacks" upon women as "including all cases in which press accounts state that attacks upon women are made, but in which it was not clear whether rape was alleged to have been consumated or attempted" - this is a superfluous differentiation when the point of interest is that of studying the cultural background and, in short, the psychology of the mob. A headline stating that a

3. The records show a total of 226, but due to inadequate information five have been omitted from the list in this analysis.

woman has been "attacked" - no matter if a Negro snatched her purse, and even though this fact be stated in the account - means rape to those who compose lynching mobs. The same emotional reactions and irrational behavior-patterns are "set off" as if rape had actually been committed. Moreover, for the purpose of this study a classification of certain crimes as "absence of crime", or "no crime" is meaningless. Human organisms, do not react without stimulation; mobs always have a "cause". There is, therefore, always a "crime" in so far as the mob-members are concerned.

Thus it is clear that a more adequate classifaction of crimes must be employed. This means that the work done by the publishers of "Thirty Years' Lynching in the U. S." in classifying alleged causes of lynchings up to 1919 must be done anew. This is not so unfortunate after all for in this publication there are no analytical tables for different sections of the country, or states according to crime. In view of the advantages afforded for purposes of comparison it is fortunate that Cutler in his book on Lynch-Law (1903) adopted a classification of the causes of lynchings that is adequate for the present study - as adequate apparently as could be made. In his analysis of the Tribune record up to 1903 he grouped the numerous causes listed into the following classes: Murder, Rape, Assault, Minor Offenses, Desperadism, Arson, and Unknown. For psychological purposes this

classification contains some over-lappings but none so important, or so apt to be misleading, as the classification separately of "rape" and "attacks upon women" as discussed above. This is, then, a classification more nearly free from faulty over-lapping of crimes and causes, yet one of such detail as to indicate along with the cause as nearly the exact crime committed as is possible to give in usable table forms. In addition it is a classification which makes possible a comparison of the results obtained with those of the only study of this type ever made, and extending back as far as any adequate statistical data is to be had.

The class of Murder embraces the following: murder, suspected murder, alleged murder, conspiracy to murder, and complicity in murder.[4]

The class Rape includes also: attempted rape, alleged rape, attacks upon women, alleged attack upon women, and conspiracy to rape.[5]

The class Theft as used includes: theft, larceny, burglary, suspected robbery, alleged robbery, safe breaking, cattle stealing, horse stealing, hog stealing, conspiracy to steal, or to rob.

The class Arson includes: barn burning, house burning, arson, incendiarism. Desperadism - seldomly

4. Henceforth when one of the eight classes of crimes is meant the word for the class will be capitalized. This will avoid confusion of crimes and classes of crimes.
5. Due to more various "causes" being listed in the reports since 1900, this class is considerably enlarged from that used by Cutler, However, it includes the same "cause" for lynching.

reported since 1900 - includes the action of a desperado, outlaw, highway robber, train wrecker, and train robber.

The class Assault embraces assault and murderous assault. Fewer and fewer whites are lynched for Assault. As public opinion grows more unfavorable toward mob violence, a higher proportion of Negroes lynched for fighting white men are accused of murderous assault.

The class Minor Offenses includes an almost unlimited number, some of which are stated even at the cost of adding to this long but necessary digression: race prejudice, miscegenation,[6] and various offenses, such as (for whites) wife-beating, cruelty, kidnapping, turning states evidence, refusing to turn state's evidence, swindling, political prejudice, giving information, informing, protecting a Negro, giving evidence, mob indignation, disresputable character, threats, aiding escape of murderer, suspected of killing cattle, prospective elopement; (for Negroes) self-defense, wife beating, cutting levees, kidnapping, voodooism, poisoning horses, writing insulting letters, incendiary language, jilting a girl, turning state's evidence, political trouble, gambling, quarreling, poisoning wells, unpopularity, making threats, circulating scandal, being troublesome, bad reputation, drunkenness, strike rioting, rioting, insults, supposed offense, insult-

6. Miscegenation is close akin, psychologically, to rape or attack upon a white woman. The same "complex" in the white man is aroused if a white woman goes to live with a Negro as if the Negro "attacked" her.

ing women, fraud, criminal abortion, alleged stock poisoning, enticing servant away, asking white woman in marriage, writing letter to white woman, conspiracy, elopement with white girl, refusing to give evidence, giving evidence, disobeying ferry regulations, running quarantine, violation of contract, paying attention to white girl, resisting assault, inflammatory language, resisting arrest, testifying for one of his own race, keeping gambling house, quarrel over profit-sharing, forcing white boy to commit a crime, and lawlessness.

The class Unknown Offense, includes unknown offense, no offense, without cause, mistaken identity, by accident, and no cause given.

Frequently the report of a lynching states that a double crime has been committed. In these cases the following rules have been observed: rape and murder are classed under Rape, robbery and murder under Murder, arson and murder under Murder, assault and robbery under Assault, and robbery and arson under Arson.

Table X shows that about 56 per cent of the total 221 whites lynched since 1900 were charged with murder. Next in order come the list for Unknown crimes with 30, and the Minor Offenses, with twenty-three. Thirteen whites have been lynched for Theft since 1900, but no white man has suffered death for this crime since 1915. In 1901 a total of nine whites were lynched for this offense. The Table shows that in general with the passing of years there

TABLE X

WHITES LYNCHED BY YEAR AND BY CRIME, 1900 to 1928

YEAR	Total	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Desp.	*Theft	Unknown
1900	12	9	2	1	0	0	0	0
1901	28	6	5	0	2	0	9	6
1902	8	5	0	0	2	0	1	0
1903	15	11	0	0	2	0	0	2
1904	7	4	2	1	0	0	0	0
1905	5	2	2	0	0	0	1	0
1906	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
1907	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
1908	11	5	0	1	4	0	0	1
1909	14	9	3	0	0	0	2	0
1910	9	6	1	0	0	0	0	2
1911	8	3	0	0	1	0	0	4
1912	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
1913	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1914	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
1915	41	28	1	0	1	6	0	5
1916	6	3	1	1	0	1	0	0
1917	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
1918	4	2	0	0	2	0	0	0
1919	6	5	0	1	0	0	0	0
1920	8	5	0	0	2	0	0	1
Sub-totals	198	114	20	5	18	7	13	21

*Desperado.

TABLE X (Cont'd)

YEAR	Total	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Desp.	Theft	Unknown
1921	6	3	1	0	0	0	0	2
1922	7	2	0	0	1	0	0	4
1923	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
1924	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1925	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1926	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	2
1927	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Subtotal 1921-28	23	9	1	1	3	0	0	9
Subtotal 1900-20	198	114	20	5	18	7	13	21
TOTALS	221	123	21	6	21	7	13	30

is a higher proportion of whites lynched for the more serious offenses. From 1882 to 1903, for example, of the 1169 whites lynched 38 per cent were for Murder. Rape ranked second with 34.3 per cent. On the other hand it is notable that a higher proportion have been lynched since 1900 for Unknown offenses than during the earlier period, almost 15 per cent as compared to 4.3 per cent. This probably indicates that of late years it is more necessary to assign some major offense for the lynching of a white man, but that at the same time white men are lynched for lesser offenses, and in these cases the crime is not stated. That white men are sometimes lynched for very minor offenses is indicated below.

Table XI shows the whites lynched by crime and by month for the past twenty-eight years. It is notable that a majority of the whites are lynched in the late summer and fall months. The peak month is October with 30, a majority of whom were charged with Murder. Then comes July with 26, August and September with 23 each, and April with 22. A curve showing the whites lynched by month corresponds very closely to Graph III (ante), indicating that possibly the whites are lynched for causes corresponding closely to those for which Negroes are lynched. This is more significant when we note where and for what offense the whites are lynched.

Contrary to what seems to be the general opinion on the subject, it is not in the North and West that practically all, or even a majority of the Whites are

TABLE XI

WHITES LYNCHED, BY CRIME AND BY MONTH, 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Desp*	Unknown	Total
January	8	1	0	2	1	1	4	17
February	4	4	0	0	1	0	3	12
March	5	1	1	0	0	0	3	10
April	14	2	0	1	0	0	5	22
May	8	1	1	2	5	0	1	18
June	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	10
July	11	3	0	0	4	0	8	26
August	12	3	0	4	0	0	4	23
September	14	0	0	3	0	6(m)**	0	23
October	18	3	1	7	1	0	0	30
November	8	0	1	2	1	0	0	12
December	9	0	2	3	0	0	3	17
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTALS	120	20	6	24	13	7	31	221

* Desperado includes "train robber , "train wrecker", and "highway robber", "banditry".
** These were Mexicans, Cameron County, Texas.

lynched. On the other hand it is in the same states where a majority of the Negroes are lynched, thus indicating that lynching is not only a racial but also a sectional matter. Table XII shows the whites lynched by state and by county since 1900. It shows that of the total 221, 153 or 70 per cent were lynched in the South, while 44, or 20 per cent were lynched in the West, and 22, or 10 per cent in the North. With the exception of Texas, - where over 50 per cent of the "whites" lynched have been Mexicans - and of Kentucky, there is a close correlation between the rank of the different states in the number of Negroes and in the number of whites lynched. Thus whatever the underlying cause may be, it is the same states in which Negroes are habitually lynched that the vast majority of white men are lynched.

By comparing Table XII with the Maps in Chapters VII and VIII it is to be seen that there is not only a concentration of the lynching of whites in the South, and in particular states of the South, but that there is in general also a close correspondence by counties in the total number lynched and in the number of whites lynched. Indications are that in many instances it is the same people that lynch both Negroes and whites. This is possibly further indicated when we note the nature of the crimes for which white men are lynched. This is best shown by a detailed list of the crimes rather than by a classification such as has been noted above.

TABLE XII

WHITES LYNCHED BY STATE AND BY COUNTY, 1900 to 1928

STATE and County	Number lynched	
ALABAMA		6
Baldwin	1	
Geneva	1	
Jefferson	1	
Walker	1	
Unknown Co.	2	
ARIZONA		4
Penial	1	
Unknown Co.	1	
ARKANSAS		10
Boone	1	
Garland	2	
Jackson	1	
Mississippi	1	
Monroe	1	
Nevada	1	
Pocahuntas	1	
Polk	1	
Searcy	1	
CALIFORNIA		13
Los Angeles	2	
Modac	5	
Siskiyou	1	
Sonoma	3	
Unknown Co.	2	
COLORADO		
Fremont	1	
Las Animas	1	
Pueblo	2m	
Unknown Co.	1	
FLORIDA		12
Alachua	1	
Bradford	1	
Columbia	1	
Hillsboro	2	
Holmes	1	
Lafayette	1	
Madison	1	
Monroe	1	
Taylor	1	
Orange	1	
Washington	1	
GEORGIA		12
Baldwin	1	
Bibb	2	
Coffee	1	
Fannin	3	
Floyd	1	
Harris	1	
Talbot	1	
Toombs	1	
Whitfield	1	
IDAHO		2
Idaho Co.	2	
ILLINOIS		2
Madison	1	
Perry	1	
IOWA		1
Floyd Co.	1	

TABLE XII(Cont'd)

STATE and County	Number lynched	
KANSAS		4
Bourbon	2	
Johnson	1	
Stafford	1	
KENTUCKY		18
Ballard	1	
Estil	1	
Fulton	2	
Graves	1	
Hardin	1	
Laren	1	
Mason	1	
Simpson	4	
Wayne	1	
Wolfe	4	
Unknown Co.	1	
LOUISIANA		10
Claiborne	2	
Franklin	1	
Livingston	1	
Morehouse	1	
Ouachita	1	
Richland	1	
Vernon	1	
West Felincia	1	
Unknown Co.	1	
MAINE		1
Aroostook	1	
MICHIGAN		1
Unknown Co.	1	
MISSISSIPPI		14
Bolivar	1	
Coahoma	1	
Forrest	1	
Jackson	1	
Lauderdale	1	
Lowndes	1	

STATE and County	Number lynched	
MISSOURI		5
Barton	1	
Lafayette	1	
Monroe	1	
Platte	1	
Unknown Co.	1	
MONTANA		9
Furgus	1	
Lewis and Cl.	2	
Ravalli	1	
Rosebud	1	
Silver Bow	1	
Teton	1	
Yellowstone	1	
Unknown Co.	1	
NEBRASKA		1
Cherry	1	
NEW JERSEY		1
Bergen	1	
NEW YORK		1
Washington	1	
NEW MEXICO		2
Bernalillo	1	
Santa Fe	1	
NEVADA		2
Nye	1	
Churchill	1	
NORTH CAROLINA		4
Anson	1	
Graham	3	
NORTH DAKOTA		2
Kidder	1	
Williams	1	

TABLE XII (Cont'd)

STATE and County	Number lynched	
Pearl River	1	
Smith	1	
Washington	5	
Unknown Co.	1	
OKLAHOMA		10
Hughes	2	
Okfuskee	1	
Pontotoc	4	
Tulsa	1	
Unknown	2	
OREGON		1
Baker	1	
SOUTH CAROLINA		1
Kershaw	1	
SOUTH DAKOTA		1
Todd	1	
TENNESSEE		8
Benton	2	
Dekalb	1	
Lake	1	
Roane	1	
Scott	1	
Washington	1	
Unknown Co.	1	
TEXAS		42
Bell	1	
Caldwell	1	
Cameron	25m*	
Edwards	1	
Hopkins	1	
Jefferson	1	
Karnes	1	
Lavaca	1	
McLennan	1	
Tarrant	1	
Taylor	1	
Terrell	1	
Thorndale	1	
Unknown Co	5	

STATE and County	Number lynched	
OHIO		1
Licking	1	
VIRGINIA		4
Norfolk	1	
Pittsylvania	1	
Warwick	1	
Washington	1	
WASHINGTON		2
Lewis	1	
Unknown Co.	1	
WEST VIRGINIA		2
Fayette	1	
Randolph	1	
WISCONSIN		1
Dane	1	
WYOMING		4
Big Horn	2	
Natrona	1	
Weston	1	
UNKNOWN STATE		2
TOTAL		221

SOUTH** 153, or 70 per cent of total.
WEST 44 or 20 per cent of total.
NORTH 22 or 10 per cent of total.

* All Mexicans.
** Here we have used the Census Divisions, thus excluding Missouri, which would if included make the percentage of all lynched in the South 72 per cent.

Table XIII shows that in the North and West where lynchings are less frequent it is in general true that men are lynched only for the worst crimes. There are notable exceptions, such as "disloyal remarks", "prospective elopement", "I. W. W. Leader", and "horse thief", but these are relatively few. In the South, on the other hand, while it is true that a larger proportion are lynched for murder than for any other cause, yet it is notable that white men have been lynched for the most trivial offenses. As late as 1920 a white man was hanged by a mob in Hartford, Alabama, "because of remarks he is alleged to have made to a white woman." The detailed list of "crimes" committed by the 153 white men lynched in the South since 1900 reads not unlike that of the Negroes lynched in that section during the period. There are a few more whites than Negroes lynched for Murder and not so many for alleged rape. With this exception there is little difference in the two lists. White men have been lynched for refusing information, strike-breaking, making threats, robbery, suspected cattle stealing, trying to keep mob from lynching a Negro, disloyal remarks, assaulting a policeman, and wife-beating; and one, for failure to heed a warning to leave the ranch of which he was foreman. The number lynched in the South for an "unknown crime" is notably high. The crime for which almost one-fifth of all whites lynched in the South since 1900 is not known.

TABLE XIII

WHITES LYNCHED, BY STATE AND BY CRIME, From 1900 to 1928

THE SOUTH	Total 153	Crimes
Alabama	6	Murder, 3; "alleged remarks to white woman"; 1; crime unknown, 2.
Arkansas	10	Murder, 7; strike-breaker, 1; highwayman, 1; "disloyal remarks", 1.
Florida	12	Murder, 5; unknown, 1; "murderous assault", 1; refusing information, 1; attempted rape, 1; attempted murder, 2; wounding a deputy sheriff, 1.
Georgia	12	Murder, 4; rape, 4; alleged rape and murder, 1; alleged murder, 2; unknown, 1.
Kentucky	18	Murder, 4; unknown, 6; murderous assault, 1; killed by night riders, 2; making threats, 4; forcing white boy to commit a crime, 1;.
Louisiana	10	Murder, 3; unknown, 4; rape, 1; sheltering murderer, 1; robbery, 1.
Mississippi	14	Murder, 6; unknown crime, 3; attempted rape, 1; robbery, 1; suspected cattle thieves, 3.
North Carolina	4	Murder, 1; "Three night riders" in Graham County, in 1915.
Oklahoma	10	Murder, 3; unknown, 2; suspected of killing cattle, 1; complicity in murder, 3; "trying to keep mob from lynching a Negro", 1. (Marlow, Okla. Negroes are not allowed. White man hired Negro to work as porter in his hotel, than tried to keep mob from lynching Negro).
South Carolina	1	Murder, 1, John Morrison, Kershaw County.
Tennessee	8	Murder, 5; unknown crime, 1; rape, 2.
Texas	42	Murder, 10; "fighting with an American", one, (Mexican); "failure to heed warning to leave the country", 1; rape and murder, 2; unknown crime, 3; rape, 1; attempted rape, 1; pillage and murder, 6; (Mexicans), Wife-beating, 1; banditry, 6; (Mexicans), Train-wrecking and murder, 10.
Virginia	4	Murder, 2; allaulting a policeman, 1; rape, 1.
West Virginia	2	Murder, 2. (One was murderer of his wife)

TABLE XIII (Cont'd)

	Number	Crime
THE WEST	44	
Arizona	4	Murder, 3; horse thief, 1.
California	13	Murder, 5; unknown, 1; theft, 5; rape, 1; mistaken identity, 1 - in December, 1927, a boy was placed in jail in Los Angeles. He "favored" Hickman who was then being brought to L. A. for the fiendish murder of little Marion Parker. Those in jail beat this boy, Ralph McCoy, to death.
Colorado	5	Murder, 5.
Idaho	2	Murder, 1; wife-beating, 1.
Montana	9	Murder, 3; unknown crime, 2; rape, 1; attempted rape, 1; "I. W. W. leader", 1; resisting arrest for suspected insanity, 1; he was burned.
New Mexico	2	Murder, 2.
Nevada	2	Robbery, 1; race prejudice, 1 (Chinese).
Oregon	1	Rape, 1.
Washington	2	Murder, 2.
Wyoming	4	Murder, 4.
THE NORTH	22	Crime
Illinois	2	Murder, 1; disloyal remarks, 1.
Ohio	1	Murder, 1.
Iowa	1	Murder, 1.
New Jersey	1	Murder, 1.
Kansas	4	Murder, 3; for being a member of the non-partisan League, 1.
Maine	1	Rape, 1.
South Dakota	1	Horse-stealing, 1.
Michigan	1	Prospective elopement, 1.
New York	1	Murderous assault, 1.
Missouri	5	Murder, 1; unknown crime, 1.
Nebraska	1	Murder, 1.
North Dakota	2	Murder, 1.
Wisconsin	1	Murder, 1.

Thus not only is it true that more than 85 per cent of all Negroes lynched are lynched in the South, and that since 1900 more than 90 per cent of all women lynched have been in the South, but also it is in this section that 70 per cent of the 221 whites, including two women, have been lynched since 1900. In general it is the same states that lynch high proportions of both Negroes and whites, and in many instances the same counties. Unlike the conditions in the West described in Chapter III there are now apparently no peculiar crimes or circumstances under which white men are lynched. The lynching of white men as well as of Negroes, therefore, seems to be a part of the culture - pattern of certain localities in the South. The lynching of a white man, for example, for some heinous crime, or for some trivial offense, seems to be a conditioned reaction, possibly more generally verbal, which under proper stimulus occurs without hesitation or shame. Just why this should be is not so apparent as many have thought.

CHAPTER VII

LYNCHINGS BY STATES AND BY COUNTIES IN THE SOUTH

It has been pointed out that there is apparently no correlation, either in the southern states or in the Nation as a whole, between the total Negro population or the proportion of Negro population and the number of persons lynched. This, however, would not necessarily mean that there is no such relationship in the localities where lynchings occur. The problem thus raised requires a closer analysis of lynchings in the various states. It may be that certain population or other characteristics peculiar to particular localities have some demonstrable causal relationship with lynchings. Are there, for example, particular crimes characteristic of the worst lynching states which may account for the number of lynchings? Is it true that in these states, or in particular counties of these states, a majority of the persons lynched are Negroes

who have committed the crime of rape?[1] Is there an even dispersion of lynchings in the states in which they are concentrated, as shown by Chart III and Map I (ante)? Is there, therefore, after all a close correlation between the numerical or proportional number of Negroes in the counties where lynchings occur? Or, is lynching apparently only one aspect of the general inter-racial situation which in turn is the result of numerous factors, past and present, in the economic, educational, social, and possibly the religious life of the particular section, state or locality concerned? Some light may be thrown on such questions as these.

The Minor Lynching States

Turning attention first to the states in which there have been relatively few lynchings, we find that in general a majority of these lynchings have occurred as a result of alleged atrocious crimes, and have been fairly well scattered over the various counties of these states. The higher the rank of the state as regards the number of persons lynched, the less true, in general, is this statement.

Deleware has had but one lynching since 1900. A Negro, George White, was lynched near Wilmington in

1. After quoting some general statistics on this question to an ex-Mississippian, in New York, the writer was assured that if he would "look" he would find that Mississippi is different in this respect, that practically every Negro lynched in this state has committed rape. Cf. Chapter VIII.

June, 1903, charged with the double crime of rape and murder.

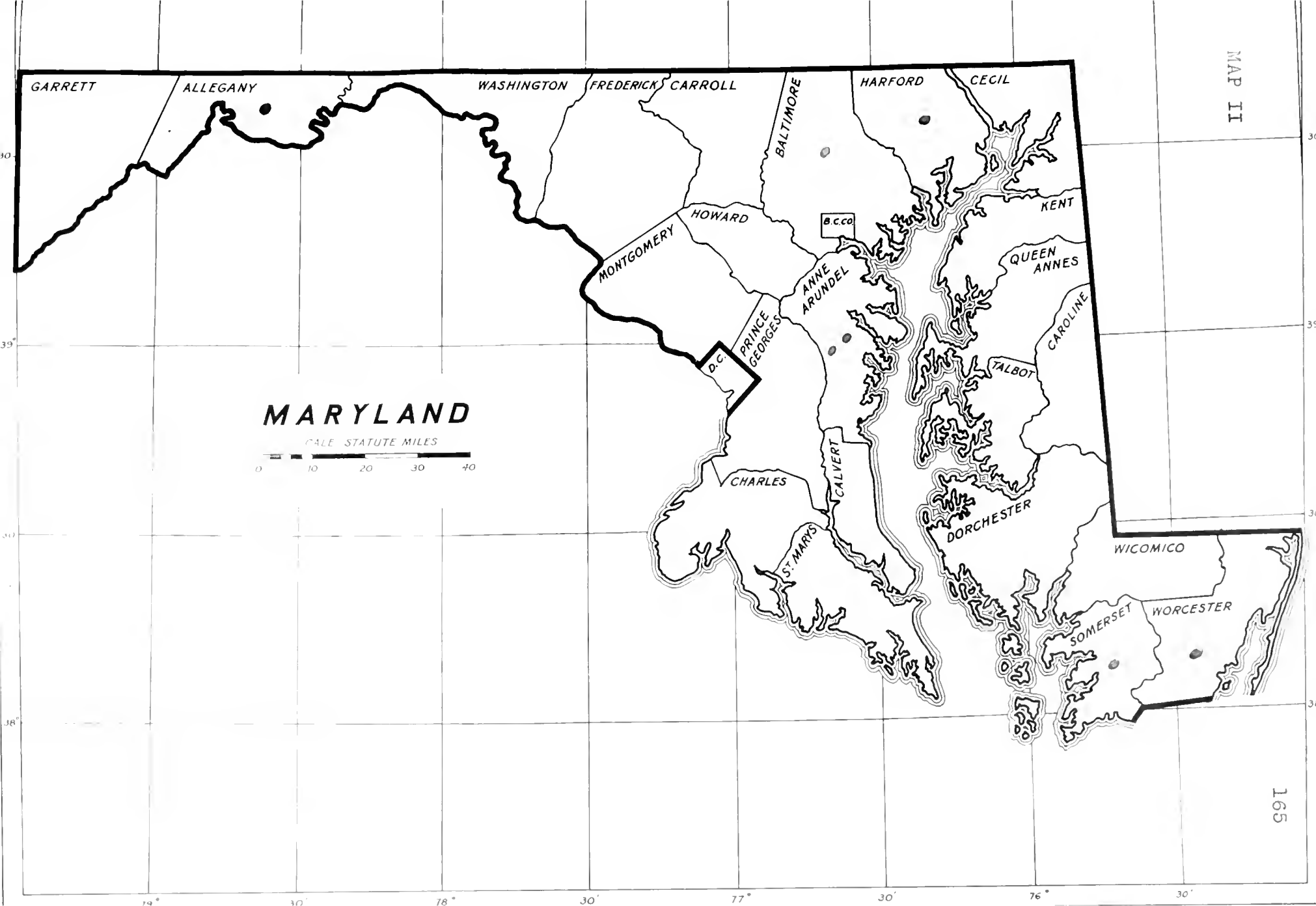
Table XIV shows the lynchings in Maryland by crime and by month since 1900. Of the seven persons lynched in that State three were for murder, two for rape, one for assault, and one for arson. Two of these lynchings occurred in March and two in December; one in June, one in July, and one in October. The murders occurred in July, October and December; the cases of alleged rape in March and December; the case of assault in June and that of arson in March.

Map II shows the dispersion of the lynchings in Maryland. Only one county, Anne Arundel, in the central part of the State, has had two. One of these was for Rape, in 1906, and the other for Murder on Christmas Day, 1911. In Alleghany County, in the western part of the State, a Negro was lynched for Murder in October, 1907. The lone lynching in Hartford County occurred in March, 1900. The victim was charged with Rape. In the extreme South-eastern part of the State there have been two lynchings, one in Somerset County, 1907, for Murder, and one in Worcester County in 1906 for "murderous assault". In Baltimore County, at Rosedale, a Negro was lynched in 1909 for an unnamed offense. There is no record of a lynching in Maryland during the last 17 years.

TABLE XIV

MARYLAND: CRIMES BY MONTH, WHITE AND NEGRO, 1900-1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor Theft	Arson	Crime Unknown	Total
January	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
February	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
March	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
April	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
June	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
July	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
August	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
September	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
October	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
November	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
December	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Totals	3	2	1	0	0	0	7


MARYLAND
SCALE STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40
GARRETT
ALLEGANY
WASHINGTON
FREDERICK
CARROLL
BALTIMORE
HARFORD
CECIL
KENT
QUEEN ANNES
CAROLINE
TALBOT
B.C.CO.
HOWARD
MONTGOMERY
ANNE ARUNDEL
PRINCE GEORGES
D.C.
CHARLES
CALVERT
ST. MARYS
DORCHESTER
WICOMICO
SOMERSET
WORCESTER
39°
38°
79°
30'
78°
30'
77°
30'
76°
30'

West Virginia

Table XV shows that since 1900 there have been 17 persons lynched in West Virginia, 15 of whom were Negroes. Taking these by crimes, nine were for Murder, four for Rape, and two for Minor Offenses. Taking the crimes and lynchings by month we find that five of the nine murders occurred in July, two in December, and one each in February and October. Two of the alleged rapes occurred in November, and one each in May and September. Of the total 17 lynchings, seven occurred in July. Both of the white men lynched met that fate for Murder, one in March and one in July.

Map III shows that in West Virginia only one county has had more than two lynchings. Randolph County has had a total of seven persons lynched during the period, one white and six Negroes. Of the Negroes one was lynched at Elkins on July 22, 1901, for Murder; one was lynched on July 25, 1920, at Womelsdorf for "mistaken identity" and four for Murder.[2] There has not been a lynching in Randolph County since 1909 when Joseph Brown, white, was lynched at Whitmore, on March 19, charged with murder.

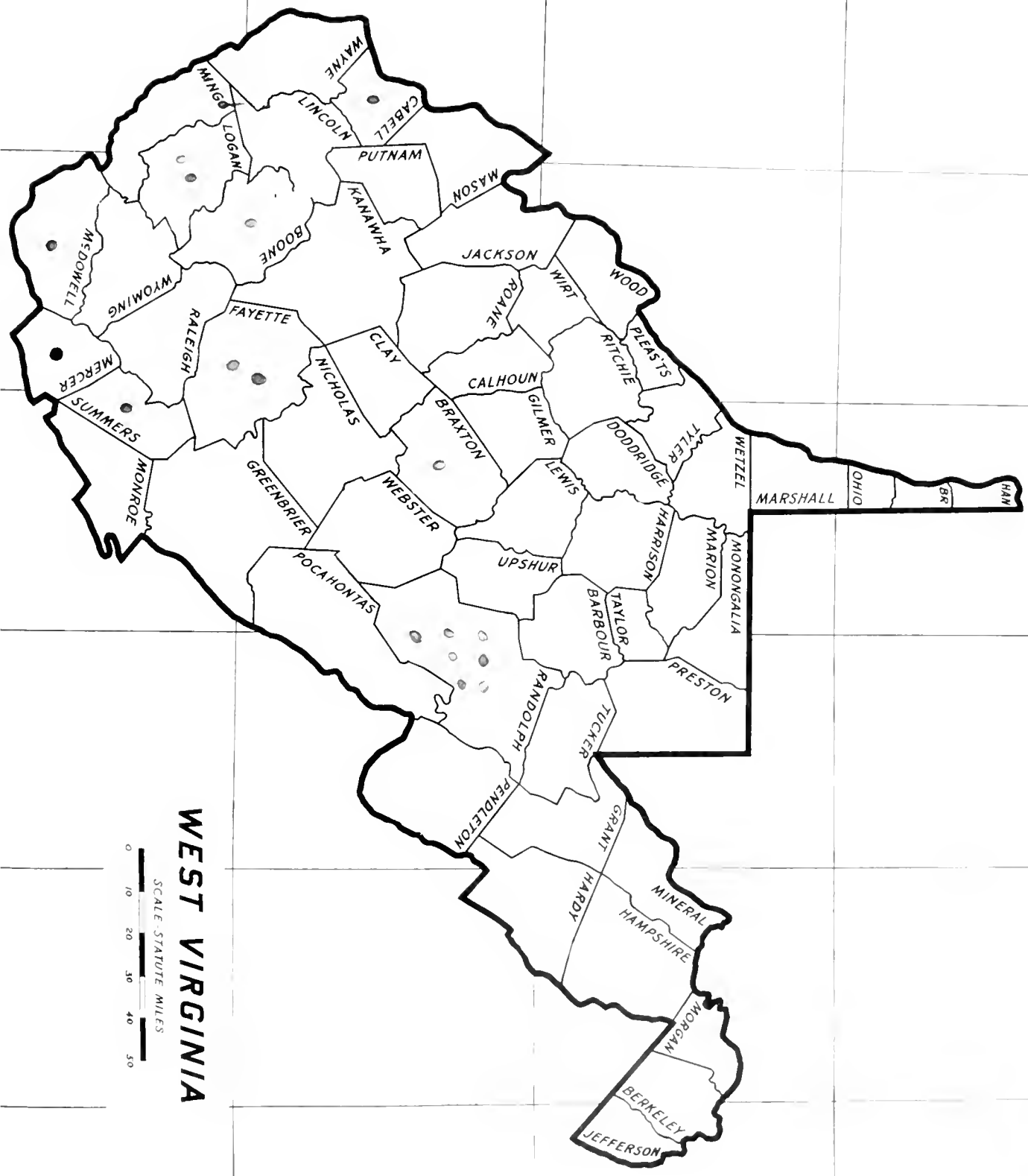
---

2. Personal letters of inquiry bring no further information than that these Negroes were lynched for murder, and that now Womelsdorf is an incorporated village under that name but that the Post Office is Coalton, West Virginia.

TABLE XV

WEST VIRGINIA: CRIMES BY MONTH, WHITE AND NEGRO, 1900-1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
February	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
March	1w	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
April	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
May	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
June	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
July	6(1w)	0	0	1	0	0	0	7
August	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
September	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
October	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
November	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
December	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Totals	11	4	0	2	0	0	0	17


WEST VIRGINIA
SCALE-STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
WAYNE
MINGO
LOGAN
LINCOLN
CABELL
PUTNAM
MASON
KANAWHA
BOONE
MCDOWELL
WYOMING
RALEIGH
FAYETTE
MERCER
SUMMERS
MONROE
GREENBRIER
POCAHONTAS
NICHOLAS
CLAY
JACKSON
ROANE
WIRT
WOOD
PLEASTS
RITCHIE
CALHOUN
BRAXTON
GILMER
DODDRIDGE
TYLER
WEBSTER
LEWIS
HARRISON
WETZEL
MARSHALL
OHIO
BR
HAM
MARION
MONONGALIA
UPSHUR
TAYLOR
BARBOUR
PRESTON
RANDOLPH
TUCKER
PENDLETON
GRANT
HARDY
MINERAL
HAMPSHIRE
MORGAN
BERKELEY
JEFFERSON

Only two other counties of West Virginia have had as many as two lynchings since 1900, Fayette and Logan. In 1902, February 2, a Negro was lynched for "alleged conjuring". On July 25, eighteen years later at Fayetteville, Fayette County, occurred the next and last lynching. William Bennett, a white man, was taken from jail by a mob and lynched. He had been sentenced to life imprisonment for murdering his wife. The two lynchings in Logan County occurred in 1919, at Chapmanville. According to a report in The New York Times two Negroes, Ed Whitfield and Earl Whitney, were shot to death by a mob on December 15. They were accused of murdering E. D. Meek, a resident of Island Creek, Logan County. They had been arrested and placed in jail at Logan. Crowds surrounded the jail but were kept from entering by the Sheriff and his deputies, but it was decided advisable to take the prisoners to Huntington on a special train. Before the train could pull out of Logan the deputies in charge of the prisoners were "overpowered". The Negroes were taken from the caboose of the train lined up beside freight cars, and shot to death. Both bodies were thrown into the Guyandotte River.

This case indicates that under proper stimulus a lynching is likely to occur irrespective of the past history of the locality. This point is further illustrated in Chapter IX in the case of the lynching of Walter Johnson, at Bluefield, Mercer County. Guilt seems not to be more necessary in these isolated cases than in the worst

lynching counties, although, doubtless, in general it is. More noticeable, however, is the fact that in these isolated cases the accusation is more generally of a more atrocious crime. In Johnson's case, for example, guilt was not the question; the mob lynched him for Rape. This case, and others, indicates that so long as the attitude on the part of the "average working man" is what it is, a lynching is likely to occur at any point where there are Negroes and whites in close contact.

Virginia

Table XVI shows the lynchings by race, by month, and by crime for Virginia since 1900. There has been a total of 31, four of which were whites, all males. It is notable that in Virginia more of those lynched have been charged with Rape than of any other crime. One white man and twelve Negroes have been lynched for that crime, while two whites and eight Negroes have been lynched for Murder. Taking the crimes by month, we note that there is a fairly even scatter throughout the year. Seven lynchings have occurred in August, five in March, and three each in April and December. Five of the seven lynched in August were charged with Rape. Three of the murders occurred in March and the remainder were con-concentrated in the fall and winter months, with one exception in April.

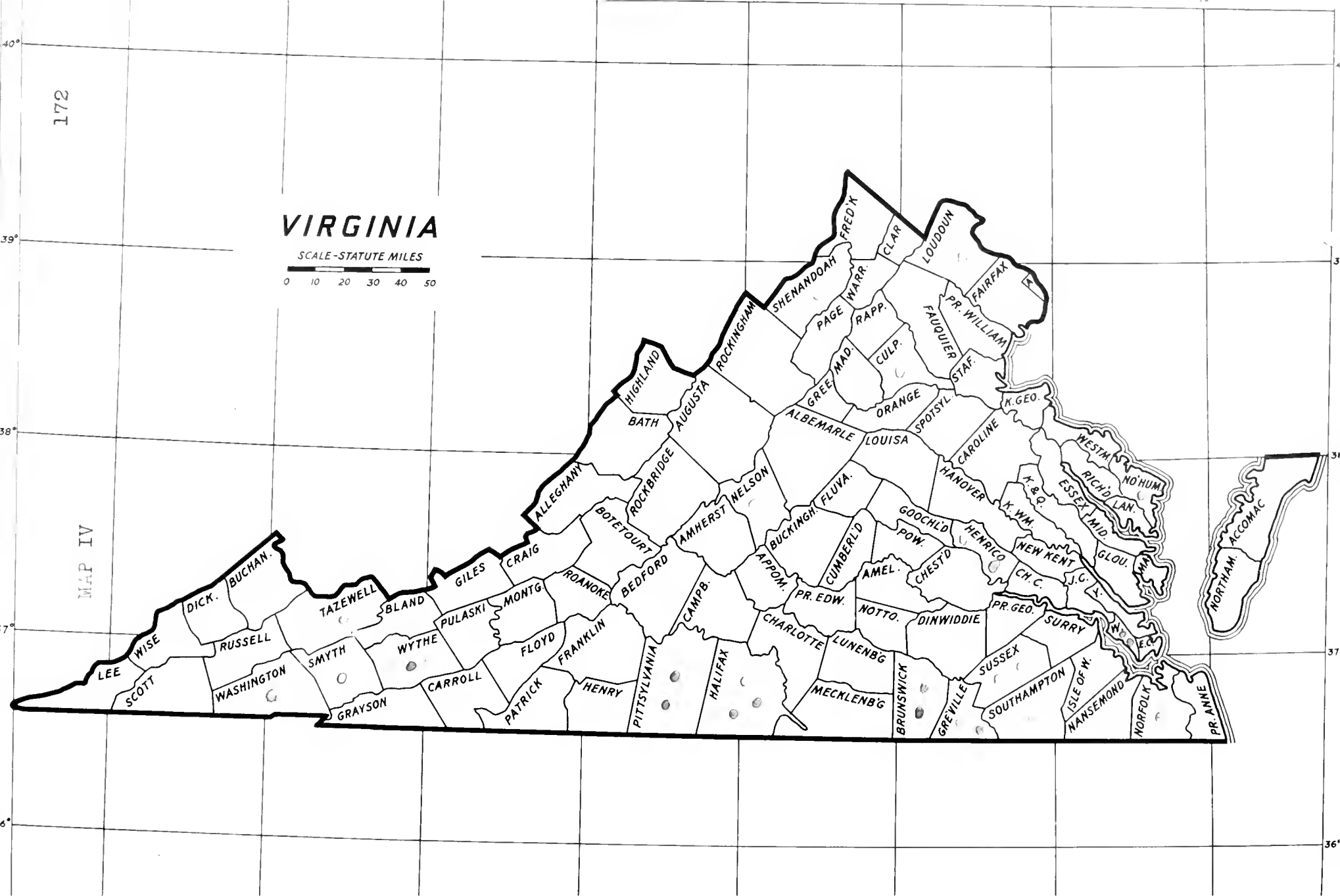
Map IV shows that the relatively few lynchings in Virginia have been widely scattered over the State.

TABLE XVI

VIRGINIA: CRIMES BY MONTH, WHITE AND NEGRO, 1900-1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	1	1w	0	0	0	0	0	2
February	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
March	3(1w)	1	0	0	0	1	0	5
April	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
May	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
June	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
July	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
August	0	5	0	1	0	0	1	7
September	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
October	1	0	1w	0	0	0	0	2
November	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
December	1w	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
Totals	10(2w)	13(1w)	1w	2	1	2	2	31

MAP IV


VIRGINIA
SCALE-STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
40°
39°
38°
37°
36°
LEE
SCOTT
WISE
DICK.
BUCHAN.
RUSSELL
WASHINGTON
TAZEWELL
SMYTH
GRAYSON
BLAND
WYTHE
CARROLL
GILES
PULASKI
PATRICK
CRAIG
MONTG.
FLOYD
ALLEGHANY
ROANOKE
FRANKLIN
HENRY
BOTETOURT
BEDFORD
PITTSYLVANIA
HIGHLAND
BATH
ROCKBRIDGE
AUGUSTA
ROCKINGHAM
AMHERST
CAMPB.
HALIFAX
NELSON
SHENANDOAH
PAGE
FRED'K
WARR.
CLAR.
LOUDOUN
RAPP.
GREE.
MAD.
CULP.
FAUQUIER
PR. WILLIAM
FAIRFAX
STAF.
ORANGE
SPOTSYL.
ALBEMARLE
LOUISA
BUCKINGH.
FLUVA.
APPOM.
CHARLOTTE
MECKLENB'G
BRUNSWICK
CUMBERL'D
PR. EDW.
LUNENB'G
GREEVILLE
AMEL.
NOTTO.
CHEST'D
POW.
GOOCHL'D
DINWIDDIE
SUSSEX
SOUTHAMPTON
K. GEO.
CAROLINE
HANOVER
HENRICO
K. & Q.
K. WM.
NEW KENT
CH. C.
PR. GEO.
SURRY
J. C.
W.
E. C.
ISLE OF W.
NANSEMOND
NORFOLK
PR. ANNE
WESTM.
RICH'D
NO'HUM.
ESSEX
LAN.
MID.
GLOU.
MATH.
ACCOMAC
NORTHAM.

Only one county, Halifax, has had more than two lynchings, while eight counties have had two, and eleven counties have had one. The county for one lynching, for Rape, is unknown. In 1901 a Negro was lynched in Halifax County for Arson, and four years later one was lynched on account of "race prejudice". The third and last lynching in that county occurred on August 27, 1920, when Leslie Allen was shot and killed in the home of a Negro near Virgilinia by a posse of "Halifax County citizens" after he had been accused of insulting two small white girls at Buffalo Springs.

During the past decade there have been six lynchings in Virginia. The last one occurred in Wytheville, in Wythe County, on August 12, 1926. A mob of masked men stormed the County Jail and shot Raymond Bird, Negro, to death, after which the body was taken to the neighborhood where he was alleged to have attacked a white girl, and hanged to a tree. Practically 75 per cent of all persons lynched in Virginia since 1900 were charged with either Rape or Murder.

North Carolina

North Carolina ranks next in the number of lynchings since 1900 with a total of 39, four whites and 35 Negroes. Table XVII shows that a majority of those lynched in this state have been charged with the crime of Murder. About 70 per cent of the total number lynched have been

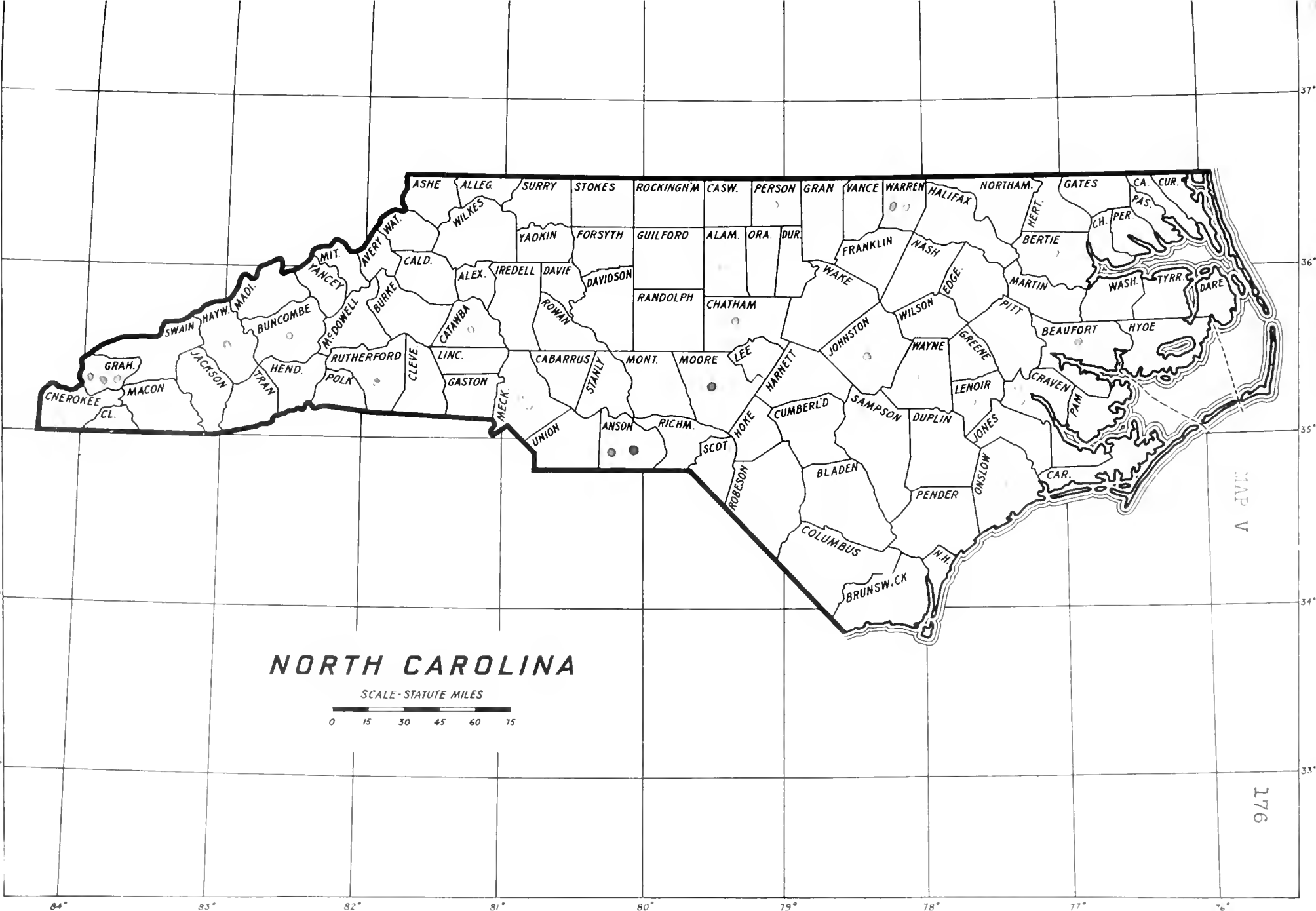
TABLE XVII

LYNCHINGS IN NORTH CAROLINA, BY RACE, BY CRIME, BY MONTH, FROM 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	5
February	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
March	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	4
April	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
May	1w	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
June	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
July	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
August	5	4	2	0	0	0	4(3w)	15
September	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
October	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
November	1	1	0,	0	0	0	0	2
December	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	15(1w)	12	2	3	1	0	6(3w)	39(4w)

charged with Rape or Murder, there being 12 and 15 respectively for these crimes. The crime of six of the victims is unknown. Included in this number are three white men lynched in Graham County in 1915. They are supposed to have been "night riders" and it is not known by whom they were lynched, or why. Considering the lynchings by month it is notable that 15 have occurred in August, five in January, and four in March. It is in the month of August that most of the crimes for both Murder and Rape are alleged as the cause of lynchings.

Map V shows the dispersion of lynchings in North Carolina over the different counties. There are only two counties in which more than two lynchings have occurred since 1900, Graham and Rowan. As noted above there have been three in Graham County. The four lynched in Rowan County were charged with murder. One of them, named Gillispie, was lynched in 1902, and four years later at the same place, Salisbury, two other Gillispie's of the same family, and another Negro were lynched for murder. Personal inquiry from citizens of Rowan County indicates that the Gillispie's were a "bad family of Negroes who could not get along with anybody" and who "were always in trouble with somebody". It is said by these informants that the Gillispie Negroes, seemingly at the instigation of their mother, murdered a whole family of white people, the Lylery's, for whom they worked. A little boy in the family told all he knew when


NORTH CAROLINA
SCALE - STATUTE MILES
0 15 30 45 60 75
ASHE
ALLEG.
SURRY
STOKES
ROCKINGH'M
CASW.
PERSON
GRAN
VANCE
WARREN
HALIFAX
NORTHAM.
GATES
CA.
CUR.
PAS.
HERT.
CH.
PER.
WILKES
YADKIN
FORSYTH
GUILFORD
ALAM.
ORA.
DUR.
FRANKLIN
NASH
BERTIE
WAKE
EDGE.
MARTIN
WASH.
TYRR.
DARE
WAY.
AVERY
MIT.
YANCEY
CALD.
ALEX.
IREDELL
DAVIE
DAVIDSON
RANDOLPH
CHATHAM
WILSON
PITT
BEAUFORT
HYDE
MADI.
BURKE
ROWAN
CATAWBA
JOHNSTON
WAYNE
GREENE
SWAIN
HAYW.
BUNCOMBE
McDOWELL
RUTHERFORD
LINC.
CABARRUS
MONT.
MOORE
LEE
HARNETT
LENOIR
CRAVEN
PAM.
GRAH.
JACKSON
TRAN.
HEND.
POLK
CLEVE.
GASTON
STANLY
CUMBERL'D
SAMPSON
DUPLIN
JONES
CHEROKEE
MACON
CL.
MECK.
UNION
ANSON
RICHM.
SCOT
HOKE
BLADEN
ONSLOW
CAR.
ROBESON
PENDER
COLUMBUS
N.H.
BRUNSW.CK
MAP V
176
37°
36°
35°
34°
33°
84°
83°
82°
81°
80°
79°
78°
77°
76°

the mob came after them. For this he was excused to witness the lynching of the others, unharmed. The mother was not lynched but was instead turned over to the "law" and is now said to be "serving a life sentence in the workhouse".

Of the two lynched in Mecklenburg County, one was charged with rape, in 1910; and one with murder, in 1913. The two in Anson County, one white and one Negro, were charged with murder. An unnamed Negro is reported to have been lynched in Johnson County, in 1908, by Negroes "for giving poor entertainment". This is the only case on record of this kind, that is, where Negroes lynched a Negro. There have been 18 lynchings in the State during the past decade, but only one during the past five years.[3]

Missouri

In Missouri there has been a total of 42 persons lynched since 1900. It is notable that the lynching curve follows closely along the Missouri River in the upper part of the state and that in the lower part about 50 per cent of the lynchings have occurred along the border of the Mississippi River, with the largest number in Pemiscot County. This is shown by Map VI.

3. This number includes Thomas Bradshaw who after being shot five times by a posse in Nash County, in 1927, fell dead "on account of heart failure from fatigue" according to the coroner's jury.

In the South-western part of the state two counties have had three lynchings each, and one county has had two since 1900. These counties had had few lynchings before 1900 so far as available records show, and the number and dates of those occurring since that time do not indicate a "lynching habit" on the part of the people. In Lawrence County, for example, there has not been a lynching since 1901, when, on August 19, three Negroes were lynched near Pierce City, "suspected of murder". In the adjoining county of Greene three Negroes were lynched in April, 1906. Two of these occurred in rapid succession; the first was on April 4, for "alleged rape"; the second, on April 14, for Rape; and the third on April 15, at Springfield for Murder. The two lynchings listed for Howell County occurred at West Plains in 1914. A Negro and his wife were lynched for an "unknown cause".

The lynchings along the rivers are more evenly scattered over the whole period. Missouri has had only two lynchless years since 1900, one of which was 1922; and the other, 1926. In 1927 there was one lynching in the state, in Pemiscot County which has had more lynchings than any other county in Missouri during the period of 28 years. Two of the total six lynchings for this county occurred in 1903, at Caruthersville, and the cause listed by the reports at the time was "prejudice". No crime is listed against either of the victims. In 1911 the only two lynchings in the state occurred at Caruthers-

ville on the same day, October 11, the charges being rape and robbery. In 1916 at Hayti, Pemiscot County, a Negro was lynched for "attempted murder". Hayti is a few miles north of Caruthersville, and is just across the River from Lake County, Tennessee, which until 1910 was notably a lynching county. The last lynching in Missouri occurred at Braggadocio, Pemiscot County, a small town a few miles west of Caruthersville. On May 22, 1927 a Negro was lynched after an alleged criminal assault on a white woman. He was taken from the jail, hanged by the hands to a temporary scaffold which had been constructed for the purpose, and his body pierced with bullets.[4]

The two lynchings listed for the adjoining county of New Madrid occurred in 1902 and 1910. One of victims was charged with "assaulting a white man" and the other with "murderous assault".[5] In the case of Mississippi County, second in rank according to the number of lynchings, it is again to be noted that lynching is more habitual than in the counties away from the river. The only recorded lynching in the state in 1905 was that of Robert Pettigrew at Belmont, Mississippi County, charged with "kidnapping".

---

4. Dispatch to the "New York Evening Post", May 23, 1927.
5. It is doubtless true that in both cases a Negro merely engaged in a fight with a white man. Whereas "assaulting a white man" could with propriety be listed as the cause of a lynching in Missouri in 1902, this was hardly true in 1910. With two exceptions there has not been a lynching in Missouri during the past 20 years without a serious offense being given as the cause, usually murder.

Five years later, in July, two Negroes were lynched at Charleston for Murder. Again, in 1924, on December 18, a mob of over 200 men "overpowered" the sheriff in his office at Charleston, took possession of a 20-year-old Negro who was "alleged to have attempted to attack a white girl". Members of the mob dragged him across the courtyard and hanged him within 50 feet of the Sheriff's office. "A bullet was fired through the body which was then cut down, tied to an automobile and dragged through the streets of the Negro section" of the town.

Table XVIII shows the lynchings in Missouri since 1900 by crime, by race, and by month. Three of the five whites were lynched in May, one in July and one in August. Four of them were charged with murder, and the crime of one is unknown. A majority of the lynchings in the State have occurred in the spring and summer months, the greatest number, nine, having occurred in May. All but three of the 19 alleged murders which occasioned a lynching occurred in these months, as well as seven of the 10 Rapes. The three lynched for theft breathed their last during the fall months. Of the total 42 lynched during the period, 19 were charged with Murder; ten with Rape; four with Minor Offenses, such as "attacking a white man", "race prejudice", and "prejudice". The crimes of five, including a white man and a Negro woman, are not known. Missouri is not one of the worst lynching states; but the practice persists there until the present time, although the Negro population is only 5.2 per cent

TABLE XVIII

MISSOURI: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME, BY RACE, AND BY MONTH,
From 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
February	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
March	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
April	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	7
May	2w	2	1	3	0	0	1w	9
June	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
July	3(1w)	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
August	5(1w)	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
September	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
October	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
November	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
December	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	19(4w)	10	1	4	3	0	5(1w)	42(5w)

of the total in the state as a whole, and only 14.5 per cent for the worst lynching county, Pemiscot.

Oklahoma

Table XIX shows the lynchings in Oklahoma by crime and by month since 1900. Of the total 48 persons lynched during the period 10 were whites. In this respect Oklahoma might well be classed among the western states. During recent years, however, mob action in Oklahoma has been characterized by inter-racial conflict. More than 50 per cent of both whites and Negroes lynched in this state have been charged with murder. Eleven Negroes have been charged with Rape. Only one was lynched for a Minor Offense and two for an Unknown Offense. The highest number of lynchings in the state occurred in the months of August with nine, April with six, and December with five. The total number is fairly well scattered throughout all months of the year except February and October, with one each. Especially with regard to the number lynched in October, Oklahoma is notably different from other southern states.

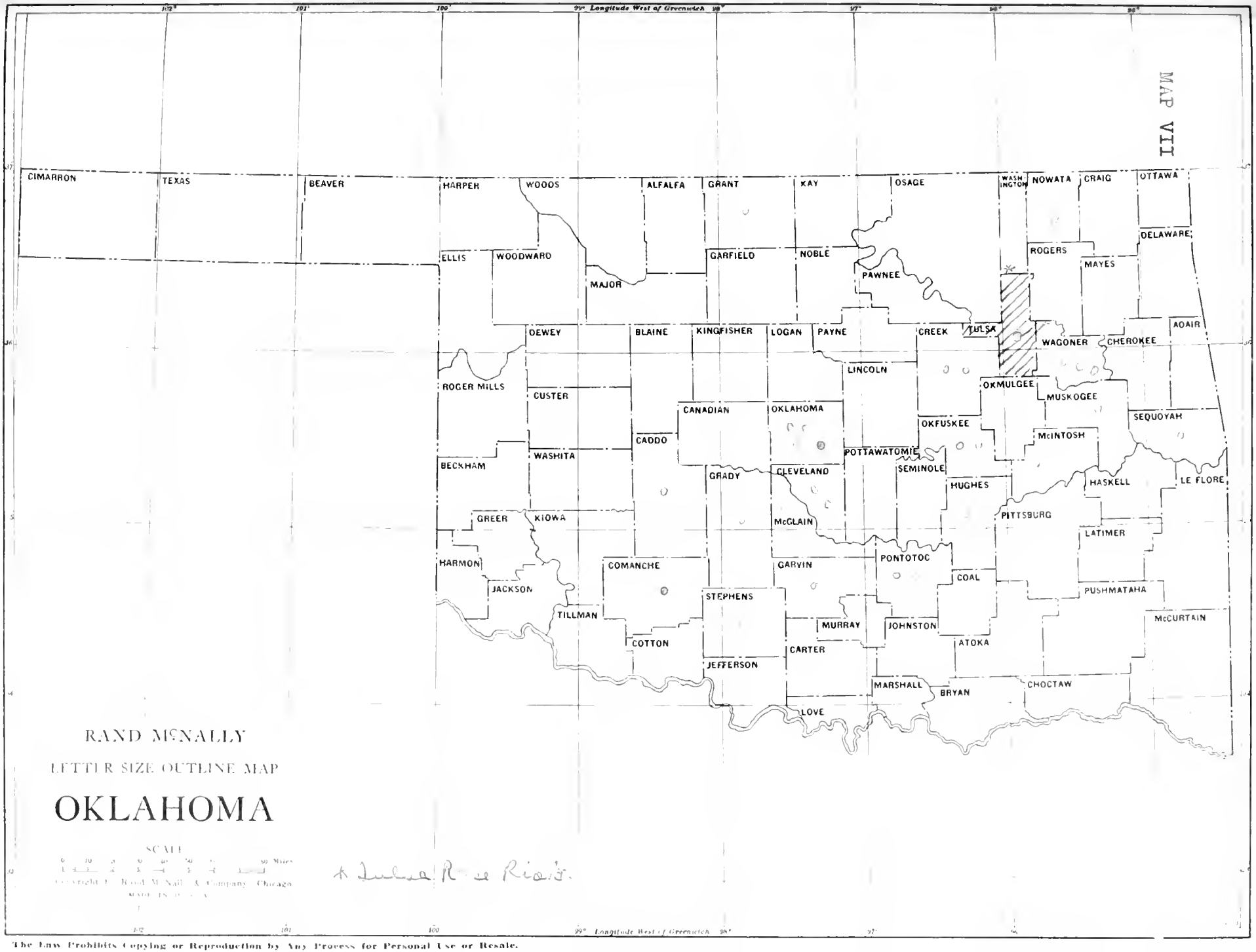
Map VII shows that the lynchings in Oklahoma since 1900 have been fairly dispersed throughout the East-central part of the state from north to south. Only two counties have had as many as four lynchings each, and three counties as many as three each, during the period. The four lynchings in Oklahoma County were scattered over a period of years from 1906 to 1922. Three of the victims

TABLE XIX

OKLAHOMA: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME AND BY MONTH, 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	4
February	1w	0	0	0	0	0	0	1w
March	1	1	0	0	0	0	2(1w)	4(1w)
April	5(4w)	1	0	0	0	0	0	6(4w)
May	5	0	0	1w	0	0	0	6(14)
June	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
July	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
August	6(1w)	2	0	0	0	0	1w	9(2w)
September	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
October	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
November	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
December	2	1	0	1	0	0	1w	5(1w)
Totals	30(6w)	11	0	2(1w)	0	0	5(3w)	48(10w)

MAP VII



* Tulsa Race Riot.

were charged with murder, and the crime of one is not known, - that of a packing house employer who, in 1922, was kidnapped from his home and hanged to a tree near Oklahoma City. The four persons lynched in Pontotoc County were white men. All were lynched on the same day, April 19, 1909, at Ada, charged with "complicity in murder".

Of the three persons lynched in Hughes County, two were Negroes, and one, and Indian. One of the Negroes and the Indian were charged with murder; and the other, with "attack upon a white woman". The three lynched in Okfuskee County were charged with murder. One, a white man, was lynched in 1910. In 1911 a woman and her son met the same fate. The three lynchings in Wagoner County occurred in 1913, 1914, and 1915. The first and third mob victims were charged with rape and attempted rape, and the second with murder. The Tulsa Race Riot resulted in a substantial addition in the number of mob murders to the single lynching recorded in Tulsa County. While the official record listed 10 whites and 21 Negroes, officers estimated that about 50 whites and 100 Negroes were burned or shot.

South Carolina

While the next three states in the order of the number of mob victims during the past 28 years have had less than 100 lynchings, it is only by this arbitrary

method of division that they may be termed "Minor Lynching States", as contrasted to the seven states with more than 100 victims of mob action during the period. As is indicated in Chapter IX, some of the most notorious cases of mob action in recent years have occurred in these states.

Table XX, therefore, is inserted for consideration in connection with South Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee, as well as with the "Major" lynching states. This table shows some of the population characteristics. For each state it shows the total number lynched during the period, the percentage white population in 1920, and percentage Negro population in 1920 and 1910. Also the percentage of the total number of all Negroes and whites ten years of age and above who were illiterate in 1920 is given. The same information is given for each county in which six or more persons have been lynched since 1900, and in addition the total number of whites and Negroes residing in these counties.

Table XXI shows that since 1900 a total of 69 persons have been lynched in South Carolina. Only one of these was white. The highest number of lynchings have occurred in June and July with ten each, while eight occurred in October and January, and seven in November and December. The cases of alleged rape are scattered throughout all the months except February and March, with the greatest number in August, January and September. A

TABLE XX

LYNCHINGS AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS IN THE SOUTH BY COUNTY
(Compiled from the U. S. Census Reports of 1920)

STATE and County	Number lynched 1900-28	White Population 1928	Per Cent White 1920	Negro Population 1920	Per cent Negro 1920	Per cent Negro '10	Illiteracy in 1920 Per cent Negroes	Illiteracy in 1920 Per cent Whites
ARKANSAS	124		72.2		27.0	28.1	21.8	4.5
Arkansas	15	15,944	74.2	5,190	24.2	26.5	19.0	2.1
Phillips	6	11,181	25.1	32,929	73.9	78.6	19.2	1.4
Hempstead	6	17,363	54.9	14,176	44.9	49.8	20.3	2.5
ALABAMA	129		60.9		38.4	42.5	31.3	6.3
Covington	9	30,067	78.9	7,987	21.0	24.9	29.9	9.1
Jefferson	8	171,727	55.4	130,291	42.0	40.0	20.8	2.2
Mobile	6	57,677	57.6	39,667	39.6	42.9	23.8	2.0
Montgomery	10	31,572	39.0	48,463	59.9	69.2	29.5	1.1
FLORIDA	156		61.5		34.0	41.0	21.5	2.9
Alachua	13	16,896	53.3	14,573	46.0	55.7	26.8	3.3
Columbia	8	7,201	50.4	6,999	49.0	47.5	12.6	2.1
Duval	6	60,583	53.4	47,989	42.3	49.6	11.4	0.9
Hillsboro	7	56,472	64.0	16,588	18.8	21.0	12.3	1.4
Holmes	8	11,807	91.9	1,034	8.0	10.3	33.3	11.2
Jackson	6	17,867	57.2	13,320	42.7	47.8	36.0	11.5
Madison	7	8,008	48.5	8,492	51.4	55.6	41.1	5.9
Marion	7	10,698	44.6	12,887	53.8	60.8	15.7	1.6
Orange	9	13,609	68.4	5,464	27.5	39.8	14.0	1.0
Polk	12	25,536	73.8	9,359	24.2	30.7	21.1	1.2
GEORGIA	293		57.8		41.7	45.1	29.1	5.4
Bibb	7	37,534	52.6	33,025	43.8	48.5	25.6	2.3
Bleckley	6	5,900	56.0	4,615	43.8	*	43.2	7.9
Brooks**	18	10,264	41.8	14,247	58.1	59.1	35.6	4.5
Bulloch	8	16,070	61.5	10,034	38.4	40.0	19.7	3.6
Coffee	7	12,701	68.1	5,902	31.6	35.2	23.0	8.0
Columbia	6	3,460	29.5	8,251	70.2	74.6	37.7	4.4
Decatur	6	15,237	47.9	16,490	51.9	57.6	28.7	5.2
Lowndes**	18	12,846	48.6	13,535	51.0	53.0	22.0	3.0
Mitchell	6	11,487	44.9	14,067	55.0	52.7	39.6	6.4
Oconee	8	6,348	57.4	4,719	42.6	46.5	36.5	6.1
Dodge	6	13,482	59.8	9,015	40.0	42.0	28.0	7.5

* Since 1910 this County was formed, out of a part of Pulaski.
** Brooks and Lowndes counties have had 18 lynchings combined since 1900. See Case No. 3, Chapter IX.

TABLE XX (Cont'd)

STATE and County	Number lynched 1900-28	White Population 1928	Per Cent White 1920	Negro Population 1920	Per cent Negro 1920	Per cent Negro '10	Illiteracy in 1920 Per cent Negro	Illiteracy in 1920 Per cent Whites
KENTUCKY	77		90.3		3.3	3.2	8.8	0.6
Butler	10	42,125	96.1	262	0.6	0.6	11.1	0.5
Fulton	6	11,905	78.3	3,220	21.2	23.8	17.4	3.4
LOUISIANA	167		58.5		38.9	43.1	38.5	10.5
Bossier	12	6,455	29.0	15,730	41.1	77.0	42.8	3.7
Caddo	23	43,837	52.6	37,801	45.4	62.1	21.0	0.8
Ouachita	17	15,863	52.3	18,897	45.8	54.8	32.7	3.3
Rapides	8	33,260	56.0	24,992	42.0	48.1	33.7	5.2
Richland	11	8,714	41.8	11,996	57.5	66.4	41.5	5.4
Tangipohoa	8	20,372	64.8	8,892	28.3	31.3	33.9	6.6
MISSISSIPPI	266		42.2		52.2	46.2	29.3	3.3
Bolivar	7	9,528	16.5	47,533	82.4	87.4	26.7	2.5
Carroll	7	8,956	44.1	11,353	55.9	58.2	25.8	1.6
Clarke	6	10,652	49.4	7,218	40.3	69.8	29.3	3.6
Coahoma	7	5,820	14.0	35,205	84.8	88.8	29.7	1.4
Desoto	8	5,878	24.1	18,438	75.7	76.0	35.5	4.1
Harrison	6	23,869	72.6	7,856	23.9	30.7	16.2	4.3
Jackson	6	13,884	72.3	4,850	25.2	35.4	20.7	4.0
Kemper	8	8,410	42.9	11,080	56.5	57.5	30.0	3.9
Lauderdale	6	26,853	58.5	18,749	40.9	46.6	27.1	2.4
Newton	6	13,640	65.8	6,957	33.6	38.8	33.8	2.2
Noxobee	7	4,880	20.6	18,803	79.3	84.0	36.3	1.8
Quitman	7	4,780	24.1	15,051	75.8	76.5	29.4	3.1
Smith	6	13,576	83.9	2,594	16.0	17.5	26.1	6.0
Sunflower	8	11,687	25.2	34,397	74.2	80.9	29.8	3.0
Tallahatchee	6	10,527	29.3	25,317	70.4	69.4	34.8	2.3
Tunica	11	2,129	10.4	18,207	89.3	90.7	50.0	4.4
Warren	6	11,526	34.5	21,313	63.9	69.9	24.2	1.1
Washington	10	8,783	17.2	41,640	81.5	85.0	33.2	2.0
Yazoo	7	10,408	28.0	26,627	71.3	76.1	26.7	2.1
MISSOURI*	42		89.3		5.2	4.8	12.1	2.0
Pemiscot	6	22,667	85.1	3,865	14.5	7.8	36.1	7.6

* Missouri is listed here although not a southern state according to the Census divisions of the Country. Only this one county in Missouri has had as many as six lynchings since 1900, and this county is located down in the South-east corner of the State on the Mississippi River.

TABLE XX (Cont'd)

STATE and County	Number lynched 1900-28	White Population 1928	Per Cent White 1920	Negro Population 1920	Per Cent Negro 1920	Per Cent Negro '10	Illiteracy in 1920 Per Cent Negro	Illiteracy in 1920 Per Cent Whites
SOUTH CAROLINA	69		48.2		51.4	55.2	29.3	6.5
Aiken Co.	7	21,425	47.0	23,988	52.6	54.6	28.9	8.1
Orangeburg	8	22,060	34.0	42,718	65.8	65.8	25.7	3.7
TENNESSEE	85		80.0		19.3	21.7	22.4	7.3
Dyer Co.	6	24,502	81.7	5,432	18.1	20.5	21.8	6.4
Lake	9	6,011	66.2	3,051	33.6	37.5	31.3	10.5
Lauderdale	7	12,540	58.3	8,929	41.5	45.3	32.5	5.3
Marshall	7	14,277	82.2	3,089	17.8	20.2	23.1	3.4
TEXAS	213		76.3		15.9	17.7	17.8	3.0
Brazoria	11	12,484	60.6	6,574	31.9	46.9	21.8	3.0
Cameron	25*	25,183	68.7	771	2.1	0.3	48.8	20.1
Harrison	12	16,428	37.7	28,856	61.7	63.6	24.4	0.9
McLennan	9	60,926	73.5	17,575	21.2	23.5	14.3	1.6
Montgomery	7	10,474	60.4	6,358	36.7	45.3	20.6	4.1
Sabine	9	9,520	77.4	2,616	21.3	19.6	26.6	5.2
Walker	7	8,418	45.4	9,741	52.5	55.3	23.6	3.8
Jefferson	7	29,687	68.0	19,586	26.8	28.0	22.2	3.2

* All but one lynched in this county since 1900 were Mexicans. The other was a white man, foreman of a ranch. There are 3,459 native whites ten years of age and above in the county who are illiterate. There is a total of 9,578 foreign-born, practically all Mexicans, in the County, and 4,766 of these were illiterate in 1920. Harrison County had a total of 4,783 Negro illiterates in 1920. Walker County had 1,778 illiterates, and an excess of 1,221 males over females in the total population in 1920.

TABLE XXI

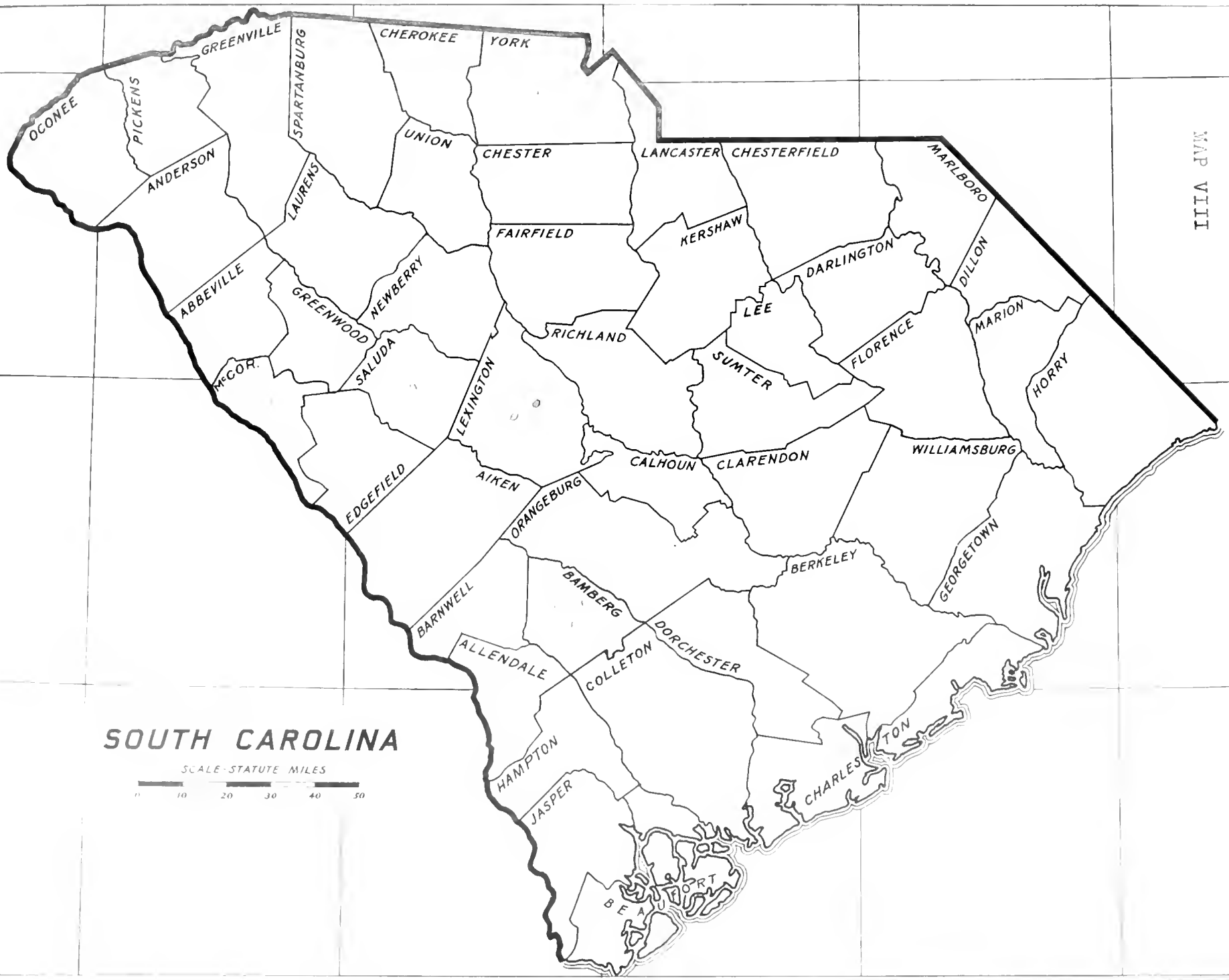
SOUTH CAROLINA: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME BY MONTH, 1900-1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	7
February	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
March	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	5
April	0.	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
May	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
June	4	2	1	1	0	1	1	10
July	6	1	0	3	0	0	0	10
August	0	4	0	1	0	0	1	6
September	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
October	5(lw)	1	0	1	1	0	0	8(lw)
November	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	7
December	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	7
Totals	27(lw)	19	3	12	1	5	2	69(lw)

total of nine of the 69 victims were accused of a crime in connection with a white woman - that is with rape, attempted rape, or an attack upon a white woman. Five of the victims were charged with arson and one with theft. Combining these with the high number of 12 who were lynched for a Minor Offense, over 25 per cent of the total were lynched for what may correctly be termed a minor crime.

Map VIII shows the dispersion of the 69 lynchings in South Carolina over the various counties. Two counties have had six or more lynchings since 1900, - Aiken with seven, and Orangeburg with eight. One county, Barnwell, has had four lynchings, and six counties have had three lynchings during the period. In Aiken County, on July 20, 1903, two Negroes were lynched for "mistaken identity". There was not another lynching in this county for more than 18 years. On September 8, 1921, two Negroes were shot to death by an Aiken County mob. Five years later, on October 8, 1926 a mob stormed the jail, took out Demon Lowman and his sister, Bertha, and Clarence Lowman, a cousin, and shot them to death. Judge Latham had just declared Demon Lowman not guilty on the charge of "conspiracy to murder".

In 1920, as shown by Table XX, there were 23,988 Negroes and 21,425 whites in Aiken County. The percentage Negro population decreased from 54.6 per cent in 1910 to 52.6 per cent in 1920. Of all whites ten years of age and above, 8.1 per cent, as compared to 6.5 per cent for the state as a whole, could not read and write. Of the Negroes,


SOUTH CAROLINA
SCALE-STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
OCONEE
PICKENS
GREENVILLE
SPARTANBURG
CHEROKEE
YORK
ANDERSON
LAURENS
UNION
CHESTER
LANCASTER
CHESTERFIELD
MARLBORO
ABBEVILLE
GREENWOOD
NEWBERRY
FAIRFIELD
KERSHAW
DARLINGTON
DILLON
McCOR.
SALUDA
LEXINGTON
RICHLAND
LEE
SUMTER
FLORENCE
MARION
HORRY
EDGEFIELD
AIKEN
ORANGEBURG
CALHOUN
CLARENDON
WILLIAMSBURG
BARNWELL
BAMBERG
BERKELEY
GEORGETOWN
ALLENDALE
COLLETON
DORCHESTER
HAMPTON
JASPER
CHARLESTON
BEAUFORT

28.9 per cent were illiterate in 1920 as compared to 29.3 per cent for the state as a whole.

Table XXII shows that this state ranks lowest of all the southern states with regard to the amount invested in public school property per Negro school child. Of the $66.02 invested in public school property per school child for the two races combined, more than 9/10 of the amount goes to the white children and less than 1/10 to the Negro children. Thus according to the literacy test the Negro children of Aiken County are apparently provided for a little better than the average in so far as educational opportunities are concerned. Possibly there is only one more county in the state in which a Negro is in greater danger of being lynched, and in no other county within recent years has a Negro and those arrested with him been lynched after a verdict of not guilty of the charges for which he was arrested.

In Orangeburg County eight persons have been lynched since 1900. Here the percentage of Negro population is much higher than in Aiken, and the percentage of illiteracy is lower for both whites and Negroes. While more than 25 per cent of the Negroes are unable to read and write, only 3.7 per cent of the whites are so handicapped. In the county 64 per cent of all farms, or a total of 170,000 acres are tended by 866 native white tenants and 2,553 Negro tenants. On July 1, 1903, three Negroes, suspected of murder, were lynched at Norway,

TABLE XXII

INVESTMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOL PROPERTY PER CHILD OF SCHOOL AGE: FOR WHITES AND NEGROES

STATE	WHITES	NEGROES
District of Columbia	$147.00	$127.00
Missouri	109.46	104.33
Deleware	93.00	78.00
West Virginia	67.50	59.00
Oklahoma	70.53	30.00
Kentucky	35.00	29.00
Maryland	59.30	25.00
Texas	79.88	23.20
Virginia	73.83	23.10
Tennessee	35.53	19.00
North Carolina	52.08	12.90
Florida	78.22	12.80
Arkansas	32.23	9.00
Alabama	40.92	8.70
Louisiana	74.24	8.20
Georgia	48.02	7.00
Mississippi	32.57	6.00
South Carolina	60.12	5.90

(Compiled by Tuskegee Institute).

Orangeburg County. Six years later two Negroes were lynched at Branchville, charged with murder. In December, 1912, Henry Fitts was lynched in Norway for "refusal to pay a note". In 1914, July 13, Rose Carson was lynched for Murder. She was the second of the three women lynched in South Carolina since 1900, the first being a Mrs. Wideman, of Greenwood County, who was lynched with her husband on December 27, 1902, charged with murder. The last lynching in Orangeburg County occurred in 1924. On April 12 of that year Luke Adams, accused of attacking a white woman, "was found lynched". He had met his death "at the hands of parties unknown" - to the coroner's jury, probably.

Kentucky

A relatively high proportion of the persons lynched in Kentucky have been whites. Of the total 59 Negroes lynched in that state since 1900, more than 1/3 were charged with murder, while about 18 per cent of the total number lynched, and about 23 per cent of the Negroes, were charged with rape, or attacks upon white women. The crime of 12 Negroes and eight white men lynched in Kentucky is not known, while eight Negroes and five whites have been lynched for minor offenses, such as "expressing sympathy with a Negro who had been lynched", "making threats", and "forcing white boy to commit a crime". Table XXIII shows that about one-half of all lynchings in Kentucky have occurred in October, November and April. Four of the whites lynched in October for a Minor Offense were the

TABLE XXIII

KENTUCKY: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME AND BY MONTH, 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	3	1	0	2	0	0	1w	7
February	2(1w)	1	0	0	0	0	1w	4
March	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	4
April	3	1	1	0	0	0	5w	10
May	2	0	1w	0	0	0	0	3
June	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
July	2(1w)	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
August	0	3	0	4	0	0	0	7
September	4(1w)	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
October	4	3	0	6(5w)	0	0	1	14
November	2(1w)	1	0	0	0	0	11	14
December	0	0	0	1	0	0	1w	2
Total	25(4w)	14	2(1w)	13	3	0	20(8w)	77(18w)

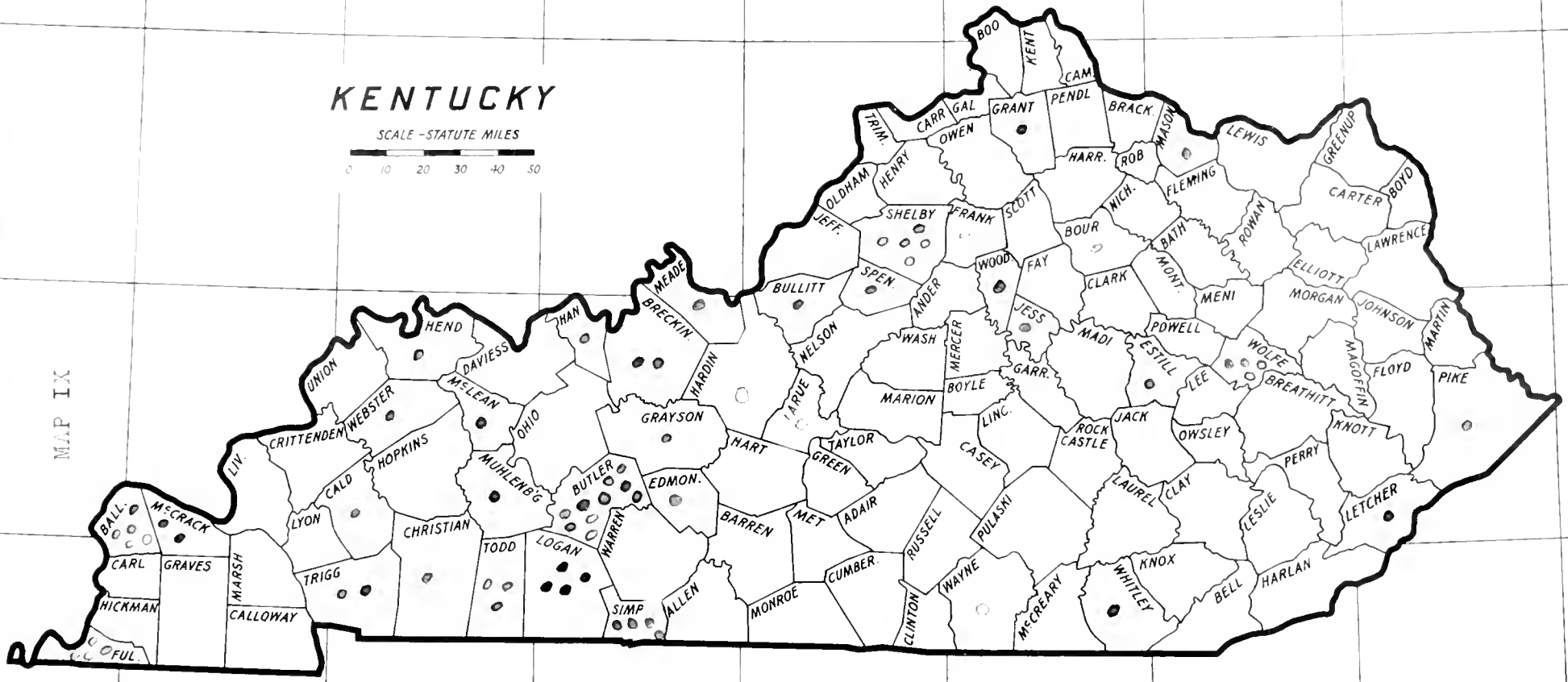
the Wallace family, in Hickory Grove, in 1908, for "making threats".[6]

Map IX shows that the lynching of Negroes in Kentucky has been largely restricted to the western half of the state. In Shelby County, in the North-central part of the state five persons have been lynched since 1900. In the psychological sense of the term there have been however, only two lynchings in this county. On October 2, 1901, two Negroes were lynched at or near Shelbyville, for murder. There was not again such a mob episode until January 15, 1911, when three Negroes were lynched near Shelbyville; one was charged with murder, and two with "insulting white women". For more than 17 years there has not been a lynching in Shelby County, Kentucky.

Four unknown whites were lynched at Campton, in Wolfe County, for an unknown cause on April 15, 1911. Since this time the county has been free from this type of mob action. The four persons lynched in Simpson County were the Wallaces referred to above. Ballard County has had five persons lynched since 1900, but no lynchings for the past 12 years. In 1901 three Negroes were lynched for Murder, and two years later another for the same cause. In 1915 a white man, named Molindro, was lynched at Lovelaceville for an unknown cause. Logan County has had one

6. Through an extensive correspondence, mostly but not altogehter one-sided, the writer has been unable to obtain any further details of the fate of this man, wife, and two children.

MAP IX


KENTUCKY
SCALE - STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
39°
38°
37°
36°
BOO
KENT
CAM
PENDL
BRACK
GRANT
GAL
CARR
TRIM
OWEN
MASON
LEWIS
GREENUP
HARR.
ROB
HENRY
OLDHAM
FLEMING
CARTER
BOYD
WICH.
SCOTT
FRANK
SHELBY
JEFF.
BOUR
BATH
ROWAN
LAWRENCE
WOOD
FAY
MONT.
ELLIOTT
SPEN.
ANDER
CLARK
MENI
MORGAN
JOHNSON
MARTIN
MEADE
BULLITT
JESS
MADI
POWELL
WASH
MERCER
ESTILL
WOLFE
MAGOFFIN
FLOYD
PIKE
HEND
HAN
BRECKIN.
NELSON
GARR.
LEE
BREATHITT
DAVIESS
UNION
HARDIN
MARION
BOYLE
LARUE
LINC.
JACK
KNOTT
OWSLEY
WEBSTER
McLEAN
OHIO
GRAYSON
ROCK CASTLE
CRITTENDEN
HART
TAYLOR
CASEY
PERRY
HOPKINS
MUHLENBG
GREEN
LIV.
CALD
BUTLER
EDMON.
ADAIR
LAUREL
CLAY
LESLIE
LETCHER
BALL.
McCRACK
LYON
CHRISTIAN
BARREN
MET
RUSSELL
PULASKI
HARREN
LOGAN
TODD
CARL
GRAVES
MARSH
TRIGG
CUMBER.
WAYNE
KNOX
WHITLEY
BELL
HARLAN
HICKMAN
CALLOWAY
SIMP
ALLEN
MONROE
CLINTON
McCREARY
FUL.

lynching but four persons lynched since 1900. On August 1, 1908, apparently as a result of an emotional transfer from a murderer to whom they could not get access, a mob of men lynched four Negroes at Russellville for "expressing sympathy with the murderer of a white man."

Two counties in Kentucky have had six or more persons lynched since 1900, Fulton with six and Butler with 10. All of those lynched in Butler County were Negroes. They were lynched on a single occasion in 1908 by "night riders" for "an unknown cause" near Rochester, in the western part of the county. Thus in this county with a high proportion of literacy for both whites and Negroes, and a small proportion of Negro population, there has not been a lynching for the past 20 years.

Fulton County, on the other hand, has a Negro population of 3,220 or 21.2 per cent of the total. The six lynchings in this county occurred over a period of 16 years. In February, 1920, a Negro was lynched at Fulton for "suspected murder", and another two months later for Murder. Two years later, at Hickman, a Negro was lynched for "alleged rape" after which there was not another episode of this nature in the county for more than a decade. On September 10, 1915, Claude Johnson, white, was lynched at Hickman for Murder. Two years later, on May 20, Lawrence Dempsey, white, was lynched at Fulton for "murderous assault". On December 16, 1918, the last

lynching in Fulton County occurred when Charles Lewis was lynched at Hickman "for beating the Sheriff".

During the past ten years Kentucky has had seven lynchings, the last of which occurred in 1927, at Whitesburg in Letcher County. On November 30, Leonard Woods, alleged slayer of a mine foreman, was lynched by a mob said to have been composed of citizens of Kentucky and Virginia. The Negro was taken out of town, hanged, and his body riddled with shots by many members of the mob.

Tennessee

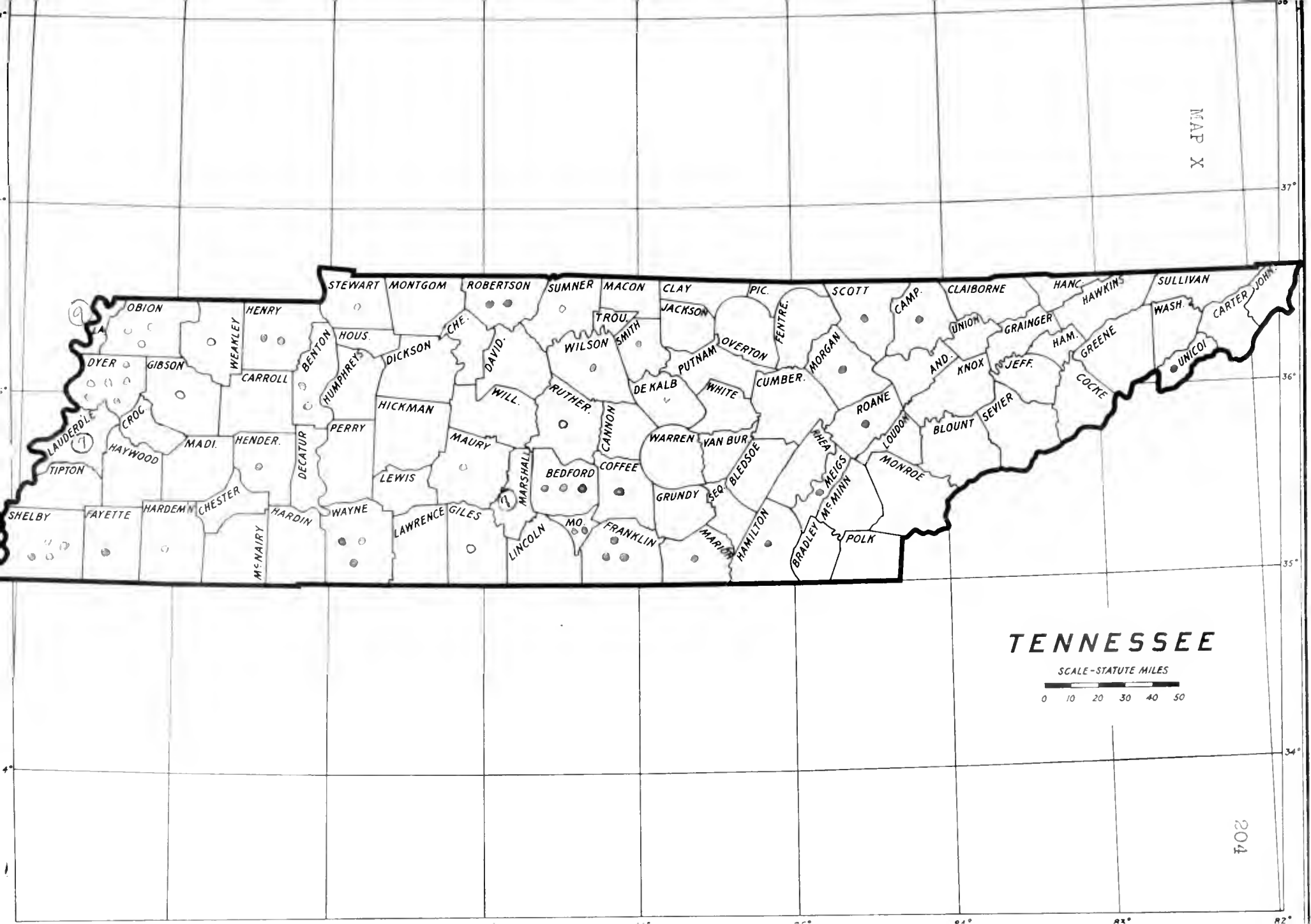
Tennessee ranks eighth as to the number of persons lynched since 1900 with a total of 85, eight of whom were white. One of the white men was lynched for an unknown cause, two for rape, and five for murder. Table XXIV shows that about 42 per cent of the total number lynched have been charged with murder, and that a relatively high proportion have been charged with Rape. While no lynchings have occurred in this state as a result of Arson, eight persons have been lynched for Theft, and eight for minor offenses such as "making threats", "aiding in the escape of a murderer", and "testifying for one of his own race". The highest number lynched met that fate in October.

Map X shows the dispersion of the lynchings in Tennessee over the various counties. A majority of the total have occurred in the western part of the state along

TABLE XXIV

TENNESSEE: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME AND BY MONTH, 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
February	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
March	3	1w	1	1	2	0	0	8
April	4	2(1w)	0	0	0	0	0	6
May	2	3	0	1	0	0	1w	7
June	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
July	2(1w)	1	0	2	0	0	0	5
August	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	4
September	1w	7	0	0	0	0	0	8
October	7(3w)	3	0	0	5	0	2	17
November	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	7
December	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	6
Totals	36(5w)	26(2w)	2	8	8	0	5(1w)	85(8w)


TENNESSEE
SCALE-STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
37°
36°
35°
34°
82°
STEWART
MONTGOM
ROBERTSON
SUMNER
MACON
CLAY
PIC.
SCOTT
CAMP.
CLAIBORNE
HANC.
HAWKINS
SULLIVAN
CARTER
JOHN.
OBION
HENRY
WEAKLEY
BENTON
HOUS.
CHE.
DAVID.
TROU.
JACKSON
FENTRE.
UNION
GRAINGER
WASH.
UNICOI
DYER
GIBSON
CARROLL
HUMPHREYS
DICKSON
WILSON
SMITH
PUTNAM
OVERTON
MORGAN
AND.
KNOX
JEFF.
HAM.
GREENE
COCKE
LAUDERDALE
CROC.
HAYWOOD
MADI.
HENDER.
DECATUR
PERRY
HICKMAN
WILL.
RUTHER.
DE KALB
WHITE
CUMBER.
ROANE
LOUDON
BLOUNT
SEVIER
TIPTON
MAURY
CANNON
WARREN
VAN BUR
BLEDSOE
REA
MEIGS
McMINN
MONROE
SHELBY
FAYETTE
HARDEMAN
CHESTER
McNAIRY
HARDIN
WAYNE
LEWIS
MARSHALL
BEDFORD
COFFEE
GRUNDY
SEQ.
LAWRENCE
GILES
LINCOLN
MO.
FRANKLIN
MARION
HAMILTON
BRADLEY
POLK

the Mississippi River. Four counties have had six or more persons lynched since 1900. Three of these border on the Mississippi River, - Lake, Dyer, and Lauderdale. Marshall County, in Middle Tennessee, has had seven lynchings since 1900, but none since 1903. At Caney Springs, on January 9, 1900, four Negroes were lynched for Theft. In November, 1902, one was lynched at Lewisburg charged with murder. In the following August the last lynching in the County occurred at Lewisburg when two unknown Negroes were lynched for unknown offenses. Marshall is now one of the leading counties in the state in wealth and in other respects. It is a diversified farming section with a population of 14,277 whites and 3,089 Negroes. Only 3.4 per cent of the whites as compared to 7.3 per cent for the state as a whole are illiterate.

Bedford County borders Marshall on the east. On February 19, 1912, three Negroes were lynched in Bedford for Murder. There have been three lynchings in Franklin County, which is South-east of Marshall. One of these was that of a Negro in 1901 for Murder. In 1918 occurred the last lynchings in the County when, on February 10, a Negro was lynched for "aiding a colored man in escape", and, on February 12, Jim McIlheron, Negro, was tarred and feathered, then burned at Estill Springs. He was charged with having wounded two white men with whom he had previously had "trouble". With the exception

of this outbreak, practically all of the lynchings in Tennessee during the past twenty years have occurred in the western counties along the Mississippi River.

Dyer County has a population of 24,502 whites and 5,432 Negroes. The percentage of Negro population decreased from 20.5 per cent in 1910 to 18.1 per cent in 1920. Illiteracy in the county for both whites and Negroes is below the average for the state as a whole. This county has had six lynchings since 1900, scattered over a period of 16 years. Two of the six lynched in the county were charged with murder, two with rape, one with attempted rape, and one with "shooting an officer". There has not been a lynching in Dyer County for the past twenty years.

In Lauderdale County, which ranks higher in the number of lynchings since 1900 has not had an outbreak of this type of mob violence since 1906. Of the seven lynchings in this county four occurred in 1900, two for Murder, one for "aiding in escape of murderer", and one "for testifying for a member of his own race". These lynchings were all within the vicinity of Ripley, where in 1903 another Negro was lynched for Murder, and in 1904 another as a result of "race prejudice". The last lynching in Lauderdale was that of George Estes at Hales Point, in the northern end of the county, on October 29, 1906, charged with murder. In 1910 the proportion of Negro population in Lauderdale was the highest of any county in the state, being 45.3 per cent. In 1920 there

were 8,929 Negroes and 12,450 whites being thus a decrease of the proportion Negro population to 41.5 per cent. While only 5.3 per cent of the whites as compared to 7.3 per cent for the state as a whole were illiterate, 32.5 per cent of the Negroes or 10 per cent more than the average for the state were illiterate.

In Lake County, on the other hand, where the proportion of Negro population is much lower than in Lauderdale there has been a total of nine lynchings since 1900, more than in any other county of the state. While there was in 1920 a lower percentage of illiteracy among the Negroes of Lake than of Lauderdale County, a total of 10.5 per cent of all whites in this county were illiterate. Of the nine persons lynched in Lake County since 1900 one was a white man, Issac Fitzgerald, charged with rape, at Tiptonville, on March 17, 1901. In 1900 a Negro was lynched for Robbery, and in 1907 two were lynched "for fighting a white man". On November 24, 1908, three Negroes were lynched at Tiptonville for Murder, and in 1910 two for "attempted rape". This was the last lynching in the county, which is located just across the River from Pemiscot County, Missouri, which had its last lynching in 1927.

Shelby County, Tennessee, has had six lynchings since 1900, the last of which occurred on September 28, 1927: "The bullet-riddled body of Thomas Williams, alleged to have attacked a fifty-year old white woman, was found

in Pleasant Union Churchyard, two miles from the scene of the crime" - near Memphis. During the 28 years no East Tennessee County has had more than one lynching. Of the seven lynchings which have occurred in this section, five were for Murder, one for Rape, and one "for making threats". The last lynching in this section of the state occurred in 1921 when Berry Bowling, white, was hanged by a mob on May 7, 1921, at Huntsville, for an unknown offense.

It is notable that of the total 85 lynchings in Tennessee since 1900, 36 occurred before 1908. During the past 20 years Tennessee has had a total of 49 lynchings; and during the past decade, 15. On the other hand there have been ten persons lynched in this state since 1920. Moreover, in addition to the situation described in the Case in Chapter IX - "The Burning of Ell Person" - which could hardly be totally alleviated within a short while, the lynching record in Tennessee during the past year indicates that this state is not yet free from mob violence. Two of the three Negroes lynched in 1927 were taken from jails. On June 17, Sheriff T. D. Caldwell was killed by Joseph Upchurch at Paris, in Henry County. A Deputy Sheriff placed Upchurch in a cabin which was "riddled with bullets by a posse of about 50 men." Some of the bullets hit and killed the Negro.

---

7. For a further analysis of Shelby County lynchings see Chapter IX, Case No. 10.

The last lynching in Tennessee was that of Henry Choate, 18 years old, on Armistice Day, 1927. Choate, alleged to have attacked a white girl, "was taken from the jail by a band of 250 men", and, like young Lynch of Galway long ago, was hanged from the second story window of the courthouse building.

CHAPTER VIII

LYNCHINGS BY STATE AND BY COUNTIES: THE MAJOR LYNCHING STATES

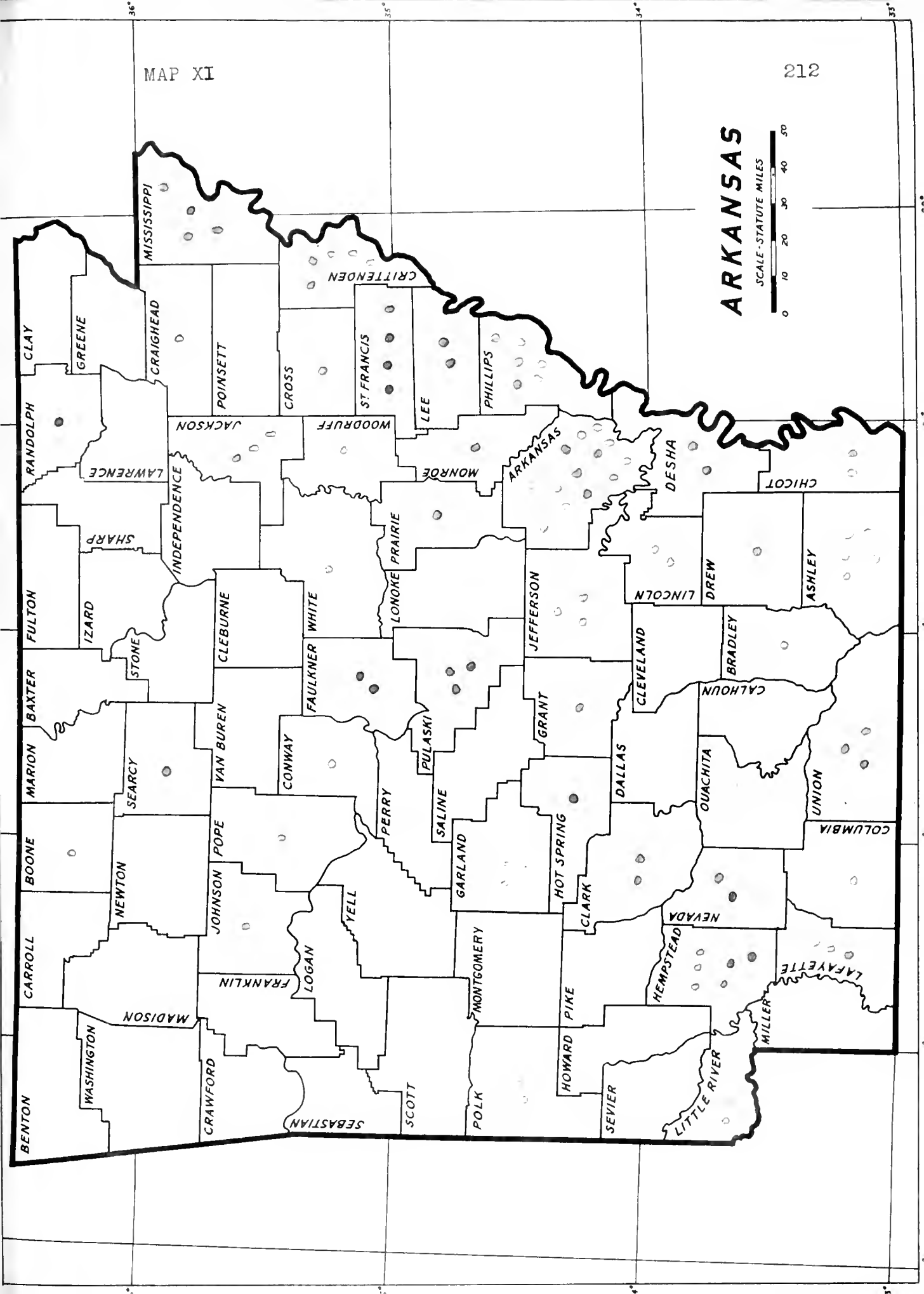
It has been noted that in seven southern states, - Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, Florida, Alabama, and Arkansas - there has been a total of 1,348 persons lynched since 1900. This number constitutes 62 per cent of all lynchings in the Nation and 78 per cent of all in the South. Three of these states, - Georgia, Mississippi and Texas, have had between 200 and 300 lynchings; and the other four, more than 100 each during this period. Thus we have called these the "Major Lynching States" as distinguished from those having less than 100 persons lynched during the past 28 years. In these states there are 339 counties in which no lynching has been recorded since 1900 while in 60 counties of the seven states there have been six or more persons lynched during the period. In these counties a total of 553 persons have met death at the hands of mobs during the Twentieth Century.

Arkansas

In this group of Major Lynching States Arkansas ranks seventh, with a total of 124 mob victims since 1900. This number does not include the victims of the Elaine Race Riots, the number of which is not known. Map XI shows that the lynchings in Arkansas have been largely concentrated in the southern and eastern portions of the state. More than 90 per cent of all lynchings in Arkansas have occurred in the South-eastern half of the state. The counties in which the highest number of lynchings has occurred are those along the Mississippi River, and to a lesser degree along the southern end of the state from east to west.

Arkansas County has had the largest number of persons lynched since 1900, but only three lynching episodes. Of the 15 persons lynched in this county, 13, all Negro men, were lynched on the same day, March 26, 1904. The cause of this lynching, according to the reports, was "race prejudice". There was not another lynching in the county for more than 12 years. On August 9, 1916 an unnamed Negro was lynched at Stuttgart for Rape. On October 9, of the same year, the last recorded lynching in this county occurred when Frank Dodd, a Negro, was lynched at Dewitt for "attempted rape".

In 1910 the proportion Negro of the total population of Arkansas County was 26.5 per cent. In 1920


ARKANSAS
SCALE-STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
MISSISSIPPI
CRITTENDEN
CLAY
GREENE
CRAIGHEAD
POINSETT
CROSS
ST. FRANCIS
LEE
PHILLIPS
RANDOLPH
JACKSON
WOODRUFF
LAWRENCE
INDEPENDENCE
MONROE
ARKANSAS
DESHA
CHICOT
SHARP
PRAIRIE
FULTON
IZARD
CLEBURNE
WHITE
LONOKE
JEFFERSON
LINCOLN
DREW
ASHLEY
STONE
BRADLEY
BAXTER
FAULKNER
CLEVELAND
CALHOUN
MARION
VAN BUREN
CONWAY
PULASKI
GRANT
SEARCY
DALLAS
OUACHITA
UNION
PERRY
SALINE
COLUMBIA
BOONE
POPE
HOT SPRING
GARLAND
NEWTON
JOHNSON
YELL
CLARK
NEVADA
CARROLL
LOGAN
MONTGOMERY
HEMPSTEAD
LAFAYETTE
FRANKLIN
PIKE
MADISON
MILLER
WASHINGTON
HOWARD
LITTLE RIVER
CRAWFORD
SEVIER
BENTON
SEBASTIAN
SCOTT
POLK

there had been a slight drop to 24.2 per cent. At this time there were 5,190 Negroes and 15,944 whites. White males were more than 1,000 in excess to females, and there were also more Negro males than females. In 1920 the proportion of illiterate Negroes and whites in Arkansas County was less than that for the state as a whole. The farms in this county are relatively few and large. It is the great rice section of the state, where a majority of the Negroes on farms are day laborers who come in close contact with few white men. In this county, which is one of the largest in the state, there are only 666 white tenants and 356 Negro tenants. There has not been a lynching in the county for 12 years.

In Phillips County there have been six persons lynched since 1900. The last lynching was that of a Negro on June 16, 1927 at Helena. Owen Fleming, charged with having killed a white man who tried to force him to work while sick, was shot to death by a posse of about 200 white men.

The only other county in the state which has had six persons lynched since 1900 is Hempstead. These lynchings were scattered over a period of 17 years, the last having occurred in 1922. On April 20, 1905 a Negro was lynched at Spring Hill for Murder and four years later, on January 18, a Negro was lynched at Hope for "insulting white girl". On October 20, 1911 a Negro was lynched at Hope for "insulting women"; and another, on

June 15, 1915 for Murder. The last lynching in Hemstead County occurred on July 28, 1922 at Guernsey when John West was lynched as a result of a quarrel between a white man and himself over a drinking cup.

Ashley County has had five lynchings since 1900, the last of which occurred in 1927. On February 19, 1904 at Crossett - a sawmill town - a Negro was lynched for Murder and on September 5, another for "assaulting whites". In 1908 the only lynching in the state was at Parkdale, Ashley County. Earnest Williams was thrust into eternity by a band of men who were "outraged" at him for "using offensive language". On May 30, 1909 a Negro was lynched at Portland for Murder. The last lynching in Ashley County occurred on August 26, 1927. Winston Pounds was "taken from a posse of deputy sheriffs" and hanged to a tree one and a half miles from Wilmot, charged with having "attacked a young married woman".[1]

Table XXV shows the total lynchings in Arkansas since 1900 by crime, by race, and by month. Of the total 124 lynchings during the period 23 occurred in March, 14 in October, 12 in August, 12 in May and 10 in June. The high mark in March is explained by the Arkansas County episode on March 26, 1904 when 13 Negroes were lynched as a result of "race prejudice". With this exception the high lynching months are, as is rather general in the

1. New York World, August 27, 1927.

TABLE XXV

ARKANSAS: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME AND BY MONTH, 1900-1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	2(1w)	0	0	2(1w)	1*w	0	1	6
February	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	6
March	4(1w)	0	2	14	0	1	2	23
April	4(1w)	2	1	0	0	0	0	7
May	3	5	1	1	1	0	1	12
June	5(1w)	2	0	3	0	0	0	10
July	3	2	0	2	1	1	0	9
August	2(1w)	4	1	5(1w)	0	0	0	12
September	1	4	1	3	0	0	0	9
October	3	4	2	1	1	0	3	14
November	5(2w)	1	1	0	0	0	2	9
December	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	7
	39(7w)	26	11	33(2w)	4(1w*)	2	9	124(10w)

* This white man was charged with "highway robbery".

southern states, May and June, then August and October. A relatively low proportion of those lynched in Arkansas have been charged with Murder, 31.5 per cent. About 21 per cent of the total number were charged with rape, alleged rape, attack upon a woman, or "assaulting white woman". Combining the number lynched for Theft (3) and Arson (2) with those lynched for a Minor Offense, we have 38 or 30.6 per cent of the total. Minor Offense in Arkansas includes such "crimes" as "race prejudice", "insulting white women", "using offensive language", "disloyal remarks", "strike breaker" and "eloping with a white girl".

During the last decade Arkansas has had 34 lynchings; and in the past five years, nine. Two of the three lynchings in the state in 1927 have been mentioned. The other was that of John Carter, on May 5, 1927. Carter, a feeble-minded Negro, was accused of "assault of a white woman and her daughter". He was hanged by a mob several miles out of Little Rock after which his body was tied to an automobile, dragged through the streets, then saturated with gasoline, hanged to a telephone pole on one of the principal corners of the "Negro Section" and burned.

Alabama

In addition to being noted for pig-iron, child labor and illiteracy, Alabama ranks sixth among all states of the Nation in the number of persons lynched since 1900. Table XXVI shows the number lynched by race, by crime and

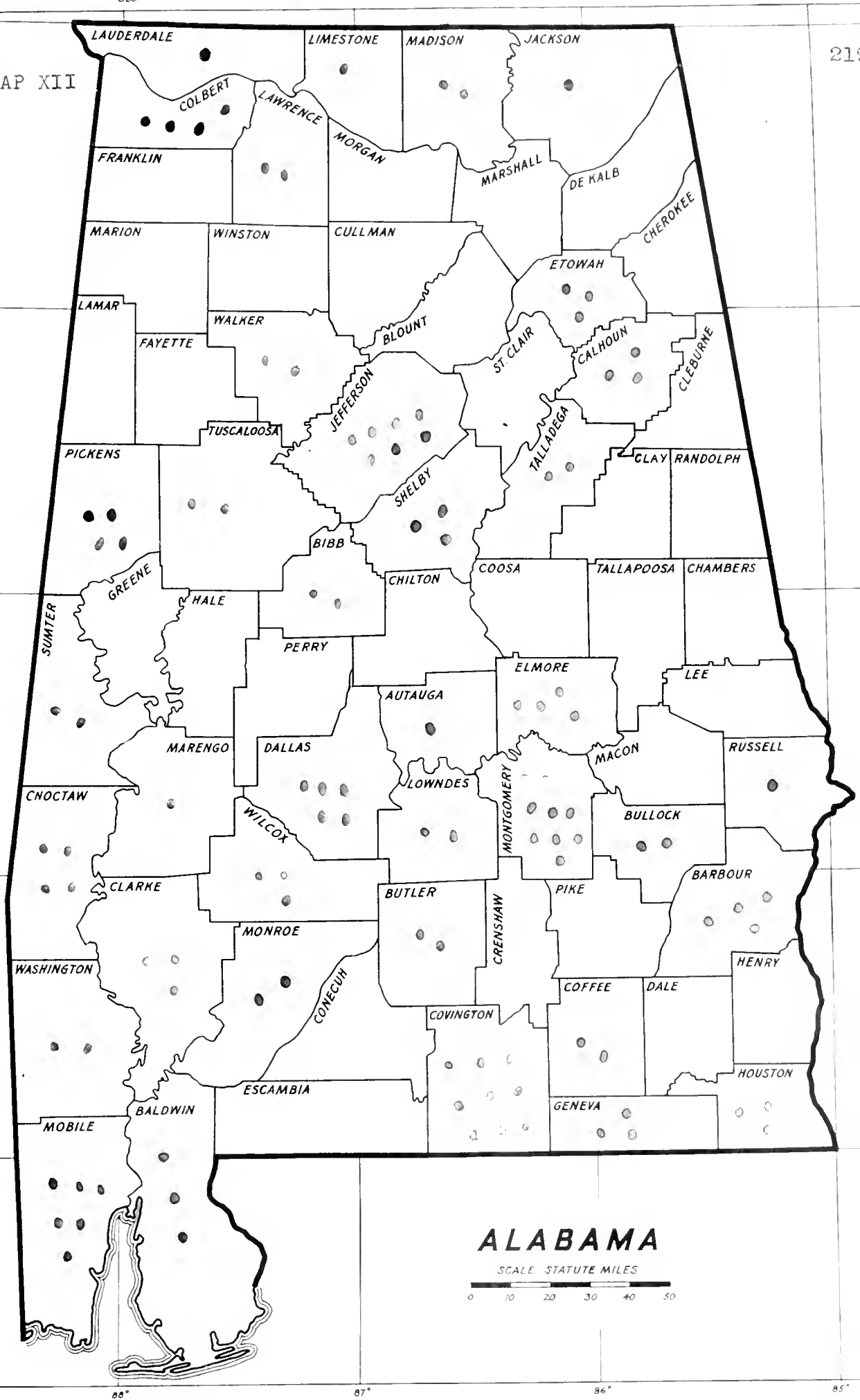
TABLE XXVI

ALABAMA: CRIMES BY MONTH, WHITE AND NEGRO, 1900-1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	5(1w)	3	1	3	0	0	3(2w)	15
February	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	6
March	3	5	0	1	0	0	1	10
April	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	8
May	1	4	0	5	1	0	0	11
June	2(1w)	2	0	1	0	1	1	7
July	1	3	5	2	0	0	0	11
August	6	3	0	5	0	0	1	15
September	5(1w)	5	0	1(w)	0	0	0	11
October	1	8	2	0	0	0	1	12
November	10	2	1	1	0	0	0	14
December	5	0	0	4	0	0	0	9
	45(3w)	42	10	23(1w)	1	1	7(2w)	129(6w)

by month during this period. There have been 15 lynchings in January and August, 14 in November, 12 in October, 11 in May, July and September, and 10 in March. The total of 129 is about equally divided among the four seasons of the year, the highest number coming in the fall with a total of 37. The crime for which 45 were lynched was Murder - about 35 per cent of the total. It is notable that in Alabama 42, or 32 per cent of the total have been lynched for Rape. Ten, all Negroes, were lynched for Assault. The crime of seven, including two white men, is not known. One was lynched for Arson and one for Theft, while 23 were lynched for Minor Offenses. In Alabama this group includes such "crimes" as "race prejudice", "mule poisoning", "threats to kill", and "creating a disturbance".

Map XII shows that one-third of the lynchings in Alabama have occurred in four counties, - Covington, Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery. These counties with a total of 33 lynchings are the only ones that have had more than six persons lynched since 1900, according to the records. In Covington County nine persons have been lynched, over a period of 20 years. Three of the number were "unknown Negroes" lynched on the same day, December 6, 1901, because of "race prejudice". On February 20, 1906 a Negro was lynched at Andalusia for Rape, and on April 29 another at Rienzi for Murder. The other four were lynched in 1907, 1910, 1918 and 1920, all for Rape.


88°
87°
86°
85°
35°
34°
33°
32°
31°
LAUDERDALE
LIMESTONE
MADISON
JACKSON
COLBERT
LAWRENCE
MORGAN
FRANKLIN
MARSHALL
DE KALB
CHEROKEE
MARION
WINSTON
CULLMAN
ETOWAH
LAMAR
WALKER
BLOUNT
FAYETTE
ST. CLAIR
CALHOUN
CLEBURNE
JEFFERSON
TUSCALOOSA
TALLADEGA
PICKENS
CLAY
RANDOLPH
SHELBY
BIBB
COOSA
TALLAPOOSA
CHAMBERS
GREENE
CHILTON
HALE
SUMTER
PERRY
ELMORE
LEE
AUTAUGA
MARENGO
DALLAS
MACON
RUSSELL
LOWNDES
MONTGOMERY
CNOCTAW
BULLOCK
WILCOX
BARBOUR
CLARKE
BUTLER
PIKE
CRENSHAW
MONROE
HENRY
WASHINGTON
CONECUH
COFFEE
DALE
COVINGTON
HOUSTON
ESCAMBIA
GENEVA
BALDWIN
MOBILE
ALABAMA
SCALE STATUTE MILES
0
10
20
30
40
50

Two were charged with rape, one with "assault of a white woman", and the last, Jack Waters, "was found hanging to a telephone pole riddled with bullets. He was lynched after an alleged attack upon a white woman."

The Negro population of Alabama is concentrated through the South-central part of the state. It is notable that three of the counties with more than six lynchings lie outside this area. Covington, for example is one of the southern border counties. In 1910 the Negro population of Covington County was 24.9 per cent while in 1920 it had decreased to 21.0 per cent. At this time there was a smaller percentage of illiteracy among the 7,987 Negroes of the county than among the Negroes of Alabama as a whole, while 9.1 of the whites ten years of age and above as compared to 6.3 per cent for the state were illiterate.

Jefferson County lies north of the Alabama "Black Belt". From 1910 to 1920 there was an increase of 2 per cent in the proportion of Negro population, no doubt due to the large influx of Negroes into Birmingham during late years. Illiteracy is relatively low for both whites and Negroes. There have been eight lynchings in this county since 1900.

On May 11, 1901 an unknown Negro was lynched at Leeds, by mistake. On August 2 of the same year and at the same place, Charles Bentley was lynched for Murder. There was not another lynching in Jefferson County for more than six years, when on September 3, 1907 Jerry Johnson was lynched near Birmingham for Rape. On August 6 of the

next year a Negro was lynched at Brighton "for dynamiting". On April 25, 1909 a Negro named Thomas was lynched near Birmingham for Rape. The next lynching in the county was that of a white man, John Candler, at Bessamer on January 28, 1912 for Murder. On the following November 2, at Bessamer, William Smith was lynched for Murder. The last lynching in Jefferson County occurred in 1923. Will McBride was arrested on a charge of "assault". Some school children had seen him walking along the road and had become frightened at him. There being no evidence against the 60 year old Negro of good reputation, he was dismissed by the Judge, on July 12. That night he was taken from bed in his home and beaten to death by a mob of "unknown men".

Mobile County has had six lynchings since 1900. On October 6, 1906, two Negroes were lynched at Prichard for Rape, and on the following September another was lynched for attempted rape. On January 22, 1909 Douglass Robertson was lynched for Murder, and another Negro was lynched at Axis on August 1, 1910 for Rape. There was not another lynching in this county for nine years, when the last one occurred on June 6, 1919 at Prichard. There was "trouble" between white and colored workers in a cotton mill, and James E. Lewis, Negro, was shot by a group of white men.[2]

---

2. Birmingham News, June 8, 1919.

Montgomery County, with a Negro population of 48,463, or 59.9 per cent of the total, has had more lynchings than any other Alabama County since 1900. This county is located in the heart of the Alabama "Black Belt" but several other counties have a higher proportion of Negro population. There are eight counties in the state with more than 75 per cent Negro population - and in these counties combined there has been only 15 lynchings during the past 28 years. Three Alabama Counties - Hale, Meringo and Perry - have a Negro population of between 62.5 per cent and 75 per cent. In only one of these has there been a lynching since 1900. In Meringo County, at Magnolia, on December 20, 1909 Clinton Montgomery was lynched for Murder. By Comparing Map XII with the population map of Alabama (Vol. III, 1920 Census Report) it is readily seen that there is a closer correlation between the number of lynchings and a Negro population of 12.5 per cent to 50 per cent than between the number of lynchings and a Negro population of more than 50 per cent. Montgomery County is the only one with more than 50 per cent Negro population that has had as many as five lynchings since 1900. Among the 39.0 per cent white population in the county only 1.1 per cent of those ten years of age and above are illiterate, while 29.5 per cent of the Negroes are thus handicapped.

It is interesting to trace the lynching history of this county for the past 40 years. The first lynching

recorded was in 1890 when "a desperado" met death at Montgomery. Between this date and 1897 three Negroes and one white man were lynched at or near Montgomery, all charged with murder. There was not another lynching in the county for 13 years, when John Dell was lynched at Montgomery, on October 9, 1910 for Murder. Then in 1915, on August 17, at Hope Hull three Negroes were lynched for "poisoning mules". On September 29, 1919 three more were shot at Montgomery. There had been a "row" following a dance, and Policeman John Barbere attempted to arrest three Negroes. One of them named Temple resisted the arrest and, after first being wounded by the policeman, shot him. Temple was shot to death in a hospital that night by a band of 25 whites, and the other two were taken from the officers on the way to the State Prison at Wetumka, and shot. The charges against the Negroes as reported in the "New York Sun" was "assaulting white women". In 1920, at Legrande, Wilbur Smith, alleged to have attacked a 6 year old white girl, had been arrested by a citizen who was taking him to jail. Six "masked men forced the citizen" to give up the Negro who was taken to the woods and shot to death. Two years later, on October 3, 1922 John Brown was taken from his home at Montgomery and lynched by a mob; for what crime it is not known.

During the past decade 25, and during the past five years three lynchings have occurred in Alabama. The last lynching in the state was in Montgomery County. On

December 15, 1925 at Montgomery, "incensed over an insult by him to a white woman, Grant Cole was shot to death by unidentified parties. Progressive deterioration in lawlessness: first they lynched for murder; then "masked men" and "unidentified parties" lynched for "unknown offenses" and "insults".

Florida

Florida has been one of the leading states in the number of persons lynched as far back as statistics are available. Since 1889 there have been 232 lynchings in this state, including 19 white men, and three Negro women. During the past 28 years there have been 156 lynchings in the state, including 12 whites and 144 Negroes, three of whom were women. During the past decade there have been 56 lynchings in Florida, and for the past five years, 26.

Table XXVII shows that the majority of lynchings in Florida since 1900 have occurred in the spring and summer months. The highest number happened in July and it was in this month also that the highest number of persons were lynched for Minor Offenses. The highest number lynched for Murder met that fate in May with 13 Negroes and one white. It is notable that of the total 156 lynched since 1900, 81, or about 51 per cent were charged with Murder. This number included 66 2/3 per cent of the whites. One white man was lynched for Rape, one for

TABLE XXVII

FLORIDA: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME BY MONTH, 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	4	2	0	2	1	0	0	9
February	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	8
March	7(2w)	2	0	2	0	0	1	12
April	5(2w)	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
May	14(1w)	4	1	3	0	0	2	24
June	7	4	0	0	0	0	1	12
July	9	5	1	4	0	0	1	20
August	11(1w)	2	1	2	0	0	2	18
September	10(2w)	3	0	1	0	0	0	14
October	4	2(1w)	0	1(1w)	0	0	0	7
November	4	5	1(w)	6	0	0	1	17
December	3	1	1*	0	0	0	4(1w)	9
Totals	81(8w)	35(1w)	5(1w)	22(1w)	1	0	12(1w)	156(12)

* A "desperado".

Assault, and one for a Minor Offense - "refusing information". Thirty-five of the total number or 22 per cent were lynched for attempted rape, alleged rape, attacks upon white women or alleged assault upon white women.

Twelve of the number lynched in Florida were for an "unknow cause". Combining this number with those lynched for a minor charge we have a number equal to that of those lynched for Rape, or 22 per cent of the total. The Minor Offenses for which men have been lynched in Florida include such "crimes" as "refusing information", "popular prejudice", "refusal to give up farm" and "bringing his mother to town after she had been flogged for selling whiskey."

Map XIII shows the lynchings in Florida since 1900 by county. Practically every county in the state has had one or more lynchings, and 10 counties have had six or more during this period. One of these counties has had 13 persons lynched during the period and another 12; one has had nine; two, eight lynchings, and three, seven lynchings. The total for these counties is 83, not counting all of the victims of the race riot at Ocoee on November 2, 1920.

Table XXVIII shows the lynchings in Florida in the counties having six or more since 1900, by county, by race and by crime. Also the date of each lynching by county is given. A glance at the Table indicates that in some of the counties the lynchings are scattered over many

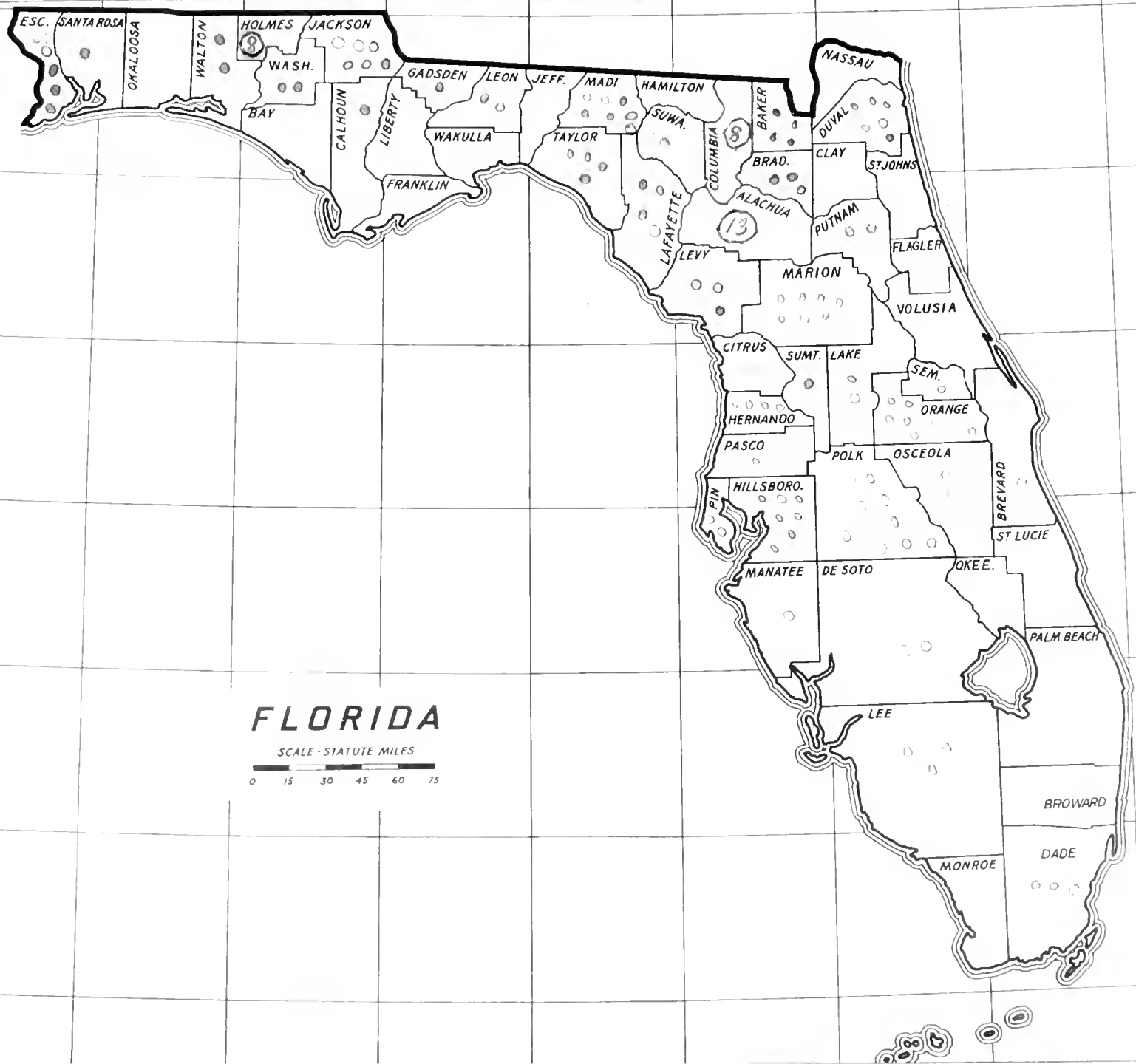

ESC.
SANTA ROSA
OKALOOSA
WALTON
HOLMES
JACKSON
WASH.
BAY
CALHOUN
LIBERTY
GADSDEN
LEON
JEFF.
MADI
HAMILTON
SUWA.
COLUMBIA
BAKER
NASSAU
DUVAL
CLAY
ST JOHNS
BRAD.
ALACHUA
PUTNAM
FLAGLER
WAKULLA
TAYLOR
FRANKLIN
LAFAYETTE
LEVY
MARION
VOLUSIA
CITRUS
SUMT.
LAKE
SEM.
ORANGE
HERNANDO
PASCO
POLK
OSCEOLA
BREVARD
PIN
HILLSBORO.
ST LUCIE
MANATEE
DE SOTO
OKEE.
PALM BEACH
LEE
BROWARD
DADE
MONROE
FLORIDA
SCALE - STATUTE MILES
0 15 30 45 60 75

TABLE XXVIII

LYNCHINGS IN FLORIDA BY COUNTY AND BY CRIME, 1900-1928

County	Number	Date	Crime for which lynched
ALACHUA	13		
	2	9/1/02	at Newberry for Murder.
	1	1/15/04	at High Springs, for rape.
	1w	3/5/08	at Newberry, for murder.
	1	7/21/15	at Trenton, "popular prejudice".
	6	8/19/16	at Newberry, two women and four men,"alleged accessory to murder".
	1	1/25/23	at Newberry, cattle stealing.
	1	12/27/26	at Waldo, attempt to collect debt
COLUMBIA	8		
	1w	11/27/00	at Lake City, "murderous assault".
	6	5/21/11	at Lake City, "murder".
	1	11/28/19	Ten miles out of Lake City, "alleged to have insulted a young white woman." "found lynched".
DUVAL	6		
	1	5/9/09	Duval Co. for Rape.
	2	9/8/19	at Jacksonville, Murder.
	1	8/24/23	at Jacksonville, "suspected of peeping into window of young girl". According to reports received at the Sheriffs office later indicated innocence.
	1	12/29/23	Near Jacksonville, "victim of death code of the Duval County moonshiners."
	1	12/30/23	Same as victim of Dec. 29th.
HILLSBORO	7		
	1	12/5/03	Near Tampa, attempted rape.
	2	3/7/10	Tampa for murder.
	1	3/8/10	Tampa for murder.
	2w	9/20/10	Tampa"attempted murder".
	1	4/15/12	Near Tampa for Murder.

TABLE XXVIII (Cont'd)

County	Number	Date	Crime for which lynched
HOLMES	8		
	2	7/30/10	At Bonifay, Murder.
	4	8/2/10	At Bonifay, "Complicity in Murder".
	1	7/7/13	At Bonifay, Rape.
	1w	4/16/16	At Bonifay, Murder.
JACKSON	6		
	1	6/10/00	At Sneads, "suspected murder".
	1	6/10/00	At Sneads, "Complicity in murder."
	1	7/1/05	At Cottondale, Murder.
	1	9/2/10	At Graceville, Murder.
	1	9/2/10	At Graceville, complicity in murder.
	1	3/5/11	At Marianna, "threats to kill".
MADISON	7		
	2	1/7/01	At Madison, for Murder.
	1w	3/19/03	At Madison, for Murder.
	1	11/9/06	At Madison, for Rape.
	1	2/2/08	At Greenville, "suspected murder".
	1	3/13/19	At Greenville, shooting a Watchman.
	1	12/5/22	At Madison, a Negro was lynched by a mob; no charges were given.
MARION	7		
	1	1/16/01	At Dunnelon, "trainwrecking".
	1	11/14/12	At Ocala, for Murder.
	1	11/19/12	At Ocala, for Murder.
	1	2/17/15	At Sparr, "insulting women".
	1	1/28/19	At Ocala, Rape.
	1	1/12/26	18 miles out of Ocala. He had been jailed on suspicion in connection with attack on a white woman.
ORANGE	9		
	1w	8/12/15	At Osceola, first lynching in Orange Co. since 1892. Murder.
	1	11/2/20	At Oconee, shooting two men after they had refused to let him vote.
	5	Same	Burned to death in a house set after shooting referred to above. (See Chapter IX).

TABLE XXVIII (Cont'd)

County	Number	Date	Crime for which lynched
	1	11/26/25	At Orlando, wounded detectives.
POLK	12		
	1	6/27/00	At Mulberry, for Murder.
	1	5/30/01	At Bartow, for Murder.
	1	5/3/03	At Mulberry, Murder.
	2	5/20/03	At Mulberry, for Murder.
	1	5/20/04	At Mulberry, "unknown offense".
	1	8/21/06	At Mulberry, "murderous assault".
	1	2/13/09	At Lakeland, for Rape.
	1	7/9/10	At Kathleen, "attempted murder".
	1	5/9/20	At Lakeland, Negro porter on the A. C. L. Ry. was accused of insulting a white woman. Taken from train; later "taken" from officers and shot.
	1	3/14/21	At Eagle Lake, hanged for unknown crime.
	1	12/20/25	At Haines City, Murder.

years while in others there were several lynchings near the beginning of the Century with few since that time. Still other counties had no lynchings until near the the middle of the period but have had them rather regularly since then.

In Alachua County, for example, the first lynching was in 1902 for Murder. The last lynching in the county was that of George Buddington near Waldo, on December 27, 1926. A white woman accused him of drawing a pistol in an attempt to collect an alleged debt from her for which he was locked in jail. "Unknown parties" broke the lock, took the 55 year old Negro several miles from town and shot him to death.

Columbia County had its first lynching of the Century in November, 1900, when a white man met death for "murderous assault". There was not another outbreak of mob violence until 1911. On May 21 of that year six Negroes were lynched for murder. It was more than eight years before the next, and last, lynching in the county. On November 28, 1919 Sam Mosely was lynched about 10 miles south of Lake City "by a party of young men enraged at an insult alleged to have been made upon a young white woman of Columbia County."

The first lynching in Duval County was in 1909 for Rape, and the second was that of two Negroes lynched in 1919 at Jacksonville for Murder. The last three lynchings in the county occurred in 1923. One of the victims,

thought later to have been entirely innocent, was "suspected of peeping into the bedroom of a girl". On December 29, near Jacksonville, "the headless body of Edgar Phillips was found in a creek. He was said to have been the victim of a 'death code' of Duval County moonshiners." On the following day, near Jacksonville, Eugene Burnam was shot to death by a band of white men. He was said also to have been a victim of the "death code" of the moonshiners.

The seven lynchings in Hillsboro County were scattered over the nine year period ending in 1912. The first lynching in the county was for Rape. The other five were for Murder, including two whites lynched for "attempted murder".

Seven of the eight lynchings in Holmes County have been for Murder, and one for Rape. The last lynching in the county occurred in 1916. One-third of the 1,034 Negroes, and 11.2 per cent of the 11,807 whites in the county were illiterate in 1920.

Of the six persons lynched in Jackson County, two met that fate in 1900, on June 10, when one was lynched for "suspected murder" and another for "complicity in murder". Five years later, on July 1, Doc Peters was lynched at Cottondale for Murder. In 1910 two Negroes were lynched, one for Murder and the other for "complicity". Six months later, on March 5, 1911 Galvin Baker was lynched for "threats to kill". Jackson has the highest illiteracy

rate for whites and next to the highest for Negroes of any county listed in Table XX. There is a Negro population of 13,320 and a white population of 17,867. In 1910 the Negro population was 47.8 per cent of the total, while in 1920 this percentage had dropped to 42.7. There has not been a lynching in this county for the past seventeen years.

In Madison County the first two lynchings since 1900 were for Murder, then one for Rape and another for "suspected murder". Eleven years later, in 1919, a Negro was lynched for "shooting a watchman". The last lynching in the county occurred on December 5, 1922, at Madison when "Cupid Dickson was lynched by a mob. No charge was alleged." More than 50 per cent of the population of the county is black, and 41.1 per cent of these cannot read or write their names.

In Marion County, on the other hand, with a higher proportion of Negro population but with a much smaller percentage of illiteracy, white and black, there has been the same number of lynchings as recorded for Madison, seven. The first lynching in Marion County since 1900 was for "trainwrecking", and the next two for Murder; then one for "insulting women" in 1915, and another for Rape in 1921. The last lynching in the county occurred on January 12, 1926. "A band of masked men took Nick Williams from two officers, bundled him into an automobile and lynched him at a lonely spot 18 miles from Ocala. Williams

had been jailed on suspicion in connection with an attack on a white woman near the spot where he was lynched. When seized he was being taken to a hospital to be identified by the woman."[3]

Six of the nine persons lynched in Orange County met that fate in 1920, and the last person lynched there was Arthur Henry, on November 26, 1925. He had been arrested and placed under guard at the Orange General Hospital; was seized by three unknown men and carried off. The men disarmed a policeman who was on guard. Later he was found shot to death. "Henry was alleged to have wounded two detectives when they went into the Negro section to investigate a shooting affray."[3]

The 12 lynchings in Polk County were scattered over a period of 25 years, beginning in 1900. For the first four years of the period as many Negroes were lynched, one for an "unknown offense", one for "murderous assault", one for Rape, and one for "attempted murder". There was not another lynching until April 9, 1920. On that date "an unidentified Negro porter on an Atlantic Coast Line Train, who was charged by a white woman passenger with having insulted her, was taken from the train by a mob; an officer was sent back from Bartow, Florida to get the Negro. He was overtaken by three automobiles. The Negro taken from him and shot to death."[4]

---

3. Supplement to the "Thirty Years Lynching", NAACP.
4. Eleventh Annual Report, NAACP, 1920, p. 36.

The last lynching in Polk County occurred on December 20, 1925, when a Negro alleged to have shot and killed Owen Higgins, President of the Haines City Fiance Company, was shot to death by police and citizens.

In the three counties of Florida with more than 62.5 per cent Negro population there have been only three lynchings since 1900. Gadsen County has had one, in 1918, for "throwing white man under train"; and Leon, two, - one in 1909 for Murder and one in 1920. According to a dispatch from Tallahassee it was believed that this Negro "was the victim of an attack in Gadsen County, election day - that his body drifted over in the Leon County line."

In 1927 there were two lynchings in Florida. According to the Florence, South Carolina, Review on March 20, "Berry Allen (white) is reported to have been seized by a mob and thrown into the Suwanee River while being taken to a hospital suffering from wounds sustained when his barricaded home was dynamited by a sheriff's posse after he had shot and killed Will Brock, a range rider, and seriously wounded a deputy sheriff", at Mayo Florida. The last lynching in the state occurred on July 21, 1927, at Chiefland, in Levy County which has had three lynchings during the 28 years. "Albert Williams, charged with assault on a turpentine operator, was shot to death by a mob. The trouble is said to have arisen over a debt which Williams owed the white man."[5]

---

5. Bronson, Florida, News, July 22, 1927.

Florida: "a paradise for invalids, sportsmen and naturalists", but for the Negroes, "the best of the bad states"; where about every other month one of their race must pay the death penalty without a trial to establish his guilt or innocence; where since 1900, 35 have been lynched for either an "unknown cause", or else some such minor offense as "popular prejudice", "refusal to give up a farm", or "bringing his mother home after she had been flogged".

Louisiana

Table XXIX shows that in Louisiana since 1900 there has been a more even distribution of lynchings over the various months than in any other state. August leads with a total of 22, including nine for Rape. Next comes September with 16, including four each for Murder, Rape, and Theft. In may, June and July each there have been 15 persons lynched since 1900, and in February and October 14. The relatively high rank of February in the number lynched is unusual. Six of these were for Murder, two for Rape, one for Assault, three for Theft, and the crime of two - one Negro and one white - is unknown. Of the 10 whites lynched in Louisiana during the period, three were for Murder, one for Rape, one for Theft, one for "sheltering a murderer", and the crime of four is unknown.

Of the total 167 persons lynched during the period 65, or 39 per cent met that fate for Murder, and 38, or 22 per cent for Rape. Twelve were lynched for

TABLE XXIX

LOUISIANA: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME AND BY MONTH, WHITE AND NEGRO
From 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	5	1	0	2	0	0	1w	9
February	6	2	1	0	3	0	2(1w)	14
March	5	4	0	0	1	0	1w	11
April	3(1w)	2	1	4	0	0	3	13
May	2	6	0	6(1w)	1	0	0	15
June	7(1w)	5(1w)	2	1	0	0	0	15
July	6	0	2	2	1	3	1w	15
August	7	9	2	2	0	0	2	22
September	4(1w)	4	3	0	4	0	1	16
October	6	2	1*	2	2(1w)	0	1	14
November	4	3	3	1	0	0	0	11
December	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	12
Total	65(3w)	38(1w)	17	20(1w)	12(1w)	3	12(4w)	167(10w)

* This Negro was said to be a "desperado".

Theft, three for Arson, and 20 for Minor Offenses, - 35, or 21 per cent of the total. Minor Offenses for which men have been lynched in Louisiana include: "making threats", "keeping a gambling house", "disorderly conduct", "insulting lady", "bringing suit against white man", "keeping disreputable house", "intimacy with white woman", "vagrancy", and "living with a white woman".

Map XIV shows the distribution of lynchings in Louisiana over the various Parishes. While there is no section of the state in which no lynchings have taken place since 1900, the Map shows that the vast majority of the lynchings have occurred in the upper half of the state. It is in this part of the state that the majority of the Negro population resides. Again, however, this does not mean that it is in the Parishes with the highest Negro population that the greatest number of lynchings occur.

Of the five Parishes with a Negro population of more than 75 per cent, two - East Carol and Tensas - have had no lynchings; Madison has had one; Concordia, three; and West Felincia, two. Ouachita County, on the other hand, with a Negro population of 54.8 per cent in 1910 and 45.8 per cent in 1920 has had 17 lynchings. On the whole the Parishes having the greatest number of lynchings are not those with the highest numerical or proportional Negro population. These Parishes, on the other hand, had from 30 to 75 per cent Negro population in 1910 and from 25 to 60 per cent Negro population in 1920.

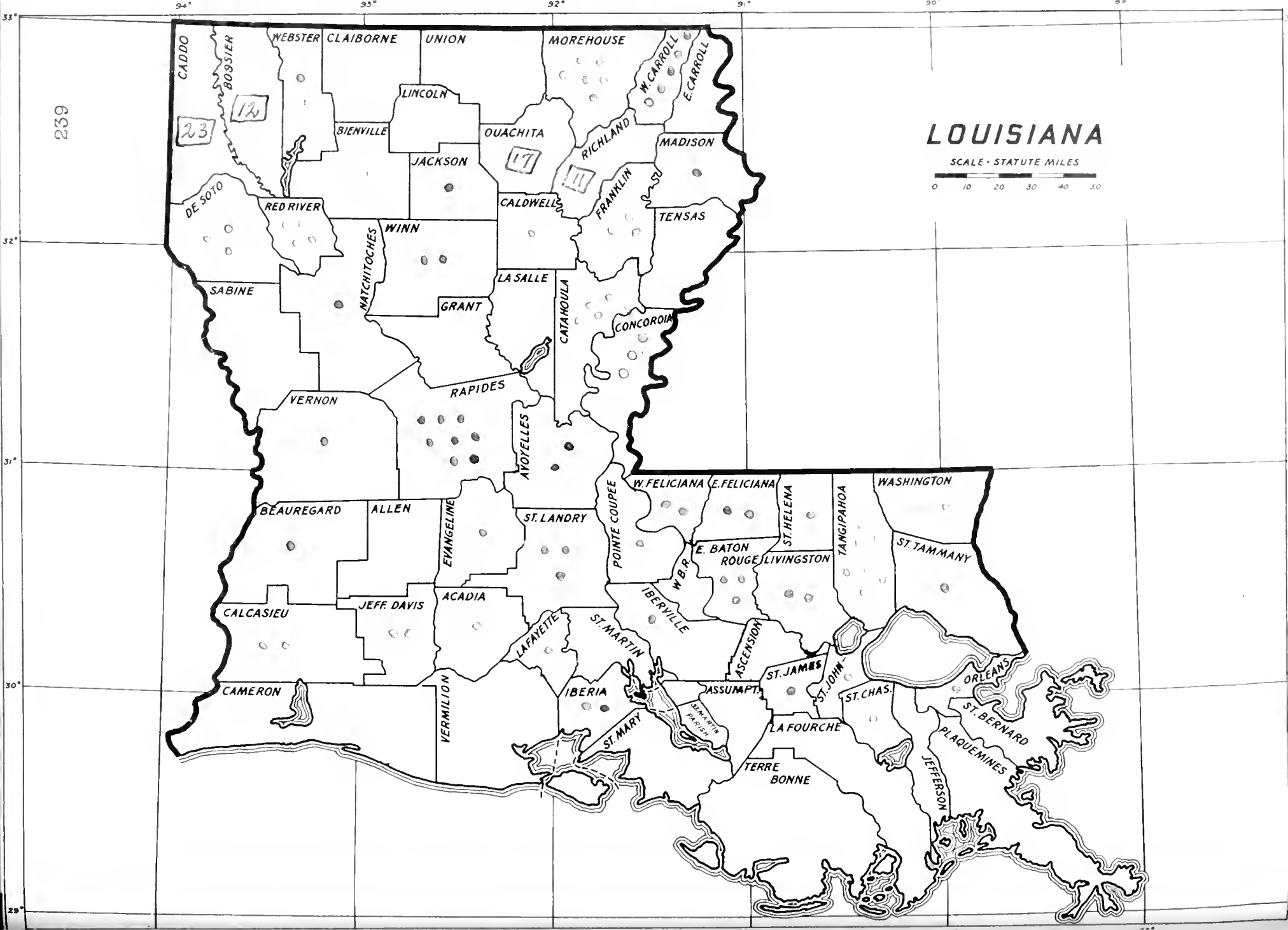

LOUISIANA
SCALE - STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
94°
93°
92°
91°
90°
33°
32°
31°
30°
29°
CADDO
BOSSIER
WEBSTER
CLAIBORNE
UNION
MOREHOUSE
W. CARROLL
E. CARROLL
LINCOLN
BIENVILLE
OUACHITA
RICHLAND
MADISON
JACKSON
FRANKLIN
TENSAS
DE SOTO
RED RIVER
CALDWELL
WINN
NATCHITOCHES
LA SALLE
SABINE
GRANT
CATAHOULA
CONCOROIA
RAPIDES
VERNON
AVOYELLES
W. FELICIANA
E. FELICIANA
ST. HELENA
TANGIPAHOA
WASHINGTON
BEAUREGARD
ALLEN
EVANGELINE
ST. LANDRY
POINTE COUPEE
E. BATON ROUGE
LIVINGSTON
ST. TAMMANY
W.B.R.
IBERVILLE
CALCASIEU
JEFF. DAVIS
ACADIA
LAFAYETTE
ST. MARTIN
ASCENSION
ST. JAMES
ST. JOHN
ORLEANS
CAMERON
VERMILION
IBERIA
ASSUMPT.
ST. CHAS.
ST. BERNARD
ST. MARY
ST. MARTIN PARISH
LA FOURCHE
PLAQUEMINES
TERRE BONNE
JEFFERSON

Table XXX shows that Louisiana ranks second only to Mississippi in the percentage of Negro children who were out of school in 1924. This state ranks fourth from the bottom in the amount invested per Negro school child in public school property. While Louisiana ranks fourth from the top of the southern states in the length of school term for white children it ranks third from the bottom in the average length of school term for the Negro children. In 1924 almost one-half of the Negro children of school age were not in school.

While the white illiteracy for the state was 10.5 per cent in 1920, the range in the percentage of illiteracy for the leading lynching Parishes was from 0.8 per cent to 6.6 per cent. The percentage of illiteracy among the Negroes of the state was 38.5 and for the Parishes with more than six lynchings the range was from 21.0 per cent to 42.8 per cent.

Table XXXI shows the lynchings in Louisiana by year, and by crime for those parishes having more than 10 persons lynched since 1900. This table gives the specific crimes as stated in the newspaper reports at the time the lynchings occurred, rather than as classified in Table XXIX. A clearer conception of the interracial history of these four Louisiana Parishes so far as lynching is concerned can be gained from this Table. In Bossier Parish, for example, 12 persons have been lynched since 1900, over a period of 22 years. Three of the number were charged with murder, three with "murderous assault",

TABLE XXX

PER CENT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN IN SCHOOL AND OUT OF SCHOOL IN THE SOUTH, 1924

STATE	WHITE		NEGROES	
	In School	Out of School	In School	Out of School
Texas	93.7	6.3	88.7	11.3
Oklahoma	87.3	12.7	88.0	12.0
North Carolina	85.1	14.9	83.8	16.2
Missouri	81.4	18.6	78.7	21.3
Georgia	89.5	10.5	74.2	25.8
Virginia	84.8	15.2	72.7	27.3
Tennessee	80.3	19.7	71.6	28.4
W. Virginia	80.6	19.4	70.8	29.2
Arkansas	73.4	26.6	69.6	30.4
Deleware	70.1	29.9	67.1	39.2
South Carolina	77.2	22.8	65.8	34.2
District of C.	65.5	34.5	61.9	38.1
Maryland	69.5	30.5	61.2	38.8
Florida	81.3	18.7	60.9	30.1
Kentucky	65.0	35.0	60.9	39.1
Alabama	84.9	15.1	58.8	41.2
Louisiana	70.3	29.7	57.9	42.1
Mississippi	68.9	31.1	53.0	47.0

(Negro Year Book, Statistics, 1925-6 Volume, p. 292).

TABLE XXXI

LOUISIANA: LYNCHINGS BY PARISH, BY CRIME, AND BY YEAR,
From 1900 to 1928

PARISH	Number	Date	Place	Crime
Bossier	12			
	1	5/4/01	At Alden Bridge,	"keeping gambling house."
	2	6/20/01	At Bossier,	Murder.
	1	10/16/03	At Taylor Town,	"threats to kill."
	1	11/2/03	At Taylor Town,	Murder.
	1	5/3/07	At Bossier,	Rape.
	3	11/28/12	At Benton,	"murderous assault."
	1	1/26/18	At Benton,	"living with white woman."
	1	2/14/19	At Bossier,	Murder.
	1	8/30/22	Near Benton,	"assault on white woman."
Caddo	23			
	1	11/24/01	At Shreveport,	Murder.
	1	3/5/01	At Blanchard,	Rape.
	1	5/4/01	At Rodessa,	Rape.
	1	7/26/03	Near Shreveport,	Murder.
	1	5/23/06	At Blanchard,	Robbery.
	1	8/3/08	At Bethany,	"attempted rape."
	1	11/27/09	Shreveport,	Rape.
	1	4/9/12	Shreveport,	"insulting white women."
	2	12/16/13	At Blanchard,	Murder.
	1	3/12/14	At Shreveport,	Rape.
	2	12/2/14	At Sylvester Station,	Murder.
	1	12/3/14	At Sylvester Station,	Murder.
	2	12/11/14	At Mooringsport,	Murder.
	1	12/12/14	At Shreveport,	Murder.
	1	8/29/16	At Vivian,	"attempted rape."
	1	5/11/17	At Shreveport,	"intimacy with white woman."
	1	10/23/19	At Shreveport,	unknown crime.
	1	1/3/23	At Shreveport,	"associating with white women."
	1	4/15/21	At Rodessa;	unknown.
	1	8/4/26	At Lachute,	"attack upon a 10 year old girl." "killed while trying to escape."

TABLE XXXI (Cont'd)

PARISH	Number	Date	Place	Crime
Ouachita	17			
	1	8/26/06	At Calhoun,	"attempted rape."
	2	3/15/07	At Monroe,	for Murder.
	1	8/24/09	At Monroe,	"murderous assault."
	1	8/25/10	At Monroe,	a Negro woman, "for keeping disreputable house."
	1	10/22/13	At Monroe,	"insulting white woman."
	4	8/7/14	At Monroe,	3 for Murder, and one for "suspected murder."
	2	3/16/18	At Monroe,	"attack on white woman."
	1	4/22/18	At Monroe,	"shooting white man."
	1	1/30/19	At Monroe,	Murder.
	1	4/29/19	Near Monroe.	"accused of writing insulting letters to white woman.
	1	9/6/19	At Monroe,	"charged with a criminal assault on farmer's wife."
	1w	2/6/21	At Monroe,	an unknown white man burned for crime unknown.
Richland	11			
	1	7/15/01	At Girard,	Theft.
	1	9/8/09	At Mangham,	Rape.
	1	11/20/09	At Delhi,	Murder.
	1	3/14/10	At Rayville,	Murder.
	1w	7/10/10	At Rayville,	"cause unknown."
	1	11/8/11	At Delhi,	Murder.
	1	4/25/12	At Delhi,	"unnamed offense."
	3	2/26/18	At Rayville,	"stealing hogs."
	1	7/18/18	At Mangham,	Murder.

one with "threats to kill"; one, Rape; one, "keeping a gambling house", and one with "living with a white woman". The last lynching in the Parish was on August 30, 1922: "The body of Thomas Rivers, said to have confessed to an assault on a white woman, was found hanging from the limb of a tree. He was taken from officers by a mob as he was being transferred to Benton, Louisiana, for safekeeping."[6]

The 23 lynchings in Caddo Parish have been scattered over a period of 25 years. The longest time in which there has not been a lynching in the Parish was a little over three years. In those years in which there were lynchings the number ranged from one to nine. Seven of the victims were charged with rape or attempted rape, and the same number with murder. Other crimes for which lynchings occurred were Robbery, "insulting white women", "intimacy with white woman", and "associating with white woman". The latter case was that of Lester Leggett who "was lynched by a party of men who kidnapped him. His body was found riddled with bullets. The police claimed that complaints had been received that Leggett was associating with white woman."[7] The last lynching in Caddo Parish occurred on August 4, 1926 near Lachute. "John Norris, 24 years old, was surrounded in a cotton field and shot to death by a posse seeking him for an attack on a 12 year old girl. He was reported killed while trying to escape."[7]

---

6. Thirteenth Annual Report, NAACP, p. 37, 1922.
7. Supplement of Thirty Years Lynching, NAACP.

The 17 lynchings in Ouachita Parish occurred between 1906 and 1922. In 1910 the Negro population of the Parish was 54.8 per cent and in 1920, 45.8 per cent. In 1920 there were 398 illiterate whites, or 3.3 per cent of all whites above 10 years of age, while 32.7 per cent of all Negroes of that age, or a total of 3,587 were illiterate. A study of Table XXXI indicates what seems even more evident when one reads detailed accounts of the lynchings in Ouachita Parish: That inter-racial friction is of such a nature that some of the charges against Negroes are "trumped up" and thereby false. Although not one person lynched in Ouachita Parish has been charged with rape, more than one-third of the number have been lynched for a "sexual crime". It is not usual, for example, to lynch a Negro woman for "keeping a disreputable house", and reports current in at least one of the adjoining states indicate that white men in Monroe Louisiana do not lynch all women who "keep disreputable houses".

Another case suggesting the character of some of the charges against those lynched in Ouachita Parish is that of George Holden who was lynched near Monroe on April 29, 1919. According to the "Memphis Commercial Appeal" of April 30, Holden was taken from a stretcher on a baggage train, and shot to death. He had been wounded in two previous attempts to lynch him. He was accused of writing an insulting note to a white woman. The Coroner's jury reported that the Negro "came to his death at the

hands of parties unknown." On May 12, 1919 a reputable citizen of Shreveport wrote that the accusation against Holden was a "frame-up" because he had contracted to paint and paper a number of houses. Certain white men had wanted the job. Holden, he said, was not guilty of the charge of writing an insulting note, for one good reason: He could not write. The last lynching in the Parish was that of a white man. We have been unable to learn the crime against him, - and his name was not known by those who lynched him.

During the past decade there have been 33 persons lynched in Louisiana, and in the past five years, six. The last lynching occurred in the South-western part of the state, in Beaugard Parish, which had never before had a lynching in so far as the records extend. In 1927 a Negro, whose name was not given - presumably a stranger at Dequincy - was taken by a mob from the jail where he had been placed for a crime that is not known. The Negro was beaten, then shot in the back. He died in a Lake Charles sanitarium.

Texas

It has been said, "Of course Texas would rank high in lynchings, it is such a big state." Texas is a great state - especially in size: It is larger than Germany, or France. It is as large as Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin and New York combined. A Dallas

attorney has also claimed for Texas, "more brass-bound Democrats and Democratic officeholders; more Ku Klux Klansmen, killings and lynchings" than any other state.

While it is true that Texas has been the leading state in the number of persons lynched during some of the 28 years under consideration, it is not the leading state in this respect over the whole period. This the attorney later admits with what is possibly the true explanation. He says: "Texas lynches, mutilates, and burns Negroes; but ... other southern states rank ahead of us in this pastime - they have more Negroes to lynch." Some of the most notorious lynching episodes of recent years have occurred in Texas.[8]

Table XXXII shows the lynchings in Texas by crime and by month from 1900 to 1928. During the period 213 persons have thus met death - 171 Negroes, 35 Mexicans, and seven whites. Three of the whites were lynched for Murder, two for Rape, and the crime of two is unknown. Twenty-four of the Mexicans were charged with Murder, while two were lynched for Minor Offenses, two for an unknown cause, and six for Banditry. Sixty-six o about 39 per cent of the 171 Negroes were lynched for Murder; 58, or 34 per cent were charged with Rape, and 26 were lynched for Minor Offenses - "race prejudice", "marrying a white woman", "race trouble", "disagreement

8. See Chapter IX, Cases 7, 15.

TABLE XXXII

TEXAS: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME AND BY ~~STATE~~ FROM 1900 to 1928*

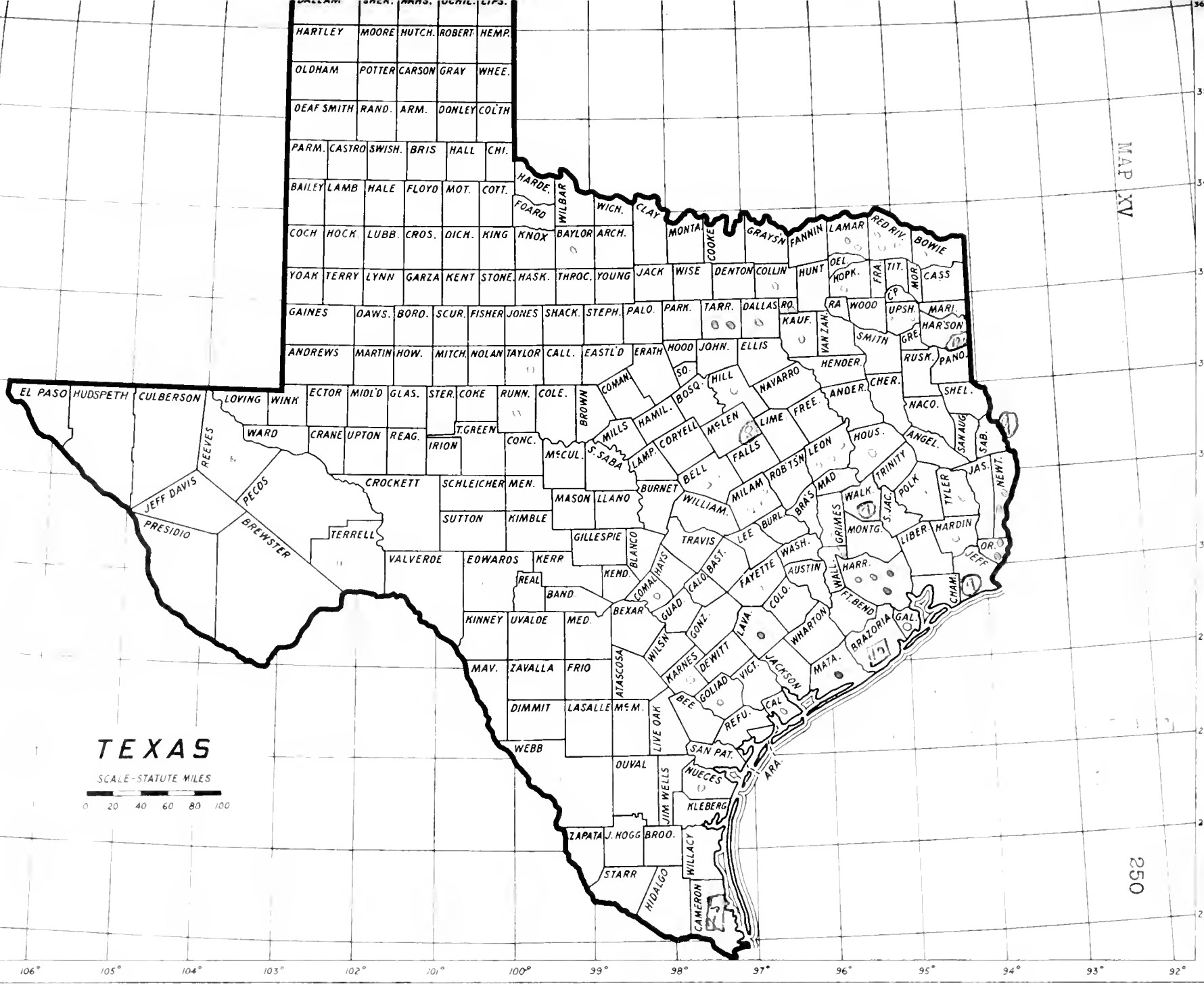
Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Bandi-try	Unknown	Total
January	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	8
February	4(1*)	5(1m)	1	0	1	0	0	11
March	2	6	2	0	0	0	4(1m) (1*)	14
April	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	10
May	9(1*)	8	0	1	1	0	1	20
June	19(3m)	4	2	7	0	0	2	34
July	5(1m)	10(1*)	1	3	0	0	0	19
August	11(6m)	6(1*)	0	3(1m)	0	0	2	22
September	10(3m)	4	2	0	0	6m	3(1m)	25
October	14(10m)	4	0	6	0	0	0	24
November	8(1m)	2	1	5(1m)	0	0	2	18
December	2(1*)	2	0	0	0	0	4(1*)	8
Totals	93	58	10	26	2	6	18	213**

** Note: Negroes, 171; Mexicans, 35; Whites, 7.
* Those marked with "m" are Mexicans, and those marked (*) are whites.

with white man", etc. The crime for which 14 Negroes have paid the death penalty is unknown. More lynchings have occurred in June than in any other month. September and October also rank high as lynching months in Texas.

Map XV indicates that the size of the state has little to do with Texas lynching statistics. More than 200 of the lynchings in the state since 1900 have occurred east of the ninety-eighth meridian which is less than one-third of the way across the state from east to west. Moreover, 88 of the lynchings occurred in eight counties. Two of these have had seven lynchings each; one has had eight; and two others have had nine each. The other three, Brazoria, Harrison, and Cameron, have had 11, 12, and 25 respectively.

Cameron County leads in the number of lynchings with 25, not one of which was a Negro. All were Mexicans except one. In 1920 there were 10,670 foreign-born, practically all Mexicans, in the county, or 29.1 per cent of the total population. There were 3,459 native white illiterates and 4,766 foreign-born illiterates. Practically one-half of the small number of 771 Negroes are ignorant laborers, unable to read and write their names, but not one has been lynched. Eight of the Mexicans were charged with Murder, and the remaining 17 were lynched for "train-wrecking and murder", and "banditry". The white man - the last person lynched in the county - was foreman of a ranch. He was shot to death on February 2, 1922 after his


TEXAS
SCALE-STATUTE MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
DALLAM
SHER.
HARS.
OCHIL.
LIPS.
HARTLEY
MOORE
HUTCH.
ROBERT
HEMP.
OLDHAM
POTTER
CARSON
GRAY
WHEE.
DEAF SMITH
RAND.
ARM.
DONLEY
COL'TH
PARM.
CASTRO
SWISH.
BRIS
HALL
CHI.
BAILEY
LAMB
HALE
FLOYD
MOT.
COTT.
HARDE.
FOARD
WILBAR
WICH.
CLAY
COCH
HOCK
LUBB.
CROS.
DICH.
KING
KNOX
BAYLOR
ARCH.
MONTA
COOKE
GRAYS'N
FANNIN
LAMAR
RED RIV.
BOWIE
YOAK
TERRY
LYNN
GARZA
KENT
STONE.
HASK.
THROC.
YOUNG
JACK
WISE
DENTON
COLLIN
HUNT
OEL.
HOPK.
FRA.
TIT.
MOR.
CASS
GAINES
DAWS.
BORO.
SCUR.
FISHER
JONES
SHACK.
STEPH.
PALO.
PARK.
TARR.
DALLAS
RO.
KAUF.
VAN ZAN.
RA
WOOD
CP
UPSH.
MARI.
HAR'SON
SMITH
GRE.
ANDREWS
MARTIN
HOW.
MITCH.
NOLAN
TAYLOR
CALL.
EASTL'D
ERATH
HOOD
JOHN.
ELLIS
HENDER.
RUSK.
PANO.
SO.
HILL
NAVARRO
ANDER.
CHER.
SHEL.
EL PASO
HUDSPETH
CULBERSON
LOVING
WINK
ECTOR
MIDL'D
GLAS.
STER.
COKE
RUNN.
COLE.
BROWN
COMAN.
BOSQ.
HAMIL.
MCLEN
LIME
FREE.
NACO.
WARD
CRANE
UPTON
REAG.
IRION
T.GREEN
CONC.
MCCUL.
S. SABA
MILLS
CORYELL
LAMP.
FALLS
LEON
HOUS.
ANGEL.
SAN AUG.
SAB.
REEVES
CROCKETT
SCHLEICHER
MEN.
BELL
ROBTSN.
TRINITY
JAS.
NEWT.
JEFF DAVIS
PECOS
MASON
LLANO
BURNET
WILLIAM.
MILAM
BRAS.
MAD
WALK.
POLK
TYLER
PRESIDIO
BREWSTER
SUTTON
KIMBLE
BURL.
GRIMES
S. JAC.
MONTG.
LIBER.
HARDIN
TERRELL
GILLESPIE
BLANCO
TRAVIS
LEE
WASH.
OR.
VALVERDE
EDWARDS
KERR
HAYS
BAST.
FAYETTE
AUSTIN
WALL.
HARR.
JEFF.
REAL
KEND.
COMAL
CALD.
COLO.
FT. BEND
CHAM.
BAND
BEXAR
GUAD.
WHARTON
GAL.
KINNEY
UVALDE
MED.
WILSN
GONZ.
LAVA.
BRAZORIA
MAV.
ZAVALLA
FRIO
ATASCOSA
KARNES
DEWITT
JACKSON
MATA.
DIMMIT
LASALLE
MCM.
LIVE OAK
BEE
GOLIAD
VICT.
REFU.
CAL.
WEBB
SAN PAT.
ARA.
DUVAL
NUECES
JIM WELLS
KLEBERG
ZAPATA
J. HOGG
BROO.
WILLACY
STARR
HIDALGO
CAMERON
107°
106°
105°
104°
103°
102°
101°
100°
99°
98°
97°
96°
95°
94°
93°
92°
36°
35°
34°
33°
32°
31°
30°
29°
28°
27°
26°

refusal to heed a warning to leave the country. Why, and by whom he was warned and shot is not known.

In Brazoria County 11 persons have been lynched. These lynchings were scattered over a period of 17 years, beginning in 1903 when two Negroes were hanged for Murder. Every person lynched in this county - all Negroes - has been accused of murder except two and they were lynched for "aiding murderer in escape". This is the only county in the South with as many as ten lynchings since 1900 in which not one of the victims was accused of any crime in connection with a woman. Four of the 11 persons in Brazoria County met that fate for murdering the Sheriff of the adjoining county of Wharton. Two Negroes were charged with the murder, and two with aiding them to escape. All were lynched just across the Brazoria line.

In 1920 there were 6,574 Negroes in this county - a decrease since 1910 from 46.9 per cent to 31.9 per cent of the total population. There has been a gradual increase in farm tenancy in the county since 1900. Three per cent of the whites and 21.8 per cent of the Negroes are illiterate. The last lynching in the county occurred more than seven years ago. On September 16, 1920 Oscar Beasley was taken from the jail at Angleton and lynched by a mob of 300 men. He had been indicted by the grand jury for murdering sheriff Joe Snow of Brazoria County.

In Harrison County 12 Negroes have been lynched since 1900. More than 60 per cent of the population of

the county during this period has been black. In 1903 Walker Davis was lynched for Murder. On April 27, 1909 a Negro was lynched for Rape, and three days later three were lynched for Murder. On February 25, 1923 a Negro was lynched near Marshall for Murder and another at Karnach a few miles away for "horse stealing". On August 22, 1917 Charles Jones was lynched for "attempted rape". The last lynching in the county occurred on June 17, 1919 when Lemuel Walters was shot to death by a mob at Longview. He was taken from the jail, dragged through the streets to the suburbs, and tied to a tree. His body was riddled with bullets, after which it was left naked by the roadside. The cause of the lynching is indicated in a newspaper report dated from Longview: "A prominent white woman is reported to have said to friends that she loved Walters and would marry him if she were in another state. This was repeated to the authorities who arrested him without charge. Sheriff opened jail to the mob."

The nine persons lynched in Sabine County, Texas, all met that fate on June 22, 1908, at Hemphill for Murder.

In Walker County a Negro was lynched in 1905 for Rape. The other six persons lynched in the county since 1900 met that fate in 1918, at Huntsville, when a woman and her five children were lynched for alleged threats to avenge the killing of her husband, who had been shot "while resisting arrest".

Of the seven persons lynched in Jefferson County, two were charged with murder, one with "murderous assault", one with rape, and one was lynched by "mistaken identity". Since 1913 there have been only two lynchings in the county, one in 1917 for an unknown cause, and one in 1918 for "attacking a white girl".

The eight Negro victims of mob violence in Montgomery County since 1900 were lynched in three of the 28 years. On February 28, 1908 occurred the first lynching on record for that county. Clem Scott was lynched for "attempted rape". Less than a month later, on March 24, three Negroes were lynched, one at Conroe and two at Magnolia, for the same alleged offense. Fourteen years passed and on May 17, 1922 the body of a Negro named Earle "was found swinging to a tree" at Conroe. He had been arrested following screams of a young white girl, placed in jail, but later escaped. He was lynched "by unknown men". Three days later "Joe Winters, said to have been identified as the assailant of a white girl, was burned to death in the courthouse square". On June 23, 1922, at New Dacus, Warren Lewis was hanged by a mob of 300. It was said the 18 year old Negro confessed that he attacked a white woman.

The last lynching in Montgomery was that of a Negro in 1927 who was charged with "assault to murder" a white man. This was the only case in which a lynching had ever occurred in the county without some charge in connection with a white woman. Possibly this means that

they only lynch for this offense; possibly it means that this is the best charge to bring against a Negro whom it is desired for any reason to lynch. That no actual case of rape has ever been alleged may indicate the latter.

McLennan County has had eight lynchings and one burning after murder since 1900, scattered over a period of 22 years. Five of the eight Negroes were lynched at Harrison in 1901 "as a result of a quarrel over profit-sharing". In 1905, August 5, a Negro was lynched at Waco for Rape. Eleven years later the next lynching in the county occurred when Jessie Washington was burned in front of the Mayor's office for rape and murder.[9] In 1921 a white man, Curly Hackney, was hanged near Waco, crime unknown. The last "lynching" in McLennan was a postmortem act of mob violence at Waco. On May 26, 1922, Jess Thomas was charged with attacking a white girl after having shot her escort. The girl's father shot Thomas down, fatally. His body was removed to an Undertaking establishment from which it was taken by a mob and burned on the public square.

During the past ten years Texas mobs have taken the life of 55 men and women. While a high proportion of these have been charged with Murder and Rape, some were lynched for such offenses as "unknown cause", "alleged threats", "refusing to leave the country", and "disagreement with white man". During the past five years

---

9. See Chapter IX, Case No. 7.

nine persons have been lynched in Texas. One was lynched for "reckless driving" in which he injured a Mexican woman. His hands and feet were cut off, after which he was burned to death. One was charged with "attacking a white girl" and another with rape. One was shot and two - a man and his wife - were burned to death for refusing to leave the house in which they lived. "It is believed that the killings were meant as revenge for the slaying of Wallace Crowder, a white man, near Houston. The slain Negroes, however, were not directly connected with the white man's death."[10] One of the nine met death for an unknown cause, and another for Murder.

The last lynching in Texas occurred near Willis, in Montgomery County, on February 1, 1927. Tom Payne had been arrested, charged with "assault to murder" in connection with an "attack" on a white sawmill worker. Fearing mob violence, two officers started to Huntsville with the Negro "for safekeeping". They were surrounded and "disarmed" by an unmasked mob of white men near Willis. Payne was suspended by the neck from the limb of a tree.[11]

Mississippi

It has been said that "Mississippi is a state that appears at the bottom of the list in most tables of statistics." Not so with regard to the number of men and women victims of mob action. In this respect Mississippi

10. Gathered from press reports.
11. Dispatch, New York Times, February 3, 1927.

stands second only to Georgia. Mississippi has held this rank, since 1882, and possibly since the early "fifties" when the "Augustan Age of Murder" belonged to California and the West, and when white men were hanged for as trifling offenses as Negroes have been lynched in Mississippi since 1900. Since 1882 a total of 437 persons have been lynched, 25 of whom were white men and women and 412, or 94.3 per cent of whom were Negro men and women. Since 1900 Mississippi ranks next to Georgia in the total number of persons lynched and first among all the states in the number of women lynched.

The numerical Negro population is 935,184. Mississippi is second to Georgia in this respect, but first in the proportion of Negro population, with 52.2 per cent, which, although distributed throughout the state is concentrated in the counties along the River. In 13 of these counties the Negro population ranges above 75 per cent; in seven more, above 62. per cent; and in five others, above 50 per cent. Three counties on the eastern border of the state have a Negro population of above 62.5 per cent.

Mississippi ranks second to the lowest among all states in the Nation in the percentage of total tax levy devoted to education, in the value of school property per school child enrolled, in the annual salary paid to school teachers, and third in both white and Negro illiteracy. She ranks first in the percentage of

children of school age, white and black, not in school, and first in the number of counties in which six or more persons have been lynched since 1900.[12] Some counties with a Negro population of 75 per cent have had no lynchings. Others with as low as 16 per cent Negro population have had from six to 10 lynchings. In the state as a whole 29.3 per cent of the Negroes and 3.3 per cent of the whites are illiterate. Apparently, however, there is no relationship between the number or proportion of illiterates and the number of lynchings in particular counties. This is indicated by Table XX in Chapter VII. The range in white illiteracy in the counties listed in this Table is from 1.1 per cent to 6 per cent; and the range for the Negro population is from 16.2 per cent to 50.0 per cent. In the same counties the percentage of Negro population in 1910 ranged from 17.5 to 90.7 and in 1920, from 16.0 to 89.3. In Smith County which has had six lynchings since 1900 the numerical Negro population was 2,594, while Bolivar County with a Negro population of 47,533 has had seven lynchings during the period.

Table XXXV shows the lynchings in Mississippi by crime, by month and race since 1900. During this period 14 white men, 11 Negro women, and 241 Negro men -

12. Cf. Table XXII, Chapter VII; Negro Year Book, 1925-6, pp. 292-293; Table XX , Chapter VII (infra); Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 90; Vol. III, Biennial Survey of Education, pp. 145, 164, 198, quoted in "These United States, E. Gruening, "First Series", p. 39.

TABLE XXXV

MISSISSIPPI: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME, BY MONTH, AND BY RACE,
From 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	9	4	1	0	0	0	3	17
February	14(1w)	4	0	0	0	2	1	21
March	6	5	0	3	0	4	3	21
April	8(1w)	3	0	0	0	0	4	15
May	7	4(1w)	2	8	0	1	1	23
June	19	7	4(1*)	3	0	0	3	36
July	8(1w)	6	2	4	4(3w)	0	3w	27
August	8	4	2	1	0	1	2	18
September	12	6	0	3	0	1	3	25
October	16(2w)	6	2	1	4	0	0	29
November	7(1w)	7	2	1	1w	2	0	20
December	10	2	1	1	0	0	0	14
Totals	124(5w)	58(1w)	16(1*)	25	9(4w)	11	23(3w)	266(14w)

* This victim was listed as "a desperado", at Chunky, Newton County, Mississippi, June 16, 1911; name, William Bradford, Negro.

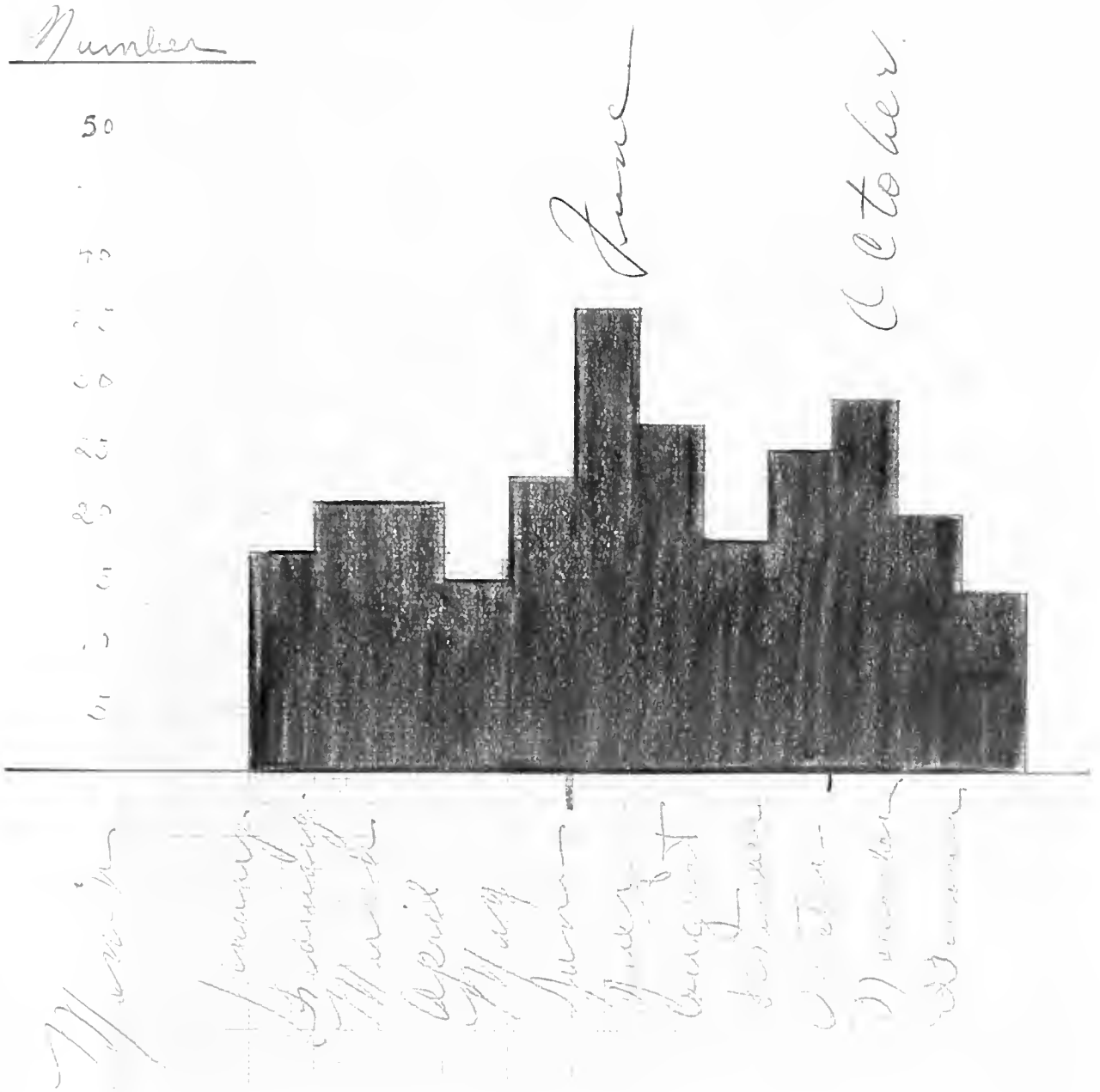
a total of 266 persons - have been lynched in the state. Of this number 124 were charged with Murder. One white man and 47 Negroes were lynched for rape, attempted rape, or "attack upon a white woman". The cause of the lynching of 20 Negroes and three whites is not known. Twenty-five Negroes were lynched for Minor Offenses, and twenty others for Arson and Theft combined.

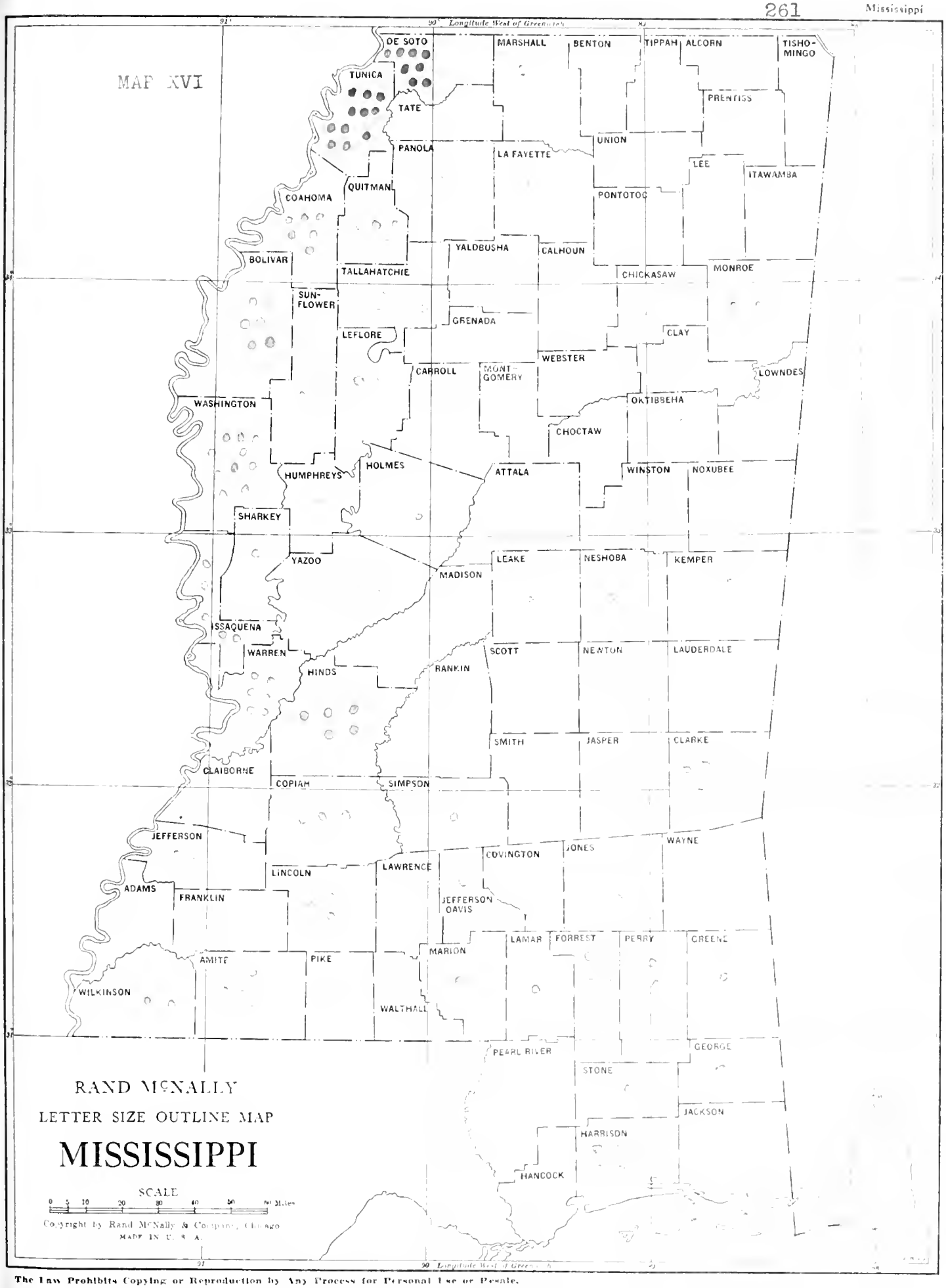
While more lynchings have occurred in June than in any other month of the year, the total number is more evenly distributed throughout all months of the year than in any other state except Louisiana.. This is shown graphically by Chart VII. The highest number were lynched in June with 36. The lynchings for murder are highest in June and October, which possibly indicates a relationship between lynchings and "crop settlements". It is notable that in this state the charge of rape against mob victims is more evenly distributed over all months than in any other state.

Map XVI shows the dispersion of lynchings over the different counties of Mississippi. The majority of these have occurred along the Mississippi River and along the eastern border of the state, from North to South. The least number of lynchings have occurred in the North-central part of the state. There are only 18 counties, of the total 82, in Mississippi, in which there has not been one or more lynchings since 1900. In 19 counties with six or more lynchings during the period, a total of 135 persons have thus met death. The counties in which

Mississippi: Lynchings by Month
From 1908-1928

Chart IX





there have been no lynchings are scattered from one end of the state to the other and apparently have no relationship to the proportion of Negro population.

Jackson County in the South-east corner of the state has had six persons lynched since 1900 but only three mob episodes. Two of the number were lynched in February, 1901, one for Murder and one for Rape. The next and last lynching in the county was that of four Negroes in 1908 for "incendiarism".

The North-west county of Mississippi is De Soto in which there have been eight persons lynched over a period of 27 years beginning in 1900. Of this number five were charged with murder, two with rape, and one with theft. The last lynching in the county occurred on March 22, 1926. "An unidentified Negro was lynched by an unmasked band of white men for an alleged attack on a young white woman." Sheriff Thompson reported that he was unable to establish the identity of the members of the mob. The lynching occurred on the farm of William Lauderdale, a white man. He reported that the Negro was lynched while he had gone to telephone the sheriff.[13]

Kemper County, with a Negro population of 56.5 per cent and a Negro illiteracy of 30 per cent, is one of eastern border counties about midway of the state north and south. In this county eight persons have been lynched

13. Supplement to the "Thirty Years Lynching", NAACP.

over a period of 19 years beginning in 1906. Five of the number were lynched for Murder, one for Theft, one for "alleged rape", and one for "attempted rape". The last lynching in the county was that of Harry Shelton at Scoba, on July 20, 1924. He was charged with attempted rape, and placed in jail. Later a mob took him from the jail and hanged him outside of town.

In Noxubee County, the next north of Kemper, seven Negroes met death between 1901 and 1927 at the hands of mobs. In 1901 two Negroes were lynched for Arson, after which there was no lynching in the county for 12 years when C. W. Edd was hanged for Murder. In 1915 another Negro was lynched for Murder. Again there were no lynchings for 12 years, when in 1927 three Negroes thus met death. On April 2, two unknown Negroes accused of murder were burned to death at Macon. The last lynching in the county was on May 20, 1927 when Dan Anderson, "alleged to have confessed that he killed a young white farmer was lynched by a mob which took him from officers. More than 200 shots were fired into his body."[14]

Of the eight persons lynched in Sunflower County seven were charged with murder and one with "attempted assault". There has not been a lynching in the county for the past 15 years.

In Quitman County, on the other hand, four of the seven persons lynched since 1900 have been charged with

14. Newspaper clipping. See Chapter IX for Case (No.12) in Clarke County, on the eastern border of the state, which has had six lynchings since 1900.

Rape, the last of whom was burned at the stake on August 23, 1922. Two were charged with murder, one in 1902 and the other in 1913. On November 8, 1919, according to the "Memphis Commercial Appeal", Robert Motley was lynched as a result of a dispute over a crop settlement between himself and F. P. Cassidy. "A Mr. Sively went to Cassidy's aid on the dispute and was shot by Will Motley, brother of Robert, who escaped. Sively died as a result of his wound. Robert Motley was taken to jail on November 7 where he remained until the night of the 8th. when an armed mob forced its way in and hanged him.[15]

Washington County has a Negro population of 41,640 or 31.5 per cent of the total. Since 1900 there have been six lynching episodes and 10 persons lynched in this county. In 1901, on July 11, three "suspected cattle thieves" were lynched at Erwin, and two other white men were lynched for an unknown cause, probably also cattle stealing. In 1903 a Negro was lynched for alleged rape, and another in 1905 for Murder. On August 17, 1909 William Robertson was lynched for an "unnamed cause". Three years later a Negro was lynched for "attempted rape", and in 1914 the last lynching in the county occurred at Leland when Sam Petty was shot on February 24, for Murder.

Of the persons lynched in Tunica County, seven met that fate for Murder, three for burglary and one for

15. See Commercial Appeal, November 11, 13, 19.

"attempted rape". There has not been a lynching in this county for 20 years.

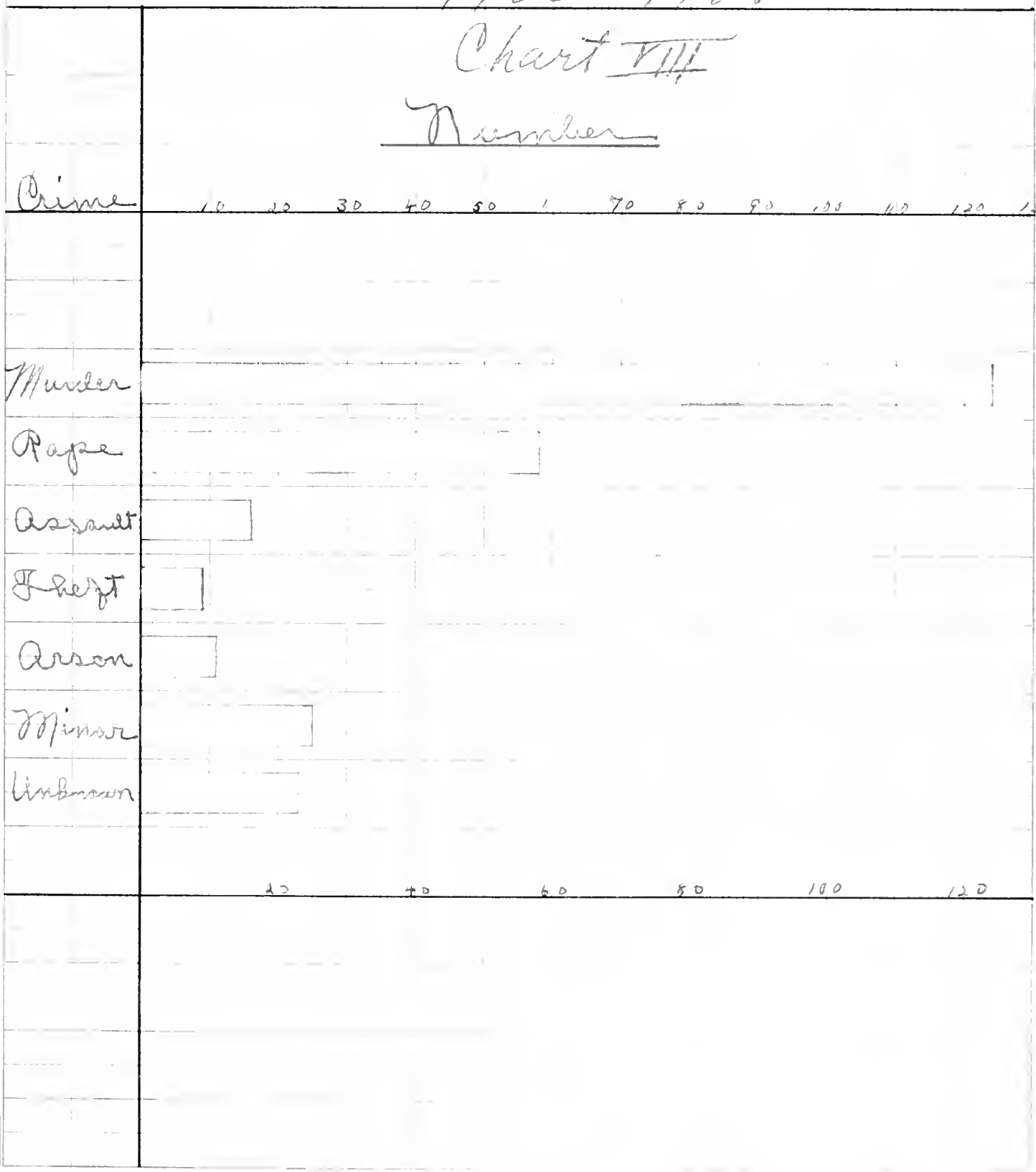
Harrison County has a high percentage of white illiteracy and a relatively low percentage of both Negro population and illiteracy. In this county six persons have been put to death by mobs over a period of 23 years beginning in 1900. On June 10, 1900 a Negro was lynched for "suspected murder", and in December another for Murder. In 1903 Samuel Adams was lynched for Rape and in 1904 an unknown Negro was lynched for Murder. In 1908 Henry Leidy was lynched, on November 10, for Rape. There was not another lynching in the county for 14 years. On March 22, 1922, Alexander Smith, "said to have been the operator of a house of ill-fame from which two white girls had been removed, was hanged from a bridge" near Gulf Port.

Chart VIII shows graphically the proportion lynched in Mississippi for the 28 year period for various offenses. Of the 266 persons lynched in 64 counties in of the state since 1900, 124 or 46.6 per cent were charged with Murder. This number includes six of the 14 whites lynched. The crime for which three of the whites were lynched is not known; four were lynched for theft, one for Rape and another for being "a desperado". Forty-seven Negroes and the one white man make a proportion of 21.7 per cent lynched for Rape - including "attempted rape" and "attacks upon white women". It is notable that about

Mississippi: Lynchings By Crime 1900–1928

Chart VIII

Number



10 per cent of the total number in Mississippi have been charged with Minor Offenses, and that about 7.5 per cent were charged with Theft and Arson combined. Among the Minor Offenses, which have precipitated mob action in Mississippi are the following: "race prejudice", "race rioter", "striking a six-year-old white girl", "threats", and "lawlessness".

Since 1917 there have been 71 lynchings in Mississippi, an average of 10 per year. During the past five years 22 Negro men, one Negro woman, and one white man have met death at the hands of Mississippi mobs. The white man, "Doc" Jackson, was lynched for Murder. The Negro girl was lynched by a mob in search of her brother. There were no charges reported against her personally. Of the total number lynched during the past five years, 11 were charged with murder, two with rape, five with "attacks" or "attempted attacks" upon women; another was lynched "for entering the room of a white woman", one for fighting an officer, one for stabbing a white man, one for striking a white child, and another for "beating a board bill". The latter case was that of Bernice Rasberry who was taken from the jail at Leakesville on May 25, 1927 "by a masked band of about 100 men and strung up to a tree. His body was then riddled with bullets. He had been arrested on a charge of beating a board bill after which the sheriff was informed that he was wanted at Bothwell, Mississippi, for alleged improper

conduct with a white woman."[16]

In 1927 Mississippi had the highest number of lynchings that had occurred in that state since 1922. There was a total of seven, five charged with Murder, one with beating a board bill (Rasberry case), and one with "attack upon a white woman". In April two Negroes accused of murder were burned to death in Macon, Mississippi. On June 13, at Louisville, Mississippi, "Jim and Marx Fox, brothers, accused of having slain Clarence Nichols, a sawmill superintendent, were seized by a mob, paraded through the streets and then taken a short distance from town, where they were tied to a telephone post, saturated with gasoline, and burned to death. The men were taken from officers who were taking them to Jackson, for safekeeping."[17]

The last lynching in Mississippi occurred near Yazoo City. Joe Smith is alleged to have "attempted to attack a young white girl". On July 7 his body, "full of hot lead", was found hanging to the limb of a tree.

Georgia

Georgia has more Negro population than any state in the Union, but this population is decreasing. From 45.1 per cent in 1910 there was a decrease to 41.7 per cent. Table XXXIV shows the lynchings in Georgia since 1900 by

16. See Mobile, Alabma, Register, May 26, 1927.
17. New York Times, June 14, and July 8, 1927.

TABLE XXXIV

GEORGIA: LYNCHINGS BY CRIME AND BY MONTH, WHITE AND NEGRO
From 1900 to 1928

Month	Murder	Rape	Assault	Minor	Theft	Arson	Unknown	Total
January	11	3	5	1	0	0	2	22
February	8	8(3w)	1	3	2	0	1	23
March	10	5	1	1	0	0	3	20
April	3	7	2	2	1	1	1	17
May	26(1w)	5	2	5	0	0	0	38
June	16	11	1	0	0	0	3	31
July	6(2w)	9(1w)	3	4	2	0	1w	25
August	15(1w)	7(1w)	1	7	1	0	1	32
September	11(1w)	10	1	0	3	0	0	25
October	9	6	3	7	1	0	1	27
November	9	3	1	3	0	0	0	16
December	6(1w)	0	0	1	0	1	6	14
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Total	130(6w)	74(5w)	21	34	10	2	22	293(12w)

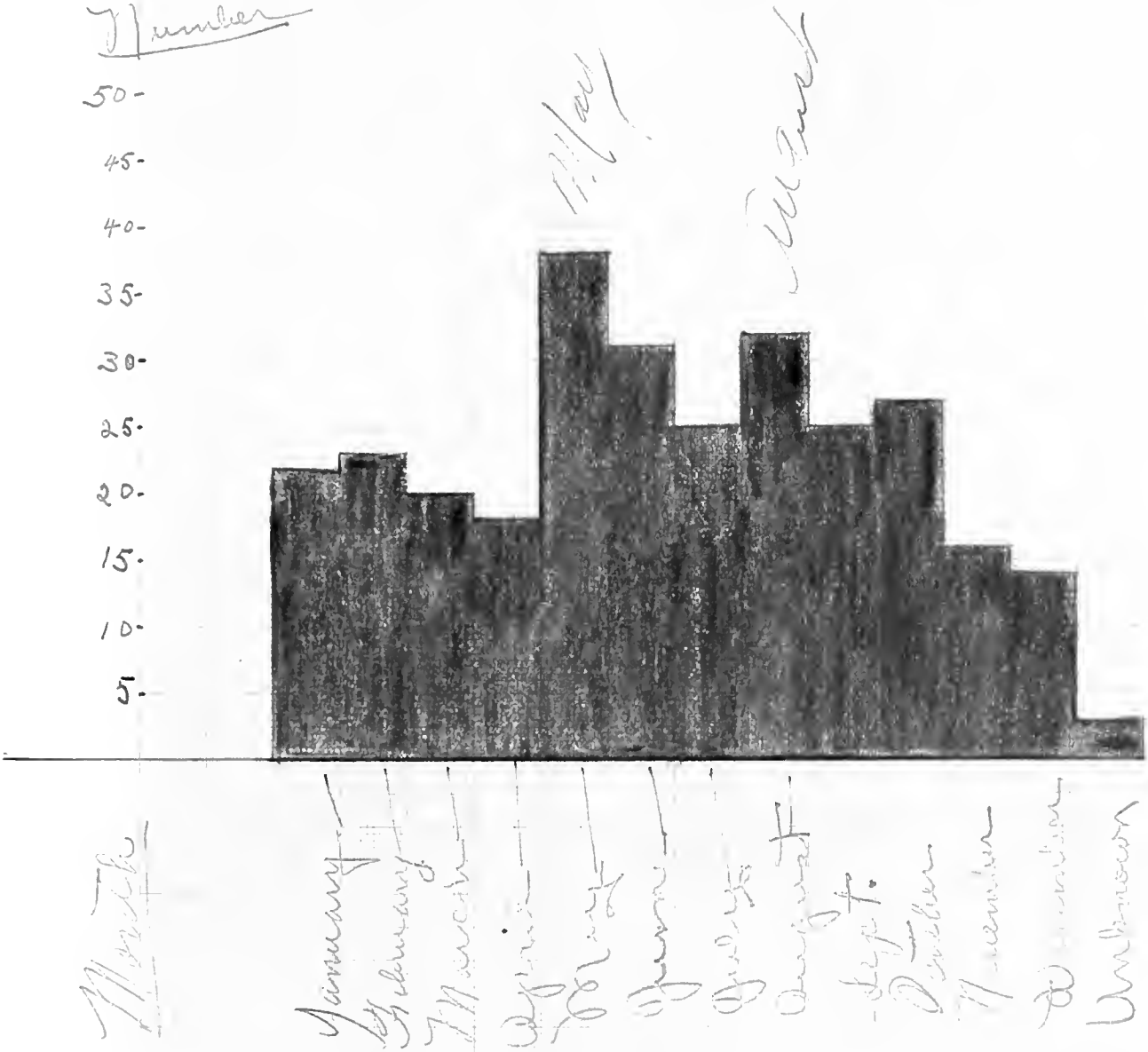
race, by month and by crime. Twelve white men, 273 Negro men and eight Negro women have been lynched during the period. Of the total 293, 130 have been lynched for Murder, 69 Negroes and five whites for Rape, 21 Negroes for Assault, ten for Theft, two for Arson, while the crime of 21 Negroes and one white man is not known. Thirty-four Negroes have been lynched for Minor Offenses. The highest number lynched per month was in May, with 38. Next comes August with 32 and June with 31. Chart IX shows that the greatest proportion of all persons lynched in Georgia since 1900 have met that fate in the spring and summer. Twenty-five lynchings have occurred in September and 27 in October.

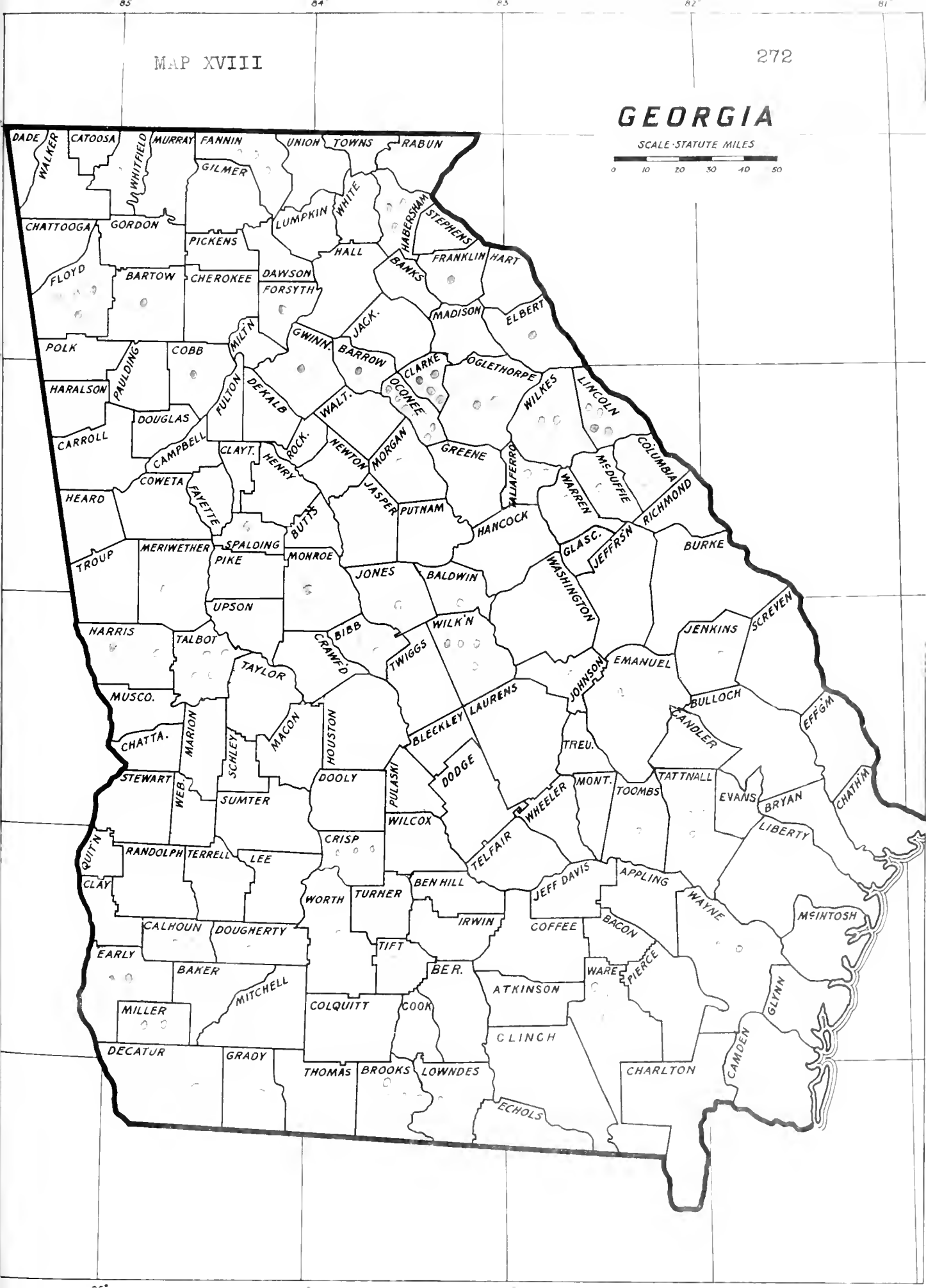
Map XVIII shows the distribution of lynchings in Georgia over the various counties. While no section of the state has been free from this type of mob action, the fewest lynchings have occurred in the South-east and North-west portions. In the latter section Negro population is very low. The Georgia "Black Belt" reaches across the South-eastern part of the state at a point below the line of the worst lynchings counties. The counties in which most of the lynchings have occurred have on the average about 50 per cent Negro population, although again there is no apparent correlation between the numerical or proportional Negro population and the number of lynchings.

This is shown by Table XX, Chapter VII. This Table indicates that the percentage of Negro illiteracy

Georgia: Lynchings by Month
1919 1928

Chart IX




GEORGIA
SCALE-STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
85 84 83 82 81
DADE
WALKER
CATOOSA
WHITFIELD
MURRAY
FANNIN
UNION
TOWNS
RABUN
GILMER
CHATTOOGA
GORDON
LUMPKIN
WHITE
HABERSHAM
STEPHENS
PICKENS
HALL
FRANKLIN
HART
FLOYD
BARTOW
CHEROKEE
DAWSON
BANKS
FORSYTH
MADISON
ELBERT
JACK.
MILT'N
GWINN.
POLK
COBB
BARROW
CLARKE
OGLETHORPE
PAULDING
HARALSON
FULTON
DEKALB
WALT.
OCONEE
WILKES
LINCOLN
DOUGLAS
CARROLL
CAMPBELL
CLAYT.
ROCK.
NEWTON
MORGAN
GREENE
COLUMBIA
HENRY
McDUFFIE
COWETA
FAYETTE
JASPER
PUTNAM
WARREN
RICHMOND
HEARD
BUTTS
HANCOCK
GLASC.
JEFFRS'N
BURKE
TROUP
MERIWETHER
SPALDING
PIKE
MONROE
JONES
BALDWIN
WASHINGTON
UPSON
SCREVEN
JENKINS
HARRIS
TALBOT
BIBB
WILK'N
CRAWF'D
TWIGGS
EMANUEL
TAYLOR
JOHNSON
MUSCO.
LAURENS
BULLOCH
EFF'GM
MARION
MACON
HOUSTON
BLECKLEY
CANDLER
CHATTA.
SCHLEY
TREU.
DODGE
STEWART
WEB.
DOOLY
PULASKI
MONT.
TOOMBS
TATTNALL
EVANS
BRYAN
CHATH'M
SUMTER
WHEELER
WILCOX
LIBERTY
QUIT'N
CRISP
TELFAIR
RANDOLPH
TERRELL
LEE
CLAY
WORTH
TURNER
BEN HILL
JEFF DAVIS
APPLING
WAYNE
McINTOSH
CALHOUN
DOUGHERTY
IRWIN
COFFEE
BACON
EARLY
TIFT
BER.
WARE
PIERCE
BAKER
MITCHELL
ATKINSON
GLYNN
MILLER
COLQUITT
COOK
CLINCH
CAMDEN
DECATUR
GRADY
THOMAS
BROOKS
LOWNDES
CHARLTON
ECHOLS

is higher, on the average, in the lynchings counties, but that this is not true of the whites. The percentage of Negro population in those counties having six or more lynchings since 1900 ranges from 35.2 to 74.2, and the Negro illiteracy in these counties ranges from 19.7 per cent to 43.2 per cent as compared to 29.1 per cent for the state as a whole. White illiteracy in these counties ranges from 2.3 per cent to 8.0 per cent as compared to 5.4 per cent for the state.

The two eastern counties with six or more mob victims since 1900 are Bulloch and Columbia. The six in Bulloch County were lynched over a period of eight years, beginning in 1901 when Kennedy Gordon was shot at Portal for attempted rape. Three years later two Negroes were lynched at Statesboro on April 16, for Murder, and on the following day two more, a man and his son, for "race prejudice". On August 30 of the same year, 1904, Sebastian McBride was hanged at Portal on account of "race prejudice". The last lynchings in the county occurred 20 years ago. On February 17, 1908 a Negro was lynched at Statesboro for Rape, and on February 24 another for the same offense. He was proved innocent of the charge - but too late.

The six lynchings in Columbia County, on the other hand, were scattered over a period of 23 years. On May 13, 1900 Alex Whitney was shot at Harlem for Murder, and on the following day a Negro was lynched at

Grovetown, for the same offense. In 1904, on May 15, a Negro was lynched at Appling for Rape. The next lynching in the county occurred on February 20, 1910 when Dan Lumpkin met that awful fate for "alleged complicity in murder". Five years passed, and on February 4, a Negro was lynched at Evans for Rape. The last lynching in Columbia County was on March 12, 1922 near Harlem. Alfred Williams, charged with having shot a white farmer with whom he had engaged in a dispute, was being taken to jail by officers and citizens. A mob "took" Williams from them and lynched him.

In South Georgia five counties have had six or more persons lynched since 1900.[18] Coffee County, with a Negro population of 35.2 per cent in 1910 and 31.6 per cent in 1920, has had seven over a period of 27 years. On May 4, 1900 Marshall Jones was shot at Douglas for Murder, after which there was not a lynching in the county for 18 years. In February, 1918, Ed Dansy killed two officers and wounded two others at Willacoochee, for which a mob promptly lynched him. On August 28, 1919 Eli Cooper was shot in a church house by members of a mob who had brought him from Laurens County. The church in which the body was left was burned, along with other churches and a lodge building. Cooper was alleged to have been a "leader among the Negroes" who were said to

18. For an analysis of the 18 lynchings in Brooks and Lowndes counties, see Chapter IX, Case No. 3.

be "planning to rise up and wipe out the white people". In 1920, on November 18, two Negro men and a Negro woman were lynched by a mob of 150. The Negroes had been arrested for killing a white man, and were being taken to jail by the Sheriff and two Deputies. The mob "demanded" them of the officers, and shot them. The last lynching in Coffee County was that of Dave Wright, a white man, on August 30, 1928, at Waycross. He was in jail, charged with the murder of a Mrs. Sophie Rollins on August 28. Twenty-five men "overpowered" Sheriff Tanner, took his keys, removed Wright from the jail and lynched him.

Of the 12 persons lynched in Decatur and Mitchell counties since 1900 two were charged with murder, four with Rape, two "crime unknown"; one was lynched for Arson, and two for "disputing white man's word". The latter case was that of Collins and D. C. Johnson, brothers, at Sale City, Mitchell County, on November 17, 1917. One of the twelve was lynched presumably to cover up a "mistake". On November 23, 1920 a Negro shot and killed James E. Adams of Worth County in a quarrel about a road across the Adams plantation. On November 24 the body of Curly McKelvey, brother to the Negro who killed Adams, was "hanged to a tree and riddled with bullets". The reports of the affair indicate that a member of the posse in search of the murderer shot his brother, after which he was hanged to the tree and his dead body riddled with bullets.

In Bleckley and Dodge counties in the center of

the state 13 persons have been lynched over a period of 20 years since 1900. Of this number two were lynched for Murder, three for Assault, two for Rape, three for an "unknown" crime, one by "mistaken identity", and one for "having a message for the Negroes". This was the case of an unidentified Negro who was taken from a passenger train at Cochran on August 4, 1919, and placed in the "City Barracks". The next day his body was "Found swinging to a tree 50 yards from Cochran and Eastman line". According to Associated Press reports the Negro was taken from the train when word was received that he had come from Chicago with a "message" for the Negroes of Georgia. Members of his own race are reported to have said that the victim boasted the Negroes of Georgia were going to do what they had done in Chicago. He was lynched "by unknown parties".

The eight Negroes lynched in Oconee County all met that fate at Watkinsville on June 29, 1905. Seven were charged with Murder and one with Rape.

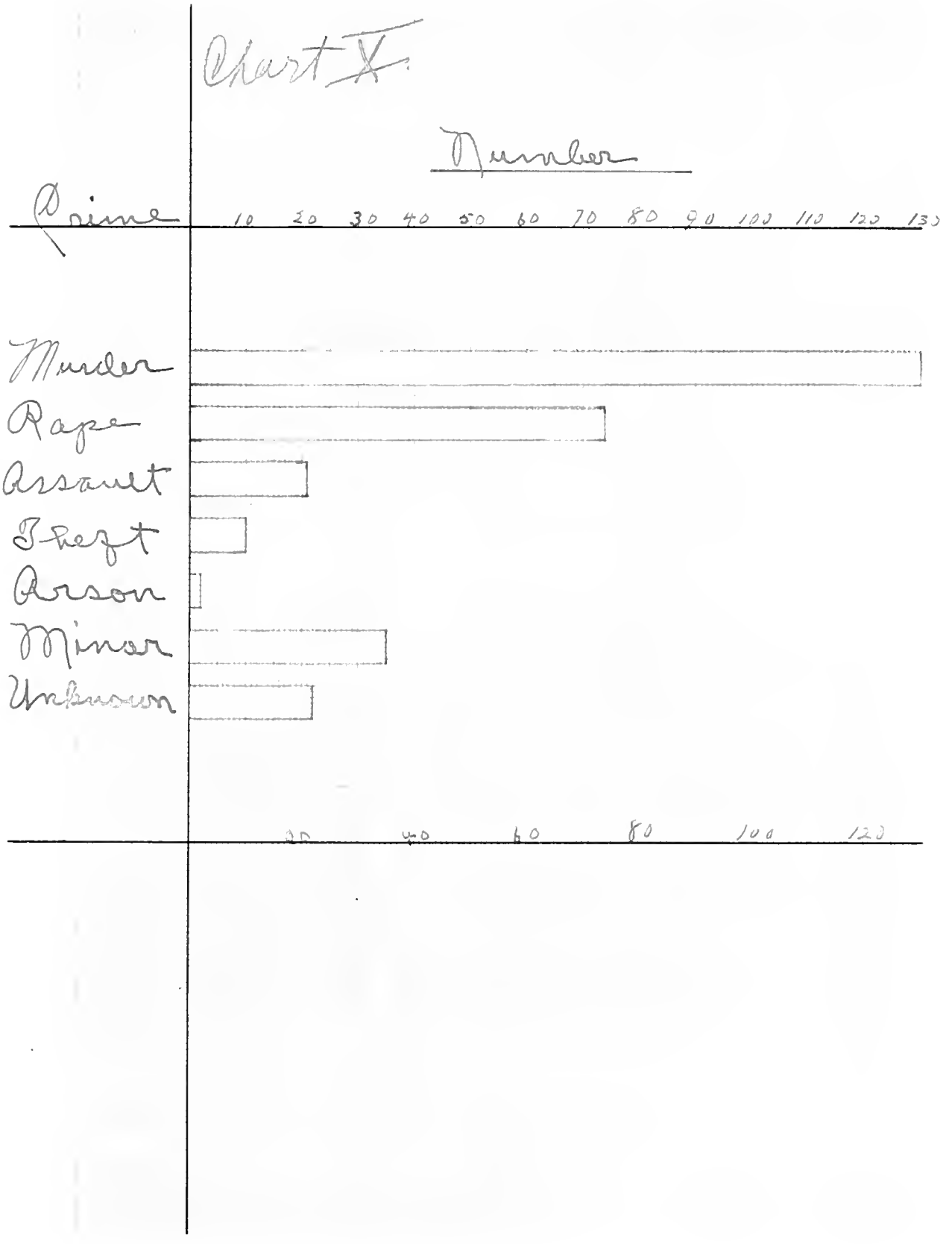
The seven lynchings in Bibb County occurred over a period of eleven years. The first was that of Charles Powell, on February 4, 1912, for "assault and robbery". In 1915 two whites, William Green and son, were lynched at Macon for "alleged murder". A Negro was lynched near Macon for Murder on February 12, 1916 and on September 3, 1918 John Gilham was lynched for "attacking a white woman". On November 3, 1919 Paul Jones was taken from

two officers at Macon and burned to death for "attacking a white woman". The last lynching in the county was that of a Negro who was accused of murdering a Deputy Sheriff at Holton, on August 1, 1922.

Chart X shows graphically the proportion of all persons lynched in Georgia since 1900 for various crimes. Of the total 293, the highest number were lynched for Murder. Six, or 50 per cent of the whites, and 124 Negroes, or 44 per cent of the total were lynched for this crime. It is notable that five of the 12 whites were accused of Rape. Of the total 281 Negroes, 69 or 23 per cent were charged with Rape. Twenty-one of the Negroes or 7 per cent were charged with Assault - which usually means fighting with a white man. Especially since 1910 one rarely finds in the pages of any southern newspaper a report of a white man and a Negro engaging in a "fight". It is the general rule to state that the Negro "assaulted the white man", or that he attempted "murderous assault" upon the white man. Ten Negroes have been lynched in Georgia for Theft and 21 others for an "unknown cause", since 1900. A total of 34, or 11.5 per cent of all persons lynched during the period met that fate for Minor Offenses. In Georgia Minor Offenses mean: "race prejudice", "labor troubles", "conspiracy to do violence", "window peeping", "disputing white man's word" and "jumping labor contract".

During the past decade 82 Negroes and two whites have been lynched in Georgia, while during the last five

Georgia: Lynchings by Crime, 1900-1928



years nine Negroes and two whites have been lynched. In contrast to some of the other states there is very little if any increase in the proportion of those lynched for such major crimes as murder and rape. During the decade while still the majority of lynchings have been caused by Murder and Rape, others have resulted from such minor offenses as "boasting he had a message for the Negroes", "leader of Negroes", "circulating incendiary literature", "jumping labor contract", and intimacy with white woman. In 1922 on July 14, "Shake" Davis, accused of "long-standing intimacy with white woman who gave birth to a child and named him as the father", was hanged by a mob of white men.

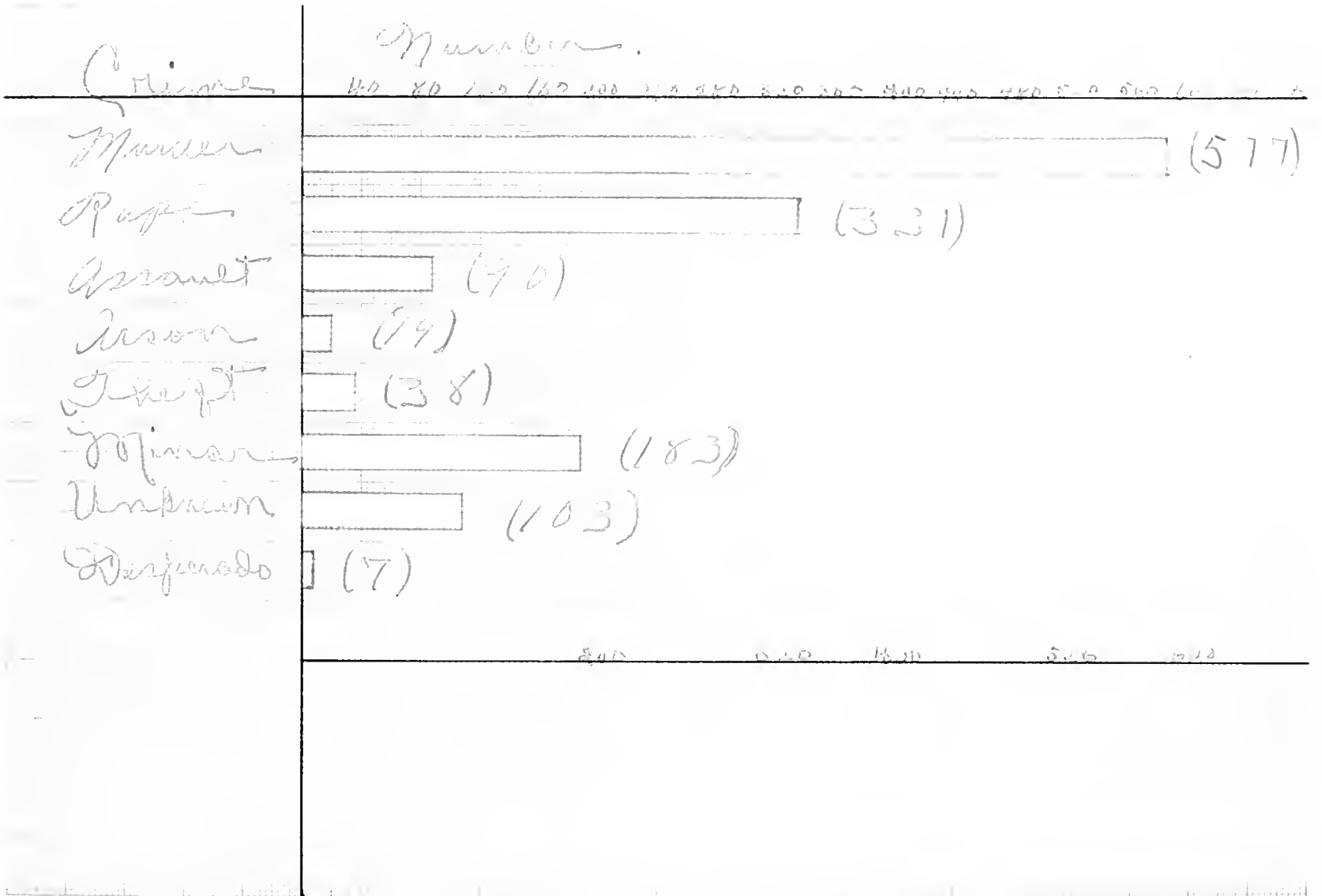
In 1927 Georgia had her first lynchless year since before 1882. During the previous year two white men and one Negro were lynched. The crime of one of the whites is not known; the other, Dave Wright, had killed a white woman.[19] The last lynching in the state occurred in December, 1926, at West Point, Troup County, in which there had been only one lynching since 1900 - in 1913. A Negro boy was killed by members of a mob while in search of another Negro who was charged with having shot and killed a white man in an adjoining county.

Chart XI shows the proportion of all persons lunched in the Major Lynching States since 1900. Of the

19. The leader of the mob that lynched Wright was given a life sentence in the penitentiary, and others of the 17 indicted were given sentences of from four to 20 years.

Chart

Proportion Lynched by Crime in the Major Lynching States, 1900-1928



total 1,348, 60 white men and 517 Negroes, or 43 per cent were lynched for Murder. Eleven whites and 320 Negroes, making a total of 331, or 24.5 per cent were accused of Rape. One white man and 89 Negroes or 6.6 per cent were lynched for Assault, and 103, or 7.6 per cent of the total were lynched for an "unknown"cause. Nineteen Negroes were lynched for Arson, while five whites and 33 Negroes were lynched for Theft. Seven white men and 176 Negroes, or 13.5 per cent of the total number lynched in the seven worst lynching states met that fate for Minor Offenses.

Let us turn attention to certain southern mob episodes. A consideration of these cases may add to the picture presented by the statistical analysis, and give some conception of the psychological, economic, and social factors involved.

CHAPTER IX

CASE STUDIES OF MOB ACTION IN THE SOUTH

That more lynchings result from murder than from any other crime, and that a large majority, though not nearly all lynchings are caused by Murder and Rape combined has been pointed out. In this chapter we shall consider cases in which these and other crimes served as stimuli to mob violence. Some of the crimes, ranging from murder to minor offenses, and the consequent mob episodes are given in detail so that a psychological analysis of mob action may be undertaken in a later chapter. Other cases which serve as illustrative material are stated more briefly. The fact that, in spite of all attempts at correction, yet a majority of the people are apparently under the impression that rape is the crime for which most lynchings occur makes this aspect of the subject especially worthy of consideration in the case studies.

By selecting the cases from widely scattered localities we may add to the picture as presented in the statistical analysis. Through the cases we may be able to point out certain of the causal factors in mob action; and through a psychological approach additional light may be thrown on the nature of this type of social phenomena. An attempt is made to present cases for as many different crimes and from as many localities of the entire area studied as possible. It must be remembered, however, that ordinarily it has been the cases of an unusual nature that have brought forth investigations and detailed publicity. From the standpoint of a psychological analysis of mob phenomena this selection of cases is not an invalidating circumstance. On the other hand there is one tendency to be guarded against if the reader would gain an accurate picture of the situation: The cases as presented are likely to leave the impression that burning to death and other extreme forms of torture are more frequently resorted to by mobs than is actually the case. While there has been upwards of 100 Negroes burned to death in the South since 1882 - the exact number is not known - it is true that practically all mob victims meet death by hanging or shooting. Moreover, as we have pointed out, about 32 per cent of the lynchings in the South since 1900 were for crimes other than Murder and Rape. Although specimens of these cases are given, for the reason noted above the proportion is not maintained.

Practically all cases of mob action for which there is sufficient data for a case study either resulted from atrocious crimes, or were characterized by extreme torture. The same is not true of all mob episodes.

Case One gives some of the background out of which the particular series of lynchings occurred. It shows that under such circumstances emotional transfer on the part of mob members may be so facilitated that a number of lynchings result from a crime committed by an individual.

Case 1

Alachua County, Florida: The Newberry Lynchings

Alachua County, Florida has the highest lynching record in the state, with a total of 13 since 1900. The total population of the county in 1920 was 31,469. Of this number 14,573, or 46.0 per cent were Negroes. In 1910, 55.7 per cent of the total population were Negroes. In this county 3.3 per cent of the whites were illiterate in 1920 as compared to 2.9 per cent of the whites of the state; and, 26.8 per cent of the Negroes as compared to 21.5 per cent of all Negroes of the state. The 13 lynchings since 1900 occurred over a period of 25 years beginning in 1902 when two Negroes were lynched at Newberry for Murder. In 1904 a Negro was lynched at High Springs for Rape and in 1908 a white man, John Long, at

Newberry, for Murder. The next lynching in the county was that of H. M. Owens in 1915 at Trenton as a result of "popular prejudice". The following year two women and four men were lynched at Newberry for "alleged accessory to murder", after which there was not another lynching for seven years. In 1923 a Negro was lynched near Newberry for "cattle stealing". The last death in the county by mob action was that of George Buddington at Waldo on December 27, 1926. He was shot by "unknown parties" for attempting to extort at the point of a pistol and alleged debt from a white woman."

Thus the lynching record of this county possibly indicates that the writer was not alone in the attitude expressed in a letter to Mr. Villard of New York. The latter had made a speech in Boston, that was featured by the press, in which he suggested that the Negro is a human being entitled, among other things, to legal justice and an education. He stressed the latter point and referred to the fact that in the South Negroes are not allowed in Public Libraries. Among several letters which he received was the following from Newberry, Florida.

Dear Sir:

Replying to your statement ... will say the reason the libraries in the Southern States are closed to the low down Negro eyes is because he is not worthy of an education.

All the mean crimes, that are done are committed by some educated Negro and furthermore, can you tell me what a Negro is? If you can you can do more than anyone else, for I have been dealing with Negroes for the last fifteen years and the only thing I can tell that he is a Negro and always will be as far as I have any power.

I would like for you to tell me where the negro first originated. If you will look in the bible it will tell you that he first originated from an animal. And we Southern people don't care to equal ourselves with animals.

The people of the South don't think any more of killing the black fellows than you would think of killing a flea.

So you have my opinion of Mr. Negro and if I was to live 1000 years that would be my opinion and every other Southern man.

Hoping you will understand what a negro is by this letter and resign your position.

(Signed) Wm. Cowart.

The mob episode of 1916 in which six persons, including two women, were lynched near Newberry is given below, as adapted from a report of an investigation made immediately after the occurrence. A few changes have been made in conformity to facts learned from later sources, especially the records of the Special Term of Circuit Court, Gainsville, Florida, 1916:

The town of Newberry was started when the phosphate fields were being worked around there. The phosphate fields shut down about five years ago, one mine after another. Now Newberry is just a perfectly bleak, bare, dismal, dreary, little town of small houses, with almost no shade trees. Most of the houses are vacant, and there is not one decent public building, such as schools, etc. About two-thirds of the inhabitants are colored people who hire out to white farmers. Most of the white people seem to live by little stores which they have there.

The road that runs from Gainesville to Newberry

is perfectly charming for about 18 miles. There are truck farms, four big farms and many little ones. These are owned almost entirely by colored people who seemed fairly prosperous and much respected.

About five miles from Newberry is Jonesville. Here is a blacksmith shop and a little store. All along little roads branch off leading to other towns.

It was between Jonesville and Newberry that the rioting occurred - just a little beyond Jonesville is a group of houses on a little rise of land belonging to Boise Long and Dennis. Boise Long was adopted into the Dennis family when he was a little boy and brought up with the Dennis children, and has lived with them ever since. In the little group of houses where Long lived were his family and some of the Dennis family. His uncle had a farm of a hundred acres several miles away.

The white farmers around there and in Newberry accused the colored farmers of stealing their hogs. Hog raising here is pretty important because there is a new firm in Gainesville which buys the hogs and ships them away to Georgia. The hogs run loose all through the pines and along the roads. There are fences but apparently the hogs are not in bounds.

The story is that the sheriff went to serve a warrant on Boise Long at two o'clock on the morning of August 18, which seemed an extraordinary thing to do -

to go out on a lonely road to arrest a man at this hour. The reason given is that he got the warrant in Jacksonville and came out on the train at 12:30 at night to Gainesville, where he took an automobile. Why he should be coming out on that train, or why he should come out at that time, is not known. With him went Dr. Harris (white). Some say that Dr. Harris was the owner of the hogs and had had the warrants sworn out.[1]

They got to Long's place and the sheriff went in to arrest Long. There again no one knows what happened except that it is clear enough that Long shot the two of them. They were rushed to the automobile and taken back to Jacksonville and at Jacksonville the sheriff died. There seems to be a good deal of controversy as to just how the shooting occurred.

Their going back to Jacksonville gave Long a chance to escape. The Newberry people came down to

---

1. This case was reported by the NAACP in the October, 1916, Crisis substantially as given here. It was the impression at that time that the Sheriff went to serve a warrant on Boise Long, who shot the Sheriff in resisting arrest. In the light of the Circuit Court records the following correction is to be made of the Crisis article and the report of the investigator: The white men went in search of a Negro named Mills, whom they thought to be at the house of Long. It was after Long failed to inform them of the whereabouts of Mills that they attempted to arrest him. They did not serve, or attempt to serve a warrant, but told Long at 2:00 o'clock in the morning to put on his clothes and go with them. The Negro grabbed his gun and "started to shootin' and runnin".

Long's, and since he had escaped, they took his wife, Stella, and the wife of Dennis. They were put in jail on the ground that they refused to give information. It is said that they were tortured for information.

Some time during the day the Newberry people came back. ... Here the sheriff sort of drops out and it is the hogs they are fighting about. They found James Dennis down at Jonesville and shot him, apparently for the sole reason that he belonged to the Dennis-Long family. His brother, Bert, went up to Newberry to buy a coffin and when he got there the men threw him in jail. Bert Dennis, Mary Dennis, and Stella Long were then in jail. ...

Then they met on the road coming from Newberry John Baskin, a Negro preacher, who had a farm about two miles away. It seems that he had been accused the year before of cow-stealing and arrested, but was discharged because there was not evidence enough to try him. Meeting him there, these men took him in an automobile back toward Newberry and lynched him. That was the first of the hanging. He was later accused of being the leader of the whole gang of hog-stealers.

Where the hangings took place there is a little plot of trees, bays, water oaks, etc., a charming place, within about a mile of Newberry. It seems queer that they should have chosen this exquisite spot, but it is

said that in former years other lynchings occurred there, ... that whenever the Newberry men treated themselves to a lynching it was at this same spot ... known as "Hangman's Island".

Having lynched Baskin, the men went up to the jail and took out the two women and man and lynched them. Then it was over.

The people of Gainesville do not like it. Gainseville is proud of its reputation. The whole town is beautiful, and the people love it, both the white and the colored, and they feel that this is a disgrace. All through Gainesville the feeling is that it is demoralizing, and that something ought to be done about it.

Case 2

The Lynching of Bud Johnson

This case is given mainly for the purpose of showing some of the correspondence which followed between the NAACP and the Governor of Florida.

Some of the facts concerning the lynching are indefinite. The newspaper account sent out from Castleberry and the sworn testimony of one who claims to have been an eye-witness are contradictory as to the cause of the burning. Johnson was a returned soldier. One account is that he attacked a white woman; another, that he was

lynched for refusing to give up a farm recently left to him by his deceased father, and that the accusation of "attempted assault" was decided upon after the lynching. It was thought by mob members, according to the report, that lynching an ex-soldier would create considerable discussion and might lead to their arrest. Thus it would be necessary to have "a good excuse for the lynching."

The following dispatch sent from Castleberry gives the newspaper account in brief:

> .... A delegation of prominent citizens called on the county officers early today. They informed them that they composed a reception committee appointed to entertain Judge Johnson, a gentleman of color, in their custody. The county officers claimed that he was a prisoner charged with having attacked a white woman and had confessed. The delegation demanded that he be turned over to them. The officers refused, so the delegation proceeded to "take" Johnson away from them, which was neatly done without the loss of a single life or gunshot. It is needless to say that the delegation proceeded to "entertain" Johnson, who, without any unique ceremony, was burned to death.

As stated the burning was not particularly a unique ceremony. According to the affidavit referred to, it was as follows:

> They shouted "get ropes, get coal oil and gasoline and let us burn this Negro up. He is bigoty. He is saucy. He thinks he is a soldier" ... They had a rope about his neck which had been thrown over the limb of a tree and by which they raised him up from the ground at intervals. They were choking him and he was bleeding and kicking. He had on his soldier clothing ... One said "Let's burn him", another said, "Let's tie him up

to a limb. The way to stop Negro soldiers is to burn them." Then they drew him up to a limb until a man could go up to the little store by the mill and get two buckets of kerosine each bucket holding probably two or three gallons. We stood there looking at it ... There were a few electric lights near the mill ... (a man) came out, supposed to be a Baptist preacher. He begged those men not to burn the Negro, that he had done no wrong. Bud said that if they would not take his life they might have his father's place... By this time they had gotten him out of Florida, probably 10 feet over the line into Alabama. The line was ascertained by Mr._____, surveyor... When they had gotten him into Alabama the old man again insisted that they should not burn him. "If you will do anything", he said, "give him a good whipping and let him go away." But they said, "Not so. You would spoil this Negro... He is sullen." ... One said, "When we get this one we will get all the Negroes"... Then they took the rope from the limb and dragged him up to a stump... and fastened his hands behind the stump. They ... tied his feet. They poured kerosine ... on his head and let it run down ... then one bucket of gasoline, and then had a young lady, a cousin of _____, light a newspaper with a match and set it to the body which, in about two minutes or less, was wreathed in flames. As the flames went up they ... shouted "This is the way

we do all Negroes who refuse to do what we want done."

The newspaper account seems to have been generally accepted in Florida, and of course it was the only one known in other sections of the country. The NAACP sent to Governor Catts a telegram calling his attention to the lynching of Johnson and another Negro. They pointed out how the lynching record of Florida was a disgrace to the Nation, and asked that the Governor prevent further disgrace by seeing that the lynchers were punished. Then the following correspondence, of the nature referred to in Chapter One, passed between the parties named above: First, the Governor replied, by letter:

John R. Shillady, Secretary, etc.

Sir:

I have your telegram, calling my attention to the lynching of two negroes in this State.

As you doubtless know I have exerted every effort possible to keep down lynching in this State. I was not cognizant of the lynching at Madison until I saw an account of it in the papers. In regard to the one at Milton, I was called up at midnight and told about the crime committed by this man and had him carried to Pensacola and put in Jail there; next morning the Sheriff of Pensacola called me up and stated that he was not safe there and I ordered him taken to Montgomery and sent down to Jacksonville for safekeeping, but Sheriff Harvell was overtaken and the man punished by death at the hands of an inforiated mob from Santa Rosa County.

You ask me to see that these lynchers are brought to trial. This would be impossible to do as conditions are now in Florida, for when a negro brute, or a white man, ravishes a white woman in the State of Florida, there is no use having the people, who see that this man meets death, brought to trial, even if you could find who they are; the citizenship will not stand for it.

You state that the man in Madison was burned to death and that it adds to the horror of lynching and

disgraces not only this State but the whole United States. Your race is always harping on the disgrace it brings to the State, by a concourse of white people taking revenge for the dishonoring of a white woman, when if you would spend one-half the time that you do, in giving maudlin sympathy, to teaching your people not to kill our white officers and disgrace our white women, you would keep down a thousand times greater disgrace.

I do not like the tone of your telegram at all, because you tacitly commend the crime your people committed while you abuse our people for resenting the wrong which your race has done. I have tried to be fair to your people at all times but I do not believe in such maudlin sentiment as this. If any man, white or black, should dishonor one of my family he would meet my pistol square from the shoulder, and every white man in this South, who is red-blooded American, feels the same as I do.

Therefore, you had best, as you say you are composed of 180 branches of 48,000 people in 38 States, spend some time in teaching the wanton, reckless negroes of your race, who wander from City to City, County to County and State to State, doing all the devilment they can. We do not have any trouble from negroes who are settled, own their homes, have their own property, cattle and horses, but it is the roving, transient, irresponsible and unmarried element of tramp negroes who bring all this disgrace on the country.

I, as a representative of one million people, both white and black, urge you to send out your missionaries and get your race to stop this kind of wanton and disgraceful ravishing of the white people of the South, or the Governors of the South will not be able to keep the mobs down, which I have used every effort possible to do in Florida.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Sidney J. Catts,
Governor of Florida.

Ten days later the matter of the two lynchings was closed, when the Secretary of the NAACP replied to the Governor as follows:

Hon. Sidney J. Catts, Governor,
Tallahassee, Florida.

Sir:

I have your letter of the 18th in acknowledgment, reply and criticism of my telegram of the 15th.

First, I wish to commend the attempts made by you to safeguard the prisoner at Milton. May I make it clear that in the telegram addressed to you we are not directing criticism against you as an individual but are speaking to you in your representative character as Governor of the State of Florida. Do you not think that when you ordered the sheriff of Pensacola to take his prisoner to Montgomery in order to have him sent to Jacksonville for safe keeping, Sheriff Harvell should have known, as an experienced and responsible officer of the State, the mind of the citizenship of whom you speak in your letter and would have been prepared with sufficient officers to protect any prisoner at the hands of the mob, no matter how infuriated? The experience of Governor Stanley of Kentucky who himself protected a prisoner, and of the few other brave officers of the law, warrants the belief that mobs which form in violation of the law will not attempt to carry out their purpose if they are met with strong resistance on the part of officers of the law who realize the meaning of their oaths and are determined that prisoners shall be tried in the courts and not by mobs on the highways.

Your assertion that the citizenship of Florida will not stand for seeing men who ravish white women tried in the courts is a serious commentary on our laws. Burning to death is so horrible that we can hardly believe, if we did not read your own words, that you as Governor of a great state find it possible to apologize for burning at the stake. This Association does not apologize for crime or condone it in any way. Your gratuitous assumption that I personally "tacitly commend the crime" committed is absolutely unwarranted. In order to protest against the burning of a human being at the stake, we did not feel that anyone would expect that we must begin such protest by disavowal of sympathy with the crime.

You speak a good deal about the horror of the crime. We think the crime is horrible, but we insist, as we believe all right-minded citizens of the United States are coming more and more to insist, that it is a greater crime for the governor of a state or the sheriff of a county to stand by and see the laws made by the people ignored and flouted. We do not believe that it is a justification for this lynching of the law to plead the wickedness of the criminal. Laws are made

to deal with such and the question is whether in this crucial time of the world's history American states shall flaunt their disregard of law in the face of President Wilson at Paris while he is endeavoring to promote the peace of the world.

All the arguments you make about the horror of the one crime do not touch the other - the man was only accused of shooting a watchman, a crime which, certainly, it was easy to punish in the courts.

Speaking of educating, you suggest that our Association spend time teaching wanton, reckless Negroes. May I suggest that as Governor of the State, you yourself take up the task of providing proportionate school facilities for the education of Negroes in your state. According to the report of the United States Bureau of Education, the relative per capita expenditures in Florida are; teaching white children, $11.50, and for the colored children; $2.64.

Incidentally, though it is not a point of importance, may I remark that I do not happen to be a Negro myself, as you seem to assume throughout your letter.

Sincerely yours, etc.

Case 3

A Lynching Series in Georgia, 1918

The series of lynchings in Brooks and Lowndes counties, Georgia, which extended over a period of five days in May, 1918, brought forth considerable publicity as well as an investigation, the report of which was requested by Governor Dorsey. While all available sources have been considered the case as given is taken largely from this report which gave more details than the newspaper accounts, and placed the total victims at eleven. It was said that a total of 18 were lynched but the investigator could not verify the number. The immediate exodus of

Negroes from the counties made a check-up impossible.

Brooks and Lowndes counties are in the richest agricultural section of the state, in the southernmost part near the Florida line. In both counties the Negro population is in the majority. In 1920 the Negro population of Brooks County was 58.1 per cent, and in Lowndes, 51.0 per cent. There had been a drop of 1.0 per cent and 2.0 per cent, respectively, since 1910. There is a high rate of farm tenancy in both counties, as well as a number of large plantations on which hired labor is employed. In the state as a whole 29.1 per cent of the Negroes above 10 years of age are illiterate, and 5.4 per cent of the whites. In Brooks and Lowndes counties 35.6 per cent and 22.0 per cent respectively of the Negroes are illiterate. Of the whites 4.5 and 3.0 per cent respectively are illiterate. Thus the Negro illiteracy for Lowndes and the white illiteracy for both counties is lower than for the state as a whole. The county seats are Quitman with a population of about 4,500, and Voldosta with 8,000. In each the Negro population is about 50 per cent.

The lynching history of the two counties runs back for at least 38 years. A Negro was lynched at Voldosta in 1890 for Rape. In 1894 the lynching victims in Georgia numbered 20, 17 of whom were lynched in central and south Georgia. In Brook County, on December 23, seven Negroes were lynched for Murder. There was not another lynching in either county until 1901 when an unknown Negro was lynched near Quitman, for Rape, and another at Voldosta

for "murderous assault". Seven years later an unknown Negro was lynched at Voldosta for "conspiracy to do violence". In 1915 a Negro was lynched at Voldosta for Theft, and in 1916 another for alleged burglary. Six months before the mob episode described below, Jessie Staten was lynched at Quitman for "insulting a white woman".

In Brooks County, near Barney several miles north of Quitman, Hampton Smith owned a large plantation. He seems to have had considerable trouble from time to time with his Negro employees. As a result of difficulty in securing sufficient farm help he had adopted the policy of going to the courts, paying the fines of Negroes convicted of crimes, and allowing them to work out the amount on his plantation.

Sidney Johnson was fined $30.00 "for gaming". He was unable to pay, so the amount was advanced by Smith, for whom he went to work. After a time Johnson asked for some money, claiming that he had more than earned the amount of the fine. Smith refused. A few days later Johnson failed to report for work and, when questioned, claimed he was sick. Smith whipped him and the Negro threatened his life. A few nights later, according to statements made by Johnson before being lynched, he shot Smith through a window. A bullet also struck his wife, who was not severely injured. Smith died instantly. This was on Thursday, May 16, 1918.

Posses were immediately formed to search for

Johnson, for it was known that he had threatened the landlord's life. A report was now circulated - by whom it was started is not known - to the effect that there was a conspiracy among a number of Negroes to kill Smith. It was said that Hayes Turner had also threatened Smith for beating his wife, Mary Turner. So the report was that the conspirators had met at Turner's house.

On Friday morning about 8:30 a posse of citizens caught Will Head, a Negro of the community. Later in the day another Negro was arrested and both were placed in the jail at Voldosta. That night they were taken five miles out of Voldosta, where they were hanged and shot. In this mob, according to a member, were many citizens of Quitman, Voldosta and the surrounding country. Of the 17 who were known and recognized by this member, four were close relatives to Hampton Smith, five were farmers, one was a postal clerk, one a furniture store clerk, and one a stock dealer. The two leaders were from Quitman - one a professional man and the other a merchant. These names have never been published; to do so now would be both useless and embarrassing.

On Saturday morning Hayes Turner was placed in jail at Quitman. Later in the day the Sheriff decided to take him to Moultrie, but was overtaken when about three miles out of Quitman, and Turner was hanged. The body remained there until Monday when it was cut down by some county convicts and buried about 50 feet away.

> During Sunday ... hundreds of automobiles, buggies and Wagons bore sight-seers to the spot while many more tramped there on foot.

Another Negro - probably Eugene Rice - was lynched on Saturday afternoon. His connection with the crime was not stated by any of the reports and the investigator could find no one, white or black, who knew why he was lynched. That night two other negroes were called from their homes and were not seen again. About a week later three bodies of unidentified Negroes were taken from Little River, a few miles below Barney. It is thought - though not known - that these Negroes were also lynched on Saturday, May 18. The bodies disappeared soon after being taken from the River, hence were not identified.

Hayes Turner's wife said that her husband was not guilty of conspiracy to murder, and threatened to have members of the mob arrested if she could find out who they were. On Sunday, about noontime, she was taken by a mob and lynched in a unique manner, near Folsom's Bridge a few miles from Barney, on Little River. With her ankles tied together, she was hung to a small oak tree, head downward. Gasoline was poured on her and a match applied. After her clothing was burned away, it was said by a member of the mob, a man cut her open and an unborn infant dropped to the ground. Hundreds of bullets were then fired into the body and the lynching was over. The mob dispersed to search again for Johnson, the criminal.

No one had thought to search in Voldosta for

him. The newspapers had said that he was hiding in swamps near Quitman. On Monday Johnson went to the home of a Negro and asked for food. This was readily given after which the officers were immediately notified.[2] Johnson said that he alone was responsible for Smith's death, and boasted that he would never be taken alive. Soon a large crowd gathered, and, under the leadership of Police Chief Dampier, surrounded the house to which the Negro had fled. When firing began from both sides the Chief was wounded in the hand, and another man was struck in the neck. The firing was accelerated for a few minutes after which Johnson dropped dead. With a rope around his neck his body was dragged behind an automobile through Patterson Street, one of the City's business thoroughfares, out near the scene of the murder. There the body was burned to a crisp.

No one was arrested. Within two months it was estimated that more than 500 Negroes had migrated from Brooks and Lowndes counties, and others expressed intentions of leaving after crops were gathered in the fall.

---

2. Instances in which Negroes have thus cooperated with the officers of the law are numerous. The statement, heard over and over to the effect that "there never was a Negro who would not conceal another in a crime" is not wholly true.

Case 4

A Lynching in Bertie County, North Carolina

Lewiston, in Bertie County, North Carolina, has a population of 244 people. It is a rural village surrounded by farms occupied mostly by Negro tenants. There had never been a lynching in Bertie County, although within the past few years there had been one at Kinston and another at Goldsboro, both two counties distant to the South-west.

According to press reports on March 23, 1918, a Negro boy 19 years of age was accused of "assault on a white woman". He was lynched fifteen minutes after being caught. ... "None of the mob was masked, the lynching created no excitement, no attempt has been made to ascertain the citizens that hung the Negro, and it is presumably a finished job."

Of course the people were surprised at this incident, and regretted its occurrence. Moreover it could hardly be repeated, just as it occurred on that date and with the same results, anywhere in the state. However the case indicates the psychological and social background out of which under the proper general state of emotional excitement as existed in 1918 a Negro may be lynched suddenly and with no after effects of a legal nature. Later incidents in North Carolina, including one during the past year which was widely discussed by the press, indicate that this Bertie County Lynching was not altogether an isolated case.

Case 5

The Burning of Lloyd Clay at Vicksburg

Warren County, Mississippi, borders on the river and is located in the "lynching section" of the state. In three of the counties which border on Warren there have been 17 persons lynched since 1900, and six have been lynched in Warren County during the period. In 1903 two Negroes were lynched near Vicksburg for murder, and in 1907 another for the same offense. Then in 1915 Edward Johnson, charged with murder and cattle stealing, was lynched near Vicksburg. The next lynching in the county was that of Lloyd Clay, but violence toward Negroes was not unknown there during the War.

This is indicated by correspondence sent to and received from the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice at Washington, as well as through correspondence directly with former residents of Vicksburg who had been "run out ot town". During the War some of the more wealthy Negroes - business and professional men - were forced to leave. A Negro doctor was tarred and feathered; they told him it was because he did not subscribe for $1000.00 worth of War Savings Stamps. A Negro pharmacist was also ordered in the name of the War Savings Stamp Committee and by "officers and citizens" to leave Vicksburg. He owned property on one of the "main corners" and for some time white men are said to have tried to buy it from him. A Negro business man who had gone to New Orleans

on a "fall-buying trip" was ordered not to return to Vicksburg. About the time he got to Chicago, and as soon as he had sold his business - at a great loss it is claimed - he was ordered back for military service. It was maintained that as he had sold his business, and as he had sufficient money to support his family for the duration of the War, therefore it was proper to change his military status from Fourth Class D to First Class and to call on him to report immediately.

With this much of the history of Vicksburg before us, possibly the only surprising thing about what happened in 1910 is the method of punishment meted out to Lloyd Clay; and that was no unusual occurrence within the culture range of the citizens of Vicksburg. In no other state is burning a more favorite method of lynching.

We are informed by an eye-witness, white, who now resides in another state, that the case of the burning of Lloyd Clay as reported by the New Orleans Times Picayune was substantially correct. She states that the bloodhounds trailed the Negro to a box car where he had "attempted to conceal himself".[3] She does not know about the claim that he was not "the right Negro", for "everybody said he was the one". He was 19 years old instead of 24. She also corrects the statement that he was put "on a truck"

3. There are conflicting reports as to where and how Clay was located. Cf. Seligmann, "Protecting Southern Womanhood," The Nation, Vol. 108, pp. 938ff.

and taken to the tree from which he was hanged, shot and burned. Instead "they tied him to the end of one of the trucks and dragged him over town practically rendering the Negro dead." With these corrections we quote the case as reported by the Times Picayune:

Vicksburg Mob Lynches Negro and Burns Body: Storms Jail and Breaks in Three Steel Doors to get Prisoner: Black Caught After Bloodhouns Chase: Attempt on White woman was One of a Series of Such Crimes: Vicksburg, Miss., May 14, (1919) .... Lloyd Clay, Negro, 24 years old, was lynched and burned here at 8:30 o'clock tonight by men who stormed the jail, threw the Sheriff, Frank Scott, into a corner, pinning him to the floor, broke through a heavy one-inch steel barred window, then broke a heavy iron door from its hinges, and took the prisoner from his cell. The Negro was charged with attempting criminal assault upon a white girl shortly after 5 o'clock this morning.

Two white men were shot and another seriously injured by a blow during the struggles attending the lynching.

The Negro entered the home of Kelly Broussard about 5 o'clock this morning and made his way to the room of a young girl boarder, apparently locking the door behind him. The girl, awakened by his presence, screamed and fought him off. Broussard, awakened by the screams, was unable to get into the room. The girl, hearing Broussard, sought to hold the Negro but

failed, the black breaking loose and making good his escape.

John Gantt and his bloodhounds of Crystal Springs were secured and they took the scent at the Broussard home and after making a circuit of several blocks ran to the Alabama and Vicksburg depot where they bayed the Negro, Clay. He was arrested.

The girl was taken to the jail, but did not positively identify him. A large mob quickly gathered about the jail and refused to be dispersed by the officers. They were informed that it was the wrong Negro, but this had no effect. Some few left, but others took their places.

Judge's Promise Vain

Judge Brien said if there was any evidence against the Negro he would call a special term of court and organize a special grand jury. But this did not disperse the crowd. Shortly after 6 o'clock the mob was augmented by men from different parts of the city. Sheriff Scott swore in a dozen special deputies who went inside the jail.

At 7:45 o'clock a mob came into the street in front of the jail. They had a piece of railroad track 16 feet in length and began to batter a jail window. Sheriff Scott attempted to talk to the crowd but the men crowded close about him so he could not lift his hands and quietly lifted him from his feet, then threw

him over to a corner and forced him to the floor. His efforts to resist were vain. M. G. Cockrell, a contractor, who had been sworn in as a deputy, was rammed in the stomach by the railroad iron and fell to the floor. He may be internally injured.

The men turned their attention to the powerful steel bars and after hammering for twenty minutes the steel was broken and the parts imbedded in the wall were forced out. The breaking of the other doors was a matter of short work, as the mob went at it with a determination to get their man.

Negroes Cower in Terror

In the meantime the Negroes in the jail were shrieking and Clay cowered in his cell. When the men reached him he exclaimed: "Give me a minute and I'll tell you who the other Negro is."

But the crowd did not temporize. They took the Negro out to the street, put him on an auto truck, and 40 men boarded the truck. The Negro was taken two blocks south to Clay street and then four blocks east to Farmer and Clay streets, within a shot distance of the Broussard home. A rope was fastened about his neck and thrown over a tree limb 20 feet from the ground. Some oil was poured on the Negro's head and he was pulled into the air. He attempted to haul himself up on the rope with his hands. Then his hands were tied. The next move was to apply the match to his

oil-soaked head. A bonfire was started under his feet, which dangled four feet above the ground. A fusilade of shots was fired into the body and into the air.

In some way, Charles Lancaster, an onlooker, was hit in the head with a bullet inflicting what may prove a fatal wound. Lancaster is an engineer for the Anderson Tully Lumber Company. A young man named Bennis Stafford was shot in the arm. There was a great crowd present, including many women, who looked on in silence. The lynching is the culmination of a series of attempts on women and young girls which has continued for weeks. Women and girls had become so apprehensive they feared to retire at night. Two Negroes arrested three weeks ago were spirited to Jackson, where they are now held for safe-keeping. Thousands viewed the body roasting over the fire and then went home.

The letter in which our informant verifies the case as related above closes as follows: The unpardonable sin among southern people is for a Negro to assault a white girl. In many communities the whites see no limit as to the punishment such a fellow deserves. The mob (at Vicksburg) was what we would term a "mad mob". It was one of the most horrible things I have ever witnessed.

The lynching occurred immediately after Miss Hudson, the girl boarder at Brossard's, "said the word",

although she had previously failed to identify Clay as her assailant. So far as we can discover the statement of the Vicksburg Evening Post has not been contradicted: "Brought before Miss Hudson, she declared he was not the man who attacked her last night." On the other hand it is said that Miss Hudson "positively identified" a Negro who for several days prior to and including May 14, had been in jail.[4]

The jury, headed by Coroner Crichlow, found that Clay met death by mob action, "the said mob being unknown to the jury."

There are other interesting side-lights in the case. The Evening Post pointed out that the mob (estimated at 1500) must have been an "amateur organization". After Miss Hudson had "said the word" this mob "picked the first tree which came handy, which unfortunately, was in the center of the city, surrounded by residences of citizens whose sensibilities were shocked by the occurrence." Even the "sensibilities" of the Vicksburg Herald must have been shocked. In an editorial on May 16 this "organ of public opinion" pointed out that the evil inter-racial condition is "aggravated if not actually provoked" by such movements as the "negro country wide campaign for equal right", and that although a "more kindly and just" race relationship "all may strive for", yet "never in the way

4. See The Nation, loc. cit.

of race equality in political and civil rights" as called for by certain "New York race propaganda".

The tree which the amateurish mob selected for the burning happened to be in front of the residence of Mrs. Ida M. Keefe. She asked of one of the men that the tree be cut down. "Madam", he replied, "the tree is a monument to the spirit of manhood of this community who will not tolerate crimes against their women folks. What was done here last night was done for you and for every woman and girl in Warren County." This view was concurred in by Mrs. E. P. Shaw, of Vicksburg. To her this maple tree was "a monument to our young manhood and we women and girls should stand behind men in a thing like this."

Case 6

A Straggler Strangled at Jonesville

Jonesville, Louisiana, in Catahoula Parish, has a population of 1,029, a large majority of whom are white. In 1907 a cotton gin belonging to a Capt. J. W. Swaynzee was burned down at Jonesville, "and the following night two Negroes were hanged to a pecan tree within the town limits for the crime."[5] They were Sam Jones and Arthur Gardner. Press reports at the time stated that a third Negro was shot for the same offense, but the investigator

5. This case is taken from a report sent in by a former Graduate student of the University of North Carolina.

could not verify the statement. Nor was he able to find out why the Negroes were charged with the burning of the gin. Information from those who remember the affair at all is to the effect that a small number of men did the lynching before the people in general knew what was happening, and it seems that no one was interested to the extent of inquiring how the Negroes were known to be guilty. The general attitude seems to have been that those who hanged the Negroes must have had some reason for doing so, and that it did not matter particularly just what this reason was.

Apparently this attitude as regards the importance of the Negro's life and of his place in the community has changed but little since that time. A resident of the town states that the Negroes and the whites get along fine in Jonesville "as long as the Negro stays in his place", but when he takes some "biggety" or "radical" move the whites "don't mind waiting on him". Generally speaking the Negro respects the whites and the whites "have a feeling of guardianism and protection" for the Negro just so long as he "acts as a Negro should". The little chores and gardening jobs around the white's homes are usually done by some "Uncle Charlie" or "Aunt Susie", or even a young Negro boy or girl. The merchants don't mind crediting a Negro if they know him any more than a white man "and in many cases they had rather". But they don't like Negro strangers and stragglers in Jonesville.

Such a member of the Black Ulysses tribe came to town on or about August 30, 1919. He was not only a stranger and a straggler but he utterly and egregiously failed in that fundamental of all requirements: he did not "stay in his place"; and he did not "act as a Negro should". This unknown Negro was found in the house of a Mr. Davis. Why he was there, of course, will never be known. It may have been for the purpose of stealing food or clothes. If he had possessed intelligence enough to be "responsible" for his acts he would hardly have come for the purpose of attacking Mrs. Davis while her husband was there in the house with her. It is thought that he was in the house when the Davis couple entered, whereupon he hid under the bed in one of the rooms. At any rate Mrs. Davis was first to discover his presence whereupon she called her husband who had gone into another room. He came quickly with a shot gun and held it on the Negro until some neighbors could arrive.

"A number of whites made up a gang, took the Negro to the outskirts of town and hanged him to the limb of a sycamore tree. He remained hanging there until late the following day when he was taken down by some members of his race." The investigator was informed that "the person who tied the knot around the victim's neck was a Negro of wealth and high standing in Jonesville. He did it of his own accord, too." The Negro is well liked by the whites of Jonesville. He said on the occasion of the lynching: "I will help hang any Negro that would step

so low down and mean as to try to do harm to any white lady in this town."

Thus peaceful Jonesville where there is "a feeling of guardianism and protection" toward the Negro had an outbreak of mob violence on this hot August night: An unknown straggler was strangled without being questioned as to why he did not stay in his place and act as a Negro should.

Case 7

The Lynching at Waco Texas

The city of Waco, Texas, is the county seat of McLennan County. Situated on the Brazos River, about half way between Dallas and Austin, it is the junction point of seven railways. The city is in a fertile agricultural region with grain and cotton as the chief products, and with nearly 200 manufacturing establishments, representing some 70 different industries.

From a population of 14,445 in 1890, Waco had grown to be a city of 26,500 in 1910. The white population in these 20 years had almost exactly doubled, while the colored population had increased from 4,000 to 6,000 forming thus 23 per cent of the total population. Practically three-fourths of the population is native white of native parentage.

Waco is well laid out. The streets are broad,

over 60 miles of them being paved in 1916. There was also an excellent sewage system of 100 miles and a fine city owned water system, as well as city parks of which the progressive citizens were justly proud. There were 39 white and 24 colored churches: Baptist 14; Methodist, 9; Christian, 4; Presbyterian, 3; Jewish, 2; Evangelistic, 1; Lutheran, 1; Catholic, 1; Christian Science, 1; and the Salvation Army, 1. The colleges are: Baylor University, Baylor Academy, the Catholic College, the Independent Biblical and Industrial School, all white; and the Central Texas College and Paul Quinn, colored colleges. High schools and National Banks were also as numerous in 1916 as was required for ample provision in these respects.

Near the country town of Robinson, some six miles from Waco, lived a white family of four - the Fryars - who owned a small farm. This they cultivated themselves with the help of a "hired man", a colored boy of 17, named Jesse Washington. Jess was a big, well-developed fellow, but ignorant, being unable either to read or write. His teacher, a college graduate, stated that she was unable to teach the boy to read or write. From other facts to be noted below, he was evidently feeble-minded.

The Crime

On Monday, May 8, 1916 while Mr. Fryar, his son of 14, and his daughter of 23, were hoeing cotton in one

part of their farm, the Negro boy was plowing and sowing cotton seed near the house where Mrs. Fryar was alone. He went to the house for more cotton seed. As Mrs. Fryar was scooping them into the bag which the Negro held, she scolded him for beating the mules. He knocked her down with a blacksmith's hammer which he had placed nearby. Then, according to his later confession, he criminally assaulted her, after which he killed her with the hammer. He threw the hammer into a nearby briar patch. In his confession he willingly told officers where it was. After committing the crime the Negro returned to the field, finished his work, and went home where he lived in a small cabin with his father, mother and several brothers and sisters.

When the murdered woman was discovered suspicion pointed to Jesse Washington, and he was found, after having eaten supper, sitting in his yard whittling a stick. He was arrested and immediately taken to jail in Waco. Just before midnight a mob, composed of Robinson people and farmers, visited the jail. They came in with about 30 automobiles, each crowded beyond capacity.[6] There was no noise, no tooting of horns, the lights were dim, and some had no lights at all. They looked, but could not find the Negro who had been taken away to Hillsboro. There the sheriff obtained a full confession without any

6. These facts were given by Waco officers.

third degree methods, according to the lawyers who defended Washington. A part of the mob went to this county seat to get the Negro, but he was again removed; this time to Dallas. Later a small group of business men from Waco gained the pledge of the Robinson people that they would not lynch the boy, provided the authorities would act promptly, and if the criminal would waive his legal rights to a change of venue and an appeal.

A second confession in which the Negro waived all legal rights was obtained in the Dallas jail. The Grand Jury indicted him on Thursday, and the case was set for trial on Monday, May 15. Of course not all of the Robinson people were in on the pledge made to the Waco business men, and, under stimulus of the newspapers, certain elements in and around Waco became more and more excited as the day of the trial drew near, when the Negro would be brought back to Waco. On Sunday, at midnight, he was brought back and secreted in the office of the judge. There was practically no doubt whatever of his guilt, and even less doubt that on the next day, if the law took its course, he would be tried, condemned and hanged. There had not been a lynching in Waco for 11 years, when in 1905, on August 8, Sank Majors was lynched for Rape.

The news went out that Washington would be in Waco, ready for trial on Monday morning, and the crowd began to gather in from the surrounding country on Sunday. When court opened Monday morning, according to

rough estimates, 1,500 crowded into the court room - the capacity of which is about 1/3 that number - while 2,000 waited outside. The district judge of the criminal court elbowed his way through the crowd to the desk. The Negro was brought in from the Judge's office where he had remained secreted since the sheriff brought him from Dallas in the middle of the night. His entrance was a tense moment, the attention of the entire group centered directly upon him, and "emotions ran high". As the jurors were called, members of the crowd yelled, "We don't need any jury!"

The trial was a hurried affair, for, although six lawyers defended Washington, and his confession was questioned and debated, the jury had been out three minutes and returned by 11:22 A. M. with the following verdict: "We, the jury, find the defendant guilty of murder as charged in the indictment and assess his punishement as death." (Signed), W. B. Brazelton, foreman. "Is that your verdict, gentlemen?" asked Judge Munroe. "Yes" was the answer; and as the defendant had waived all legal rights, there was no appeal, and he was to hang at three that afternoon.

The Lynching

There was a pause of a full minute while the judge made the entry: "May 15, 1916: Jury verdict of guilty." Meanwhile the court stenographer, according to his later statement, knowing what was soon to happen,

slipped back of the sheriff and out of the room. "The sheriff slipped out too", says the court stenographer. The sheriff claimed that he was under no further obligations after he had brought the defendant to the court room safely. At the end of this tense minute of absolute quiet, a big tall Waco citizen, driver of an Annheuser brewery truck, yelled from the back of the court room, "Get the nigger."

The mob surged forward and took the Negro before the court could pronounce judgment. They rushed him down the back stairs into the crowd outside and tied him with a chain to an automobile. The chain was put into his mouth "so he would not choke too soon". Many had come a long way "to attend this part and they didn't want it to end in a minute". Everybody seemed happy; they shouted and sang like a bunch of fans at a ball game, according to a Waco paper.

The Negro's clothes were cut up and distributed as souvenirs. Somebody cut off one of his ears. The Waco Times Herald published the same afternoon said, "On the way to the scene of the burning people on every hand showed their feelings in the matter by striking the Negro with anything obtainable; some struck him with shovels, bricks, clubs, and others stabbed him and cut him until when he was strung up his body was a solid color of red, the blood of the many wounds inflicted covered him from head to foot."

They took Washington to a tree on the City Hall

lawn just outside the window which the Mayor shared with the photographer to whom we are indebted for pictures of the scene. A chain was thrown over the limb of this tree, and while the fire was being lit, the bloody victim was drawn up from the ground. As the chain tightened around his neck, he reached up to grab it and his fingers were cut off. A member of the mob unsexed the Negro. To quote agains from the Times Herald:

> "Fingers, ears, pieces of clothing, toes, and other parts of the negro's body were cut off by members of the mob that had crowded to the scene as if by magic when the word that the negro had been taken in charge by the mob was heralded over the city. As the smoke rose to the heavens, the mass of people, numbering in the neighborhood of 10,000, crowding the City Hall lawn and overflowing the square, hanging from the windows of buildings, viewing the scene from the tops of buildings and trees, set up a shout that was heard blocks away. Onlookers were hanging from the windows of the City Hall and every other building that commanded a sight of the burning, and as the negro's body commenced to burn, shouts of delight went up from the thousands of throats, and apparently everybody demonstrated in some way their satisfaction..."

The body of the Negro was burned to a crisp, and was left for some time smouldering in the remains of the fire. "Women and children who desired to view the scene were given a chance to do so, the crowds parting to let

them look on", says the newspaper account. One man who held his little son on his shoulder where he could get a good view, said later: "My son can't learn too young the proper way to treat a nigger."

By 12:00 o'clock the crowd began to disperse. About an hour later a cowboy who had ridden in off the range tied the remains (as shown by picture No. 4) of the Negro and rode over town with the skeleton dangling at the end of his lariat. He then rode out to Robinson and back to Waco, still dragging the skeleton. How it was finally disposed of is not known. It is said to have been thrown into an ash can. The links of the chain with which the criminal was hanged, as well as his teeth, were sold as souvenirs by some small boys.

The small town and country people from around Waco went back home. By Saturday hardly a person wanted to talk of the lynching. The people were again busy; life was going on in the normal way. Newspaper men, lawyers and judges thought the best thing to do was to "forget it". Soon afterwards the photographer who made the following photographs of the affair, wrote a letter to one who inquired about the pictures saying, "We have quite selling the mob photos. This step was taken because our 'City dads' objected on the grounds of 'bad publicity'. As we wanted to be boosters and not knockers, we agreed to stop all sales."

"Fix it up as well as you can for Waco" said an ex-mayor to a reporter from another city, "and make

Picture 1. THE CROWD AT WACO

Picture 2. THE BURNING

14757-D

Picture 3. ONLOOKERS

Picture 4. AFTER THE BURNING

them understand that the better thinking men and women of Waco were not in it."

The Philadelphia Press discussed Texas, Russia, Turkey and Germany in the same editorial, and pointed out that primitive red Indians could not have outdone the Texas Mob. Commenting upon the headline: "Over 15,000 men, women and children see Negro boy lynched in Texas", the Chicago Evening Post remarked: "This, if we remember rightly, is the noble State that is always hollering to be allowed to 'clean up barbarous Mexico'". Mrs. Fryar and a Negro moron were gone; and by a busy world soon forgotten.

Case 8

Mob Action at Princeton, West Virginia: The Lynching of Robert Johnson[7]

According to the records there has been only one lynching, at least during the past 45 years, in Mercer County, West Virginia. The only information which we have on the case is the report by Oppenheim. It is too late now to verify the facts as stated, or to deny them. In the light of cases given above the report is suggestive, and is given here for what it is worth.

7. Adapted from the report of a personal investigation by James Oppenheim, "The Independent", Vol. 73, (1912) pp. 823-827.

In 1912 Bluefield West Virginia was "a railroad yard with houses all around it." Its main street looked down on coal cars and switch engines and up on the other side at splendid cliffs on the top of which were immense billboards advertising talcum powder and the Appalachian Power Company. The latter sign, illuminated and in motion, dominated the twinkling valley by night. Seventeen hundred people dwelled there in an atmosphere of soot, among the white vapor, the trundling of wheels, the alarm of bells and the incessant sound of escaping steam.

The little valley is distributing center for the adjacent coal region, and necessarily Bluefield was a town of workers; a town of railroad and coal men, with the shops, hotels, jails, churches and saloons that depended upon them. Life died there with sundown for those inhabitants who were not drawn to the bars, the prayer-meetings and the moving pictures.

Bluefield had a fascinating human mixture, reminiscent of border days; there were the natives, the lanky lovable Virginians; there were the Yankees and Westerners; a few Slavs and Germans and Italians; a non-descript shifting populations of rough laborers; and, an immense number of Negroes. In fact there were so many Negroes that the county was divided in its government; the Judge, for instance, being a Republican, the prosecuting attorney a Democrat. The investigator was reminded further of border days by the tales of the feuds, and the swift

pulling of guns and the assassination of citizens.

It was undoubtedly the presence of the Negro that gave the town some of its dominant characteristics. There was a sharp social cleavage, a sharp industrial cleavage, as well as political division. The white Railroad workers, objected to doing teamwork with Negro firemen; and socially the Negro was shut into his own part of town.

A member of the local government said to the investigator: "We lost a great war, and saw our ignorant nigger slaves put in power over us and our women insulted. Every spot in the South has its woman or two branded for life. And the worst riff-raff of the North came down to lord it over us. What could we do? Our only way to win back power was through our Ku Klux Klan - through lynch law. There was no other law to help us. And now the niggers must be kept down. I'm a humanitarian all right, but the nigger must know his place."

As one of the ministers put it: "There is no trouble so long as they know their place. I've preached in their churches for them; and I'm friendly as anyone to them. You know we have a colored institute down here where they are giving the niggers training. That bunch is all right. You can phone over there and a fellow will drop his book of Latin or Algebra and come over and scrub the floors for you. That's the proper spirit."

A few days before the time in question, at

Princeton, a town ten miles away, the rumor went forth that a Negro had insulted a white woman. He escaped unpunished, as there was no evidence against him. Just the same "White Womanhood" had been "insulted", and feeling ran high for a day or so, then began to subside. Such is a sketchy outline preceding the morning of September 4, 1912.

Gordon White was a construction foreman in the railroad yards, a stocky back-bent mountaineer, quiet and passionate, very pleasant with his neighbors, but hard on the Negroes. He believed "in drivin' the niggers with a whip and sweatin' the work out of them, for "they are a good-for-nothin' lazy lot." He had a neat house on Caroline Avenue, and here, recently he had lived alone with his daughter Neta, his wife being away on a visit to his other children in Virginia. Nita was 16; an attractive, blossoming girl, with the hearty mountaineer freshness and vitality, and, as one of the policemen put it, "with more than the usual run of nerve." She worked alone in the house while her father was in the yards. He left her, as usual, at seven on the morning of September 4th. At a quarter to nine Neta flung open one of the sitting room windows and screamed for help. Neighbors rushed in and found her lying on the floor in a "distraught condition". A doctor was called and found that beyond the shock, the girl had not been harmed, the assailant, - if there had been one - probably fleeing when the dog began to bark. One who

saw her two weeks later stated that there was hardly evidence even of shock; she seemed sparkingly alert and animated, though there were times, the doctor said, when she was seized with nervous chills and the mention of the word "nigger" sometimes brought these on.

The story which she told was as follows: At about 7:30 there was a knock at the front door. She opened it and a Negro stepped in. She thought she had seen this Negro before; that he had called several weeks previously to get a coat for her father. This time he said that her father had sent him for the tape-line. Neta turned to the stair-case; whereupon the Negro seized her and attempted to stifle her cries by forcing a large bandana handkerchief into her mouth. At the same time he dragged her into the sitting room. She screamed, however, and was answered by the loud barking of the dog in the basement. She lost consciousness then, and when she awoke, crawled desperately to the window, raised it, and called for help. In spite of the speed and excitement of the occurrence she gave a vivid description of her assailant. He was quite black, about five and a half feet tall, medium slender, heavy moustache, looked as if he had a week's growth of beard, dressed in overall jacket, light hat, blue overalls with bib coming over breast, wore watch chain across breast to pocket in overalls, dark or dirty shirt, had red bandana handkerchief, and low cut shoes.

About nine o'clock, then, the alarm was given, and soon citizens and officers, afoot, on horseback and in automobiles were making a search of the vicinity. Two Negroes were arrested, Walter Jackson and Robert Johnson. Suspiction immediately attached to the latter. Although he did not tally with the description - he wore black trousers, a fresh shirt, and a small growth on his upper lip in place of a moustache, and he was a large, heavy fellow - yet he "spoke between his teeth" and showed great sullenness, refusing at first to answer questions. According to the statements of several who were present, "he had a guilty look about him", and as one discerning citizen put it: "Now he mightn't a done the crime; but there's no doubt in my mind that the nigger did do <u>something</u>."

Questioned by the local magistrate, however, he said he had come to Bluefield that morning from Graham, a village three miles distant; that as his underwear and shirt were in a soiled condition, he stopped at a store and bought a new set; and that he had then gone to a cornfield not far from the White house and there made the change. He had previously been working at Jaeger, and had come over to Graham in box-cars.

Johnson willingly took officers to the cornfield and the clothing was found. Then he and Jackson were taken to the White house in an automobile. The father was now at home in a frenzied condition, but not so far gone but that he could precede the suspects to his

daughter's room and assure her, before witnesses:

"Neither of them niggers ever worked for me. They ain't got the right man."

The Negroes were brought in, and Neta failed to identify either. After further questioning, however, she thought possibly Johnson "reminded" her of the assailant, but the assailant had been dressed differently. Whereupon the two Negroes were taken back to jail, and the search continued.

In the meantime the news spread through the town, excitement grew, and "something had to be done". Doubtless the police felt this, for what they next proceded to do was quite amazing. They made Johnson put his dirty clothes back on, then took from another Negro overalls with a watch chain across the breast; and these, too, were put on Johnson. In other words, they dressed him to fit the description. According to one witness, Johnson then cried out: "I'm ruined - now I'm ruined."

It was late in the day now and the streets were filled with excited crowds. The officers took Johnson in the automobile through the main thorofare. By this time Neta was in a bad nervous condition, a condition bordering on hysteria. And when Johnson was brought into her bedroom she threw up her hands and shrieked: "That's the man! that's the man!"

At once the officers put Johnson in the automobile again, and breaking the speed limit, shot through the town, and away to the town of Princeton, ten miles off.

This was a bold advertisement to all of Bluefield that the "rapist" had been caught. A great crowd set off at once to lynch the prisoner.

Of course Princeton was "ripe for excitement". The Negro who was supposed to have insulted a white woman was remembered. A great crowd surrounded the jail; the sheriff was disarmed; a search was made inside, but Johnson had been "spirited" away to some other hding point, presumably to Berkley. After waiting nearly all night the crowd dispersed, and Princeton quited down. The following headlines appeared in the Bluefield Daily Telegraph the next morning:

> Negro Fiend Attacks Bluefield Girl and Entire City is Stirred as Never Before. - Prompt Action by Officers and Citizens Results in Capture of Man Believed to be Guilty One... Enraged Citizens Gather to Wreak Vengeance on Negro accused of the Crime.

However, the Daily Telegraph pointed out in its news column that there was some doubt that the right man had been caught, and counseled further search.

But evidently few of the Princetonians had any doubts; for, learning that morning that Johnson was in the town of Rock with two police officers, a crowd of railroad men asked the railroad officials for the loan of a special train to give chase. The loan was refused them, whereupon the men "took" a road engine and two coal cars and hurried away for Rock. They were a bit late, however, for the officers had again attempted to move the prisoner. They side-tracked the train and went on afoot, on trail of the officers and prisoner, who were

soon overtaken. The officers were "intimidated", and the prisoner brought back to Princeton on a freight train.

The train reached Princeton at 7:30 P. M. But the news had preceded its arrival and an enormous crowd, many members of which no doubt were from Bluefield, swayed around the depot. This crowd followed the railroad men and Johnson to the courthouse. They were met here by Judge Maynard, Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Ross and the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, Neta White's pastor.

Judge Maynard blocked the doorway and made himself heard. He said that there was considerable doubt about the identity of the Negro, and, indeed there was. There is absolutely no legal evidence that Johnson committed the crime, nor even that such a crime was committed. There is merely the word of a sixteen-year-old girl who could not identify Johnson the first time he was brought before her, and only accused him when he was dressed to fit her description; a girl who said seriously that she lay an hour and a half in a faint, who stated that a bandanna had been stuffed in her mouth, a bandanna not afterwards found on the premises.

As for Johnson, legally he had an alibi proved by himself, by the father and daughter. He may in some strange and inexplicable way have been guilty, but what evidence did they have that he was guilty? What they did have all tended to establish his innocence. These questions were never asked, much less answered; (1) Had

Johnson ever worked for Gordon White? (2) Why did Neta White allow her assailant in the house if she did not know him? and if she knew him so well that she recalled his coming a couple of weeks previously, why was it so hard for her to identify him a few hours later? (3) If Johnson never worked for Gordon White how could he so soon master the following facts: that Neta was alone at home; that White was in the habit of sending for various articles; that he might send for such a thing as a tape-line? (4) Had Johnson been working, as he said, at Jaeger? (The investigator was told, but this was hearsay, that the Jaeger time-books prove this. The fact could easily have been ascertained). (5) If Johnson had been guilty would he have so willingly shown his captors where he had discarded his dirty clothes? And is it conceivable that he would have lingered so near the scene of the crime when he made the change of clothes?

Judge Maynard pledged a speedy trial, promising that he would convene court the next morning. He pleaded with the mob, doubtless with much sincerity, and finally introduced R. Hamilton, who said in part:

> I am not here to save this negro. This young woman wo was attacked is a member of my Sunday School. A few months ago I stood at the altar and received her into my church. She is a bright sweetgirl and is as close to me almost as one of my own family. If this prisoner did what he is charged with, he ought to die, and I care not how soon. I am not here to save the negro, but to save this sweet girl from a serious responsibility. She must say the word that will mean life or death to him. If it should turn out that she

> is mistaken it would be a terrible memory for her to bear through life. I am not trying to save this negro, but to save you men from a terrible mistake, if it be a mistake and to save you from a crime, for it is a crime to take the law in your own hands.

In short, it must be said that the officials of the county and the girl's pastor met the issue courageously and squarely. And their words had such effect that the judge was able to swear in members of the mob as deputies to protect Johnson in the jail. The prisoner was then placed in a cell and the crowd began to disperse.

At this point Neta White's father arrived in an automobile from Bluefield for the purpose of "identifying the man" - this, after his positive statement the day before that no such man had ever worked for him. According to White himself: "I was took into the jail, and there was niggers in different cells. I seen Johnson in one of them, and the minute I set eyes upon him I knowed he was guilty. I knowed it. I just knowed it. I could tell by the way he looked. And when he seed me looking at him he says, 'Boss, I never worked for you, did I, now?' But I give him a look, like this, and I passed on around to the other cells. And then I come back to Johnson and I give him a look again, and I knowed it was he. ....I just know he was guilty. Anyway, I done as well as any man could in the circumstances. I blame them. I blame them for taking me over there when I was crazy wild. Of course if I'd a had two days to cool down in! But I hadn't slept a wink the night before. Why did he say 'I'm ruined' when they put the

other nigger's clothes onto him? .... I'm just sure he was guilty. Couldn't look at me in the eyes, he couldn't. I seed it the minute I got sight of him... So I said it was he and I said I wanted him lynched..".

Now suddenly the large crowd changed into a seething mob, members of which leaped after the Negro. He screamed to the officers begging them to kill him, to shoot him, not to let him fall into the hands of the mob. Many hands dragged him and beat him; "and a great howling spread over the street, like so many wild animals aroused in the jungle; and there were curses and screams and shrieks, and the eddying and surging and clashing of many bodies; and in the center, gradually working down the electric-lit street, the screaming Negro. Knives were jabbed into him, he was stoned and beaten with clubs. Then a chain was put around his neck and they tried to hang him to a trolley support and failed. Next a man climbed a telephone pole with the chain, the Negro was raised up, shots were fired into the body, and the crowd paraded round and round, yelling and shotting and mutilating."

In less than 48 hours the Bluefield Daily Telegraph printed the following headlines: "Not Certain that Mob Victim Was the Guilty Man. County Official Bases Grave Doubts on Train of Circumstances." The Governor, of course, was aroused and asked for action; the prosecuting attorney and Judge Maynard began work at once; the grand jury was convened, but no indictments were found.

As one of the citizens put it: "The nigger's dead; we can't bring him to life again. Quiet has been restored. What's the use of making more trouble?" Another expressed the opinion that no jury in that region would find any man guilty in a lynching affair.

One of the officials said to the investigator "in grave earnestness": "The whole thing was wrong and the guilty parties ought to be brought to justice. And I'm going to help to bring them to justice. I can't tell you how badly I feel about it. For why didn't they lynch him in the regular way - between midnight and dawn, with masks, and no fuss about it? But this way it's a disgrace to the town, and it's called us all into notice. Down south of us you never hear tell of a lynching. And why? Just because they've got the sense to follow the old traditions."

I saw the effect of the lynching upon old man White, says Oppenheim. I saw him two weeks after he had sentenced Robert Johnson to death because he "just seed he was guilty". He sat in a low rocker in the sitting room where the attempt at assault had been made; he was in his stocking feet, his great shock of dark hair stood startlingly up from his wrinkled forehead; and his face had the sort of expression I have seen among the insane on Randall's Island. The eyes were burning bright. And he could not be still a moment. Though several of us talked across the room, he did not listen to us, but continually broke in, in a

harsh, low voice, repeating monotonously:

"I just know he was guilty. Why did he say I'm ruined' when they put the overalls on him?" And again: "I done the right thing and I know it. All the people here know I done the right thing."

And over and over again: "I blame them. They shouldn't a taken me over that night."

Case 9

The Person County Lynching

While in a majority of lynchings the guilt of the victim is not questioned, it is probable that the Negro hanged and shot in Bluefield was not guilty. If courts, after longer deliberation, make mistakes it is hardly to be doubted that mob members are at times in error concerning the guilt of their victim. The following case, for example, indicates that an innocent Negro was lynched in North Carolina in 1920, and shows the danger of quick action based upon circumstantial evidence.

On July 7, 1920, Ed Roach was taken from the Person County jail, at Roxboro, and hanged to a churchyard tree. His body was then riddled with bullets. The Negro was accused of attacking a white woman near Mount Tersa station that afternoon between two and three o'clock. Roach was employed by a Roxboro contractor. The following

statement signed by his employer and published in the Raleigh Times on July 12, strongly indicates the Negro's innocence:

> ....When this negro was lynched as innocent a man was murdered as could have been, had you or I been the victim of the mob ... Roach was working for me and was a quiet, hard-working, inoffensive, humble negro. On Monday he came to me and stated that he was sick and wanted to go with me to Durham that night to see a doctor. Instead I arranged for him to go Tuesday night to Roxboro. He continued his work all day Tuesday until 5:30 (bear in mind that the crime for which he was lynched occurred between two and three o'clock that afternoon), when he asked permission of his foreman to stop and go to Mount Tersa station to catch the train for Roxboro. Permission was given him and he left for the station walking. At 5:45 he passed the State's bridge crew (white men), and two men who were out searching for the guilty negro saw him and followed him up the road to Mount Tersa station, where he sat down and waited for the train. These two men sat down on the railroad near him. When the train came he got on and paid the conductor his fare to Roxboro, and got off the train there. He was not arrested until he go off the train. I am advised by the chief of police that he asked what they had him for and told them he had not done anything, but he was not told utnil he got in jail what they had him for. He asked

to be taken to my office to see my superintendent with whom he had arranged to carry him to the doctor, but permission was refused him....

A negro man about Roach's size came to my camp on Sunday night, was employed on Monday and went to work Tuesday morning. About 8:15 A. M. he drove my team out to the side of the road and had been gone twenty-five minutes when my foreman missed him. My foreman took out one of the mules and went to look for him, saw him going up the road towards Mt. Tersa, the Negro saw him and broke and run over on the east side of the railroad, going towards Lynchburg. This was about 10:30 A. M. Tuesday morning and in approximately three-quarters of a mile of the scene of the crime. This man was dressed practically the same as Ed Roach, with cap and overalls, was about the same size, but a little darker in color....

I make this statement in the interest of truth and justice, yet with the full knowledge of the odium I am bringing down upon my own head in doing so, but with the hope that this fearful crime may so shock our people as to make its like again an impossibility...

Case 10

The Ell Person Lynching

In Chapter VII it was stated that there have been six lynchings in Shelby County, Tennessee, since 1900. This number included two Negroes lynched for attempted rape and one for rape before 1917. During this year, on May 22, Ell Person was lynched for alleged rape and murder. Three months later a Negro was lynched near Memphis charged with larceny. The six lynchings mentioned also included one in 1927 for alleged attempted attack on a white woman. To this number must be added two other mob victims, thus making the total for Shelby County at least eight. According to a report in the New York Times of February 8, 1903 a man and his wife were burned at Memphis. One incident in connection with the lynching is strikingly similar to an incident that occurred 14 years later - the forcing of a Negro boy to witness the burning. The following is quoted from the Times:

> A colored man, Luther Herbert, and his wife were burnt at the stakes at Memphis, Tennessee, for murdering a white man. Before the mob separated seven Negroes had been done to death. The sixteen-year-old son of the colored couple was forced to attend and witness the burning.

The case of the burning of Ell Person near Memphis on May 22, 1917 is given below at length. It shows how the members of a community were gradually brought to a state

of high emotionality through continued publicity; how, from such uncertainty concerning the guilt of a Negro that he was twice turned loose by officers, the mob came to be so certain of his guilt that they burned him; how, in the face of a public announcement beforehand, the officers made apparently no attempt to stop the lynching; how mob members treated the name of the sheriff as a joke at the lynching. The case also indicates the part played by women - that a woman said burn the Negro, and that many said, "they burned him too quickly." The case as given is adapted from a report by James Weldon Johnson, which was taken directly from the Memphis papers. Reporters from several different papers "covered" the affair. At least three of them were eye-witnesses to the burning and their vivid descriptions are significant, and, apparently, fairly accurate.

On Monday, April 30, near six o'clock, Antoinette Rappal, 16 years old, got on her bicycle to go to school. She lived with her mother on the outskirts of Memphis, and it was her custom to ride her bicycle two and a half miles down the Macon Road to the house of her uncle, William Wilfong, each morning and there wait for the wagonette which carried her to the Treadwell School on Highland Heights, six miles from her home. She never returned.

On Wednesday, May 2, the "Memphis Press" printed

a story of the missing girl under the headline, "War Lures Girl of 15 to Leave", and containing an account of Antoinette's oft expressed desire to join the Red Cross. The girl's mother was reported as believing her daughter had left home for that purpose.

The Memphis papers of Thursday, May 3, published accounts of the finding of Antoinette in the Wolf River bottoms. The girl's head had been severed from the body with an axe. The only clues were: Dents of an ax in the soft ground, filled with blood; a man's white handkerchief with the corners torn off, and fresh automobile tracks nearby. Later, the detectives found a white vest or coat near the scene of the murder. The theory held by the police was that the crime had been committed by two men. This theory was held because Antoinette was strong and athletic, weighing 130 pounds, and because the position of her body indicated that more than one man had abused and slain her. Suspicion fell on Negro wood choppers, a number of whom worked in the vicinity. One of these was arrested but was released when his white employer testified that he had been at work all day on the date of the crime. The papers of Thursday morning also carried an account of an attack on a white woman by two unknown white men, who got away.

On Thursday night Sheriff Tate arrested a deaf and dumb Negro named Dewitt Ford, who claimed to have witnessed the tragedy. Ford was taken to the scene and there he went through a detailed pantomime of the crime,

and accused Dan Armstrong, a Negro timber cutter, of being the criminal. Ford also went through his pantomime at police headquarters, taking a photograph of the girl and a cardboard ax made by the newspaper men and showing how the head had been chopped off and thrown to one side. Armstrong was arrested, but P. O. Stockley, his white employer, clearly established that he reported to him for work at six o'clock Monday morning and had worked all day; so Armstrong was released.

The Memphis papers of Saturday, May 5, reported that the city detective force did not agree with the sheriff's office on the theory of the crime. The detectives held that the crime had been committed by a white man. They suspected a "queer acting" white man dressed in white duck. The following paragraphs are from the "Memphis Press" of May 5th:

Detectives and Sheriff Split of Case

Detectives are near the breaking point with sheriff Tate, on the Kappal murder mystery. Although no official cognizance has been taken of any impending break between the sheriff's forces and the detective department, murmurs of unrest are emanating from the city sleuths. ...

City Detectives Brunner and Hoyle, who have had long experience with criminals of all sorts, particularly Negroes, admit that the right man may be in jail now. But they have theories which have some substantiation that the murder was committed by a white man who, they believe, was mentally deranged.

The detectives have not been given free rein in the case. They have been detailed to work under Tate's direction. ...

Other old and experienced detectives have expressed the same idea about the crime that Brunner and Hoyle hold.

The following paragraphs regarding the break between the city detective force and the sheriff's office on the theory of the case are from the "Commercial Appeal" of May 5th:

Detectives on Case

Brunner and Hoyle, city detectives, who were assigned to assist the sheriff's office in investigating the Rappal murder mystery, have thus far kept their discoveries to themselves. It is understood at detective headquarters that they are working on the theory that a white man, and not a Negro, may have committed the crime.

There are some circumstances that bear out this theory. The girl's bicycle, when it was found, was leaning against a tree only a hundred feet or so from the bridge and the public road. The basket in front contained her school apron, her books, a package of lunch and a small bouquet of flowers. The officers argue that if the girl had been seized as she was riding that these articles would have been thrown from the basket, and the wheel would probably have been dragged away and thrown out of sight. ...

A handkerchief was found nearby. It did not belong to the girl. Yesterday the sheriff found a white coat, such as barbers or waiters wear. It was some distance away and bore no bloodstain. No Negro, it is argued, would have such a coat. Few Negroes of the class to which the two suspects who are in custody belong ever carry a white handkerchief.

The theory held by the detectives was given some substantiation when it was learned that a "queer acting" white man dressed in white duck had been seen in Woodstock, a neighboring town, twelve hours after the commission of the crime. The account of this "strange" man was given as follows in the "Memphis Press":

Authorities are seeking a white man, clad in white duck coat and trousers, as the ax fiend who assaulted and beheaded little Antoinette Rappal, 15-year-old school girl last Monday morning. They had his trail up to Monday night, 12 hours after the murder. The man they are hunting was seen in Woodstock at that time.

The search for a white-clad man began yesterday afternoon, when the sheriff's posse and detectives found a white duck vest near the scene of the murder.

On information telephoned to Chief of Detectives John M. Couch, this morning, by Station Agent J. H.

Blaine, of Woodstock, Sheriff Tate arranged by telephone to have all station agents watch out for the white-clad man. Sheriff Tate said he thought a trip to Woodstock was useless. He said the phone served as well as a trip and was quicker.

The trail at Woodstock was cold, he thought, because the suspect last had been sighted Monday night, a few hours after the murder.

Blaine 'phoned that his night telegraph operator, M. I. Druggitt, talked with an apparently crazy man, shortly after 6 o'clock Monday night. The man was a stranger, and wore white duck coat and trousers. He acted queerly, pacing back and forth in the depot.

Finally, he came to Druggitt's chair and leaned over, as the operator was taking a message.

"What do you want?" Druggitt asked him.

"Nothing, nothing", was the answer. "I'm going to Newbern to marry her."

Druggitt turned his attention to his instrument for a moment.

When he looked around, the stranger was gone. No trace of him has been reported since.

The "white man" theory of the detectives gained such strength that Chief Couch obtained legal permission to disinter the body of the victim in order to photograph the eyes of the dead girl in hope that the last object her eyes rested upon was the murderer and that his image would be revealed. Publicity of the order for this gruesome operation and the reasons for granting it were published in the "Memphis Press" of Monday morning, May 7th. The following excerpts are from that account:

The case had resolved itself into a scientific problem of crime education. A week had passed since the girl was slain. If the film of death is not too strong over her eyes, Waggoner thinks he may be able to bring to light the features of the murderer.

One other hope holds out from the disinterment. The matter beneath the finger nails of the dead girl will be examined.

Antoinette was a sturdy, strong girl, and detectives believe that she made a frantic fight for life, and scratched her victim with her finger nails.

Chemists easily can determine whether this skin

is white or black. This will be a big determining factor in the ultimate verdict the peace officers send in on the case. One man had been located who was present when the body was found, who declares that she had tissue resembling white skin under her finger nails at the time her body was discovered.

Indications, according to city detectives, point to the fact that Antoinette Rappal left the Macon road voluntarily, on the morning that she was murdered. ...

The condition of the bicycle would point to the fact that the girl was not dragged from the embankment from her wheel, for the bicycle is not scratched, nor marked as though it had been dragged. Sleuths say it looks as though it had been placed carefully against the clump of swamp willows where it was found.

Certainly no white girl would permit a Negro to lure her into such a place, the detectives reason. A white man, known to her, would excite no such suspicion in her mind. Detectives vow that criminal assault was not the only motive. ...

They are backed in their white man theory by Dr. Lee A. Stone, resigned head of the Associated Charities, and local practicing physician. Dr. Stone claims that the deed unquestionably is the crime of a white man. He terms the man a necrophilia - one whose object would first be the death of the victim. He also stated that in medical history certain abnormal men have been found who first kill their victims. Such cases are quite numerous in criminal annals, Dr. Stone says:

"It is practically a certainty that this terrible crime has been committed by a white man."

On Sunday, May 6, Ell Person and George Know, two Negro woodchoppers, were arrested on suspicion. The clue leading to Person's arrest is stated in the following paragraph clipped from the Memphis "Scimitar" of Monday afternoon, May 7th:

As ax, bearing suspicious stains, which deputies found at the home of L. Persons, a Negro living a half mile from the scene of the murder, was turned over to City Chemist Mantel for examination by Sheriff Tate, Monday. He will endeavor to ascertain if the stains were made by human blood. Persons is locked up in jail.

On Tuesday morning the Memphis papers announced that Ell Person had confessed to being the slayer of Antoinette Rappal. Person, with other suspects, had

been in the sheriff's custody twice before, and twice had convinced the officers that he knew nothing of the crime. But the girl's uncle, William Wilfong, was not satisfied. After Person's second release, Wilfong and his brother-in-law, Gus Hanky, themselves seized Person and turned him over again to the sheriff.

How Wilfong had his suspicion against Person aroused and how he came to be convinced of his guilt is thus related in the "Memphis Press":

E. J. Brooks, of Berkeley, Tenn., is the first man to accuse Ell T. Persons of being the ax murderer who chopped off the head of little Antoinette Rappal, on the morning of April 30. Together with Chief John Sailors, of Binghamton, he connected the links in the chain of evidence against the Negro, and laid his findings before Sheriff Tate.

This morning Brooks told, in simple but dramatic language, the story of how he was led to accuse Persons.

"This Negro was working for me last February, and had been for eight months", said Brooks.

One morning, early in February, he was busy churning, and my wife was in the same room with him. All of a suddent he quit churning, sprang up, and began staring wildly at Mrs. Brooks. He was in a quiver all over.

"I had a dream about you last night", he said, and as he spoke he made like he wanted to lunge at my wife. She ran away in a terrific fright, and told me how the Negro had acted.

My first impulse was to put a hole in the fiend, but rather than cause any trouble, I fired the Negro and ordered him to stay away from my house. I wish now I had killed him.

I have seen him off and on in the neighborhood several times since, working as a wood chopper.

When I first heard the news of Antoinette being murdered, the thought flashed into my mind that the murderer was the same Negro who had acted so strange before my wife. I took the matter up with Sheriff Tate. I told him how this Negro had done, and he ordered the black man arrested, but soon released him.

Then it was that I took the matter in my own hands and determined to prove that I was right. Sailors, at Binghamton, joined me, and we spent sleepless nights since last Thursday, on the trail of that Negro.

We traced him to the bridge near where the crime

was committed until 6 o'clock Monday morning. Then we lost trace of him until 8:30, when we found that he had applied at the home of J. G. Moffett, near Berkeley, for work.

This went to prove that we were on the trail of the right man. Then next we went after some clue as to his clothes.

Sailors hired a Negro to scout around Person's house, and see what he could pick up.

At midnight, Sunday, while exploring the premises of the murderer's house Sailors' Negro found a blood-stained pair of shoes under a stack of cornstalks.

He also discovered a pair of trousers in Person's house which had been washed. They bore the unmistakable signs of blood-stains near the bottom.

We gave the shoes and the trousers to the sheriff, Monday morning, continued Brooks, and he arrested the Negro again. This, of course, completed the evidence needed to mark Person as the guilty Negro. ...

The alleged confession of Ell Person was obtained by "third degree" methods. How these methods were used on Person was thus told in the "Memphis Press":

There's Blood on Your Shoes

The sheriff, with Brunner and Hoyle, past masters in the art of the third degree, cajoled, beat, whipped, threatened, pleaded, with the Negro to no avail.

But finally, at the psychological moment, when the black man's resistance was worn to the breaking point, Detective Hoyle pointed suddenly to the Negro's shoes.

"There's blood on your shoes now!" he said, sharply, accusingly.

Person faltered. He looked down. True enough, spots were on his shoes. Before he had time to gather his scattered wits, Sheriff Tate and Detective Brunner seized the clue.

"The city chemist can tell if it is human blood", said Tate. "Take off those shoes."

Person complied. Tate and Brunner left the third degree room, taking the shoes with them. Hoyle remained with the prisoner.

About an hour later Tate and Brunner returned. Hoyle had refrained from questioning Person.

"It's human blood", Tate said dramatically, as he entered the room.

Person's eyes widened. He shuffled lower in his chair. He gazed down at the floor. Then he half

whispered the words that cleared the most atrocious murder mystery in the history of this country.
"I DID IT; I KILLED HER!" were Person's words.

In the same issue of the same paper there appeared on the front page, printed in heavy-faced type, the following paragraph:

No Blood Is on Clothes and Ax

City Chemist Mantell reported this afternoon that he had failed to find any blood on the trousers, shoes or ax of Ell Person, confessed murderer of Antoinette Rappal.

The alleged confession of Person was announced in the morning papers of Tuesday, May 8. In the "Scimitar" of Tuesday afternoon, May 8, there appeared the following paragraphs relative to the results obtained after the disinterment of Antoinette Rappal's body.

Under the direction of Chief of Detectives Couch, Paul N. Waggoner, Bertillon expert of the police department, photographed the pupils of the murdered girl's eyes, in hope of obtaining an image of the murderer on the retina.
An examination of the photograph under high power lenses reveals the image of an object that appears to be the upper part of a man's head. The forehead and hair seem to be plainly visible, but the features are indistinct. Police say that the image is a likeness of Persons.

The grand jury of Shelby County immediately indicted Person on the charge of murder in the first degree. ...

From the moment of the publication of the alleged confession of Person, there were threats of mob violence, and the prisoner was spirited away to the state penetentiary at Nashville. All that day a mob of

500 men surged around the jail in Memphis demanding that the hiding place of the prisoner be divulged. This mob would not be satisfied with the statement that Person was not in the jail. Finally, Chief Perry of the police force, addressed the mob and invited them to appoint a committee to search the jail. A committee of three from the mob searched the jail for an hour then announced to the crowd that Person was not there. The mob then vented its anger in denouncing the sheriff for sending the prisoner out of their reach.

The mob spirit was fanned by "scarehead" articles on the front pages of the papers, especially of the "Press". In the paragraphs quoted below from the "Press" it is worth while to note the less than delicate hint that in capital cases a certain amount of corroborative evidence must be submitted to the jury, even when a prisoner pleads guilty, indicating that there was still a slight chance that Person might not be convicted. Add to this the information that though a change of venue were granted, the prisoner would have to be brought back to Memphis and be present in person in the local court to ask for the change. Add the still further information that no militia could be called out.

One Indictment

No indictment for criminal assault, was returned against Person for the reason that officials have his confession to murder, and are certain that the death

penalty will be inflicted.

In capital cases, a certain amount of corroborative evidence must be submitted to a jury, even when a prisoner pleads guilty, as Person is expected to do.

In case the defense should ask a change of venue, so the Negro's trial might be held in another county, it still will be necessary that Person be brought to the local courthouse. Under the law, when a change of venue is asked and granted, the prisoner must be in the courtroom.

No Militia

The state militia is not subject to call, even though an appeal is made to Governor Rye for aid. The national guard of Tennessee now is in the service of the United States government and is not subject to the governor's orders.

The following published statement of the Attorney-General is also worthy of attention:

> Attorney-General Hunter Wilson today declared against the third degree method of obtaining a confession. But he said the Person case is an exceptional one, and that any method of getting the brutal murderer to confess was justified.
>
> "Ordinarily, I would not let a confession obtained by the third degree go to a jury", he said. "But this Rappal murder was so horrible that I think the officers were justified in the means they employed."

The mob spirit continued to grow, yet no effort was made to let it be known that the officers would uphold the law. No declaration of even the weakest kind was issued that mob violence would be resisted.

On May 15, Sheriff Tate mysteriously disappeared from Memphis. The papers printed such scareheads as, "Sheriff Tate Reported Kidnapped," "Tate May Be Prisoner", etc. It was generally reported that the mob was holding the sheriff so as to have a free hand to deal with the prisoner whenever he might be brought back from Nashville.

On May 18, Sheriff Tate reappeared in Memphis and made the statement contained in the paragraphs below, taken from a Memphis daily:

> Sheriff Mike G. Tate is back, safe and sound. He arrived about 1 o'clock this morning. He made his first public appearance about 11:50, when he stepped into Mayor Ashcroft's office, at the city hall. There he cleared the mystery of his two day disappearance.
>
> Sheriff Tate's reasons for his absence are two-fold. He fled from Arlington, Wednesday morning to avoid trouble with the mob. To use his words:
>
> "I was informed by Arlington people that several mobs were between Arlington and Memephis. They were reported, in some instances, to be drinking. I didn't want to hurt anyone, and I didn't want to get hurt. So I went south into Mississippi. I remained there until last night."

The statement of a sheriff that he did not want to hurt anyone in a mob organized to defeat the law, and did not want to get hurt himself, aroused no unfavorable public comment among the citizens of Shelby County. The papers especially the "Press", continued to print front page accounts of the probable time of the prisoner's return to Memphis and to give the details of the activities of the mob. The "Scimitar" of May 19 carried a long article containing the following paragraphs:

> Not since the days of the Ku-Klux-Klan, when the

white-robed horsemen galloped over the same roads that the mob squads patrolled Wednesday night have such conditions existed in the country. An unknown and dominant leader, who gave evidence of a positive genius for handling a large body of men, issued orders which were carried to the various squads by couriers in fleet automobiles.

This is borne out by the fact that every squad which the deputies encountered were fully aware of what was being done over the entire countryside. Scores of automobiles, each loaded with five and six men who carried shotguns between their knees, rode up and down the highways throughout the night.

Every time one of these automobiles encountered one occupied by the officers they searched the latter's machines to make sure that it did not contain a manacled Negro. They openly stated that they were determined to mete our summary vengeance if the prisoner was found.

"We're going to get that Negro, Ell Persons, yet," they vowed, "and make him pay for murdering Antoinette Rappal. You men from Memphis don't know how we feel about this out here. He should not have been taken out of Shelby County in the first place, but at any rate we are going to get him."

The activities of the mob continued. Each train coming into Memphis was stopped and searched. Plan for the lynching were perfected. The place where Person was to be burned was prepared; yet, during this whole time, the Memphis papers did not contain one word in behalf of law and order. Not one word of protest was publicly uttered by a single minister or prominent citizen. Nor did any official take an adequate step toward making provisions for upholding the law.

"Extras" on Monday, May 21, announced that Ell Person would be brought to Memphis that night, and thousands of people, going out in automobiles and on foot gathered at the place that had been prepared for the incineration.

Prisoner Under Two Guards

Person was being brought back from Nashville under the guard of two deputies. He was taken from the train at Potts Camp, Mississippi, and placed in an automobile. The men in the automobile and their escort then started for the spot that had been prepared on the Macon Road, just outside of Memphis. A terrific rainstorm delayed their progress and they did not arrive until early Tuesday morning, but many people waited through the night.

How the mob and a crowd who came to look on waited all Monday afternoon and through the storm at night until the prisoner was brought in Tuesday morning was graphically told by Ralph Roddy, a reporter on the "Memphis Press", in a long, special article headed, "Thirty-six Hours With the Mob, or How the Press Told It First."

Roddy went out early Monday afternoon to "cover" the event for his paper. In his article he relates how the crowd waited and continued to grow; how the women sang ragtime and popular songs, but, as the sharp lighting flashed across the sky and the storm gathered, they changed to "Near My God to Thee". He tells how at 9 o'clock Monday night the leaders of the mob received news by telephone and relayed by a messenger that Person had been removed from a train at Potts Camp, and the men bringing him would arrive about midnight. He tells

of the crowd waiting all night through the storm until Person was brought in at 8:30 the next morning. He tells of the arrival of Person, who from being ill used, beaten and mutilated in a nameless way, was too weak to stand on his feet.

Since Roddy was an eye witness, it is well to quote his exact words on the "last confession" made by Ell Person:

The car in which the girl's mother was riding was pushed alongside of the car containing the Negro. He was assisted to his feet by two men and informed that within a few minutes he would suffer a horrible death. He was asked if he wished to confess to the crime. In a low, hesitating voice the Negro admitted that he killed the Rappal girl.

Under pressure he was asked if anyone else was connected with the killing of the girl. The Negro hesitated, but with much leading on the part of the mob leaders, accused Dewitt Ford, Negro deaf mute, and Dan Armstrong, Negro woodchopper, of being accomplices in the crime.

The confession of guilt was voluntary on the part of Person, but the mob really accused Dummy and Armstrong before the Negro had a chance. When the mob asked if Dummy and Armstrong were there, he merely stated "Yes". He was then asked if Armstrong planned it, and again stated "Yes".

It appeared to me that the Negro was lying in order to kill time and in the hopes that someone else would accompany him to death. Possibly he thought he would get a short respite while they were searching for the other two negroes. ... On Tuesday morning Ell Person was burned. ... Let me give the account in the words of Edward T. Leach, a special writer on the "Memphis Press": ...

They burned the ax fiend to death this morning.

Fifteen thousand of them - men, women, even little children, and in their midst the black-clothed figure of Antoinette Rappal's mother - cheered as they poured the gasoline on him and struck the match.

They fought and screamed and crowded to get a glimpse of him, and the mob closed in and struggled around the fire as the flames floared high and the smoke rolled over their heads.

Two of them hacked off his ears as he burned; another tried to cut off a toe, but they stopped him.

They crowded in and crowded out, so that all might see the burning body. And they were still surging around it when the flesh had been burned from the bones and the withered form of what was once a human being lay crackling in the flames. ...

Call for Other Two

The mob called for the other two negroes and a triple execution, but hundreds who were tired from an all-night wait wanted the burning of Person to take place at once. They had waited till they were weary: they saw the object of their long vigil almost fulfilled, and they wanted to burn him at once and get "Dummy" and Armstrong later.

Finally these persons prevailed, and Person was taken from the auto and burned.

It was a holiday on the Macon road this morning. Hundreds of men and some women, too, had spent the night at the bridge over which Antoinette Rappal rode on her bicycle just before her murder. But most of the watchers had gone home and started to return early this morning. From every direction they came, without breakfast. Men and women, some of them with their children, gathered by hundreds. ...

For a mile and a half up the road the autos were packed in an endless string by 9 o'clock. Those on foot struggled among the cars. Mothers carrying children staggered from exhaustion as the word spread that the posse bringing Person had almost reached the bridge. An old man on crutches hobbled and bemoaned the fate that might keep him from arriving in time.

Makes Confession

Then came word that the Negro wanted to make a confession, and the crowd surged away from the tree with the rope and back to the road. Around an auto on the west end of the bridge stood dozens of men with rifles and shotguns.

The crowd surged around and fought for a view of the victim. Marshal Sailors of Binghampton pleaded with the crowd to be orderly. Sailors, knowing the determination of the mob, did his best to prevent any disorder and succeeded in doing so.

Sailors stood up in the car and beside him stood the Negro. The murderer was calm, but his eyes rolled white, for the crowd screamed when it saw him.

Leaders tried to get silence, and finally they succeeded.

"Person has a statement to make", shouted Sailors. But the Negro could not speak, and the marshal spoke for him.

"Person says that 'Dummy' and Armstrong were in it with him" said Sailors. "He says that Armstrong framed it up, and that 'Dummy' was in it, too. He says Armstrong hit the girl first and that he (Person) cut her head off. He says 'Dummy' was in it as much as they were."

The crowd screamed for 'Dummy' and Armstrong, but leaders again quieted them, and Sailors continued:

"The nigger knows that these are his last words, that he cannot escape death. He says that after the crime, 'Dummy' and Armstrong went to work, and he went and changed his clothes and then went to town" ....

"Has the mother of the girl anything to say?" someone asked.

Statement of the Mother

The crowd became instantly quiet as the stout woman in black, her face hidden by a heavy veil, spoke to a man who stood on the running board of her auto.

"The Mother wants the nigger burned and wants everyone to see it", the man said. The mother nodded

assent. "She doesn't want anyone to fire a gun", the spokesman added....

Someone suggested time for prayer, and a man in a dark suit sprang to the log and got silence. "He didn't give the girl any time to pray and we oughtn't to give him any time for prayer", the speaker said.

Another man jumped up. "That's Brother Royal, a preacher", he called out. "I wish we had more like him" ....

Where's Tate?

"Where's Tate?" someone yelled, and there was loud laughter and many jesting remarks.

Then the Negro was dragged to the pile of wood and laid flat against the post which rested on the fallen tree. He was chained to the log so he couldn't move, and someone called for gasoline.

A woman near me screamed not to use gasoline, "He'll burn too fast; he'll burn too fast", she cried, over and over again, and others took up the shout....

Someone produced a ten-gallon can of gasoline and it was poured on the Negro. Then those in the back started pushing and those in front began yelling, and amid a scene of tremendous disorder the flames suddenly shot over the heads of the crowd and those on the outside knew that the ax fiend was burning.... A ten-year-old Negro boy was placed on the other end of the log.

"Take a good look, boy", someone told him. "We want you to remember this the longest day you live. This is what happens to niggers who molest white women."

Two men darted in and with knives slashed the Negro's ears from his head. Other men fought the crowd back to keep it from following their example....

The Negro lay in the flames in the center, his arms crossed on his chest. If he spoke, no one ever heard him above the shouts of the crowd. He died quickly, though 15 minutes later excitable persons still shouted that he lived. When they saw the charred remains move as does meat in a hot frying pan.

Burned too Quick

"They burned him too quick; they burned him too quick," was the complaint on all sides. The universal sentiment seemed to be that too much gasoline had been used.

When the fire had almost died down and no stretch of the imagination could have pictured the charred mass in the midst as the remains of a human being, men and

particularly women still struggled to get near for a glimpse.

Thousands left. They walked and twisted and scrambled in and out among perhaps 3,000 machines that were parked so close that drivers could not move them in some cases for hours.

And all the way to Memphis those who were leaving passed the crowds which were just coming. These bemoaned the fact that they were too late, but seized on every little cloud of smoke they saw as an indication that the fire was still burning, that some portion of the spectacle might still be left for them....

After Ell Person, the ax fiend, had been burned to death, many members of the crowd helped to mutilate the body. One man, his hands covered with blood, cut out the heart and the lungs and offered them as souvenirs to the crowd.... And finally the head was severed from the body and placed on the bank leading to the road so all might see....

The severed head of Ell Person, Negro ax fiend, who was burned at the stake this morning was thrown out of a speeding auto at Beale Ave. and Rayburn Boulevard, at 12:30 this afternoon. The foot and leg of the lynched Negro up to his knee was thrown out at Beale and Third as the party sped on.

The actions of the autoists in throwing the mangled parts of the Negro's body caused a sensation which bordered on to a riot in the heart of Memphis Negrodom....

The lynching was over. On the following day newspaper editorials indicated the usual reaction. It was pointed out that all were to blame for the shame that had come to the city of Memphis. "Let's not be cowardly enought to put it off onto someone else, claiming that we were at home attending to business," said the "Memphis Press". "Public opinion burned Ell Person - the minister of the gospel, the lawyer, the doctor, the newspaper editor, the man who talks to others on the street corner or the street car - he shared in it ... unless he protested and there were few protests. The majority approved. The minority kept silent, and silence gives consent.

"And so, today, when the reaction has come and we shudder at the story of the man who cut out the heart of the half-roasted fiend, of the men who severed his head and sped to town to throw it into the street, let us stop and see what part we played in it..."

On the following day, May 24, the "Memphis Press" reported a resolution made by the Ministers of the City:

"We, clergymen of the city of Memphis, met in solemn assembly, do hereby resolve that we, as clergymen and citizens, confess our dereliction of duty in not having warned an inflamed public opinion against mob violence when it was apparent to every reader of newspapers that preparations had been made for lynching the brute who had committed an unspeakable crime."

Case 11

A Lynching in Kentucky: Grant Smith

For a number of years Grant Smith had been employed by a white farmer in Fleming County, Kentucky. In January, 1920 he left suddenly without notifying either his wife or the farmer for whom he worked. The last time he was seen was when the farmer and his wife went to Flemingsburg on a shopping trip and left him working around the house. They left their daughter at home. Within a few days it became known that Smith had attacked the

8. Taken from several newspaper reports. Picture, courtesy of International News Service.

girl, and had intimidated her into silence by threats of death. According to the Negro's confession to the Chief of Police in Pontiac, Michigan, three months later, the girl's story was true. He made his way by night to Paris, took a train to Louisville from which he went to Pontiac. For over a month he had been working at the Du Pont Camp. He wrote a letter back to his wife, at Flemingsburg.

The letter was intercepted. The Negro was arrested and Governor Morrow issued requisition papers for his return to Kentucky. Within a few days officers from Kentucky reported to the Oakland County jail and the Negro was turned over to them. Smith agreed to plead guilty and the officers promised protection. Letters and code telegrams passed between the officers indicate earnest intentions of giving the Negro a trial, but they failed. The picture on the following page verifies a part of the special dispatch to the Lexington Herald from Maysville, on March 29:

> The body of Grant Smith, assailant of Ruby Anderson, tonight was left deserted, hanging by a greengrass rope from telephone pole No. 787, on the Maysville-Lexington pike, in Fleming County, six and a half miles from Mayslick, Mason County.
>
> Members of the mob that lynched the negro disappeared without being well enough for recognition by residents along the road.
>
> The body had not been harmed. A watch fob was hanging from the negro's clothing. His hands still were in handcuffs and his arms had been bound to his body by a small wire. A cap still was on his head.
>
> The rope was tied in a regular hangman's knot, showing that whoever was in charge was familiar with hanging.
>
> The body hung over the middle of the main road.
>
> It was learned from persons who had passed the road before and after the lynching that the prisoner of the mob must have been hanged about 9 o'clock.

It was asserted by persons who said that they talked to mob leaders that the hanging took about 15 minutes. The negro is said not to have made any statement.

Nine automobiles were in the procession which took the negro to the scene of his death, according to persons who saw the men pass the road, but did not know at that time who they were or what was their purpose.

All the members of the mob, it was asserted, were from Fleming County, and it is believed that the majority of the men were from the neighborhood that the assault took place.

Case 12

Four Lynched at Shubuta, Mississippi

Dr. E. L. Johnston had retired from the practice of dentistry and moved to his father's plantation. Two Negro girls and two Negro boys, all between the ages of 16 and 21 years, worked for Johnston. The boys were there for the purpose of "working out" a mule which their father had bought from the doctor. It seems that Johnston had objected to the older couple "going together", and had threatened to kill Major Clarke. It was generally known in the neighborhood that there had been trouble between them.

On the morning of December 10, 1918, Dr. Johnston went to the barn, where, according to press reports, he was shot from ambush. He was taken into the house by Clarke, and died that night. In view of previous trouble as well as the fact that the Negroes were the only ones

9. Adapted from a Report by W. F. White and newspaper accounts.

found near the scene of the shooting, suspicion was immediately attached to the four Negroes. The two girls and the younger Clark boy were arrested and taken to Quitman, 12 miles from Shubuta, and Major Clark was taken to the jail at Meridian, 38 miles away.

On December 20, after Major Clark had confessed, the four Negroes were brought back to Shubuta for a preliminary hearing. News spread over the county that a lynching would take place at nightfall. Automobiles lined the streets. At about 6:30 in the evening a mob went to the jail. The Deputy Sheriff was handcuffed and his keys taken from him. No one was injured at the time. The Negroes were placed in an automobile. The town lights as well as those of the automobiles were turned out. The place of the lynching was already known, so that the large crowd set out for the little covered bridge that spanned the Chickasawha River a short distance from town. Four ropes were tied to the bridge, then around the Negroes' necks. One of the girls "fought like a tiger" and was knocked down with a monkey wrench. Then the four were thrown from the bridge.

During the next day the colored people of Shubuta would not "cut them down". The bodies hanged to the bridge until some white men went and brought them in to an undertaking parlor. Then the colored people refused to let the bodies be buried in their grave yard. The white folks had lynched them; now they could bury them. Just outside the white grave yard, in two graves, the

four bodies were buried.

People of the town later told a visitor the reason for which each of the Negroes was lynched; Major Clark, killing Doctor Johnston; Maggie Howze, instigating the murder by urging Clarke to commit the crime; Andrew Clark, standing in the road to watch and give warning in case anyone should approach at the time of the murder; Alma Howze, purchasing two cartridges with which the dentist was killed. The case brought forth considerable comment from the press, and has been called the "economic lynching" - the only lynching on record the cause of which was admitted to be economic. Although the reasons stated above are evidently more nearly correct. A dispatch sent out from Shubuta on the morning following the lynching read as follows:

> The theory is advanced that the lynchers acted because of the fact that the next term of court was not due to be convened until next March. It is hinted that the idea of the county being forced to care for and feed four self-confessed assassins of a leading citizen might have aroused the passion of the mob.

Johnston had recently had trouble with a white man of the community, and his parents thought this mad had killed their son. Members of the mob would not heed the father's suggestion. That the Negroes were guilty was the general belief, and, although the father of the murdered man plead with the mob not to lynch the Negroes until an investigation could be made, the lynching was carried out without questioning them concerning their guilt. All are said to have denied the murder until the

last. It does not seem that the colored citizens refused to bury the victims for fear of bringing themselves into trouble; certainly this is indicated by the fact that they refused to let the white people bury the bodies in their grave yard. It seems probable, then, that the Negroes of Shubuta considered the mob victims as being guilty of the murder.

The NAACP sent to Governor Bilbo a telegram similar to the one discussed in Case No. 2 above. A newspaper reporter called some days later and asked the Governor if he intended to reply, and if he had any comment to make. The Governor said: "No, not tonight. I might give you a little advance information to the effect that I will tell them, in effect, to go to H...". The statement was published widely and received editorial comment from all sections of the country. In the North there was "atonishment" that a governor would treat so lightly an inquiry concerning a quarduple lynching. Several southern editors were more nearly in agreement with the Governor. An editorial appeared in the Houston Post under the caption, "The Folly of Butting In". It was pointed out that although "the Governor greatly deplores.... the crime alluded to" and "possibly feels indignant that the laws of Mississippi were so ruthlessly trampled under foot", yet he "does not relish having any organization in New York making any demands whatsoever upon him, nor will anybody else in Mississippi .... No Governor who is

worth his salt would yield to such pressure in any sort of case."

Sufficient evidence for indictments and arrests was not found.

The subsequent lynching history of the county is as follows: On July 5, 1920 James Spencer, a Negro postal clerk, was hanged by a mob at Enterprise. He had seriously stabbed a white postal clerk on a New Orleans and Northeastern mail car three days before. Officers were on the way to Quitman where the Negro was scheduled to be tried in court. The last lynching in Clarke County, Mississippi was that of Will Echols at Quitman, on September 13, 1920. The Negro had recently been convicted of the murder of Henry Davis, an aged watchman at a lumber plant. He was sentenced to be hanged on September 10 but his execution was stayed at the last moment through an appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court. On the night of the thirteenth he was taken from the jail by a small party of men who carried him two miles into the country and shot him to death. Who these men were is not known. There were no indictments following either of the two 1920 lynchings.

Case 13

A Deleware Lynching

There is only one lynching record as having occurred in Deleware. In 1903 a Negro, George White, murdered a white woman, Miss Helen Bishop. The Negro was in jail, awaiting the proper time for trial. It has been said that a Christian Minister "caused" the lynching. The evidence for the statement is given below.

Between the date of the above murder and the lynching the Rev. Robert A. Ellwood, Pastor of the Mount Olivet Presbyterian Church, preached a Sunday morning sermon which is thus reported: "He advocated moderation, and then drew an agonizing picture of the murder of Miss Bishop. He counselled patience, and then denounced the Supreme Court, declaring that by refusing to depart from the regular procedure to try White, it was setting an example in patience for the people. He drew a forecast of precisely what happened, and sternly laid the blame at the feet of the Judges of the Court, and added a final appeal to the passions of his audience by dramatically waiving over his head blood-stained leaves from the thicket in which Helen Bishop had been killed, and which had been especially obtained for the purpose by one of his elders. The people went from the church livid with passion, and

early this morning the deed was done."[8]

Evans also quotes from the report of the case the following:

"After the man was dead by burning, throngs of women surrounded the smouldering embers. Some hurled on more wood to keep the fire going so as to reduce to dust the remnants of the body of the Negro."

Case 14

A Lynching in Louisiana

According to the records nine Negroes were lynched in Louisiana in 1918. Three of the total were accused of attacking white women; three, stealing hogs; one, living with a white woman; one, shooting a white man and one, murdering a white man. The following case, which is not in the list, shows that there was one more lynching in the state during that year. The case as given below is adapted from a report sent to use by a former teacher in Caldwell Parish, - a graduate of a southern State University. The case is interesting in that is shows something of the type of Negro involved, and indicates the attitude of some of the whites of the Community toward Negroes.

---

10. Quoted by Evans, op. cit. pp. 172-173.

At a Negro country church in June, 1918, near Columbia, Louisiana, in Caldwell Parish, several white men went out to the church to make a speech on "War Savings Stamps" after a lodge meeting at the church was over. Some drunken Negroes came up and were trying to "break up" the lodge. Both the whites and the blacks tried to quell the bad or drunken Negroes without very much success. The drunken Negroes shot several times... The other Negroes and the whites were unarmed. A "stray" bullet from one of the drunken Negroes' pistol hit a young white man named Warner and killed him. Seven Negroes were arrested and tried for the murder and distrubance, some sentenced to a few years, some to more. None were electrocuted so far as I can discover. The sheriff of Caldwell Parish, where the tragedy occurred, was taking the prisoners to the State Penitentiary down the Ouachita River, when he was "hailed' by some men one night and told that they wanted Sampson, the one supposed to have fired the shot that killed young Warner. The sheriff, _____, yielded and the Smith Negro was hanged near the banks of the river in a swamp. Nothing was ever done about it. I have been told that it was "made up" with the sheriff that the mob would stop the boat, but I don't say it was so, - probably so though. Things like that have happened... The other Negroes were taken on to the State Penitentiary....

This trouble at the Negro church was not

anticipated. I think the drunken Negroes brought it all on. One of them, Smith, made this remark the afternoon before: "Somebody's goin' to die before daylight"... Naturally after his saying this the whites desired to hang him as he was in the shooting fracas. Smith had been working "around", but most of the time he worked for an uncle of the boy killed at the church. He (Smith) was about 23, unmarried and had not given any marked amount of trouble before...

The attitude of whites toward Negroes in this Parish is fairly good. The whites and Negroes get along all right - but when a Negro does a crime that infringes upon the whites, the whites don't "see it so wrong to hang him." Probably several of the whites that assisted in the hanging could not get along without having Negroes to do their work. The whites say, "the Negro is all right but he must be made to stay in his place."

The general attitude is one of protection toward the black if he is in the right. Whites will fight whites for offenses done to Negroes belonging to them - those working on their places, etc. However, if a Negro does wrong, he isn't looked upon as a white. He is considered to a great extent to be "something like a mule" as they often say. I am sorry to say too, that as a rule the Negro does not get as fair and impartial trial in court as does the white. For example, if a

Negro is caught bootlegging with a white man, the Negro often gets "jugged" heavier than the white. I believe the Negro is coming to the front in having a fair trial in court, but yet there is lots of room for improvement.... After a lynching the blacks and whites seem to get back on a normal footing with each other....

You must remember, however, that many plantation owners and "bosses" who work Negroes don't mind beating and whipping them in the least. They say "A Negro has to be whipped like a mule to get along with him."...

Case 15

Triple Burning at Kirvin, Texas

The source material for this case includes the written reports of three men who witnessed the burning, and a fourth report by an investigator who went to Kirvin a week afterwards. The investigator, it may be pointed out, is descended from a Civil War veteran, was born and reared within 30 miles of Kirvin, and was educated there and in the University of Texas. "I think if I were prejudiced", he writes, "my prejudice, from my birth, education and training, would rather lay against the facts" as presented. "I believe ... the things I say to you are based upon a candid examination of the evidence

that I was able to secure by speaking to more than a hundred people, talking with the sheriff and many of those who proudly proclaimed that they had taken part in the burning."

He studied the case with a view to arriving at causes and effects, while the newspaper men were more concerned with a description of the burning. The case as given below is adapted from his report with a few descriptive interpolations from the other sources.

"Oh! Lord I'm comin' home. Goodbye, Mr. Otis. O Lord, I'm com" - Fire leaped into his face and his sentence was never finished.

"Mr. Otis" King was City Marshall of Kirvin, Texas, and Snap Curry had been a laborer on his farm. At this moment Curry was seated on the last plow he would ever ride.

Kirvin, Texas, in 1922, was a town of about a dozen stores scattered rather aimlessly along a branch-line railway out of Corsicana. The population is 288 many of whom turn out twice each day, once to see the south-bound train from Corsicana, and once to see the north-bound train from Hempstead and Navasota. Before the date in question these citizens of Freestone County had never witnessed a lynching at home, although it is probable that some of them had been in Waco on such occasions. "Those of you from the South know what type of town it is. It is just at the beginning of the backwoods section of

Texas." Few of the people, apparently, have been out of the county; some spoke of having once visited the Dallas Fair.

The Kirvin Community consists for the most part of white landlords and Negro tenants. There are some of the "variety which are commonly called the poor whites who undertake to work for themselves on their own farms, but most of the work is done under the tenant system, - the share-crop system by which the owner furnishes the tools, the house, the land and the equipment. The tenant does the work and they share up half and half on the produce; but it is weighed on the owner's scales; the cotton is classified by the owner, and often the tenant ends up by being in debt to the owner at the end of the year.

I left Waco a week after the burning of the three men, says the investigator. Four days after, the fourth was lynched, and the fifth disappeared a day or two after I got there[9]... I came in the guise of a newspaper man ... because I was going to ask questions, and you had to have a very good reason for asking questions there. I first went to Mr. John King, grandfather of the girl who was murdered. Briefly his story is this:

On Friday afternoon about four o'clock Eula should have been home from school. She rode a pony to school

11. Although it is generally understood at Kirvin that there was a fifth lynching, the NAACP records, nor those of Tuskegee, show it.

every day, a distance of three miles to the beautiful brick school house... "No, there is no school in this section of the county for niggers..." As Eula did not arrive home at the usual time the old man became nervous and called up his neighbors. She had been seen passing this house and that house, but no further could they trace her. She passed a house a bit over a mile away but did not pass the next one across the big ravine. The 70 year old grandfather, wealthiest landlord in the community, called out Ben Gibson, a Negro tenant, and said: "I want you to go and find my granddaughter." Gibson soon found the girl's pony tied to a tree, but he could not find the girl.

I asked, "Mr. King, did you suspect that something had happened to your granddaughter?" He said: "I knew something had happened." I inquired why, and he said, "Because I have been afraid of something for two years." Then he told of a feud that existed between his family and the neighboring family, the Prowls. They were also landlords in the community, proud and high-tempered just as was the King family. Two years previous the Prowls and Mr. King's son had engaged in an argument in which the former was accused of cheating in a cattle deal. Two of the Prowls jumped on King's son; he was cut badly with knives, sent to the hospital and recovered, although maimed for life. But this was an unjust penalty for his crime: he had accused them of swindling, and it called for a heavier penalty.

So the Prowl boys left the county but said to the Kings, "We will make you feel it and will make it hurt you where it hurts most."

"The minute she did not come I thought then that those Prowls had done something foul", King said after relating how his whole life was centered about the girl whose parents were dead. He had purchased her an automobile, a pony, and everything she wished. His supposition was strengthened when he learned the following: Soon after Ben Gibson returned to his house after finding the girl's pony the wife of one of the Prowl sons came to the Negro and asked him what business was it of his to go down and get that horse - a question involving knowledge which she was never asked to explain.

A general alarm was now given; the King sons and neighbors, excepting the Prowls, started a general search. That night after dark an uncle of the girl found her body about 100 yards up the deep ravine from where she had been stopped on the road. The body was horribly mutilated with 26 deep gashes, and her head had been stamped into the ground. People were already coming in from towns and the country for 40 miles around, and now crowds went furiously in all directions in search of the murderers. Although the doctor's examination led him to state definitely that the girl had not been "criminally assaulted" this was soon forgotten.

If a white girl had been "assaulted", to the crowd it meant only one thing- she had been raped, and that by Negroes.

While bloodhounds were being brought by an airplane and the crowd was increasing in size and excitement, old man King, according to his statement, "went down there and got on a wagon and I talked with them and pleaded with them to go slow because at that time I felt those Prowls had done it and I did not want them to lynch any innocent Negroes. I knew they would suspect Negroes and I went there and told them to be sure they got the right man before they did anything." One posse went to the Prowl boys' home but found that they had left the community; there were fresh tracks leading to their home from the thicket in which Eula Awsley was found, and they did not care to remain for an explanation.

Now Snap Curry was busy helping in the search for the murderers. He worked for one of the Kings, was a "good negro" upon whom there had fallen no suspicion. But some of the crowds were busy going all through the community checking up on every Negro to see where he had been and what he had been doing. Snap Curry was not in the crowd that happened to make a "check" on his house, and, whether guilty or not, the fact that his wife was greatly "at outs" with him proved his undoing. His not being at home led the crowd to apply what they

admitted were "third degree methods" on his wife, after which she said he had come home with some blood on his clothes the day before - for it was now early Saturday. She named two other Negroes who might have been with him on Friday. With this information Sheriff Mayo started in search of the Negroes, and found Curry with whom he and some deputies started to the county jail. On the way to the jail, under "third degree" methods Curry was forced to say who had been with him the day before, and he named Mose Jones and Johnnie Cornish, saying, according to several who heard him, "they are as guilty as I am."

That night the Negroes were "taken away from" the Sheriff and brought back to Kirvin shortly before daybreak.

The avengers were unmasked, according to a newspaper reporter. They worked swiftly and methodically. Snap Curry was the first to be burned. He displayed almost superhuman courage and appeared as cool and collected as his captors ... Curry was held upright while members of the mob mutilated him. He did not flinch or make outcry. One of the mob then stepped in front of him and plunged a knife into the negro's abdomen, slashing clear across... A tall, powerfully built man, about 60 years old, who seemed to be in command, asked Curry if he realized he was about to be burned to death. "Go ahead and burn me, I'm not afraid"... Curry was then bound with ropes and chains to the seat of a middle-buster plow that had been dragged to the center of the square. Hundreds of willing hands heaped cord wood and broken boxes about him. Next his body, still partly clothed, was drenched with oil ... The leader (the implication is that it was old man King who had been told that the Negro had confessed) of the mob applied the torch, and flames shot upward. Oh! Lord, I'm coming home. Goodbye Mr. Otis ... Oh Lord, ... and the flames must have seared his lungs, for the sentence was not finished. Death came speedily.

"Will we get that too", asked Cornish, and Jones replied, "No, what have we done?" The other Negroes were surprised when they were asked to take their turn at the fire. They died without confessing, although being commanded to do so until the last breath left them. Mose Jones had been named by Curry's wife as well as by himself as having been with Curry on the day of the murder, while Cornish was not mentioned by the woman. Thus Mose was called to take his seat on the plow next after Curry. He was consumed too quickly to suit the mob, so they worked out a new plan for Cornish. They tied a big rope, which had been soaked in water, around his neck and another around his feet. They threw him into the flame for a moment, then pulled him out; then they thew him in again and pulled him out, continuing this alternation until one of the ropes burned "and he clasped his arms around the plow and refused to be dragged away, meeting his death as soon as he could."

Aftermath

On the following morning Shed Green - who had been implicated by Curry's wife - was found hanging to a tree. Evidently a small group from the original mob desired to "finish the job". About a week later another Negro who, in the meantime, had somehow been implicated "disappeared". The investigator saw vultures flying over the trees of the thick, almost impassable bottom where

the girl was killed. Upon asking what they thought was dead over there some of the Negroes said that very likely "that is Tim Barry, killed and left out there to rot without even a decent funeral."

The morning after the burning the sheriff found the Prowl boys, arrested them, and asked that they explain the tracks leading from where the girl was killed. After the tracks were measures the boys reluctantly admitted to the sheriff that it so happened that they actually had been there making bran mash for the purpose of distilling alcohol. They were released. To press the case would be to say that a mob made up of men who elected him had made a mistake! "Did you investigate if there was any bran mash in that thicket" the sheriff was asked? He said he did not investigate. "Do you believe that they are innocent?" "after asking me what the hell business it was of mine, he said that enough had been punished for the deed already."

One week after the burning the entire Prowl family moved out of the community.

The sheriff said he thought Mose Jones was innocent. According to all the evidence not more than three were involved in the murder, so that two innocent persons, at least, were lynched. The people of the community had little or no interest in the affair a week after it occurred. They had no particular interest in the fact that at least two innocent Negroes had been

lynched. Some of them began by saying: "Well, I don't believe Mose Jones was guilty, but Snap Curry wanted him to go on the trip with him." Apparently no one was moved by the fact that the Negroes had not been proved guilty before punishment. None seemed to think of it as having been a dishonor upon the community.

The investigator went again three weeks after the burning. "I asked Sheriff Mayo would there be a grand jury investigation and he seemed utterly astonished that I should ask such a question. He looked at me and said, 'By God, I don't believe you are from Waco."'

During the three weeks, old man King had "aged ten years. His heart, his spirit was all broken." On the wall of his home was an enlargement of Eula's picture "at which he worshipped as though it were a shrine." The old man said: "I believe still, although those rascals, some of them (lynched), may have been implicated, they could not have thought of such a deed. I still believe those Prowl boys are the ones who did it."

Talking to several who were in the mob, the investigator was impressed with the fact that they were proud of the way justice had been upheld with swift hands, and they had had an active part. He asked one man if Mose Jones was related to any of the others? "Well", he said, "he was in pretty close relations to them on the night of the burning!"

"Will five gallons take me back to Waco?" he asked at the filling station across the street from where the burning occurred. A man answered: "I guess so, fifty gallons took three niggers to hell the other night."

CHAPTER X

THE MAN AND THE MOB

Allport has suggested that what is needed with reference to the problem of lynching is not righteous indignation "but a deeper psychological understanding of the whole matter."[1] The stated purpose of this study was to picture as accurately as possible the actual situation with regard to this type of mob violence in the South, through a study of its origin, nature, and extent. It seems proper to close the study with an attempt to follow Allport's suggestion by bringing together the information at hand in a manner that would lend to a fuller understanding of the psychological factor's involved in this type of social phenomena.

There is no blanket explanation known as to why men and women commit the crimes for which they are lynched. From the viewpoint of the psychologist, of

---

1. F. H. Allport, Social Psyc ology, p. 397.

course, there are as many "causes" as separate crimes - and the criminal act is not different from other conduct. This is a problem for treatment by the criminologist and lies outside the scope of the present study. Likewise in the case of the individuals who compose mobs, - strictly speaking, there are as many causes for mob violence as there are mob members. In a psychological analysis of any particular mob episode such general mob characteristics as have been noted in preceding pages must be traced to and accounted for in individual mob members. This means theoretically that a complete and accurate psychological explanation of a mob would require a separate study of each individual involved.

The extreme difficulty thus raised possibly accounts for the nature of some of the literature on the subject. More than this, however, the metaphysical explanations sometimes offered for mob phenomena are likely called forth by the peculiar reactions of individuals when in mobs. Early students of mobs, and some who have discussed them later, have been much impressed by the great difference between the reactions of men in mobs and outside of them. Their discussions of the phenomena act entirely different from the way they act outside of mobs, therefore, some different explanation must be found. Thus Le Bon ascribed to the crowd an entirely distinct type of thought from that of the individual. Regardless of who the persons

composing a crowd may be, the fact that they have become a crowd puts them in possession, or rather under the dominance, of a "collective mind". This "mind" makes these individuals feel, think and act quite differently from what they would feel, think and act were they in isolation. Le Bon proceeded to an analysis of crowd and mob action by stating general characteristics; but, having posited his "collective mind", it seems not to have occurred to him to study the individuals composing these groups. Likewise Ross discusses - without defining - the "mob mind", stating general characteristics of crowd and mob phenomena.[2] McDougall maintains that the proper field for Social Psychology is the discussion of the phenomena of crowds and organized groups, basing his argument upon the assumption that the treatment of such phenomena involves reference to a unique mental process - the "group mind".[3] This author differs from Ross, Le Bon and others in that, after developing with great care his concept of the "group mind", he proceeds further and attempts to account for, as well as to describe, the observed phenomena. In this he succeeds without the use of the "group mind concept. He accounts for group phenomena with the principles of general psychology.

No definition of psychology is extant which would justify using the term in connection with any sort of

---

2. E. A. Ross, Social Psychology, Chs. 3, 4, 5.
3. William McDougall, The Group Mind, "Introduction".

metaphysical explanation of mob phenomena. To say that there is a "collective mind", "mob mind", "group mind", or "group consciousness" wholly different from individual "minds" is to beg the question and to posit an existence of which those who have done so have offered no evidence. It is generally agreed among psychologists that consciousness is dependent upon - at least always correlated with - the functioning of neural structure.[4] Moreover, the emotions and impulses common to members of a mob cannot be isolated, even introspectively, from the experiencing organisms involved. Considering in the same manner the activity of mobs, it is evident that the actions of all are nothing more than the sum of the actions of each taken separately.

But there must be some sort of mob mind that dominates the group, some general spirit that invades the whole atmostphere, we are told, because the behavior of mobs is unthinkable for the men involved were they in their"right minds" and in isolation. Possibly not one in a thousand would burn a Negro, or even punish him without evidence of his guilt: flog a white man for saying, "Hurrah for Lincoln"; shoot a girl whose brother had committed a petty crime; burn three Negroes and hang another for a crime only thought to have been committed by one of the number.[5] Because mobs have done these things

4. Cf. Allport, op. cit. pp. 4, 5.
5. Cf. W. G. Sumner, Folkways, p. 21.

does not prove - logically needs not suggest - a "collective mind". It merely means that individuals react differently in different situations - a matter of common observation and knowledge. A "mob" is an abstraction, a term useful only for purposes of general discussion. It is the man in the mob with which the psychologist is concerned. To say that a crowd or mob is excited, determined, "hungry for blood", irrational, impulsive, emotional, can only mean that the individuals that compose the group are so affected. The explanation of the behavior of a mob, therefore, involves a consideration of the reactions of the individual under the particular situation.

While the implication is theoretically sound, it is practically impossible to make the study thus required for any individual, much less for a whole group. Any attempt at a psychological analysis based upon this type of study is outside the scope of the present study. It seems wise, however, to summarize available information following such an outline as would be used in a strictly psychological analysis. The following outline has been used in the field of social psychology.[6] (1) A study of what may be called the constitution of the individual; (2) conditions of the formation of the concourse out of which the mob developed; (3) change from

6. English Bagby, Lectures on Social Psychology, pp. 32ff. Also class notes.

a concourse to a crowd, then to a mob; (4) the precipitating stimulus; (5) the resulting mob behavior.

This division, if somewhat arbitrary, needs hardly to be defended. The first - a study of the constitution of the individual - is required because different persons react differently in similar situations. Every psychologist would admit that what the individual is when he comes into a situation plays its part in determining the particular reaction made in that situation. The other divisions are merely different phases through which, in general, a number of individuals pass in a mob episode.[7] These divisions may be considered as points about which the phenomena under consideration may be grouped for purposes of discussion. They are yet sufficiently broad as not to lend to a priori description and reasoning, for they require consideration of all the phenomena in question, as is indicated by the more detailed case studies in the preceding chapter.

Facts presented throughout this study indicate general social factors in the South that lend to mob action. The historical data reviewed, the story of the origin and past history of mob action is suggestive. Some of the case-studies offer added information on the general characteristics of the individuals that compose

7. English Bagby, Lectures on Social Psychology, pp. 32ff. Also class notes.

the particular lynching mobs. While it would be invalid "reasoning in a circle" to base conclusions at this point on mob behavior itself, this behavior may be suggestive in that the reactions of an organism in any situation are indicative of the general character of the organism - its neural structure, habits, emotional nature. Thus while it is recognized that scientific conclusions as to the psychological explanation of mob action would require more detailed and individual study than has been found possible, yet it is believed that, in view of the historical, statistical and case data presented, valuable indications concerning the nature of mob action in the South and some of the various factors involved may come from a consideration of available data according to the above outline.

In reading case-studies of mob action one is struck by the similarity between them in many respects. In a study of southern lynching mobs the variations are generally slight as regards the conditions of concourse, the emergence of a crowd, then the mob, and the resulting mob behavior. A Negro shoots a white man or "assaults" him, "insults a white woman", aids a criminal to escape, or is suspected of burning a cotton gin. If for any reason a concourse of people is already gathered they immediately become a crowd by beginning to react to one another in the general situation - the crime-and-the-criminal. If there is not already a concourse, it is a crowd that soon

gathers. One or more leaders emerge. Through continued inter-stimulation the crowd members begin to react with exaggerated emotions; the mob emerges; and the lynching results.

Recent Factors Conditioning Emotion

The ease with which a mob emerges - leaving for later consideration the "constitution" of the members - no doubt depends largely upon the nature of the crime, but is influenced also by recent factors fixing the emotions. It is noted over and over that if a lynching occurs in a community, possibly for an atrocious crime, others may follow for lesser or no crimes. Mob members may decide "to get all the Negroes", to "wipe out the whole bunch of hog-stealers", to "lynch every nigger that had anything to do with it". But a previous lynching is not the only recent factor that functions in conditioning mobs. While no doubt it is often a rationalization, mob members frequently maintain that the courts are uncertain and inadequate. If they can point to a recent case in which a criminal was released on some technicality, even though his guilt was evident, apparently mob violence is more likely to occur. In Case One, for example, it was indicated that the negro preacher was lynched because he had been in court a year before and had "come clear". It seems not improbable that the neighbors, who appear to have done the lynching, were emotional toward this Negro

partially because they had considered the court decision as unfair. Such expressions as "he ought to have a visit from a mob" or "the Ku Klux ought to have handled that case" are sometimes heard among "average citizens" while discussing the uncertainties of the courts. It is doubtless true that the precariousness and inefficiency of the courts play a minor part in conditioning certain individuals to join in mobs.

Possibly the greatest recent factor in conditioning the emotions of large numbers, especially in cases of crimes committed by Negroes, is the newspaper. Crime in general is more highly featured in the American press than any other current news. (In the South newspapers have featured Negro crimes in a way certain to play a part in exciting numerous individuals. The two most conspicuous instances in which the newspapers seem to have featured in bringing about mob action on a large scale were the Elaine, Arkansas, and the Washington race riots.) In Araknsas, for example, as was later shown in court proceedings, certain landlords were holding Negroes in virtual slavery. They repeatedly refused the tenants a "settlement" and would not present them with itemized statements of their accounts. A group of Negroes employed a lawyer to handle their grievances, and held lodge meetings at which these were discussed.

According to Chief Justice Holmes who handed down a final decision on cases growing out of the riot, white

men fired into one of these meetings. Indiscriminate shooting followed and one of the whites was killed. On October 4, the "Arkansas Gazette" explained that these white men had been on their way to arrest a white boot-legger, and that they "had trouble with their car" and stopped at the Negro church. It was said that the strange coincidence of a car breaking down immediately in front of the Negro church at the time a lodge meeting was in session proved unfortunate; for the Negroes "opened fire, killing Adkins ("special agent" for the Missouri-Pacific Railroad) and severely wounding Pratt" (deputy sheriff). On October 5, a dispatch from Helena stated that a wide-spread uprising had evidently been planned, that at Hoop Spur (where the first shooting occurred) "there were one hundred armed Negroes in the church at the scene of the shooting". The Little Rock Gazette asserted that some of this armed group were Negro women "carrying automatic revolvers in their stockings" (Oct. 6, 1919).

On the same day this leading paper of the State carried a conspicuous account of 50,000 rounds of ammunition being "found" at a colored school in Pine Bluff, half way across the State from Elaine. This "finding", it was asserted, has led "authorities here to believe the contemplated uprising was of more than a local nature, possibly planned for the entire South". Although a

subsequent dispatch, inconspicuously printed, showed that the ammunition at Pine Bluff was government property and had no connection with the Elaine affair, the story had its effect. There was a tenseness in far away sections of the State, and no doubt in other States, that would hardly have been without this story.

The Memphis "Commercial Appeal" found that "Negroes Had Planned General Slaughter" and the Arkansas "Gazette" carried the large type headlines: "Vicious Blacks Were Planning Great Uprising - All Evidence Points to Carefully Planned Rebellion". Newspapers from other sections helped to scatter abroad the fullest details of the "plot" of the Negroes. The New York "Evening Telegram" of October 6 announced: "All Whites Marked for Slaughter"; and the "Times" gave details under the headline: "Planned Massacre of Whites To-day". The New York "Tribune" announced: "Negro Plot to Massacre All Whites Found". While rioting on the day following the shooting at Hoop Spur was not conditioned by publicity, it seems safe to conclude that the later outbreaks would not have occurred without the publicity. Even if they had, the soldiers sent in from Little Rock would doubtless not have used so freely their machine guns. The soldiers were sent to restore order, but - according to a "saying" in Arkansas - "mowed down niggers like they were rats".

Southern newspapers have at times gone even further than to spread "news" destined to create a state of

emotionalism. They have suggested lynchings and announced that no troops would be available; they have featured a Governor's statement that he was powerless to prevent a lynching; they have displayed bold headlines announcing the exact hour at which a lynching would occur, and how many persons were expected to be present; they have featured under large headlines the details of a lynching program. (The following photostats, while frankly selected and certainly extreme instances of inflammatory newspaper publicity, indicate to what extent southern newspapers have functioned in conditioning individuals to mob violence. That the newspaper has pretty generally played a vital part, especially in the cases of mob action occurring from one to several days after the crime, becomes convincing upon a study of the subject.)

In addition to general factors and agents making for high emotionality, there are doubtless less general conditions and incidents affecting smaller groups, and still others affecting individuals. In Case Two, for example, it seems to have been the feeling that Bud Johnson deserved burning because "he thinks he is a soldier", etc. Throughout the report there are indications that the mob members were not only burning the Negro for the alleged crime but also because they "had it in for" Negro soldiers. It is notable in Case Eight that the Negro was brought to Princeton to be lynched.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
WEDNESDAY
JANUARY 26, 1921.

The Memphis Press

PRICE THREE CENTS
FINAL
LATE MARKET REPORTS.

NO TROOPS ORDERED TO NODENA, ARK.

GOV. M'RAE MAKES FRUITLESS EFFORT TO REACH SHERIFF AS MOB PLANS FOR LYNCHING BEE

Gov. McRae of Arkansas told The Press over long distance telephone this afternoon that he has not ordered state troops to proceed to Nodena, Ark., to prevent threatened lynchings there tonight.

"I can't get in touch with Sheriff Blackwood of that county, so I wouldn't know who to send the troops to," Gov. McRae said. "I understand that Sheriff Blackwood is at the Peabody hotel in Memphis and I have tried to telephone him there, but they say he is not in his room.

"What's the sheriff doing in Memphis? Why isn't he on his job? It's the worst outrage in the world to put a man to death without giving him a trial, and the sheriff that county should be getting busy. He hasn't called upon me for assistance.

"They had no business bringing that negro over the route they took. They should have brought him thru Arkansas and taken him direct to the penitenitairy at Little Rock.

"I had heard that the negro was taken off a train at Sardis, Miss., this morning, but I didn't know they were bringing him back to Arkansas."

THE MEMPHIS PRESS

Daily except Sunday by MEMPHIS PRESS CO. Independent Politically, Financially, Commercially. Entered at Memphis Postoffice as Second-Class Mail Matter.

Which Is the Better Way?

ON a railroad train is a negro in the custody of officers of the law. The negro is being taken to stand trial for the murder of two people. He will be convicted and will be executed. In due time he will pay the proper penalty for his crime.

Armed men board the train. From the officers of the law they take the negro. They put him into an automobile and carry him thru parts of three states to the scene of the crime. With bravado it is announced that he will be lynched at a certain hour.

The crime of which the negro is accused is atrocious. Such a slayer should himself meet death as quickly as legal process will allow. There is no doubt but that he will quickly come to legal death.

Another negro committed a murder that is even more atrocious, if possible, than the first. He is arrested at his home. There are many people around, some of them close friends of the victim's sorrowing family. There is every opportunity for Judge Lynch to claim this second negro. But the second negro is today alive in a penitentiary cell, awaiting the seemingly certain verdict of electrocution.

Which is the better way?

NEGRO TAKEN FROM TRAIN AND HURRIED TOWARD CRIME SCENE; MOB MEMBERS AT LOCAL HOTEL

While five of their number detoured around Memphis in a closed automobile with Henry Lowry, negro murderer, who is to be lynched at Nodena, Ark., tonight, other alleged members of the mob which took him from officers at Sardis, Miss., early this morning, came to Memphis and dined at Hotel Peabody today.

The alleged members of the mob were met at the hotel by dozens of other men who came to Memphis from nearby towns in Arkansas this morning. Nearly 100 of them were gathered in the hotel lobby, laughing and talking and preparing to return to Arkansas tonight.

The five men who have Lowry passed Millington at noon en route to Richardson's Landing, Tenn., where they are to cross the river on a ferry. Nodena, Ark., is just opposite.

Reports received here indicate that Lowry and three or four other negroes—perhaps even more—are to be lynched at Nodena tonight. The other negroes are alleged to have aided Lowry to escape to El Paso, Tex., after he had killed two white persons and wounded two others at Nodena on Dec. 25.

No Street Parade.

The mob leader announced at Sardis, Miss., this morning that Lowry would be paraded thru Memphis streets and taken across the Harahan bridge here.

Police immediately guarded all roads entering the city to prevent them from bringing the prisoner here. The mob must have learned of this en route from Sardis, for as they neared Memphis Lowry was turned over to five men in a closed car, who skirted the city.

The other men, it is alleged, drove their autos into Memphis and went directly to the Peabody hotel.

Deputy Sheriffs B. H. Dixon and J. J. Greer, from whom the prisoner was taken by the mob at the train stopped at Sardis, mingled with the crowd in the hotel lobby. They were met here by Sheriff Blackwood of Mississippi county, Arkansas, who was to have accompanied them to Osceola with the prisoner tonight.

None of the men in the Peabody lobby would admit that they were members of the mob that boarded the train, but several of them evaded the question in a laughing manner.

Some of the men were muddy and appeared to be travel-stained as the result of a long automobile trip over muddy roads.

3,000 WILL BURN NEGRO

Kaiser Under Stronger Guard Following Escape Of Crown Prince

Frank Simonds Writes For States

NEW ORLEANS STATES

NEW ORLEANS, LA. THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1919

From the Jackson, Miss., Daily News, Thursday, June 26, 1919.

27th YEAR

JOHN HARTFIELD WILL BE LYNCHED BY ELLISVILLE MOB AT 5 O'CLOCK THIS AFTERNOON

Governor Bilbo Says He Is Powerless to Prevent It—Thousands of People Are Flocking Into Ellisville to Attend the Event—Sheriff and Authorities Are Powerless to Prevent It.

HATTIESBURG, June 26.—John Hartfield, the negro alleged to have assaulted an Ellisville, young woman, has been taken to Ellisville and is guarded by officers in the office of Dr. Carter in that city. He is wounded in the shoulder but not seriously. The officers have agreed to turn him over to the people of the city at 4 o'clock this afternoon when it is expected he will be burned. The negro is said to have made a partial confession.

GOV. BILBO SAYS HE IS POWERLESS.

When Gov. Bilbo was shown the above dispatch and asked what action, if any, he intended to take to prevent the affair, he said:

"I am powerless to prevent it. We have guns for state militia, but no men. It is impossible to send troops to the scene for the obvious reason that we have no troops.

"Several days ago, anticipating [illegible]

for the lynching has now been fixed for five p. m.

A committee of Ellisville citizens has been appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the event, and the mob is pledged to act in conformity with these arrangements.

Rev. L. G. Gates, pastor of the First Baptist church of Laurel, left here at one o'clock for Ellisville to entreat the mob to use discretion.

THOUSANDS GOING

NEGRO JERKY AND SULLEN AS BURNING HOUR NEARS

To Be Taken to Scene of Crime and Stood Before Crowd

ELLISVILLE, Miss., June 26.—(Special.)—At four o'clock approaches John Hartfield, accused of the Ellisville white girl, is being carefully guarded in the office of Dr. Carter of this city.

The wounded negro has been found and seems very nervous.

Discussion has broken out among the indignant citizens as to what disposition should be made of the prisoner.

It is said the negro will be taken to the scene of his crime, near the Ellisville railroad tracks, where he attacked Miss Mock, and will be stood up where everybody can see him.

Some of the angry citizens, it is said, want Hartfield lynched, while others want him burned.

ELLISVILLE, Miss., June 26.—(Special.)—Walter Crawley and Will Rogers, two farmers, were members of the posse who shot Hartfield in the shoulder, and affected his capture.

Three thousand strangers are in Ellisville today to witness the disposition of John Hartfield, negro assailant of Miss Mock.

Officers are unable to control the crowds.

HATTIESBURG, Miss., June 26.—John Hartfield, negro assailant of an Ellisville young woman, has been brought to Ellisville from Collins and is guarded by officers in the office of Dr. Carter in that city.

He is wounded in the shoulder. The officers have agreed to turn him over to the people at 4 o'clock this afternoon when it is expected he will be burned.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
WEDNESDAY
JANUARY 28, 1931.

The Memphis Press

PRICE THREE CENTS
NOON EDITION
UNITED PRESS SERVICE

LYNCHING PARTY ON WAY TO ARK. TO PASS THRU MEMPHIS

Negro Who Killed Two On Christmas Day Taken From Officers At Sardis, Mississippi

Henry Lowry, negro murderer, was taken from officers on a train at Sardis, Miss., at 5 a.m. today by a mob of heavily armed men who are now enroute to Memphis in automobiles, according to word received from Sardis this morning.

The mob, it is said, is taking Lowry back to Wilson, Ark., near where he shot and killed two white persons on Dec. 25, and is to cross the Harahan bridge over the Mississippi river here.

Parade Down Main St.

"We are going to parade him thru Main st. when we pass thru Memphis," the leader of the mob boasted at Sardis. "Then we are going to take him to Arkansas, and that will be the end of him."

Altho the roads are in very bad condition, the mob is expected here before noon. As the roads to the Helena ferry are impassable, there is no other route by which they can cross the river.

Lowry, who escaped immediately after the murders, fled to El Paso, Tex., where he was captured last week. Arkansas officers were bringing him back to stand trial.

Deputies Greer and Dixon left New Orleans last night with their prisoner on Illinois Central Train No. 2.

Tells Plans to Marshal.

Thirty minutes before this train was due in Sardis at 4:56 this morning, five or six muddy and travel-stained automobiles rolled into the little town. Several men alighted from each auto, and went to the Illinois Central depot.

"We are here to take that negro off the train and carry him back to Wilson, Ark.," the leader of the mob said as he approached Night Marshal W. E. Johnson, "and we hope we won't have to cause any trouble here."

Behind him were about 15 grim and determined-looking men, none of whom said a word.

Marshal Johns uninvited them across the street to the Sardis hotel, to wait until the train arrived, and built a warm fire for them.

"Our names," the mob leader continued as they sat around the fire, "are Smith, Brown and Jones."

The leader chatted with the marshal, but none of the other men spoke a word, apparently by order.

"We've got 50 automobiles spotted out along the road between here and Memphis, and when we get to Memphis we are going to parade the negro right thru Main st. before we cross the bridge," the leader continued.

The train's whistle was heard, and at a command from their leader the men left the hotel and followed him to the depot. On the platform they formed in single file.

Disarm Officers.

The moment the train stopped each man drew a revolver and the leader boarded the negro coach, followed closely by the others. Not a word was spoken.

Lowry was handcuffed to Deputy Greer, who was asleep, while Deputy Dixon stood guard.

Approaching them from behind, the mob members seized the deputies and disarmed them. One of them took the handcuff keys from Deputy Dixon's pocket and released Deputy Greer's wrist.

With the negro between them, they filed out of the coach, leaving the officers behind.

Take Deputies Off Train.

Just as the train started off again, the mob leader commanded Conductor Sitton to stop it. He did.

Deputies Greer and Dixon were then made to leave the train, altho they begged to be allowed to proceed to Memphis.

"No," the mob leader said; "you'll stay here and wait for the next train. It will be along at 6:29 o'clock."

Waiting until the officers alighted and the train pulled out, the mob placed Lowry in one of the automobiles and departed. They were driving northward when last seen.

"It was the coolest job I ever saw," said A. I. Campbell, night telegraph operator at the depot, who witnessed the scene thru one of the coach windows.

"Not a word was spoken, except by the leader, and every man seemed to know in advance just what he was supposed to do," Campbell said. "They didn't draw their pistols until the train arrived, and then they all drew them at once. Some of them had two guns.

None Wear Masks.

"Several other negro passengers got up and moved to the other end of the coach when the mob entered. And those fellows were all men, too—there wasn't a boy in the crowd. None of them wore masks."

During his conversation at the hotel the mob leader stated to Marshal Johnson that he had been appraised by a telegram from New Orleans that the officers and the negro were on that train.

Apparently nobody but the marshal and the telegraph operator knew the mob was in Sardis.

Deputies Greer and Dixin came to Memphis on the next train that left Sardis. They gave Lowry's overcoat, which the mob left behind, to the marshal as a souvenir.

Christmas Day Crime.

The mob did not return the deputies' revolvers.

On Christmas Day Lowry shot and killed O. C. Craig, 72, wealthy planter residing near Wilson, Ark., and his daughter. He also wounded his two sons, Richard and Hugh Craig.

The negro escaped a mob which scoured the country for a week, and fled to El Paso, where he was located by means of letters which he wrote to relatives in Wilson. He was preparing to flee into Mexico. El Paso police arrested Lowry and held him until Arkansas officers arrived to take him back.

LOWRY LYNCHERS ANNOUNCE PROGRAM

NEGRO TO PAY MOB'S PENALTY FOR CRIME

6 O'CLOCK EDITION

TODAY'S NEWS TODAY
EXCLUSIVE DAY
ASSOCIATED PRESS SERVICE
COMPLETE
INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

Price Three Cents

The News Scimitar

Price Three Cents

SIXTH FINAL CITY EDITION

VOLUME 41. MEMPHIS, TENN., WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 26, 1921. FOURTEEN PAGES NUMBER 22

AVENGERS SET 6 O'CLOCK AS LYNCHING HOUR

Husky Arkansas Men Take Henry Lowry, Craig Slayer, From Train and Whisk Him Away.

MILLINGTON, Tenn., Jan. 26.—A party of seven in two automobiles with Henry Lowry, negro murderer of two members of the Craig family on Christmas day, stopped here at 12:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon on the way from Sardis, where they took the prisoner from officers, to Richardson's landing, where they will cross and be joined by a party waiting on the Arkansas side, prepared to lynch Lowry promptly at 6 o'clock.

The party stopped at Fowler's restaurant for lunch. The negro was taken into the restaurant and kept under observation while the party ate.

The negro said nothing, but showed the strain he was under. He realized that he was on his way to death. A number of Millington citizens were attracted to the restaurant, and a few accompanied the party to the landing. They are not expected to cross the river.

Nothing occurred to mar the serenity of the journey. The party ate leisurely and after finishing went to E. A. Harrold's store, where a quantity of rope was purchased. It was said that the rope would be used in place of chains for the automobiles. The road is very bad and slippery at the approach to the landing.

The cars apparently were making very good time. About one hour and a half before they reached Millington it is thought that the same machines passed through Whitehaven. Very likely the men drove to Memphis, around the Parkway and out the Millington road. Citizens at Raleigh said they did not recall seeing cars of this description.

Wilson and Nodena are across the river from Richardson's Landing.

NEGRO BURNED AT STAKE

TODAY'S NEWS TODAY
EXCLUSIVE DAY
ASSOCIATED PRESS SERVICE
COMPLETE
INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

Price Three Cents

The News Scimitar

Price Three Cents.

FIRST EDITION

VOLUME 41. MEMPHIS, TENN., THURSDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 27, 1921. FOURTEEN PAGES NUMBER 23

500 WATCH SLAYER ROAST FOR 30 MINUTES

> A few days before the time in question, at Princeton, a town ten miles away (from the scene of the alleged crime), the rumor went forth that a Negro had insulted a white woman. He escaped unpunished as there was no evidence against him... "White womanhood" had been insulted, and feeling ran high...

In addition to this conditioning factor came the headlines in the Bluefield "Daily Telegraph":

> Negro Fiend Attacks Bluefield Girl and Entire City is Stirred as Never Before. Enraged Citizens Gather to Wreak Vengeance on Negro Accused of Crime.

In Case 10 it was shown how, through continued publicity, a whole community became so aroused that doubt changed to certainty and a Negro was burned before thousands. The Memphis "Press" especially was doubtless responsible in part for the great excitement. It was hinted that with all the evidence - even the alleged confession - there was yet a possibility that the Negro would escape punishment. The announcement was made that regardless of a change of venue the victim would have to be brought to Memphis. That no militia would be called was also made plain. Long before the Negro was brought back to Memphis anxious crowds gathered at the station to meet trains from Nashville.

It was pointed out in Case 13 that after the minister's sermon, "The people went from the church livid with passion, and early this morning the deed was done". There had been the crime, then the aggravating delay in court procedure. On Sunday morning the preacher "Drew an agonizing picture of the murder of Miss Bishop...

denounced the Supreme Court... drew a forecast of precisely what happened and sternly laid the blame at the feet of the judges of the court, and added a final appeal to the passions of his audience by dramatically waiving over his head blood-stained leaves from the thicket in which Helen Bishop had been killed". If in some cases of mob violence no recent experiences conditioning the emotional reaction are necessary, it seems evident that such experiences as discussed above, including the reading of exciting publicity, are sometimes at least contributory factors.

The Precipitating Stimulus

The precipitating stimulus to mob action varies with different cases. In many lynching episodes it is difficult to determine just when the mob, as distinguished from the crowd, emerges. The latter is defined as a group of individuals reacting to one another; the former signifies a number of individuals responding with exaggerated emotion to a more limited field of stimuli. Whatever it may be, then, that brings the change from general inter-group stimulation and reaction to a more centered attention and a more specific and exaggerated emotional response is the precipitating stimulus. While mob action may begin some time before the lynching is accomplished, technically it is no doubt

true that more often the mob emerges immediately before the lynching.

Often the precipitating stimulus is difficult to to determine, while in some cases it may be clearly distinguished with suggestive indications concerning the constitution, and especially the emotional condition, of the crowd members at the time. From this viewpoint the subject would prove interesting were it possible to study at first-hand numerous mob episodes. In a majority of available case-studies the precipitating stimulus is not stated. From these cases it may well be supposed that in many instances it would have been difficult or impossible to know just what this stimulus was - whether the actual crime itself, the words of some highly excitable person, or the appearance of a calculating individual bent upon capitalizing the general implicit emotional state of the crowd.

Under proper conditions the statement, "Get ropes, get coal oil and gasoline and let's burn this Negro up... He thinks he is a soldier" may precipitate mob action, or stimulate further and hitherto uncontemplated violence. In Case Seven it is not improbable that the big driver of the beer truck from whom the precipitating stimulus came was less excited than calculating. There is some evidence that the lynching was partially deliberate on the part of some - for political purposes. However this may have been, the setting was perfect at the

moment for the truck driver's loud cry from the rear, "Get the nigger!" Exaggerated explicit emotional behavior was the result. In the case of the "Delaware Lynching" it might almost be said that it was a mob that left the church on Sunday morning after the minister had "drawn an agonizing picture of the murder of Miss Bishop", recited a "forecast of precisely what happened", and "added a final appeal to the passions of his audiences by dramatically waiving over his head blood-stained leaves from the thicket in which Helen Bishop had been killed". It seems not improbable that only the conventionalized restraints on explicit emotional behavior delayed the lynching until night. Darkness greatly removes restraint. There is wisdom in the old saying of Plato that if man could become invisible at will, no virgin would be safe, no strong box unrifled.

A clear example of the important role of the precipitating stimulus in mob action is shown above in Case Eight. While it is not stated why the railroad men took Johnson to the court house, the implications are that they were bent upon lynching him immediately. The speech as reported from the Rev. Hamilton could hardly have been better worded by a trained psychologist. He used the terms that would strike at the "complexes" or sentiments of the crowd - "Sunday school", "alter", "church", "bright sweet girl", "family", "this sweet girl" - then ventured to suggest that he was trying "to save

you men from a terrible mistake...and from a crime", - that of taking the law into their own hands[8]... The crowd began to disperse and the Negro was placed in jail under guard of members of the crowd who had been sworn in as deputies. That the Negro would have had a trial in court seems certain but for what occurred just as the crowd began to disperse. Neta White's father arrived in an automobile; he came to "identify the man". According to his statement he was highly emotional, "crazy wild". He "saw that the nigger was guilty". "So I said it was he and I said I wanted him lynched". Then suddenly the crowd changed into a seething mob which perpetrated the only lynching ever to occur in that part of West Virginia.

Thus far, the discussion evidently embraces only minor factors in an explanation of the conditions portrayed in the four preceding chapters. In all countries of the world there are those who fail to adjust adequately to the group standards - that is, there are criminals. In all states of America there are presumably those who murder, commit rape, insult women, commit assault "with intent to kill", commit theft, burglary and other minor offenses. But lynching mobs do not function in all countries, nor in all states of America; they are largely and increasingly concentrated in a few states of the South, and in a relatively few counties of these states.

8. Cf. Giddings, F. H., Elements of Sociology, pp. 123ff.; Allport, op. cit. pp. 96-97; Hart, The Psychology of Insanity, pp. 62ff.

Why 70 per cent of all whites and more than 90 per cent of all women lynched in the Nation since 1900 have met that fate in the South; why 62 per cent of all lynchings in the Nation, and 78 per cent of all lynchings in the South have occurred in seven southern states - evidently these facts are hardly to be accounted for on the basis of the crimes committed, lack of respect for the courts, and inflammatory newspaper publicity. The latter two factors would appear to be effects as well as causes, and not as peculiar to the South as the particular type of mob violence under consideration. Moreover the precipitating stimuli to mob action in the South, as indicated in the discussion of this topic, grows out of and takes effect because of the peculiar constitution of those individuals who become members of lynching mobs. It is hardly conceivable, for example, that in a majority of the states a man would ever think of crying out in a court room, "Get the nigger", as the latter was being sentenced to hang in less than four hours. On the other hand it is evident that such a statement would appear ridiculous in any but a most peculiar situation.

The factors discussed thus far have been, for the most part, those noted by students of mobs in general, irrespective of country or of locality. Upon the presumption that our outline is inclusive there is, then, one explanation left for the frequency and nature of

southern mob action as it differs in these respects from mob violence in other sections.

The Constitution of the Mob Members

What is the constitution of the persons involved in lynching mobs? This is the fundamental question to be answered, the one on which in the very nature of the present study little definite information has been gathered, and yet a question on which it seems altogether possible to throw considerable light. The constitution of the individual from the psychological viewpoint has reference to his fundamental nature, - neural structure, emotions, habits, attitudes. This involves broadly heredity and environment; more specifically, in addition to heredity, all remote experiences conditioning emotional reaction. Recent experiences for conditioning emotion may be considered, psychologically, as a part of the mob episode itself, hence are not properly considered under this topic.

While many reports of southern mob action state that "prominent citizens" were present, it has been noted in late years by practically all students of the subject that it is the "lower elements" who actively participate. As we have seen, this was not always the case with respect to American lynching mobs. In later years, however, expecially since about 1900 when public sentiment

against the practice of lynching began to grow, it has been the general assumption or statement of practically every writer on the subject of southern mobs that the mob participants are among the more unstable of the population. While no definite study had been made to determine this point scientifically the similarity of the statements with those of students of mob action in general, some of them students of other countries, is striking.

Le Bon long ago pointed out that the crowd "is a servile flock that is incapable of ever doing without a master"; that the leaders of crowds are often the most emotional and unstable of the group. They are men of action, not thinkers. "They are especially recruited from the ranks of those morbidly nervous, excitable, half-deranged persons who are bordering on madness".[9]

A southern writer recently pointed out that southern mobs are largely made up of people from rural districts, and commented on the fact that "The whites of the rural districts in the South are unfortunately much given to sensationalism in religion"; thus suggesting what is called high emotionality.[10] As indicated in previous chapters of the present study it is true that a vast

9. Le Bon, Gustav, op. cit., p. 134.
10. See The Texas Review, Vol. IV, p. 217.

majority of the lynching mobs are composed of rural or small-town people. This writer states further that many mobs are composed largely of young fellows, often of good families, "who are seeking a sensation".[11] The Chicago Race Commission quotes the coroner's jury which conducted inquests into the 38 riot deaths in 1919:

> Hoodlums are the nucleus of a mob - the young, idle, vicious, and in many instances degenerate and criminal, impatient of restraint of law, gather together and when fortified by sufficient numbers start out on a mission of disorder, law-breaking, destruction, and murder. Mobs, white or colored, grow about a nucleus of this character.[12]

Judge Stephenson of North Carolina closed a paper on the subject of how mob action might be prevented in the South by suggesting that the Judges refer specifically to lynching in charging the Grand Jury. His suggestion was based on the theory that "the crowd that hangs around the court house never read or hear other speeches". He stated that "this group is the one that does the lynching".[13] C. M. Bishop maintains that the mob is always made up of the lower elements of the community but that among the followers are often "otherwise respectable citizens", women and children.[14] Referring particularly to Southern mobs Martin suggests the type of personnel as follows:

---

11. Indem.
12. The Negro in Chicago, p. 17.
13. Lawlessness or Civilization, p. 21.
14. "The Causes, Consequences, and Cure of Mob Violence", Report of the Southern Sociological Conference, 1916-1918, pp. 195ff.

> And it must be said that in general the kind of people whose feelings of personal superiority can find no other social support than the mere fact that they happen to belong to the white race - and I think it will be found that the mobs who attack Negroes are uniformly made of people who belong to this element - naturally find their self-feeling injured if "a nigger puts on airs".[15]

Without quoting others who stress the point that it is the more unstable of the community who participate in lynching mobs, suggestive indications may be gathered from the case-studies presented.

In Case One the letter quoted from Newberry, Florida, shows the writer to be from what would be called the lower unthinking element of the population. He not only states that a Negro is unworthy of an education - a statement which might possibly come from more eminent southerners - but continues: "All the mean crimes that are done are committed by some uneducated Negro...it (the Bible) will tell you that he first originated from an animal. We Southern people don't care to equal ourselves with animals... The people in the South don't think any more of killing the black fellows than you would think of killing a flea. So you have my opinion of Mr. Negro and <u>if I was to live 1000 years that would be my opinion</u> and every Southern man...". The lynching record of the county from which the above letter came implies that others there must have had somewhat similar feelings toward the Negro.

15. Martin, Everett Dean, <u>The Behavior of Crowds</u>, p. 122.

In Case Two there is evidence of instability, especially on the part of those who made such remarks as: "Let's tie him up to a limb." "The way to stop Negro soldiers is to burn them." "When we get this one we will get all the Negroes." "This is the way we do all Negroes who refuse to do what we want done." Although the leaders in one of the lynchings in Brooks and Lowndes Counties, Georgia (Case Three) were "professional men" from Quitman, their reputations are apparently not of the highest type. The punishment meted out to Mary Turner is suggestive of abnormally developed sadistic tendencies on the part of the tormentors. In the Vicksburg Case the leader is quoted as saying finally, "Have you had enough fun, boys?" "Yes, cut him down," was the reply. In addition to the numerous indications of this sadistic tendency on the part of lynchers, the following quotation from the Memphis "News-Scimitar" - one among many of similar content which could be cited - is suggestive:

> All waited patiently. Women, with babies, made themselves comfortable. At last the irons were hot. A red streak shot out, a poker in a brawny hand was boring out one of the Negro's eyes. The Negro bore the ordeal with courage, only low moans escaping him. Another poker was working like an auger on the other orbit. Swish. Once, twice, three times a red hot iron dug gaping places in Lation Scott's back and sides. "Fetch a hotter one," somebody said. The execution went on.
>
> Now some one had another poker - jabbing its fiery point into the ribs of the doomed black. Then rubbish was piled about the agonized body, squirming beneath its load. More and more wood and rubbish

> were fed the fire, but at three o'clock Lation Scott was not dead. Life finally fled at four o'clock. Women scarcely changed countenance as the Negro's back was ironed with the hot bands. Even the executioners maintained their poise in the face of bloody creases left by the irons, - irons which some housewife had been using. Three and a half hours were required to complete the execution.

In a high proportion of the reports of lynchings something is said of the gathering of souvenirs by mob members and onlookers. This is probably a significant index to the nature of these individuals. The following excerpts are quoted from reports received from several students in a southern college on the subject on "Lynching Souvenirs". Names are omitted by request.

Case 1

Reported by N. P. S., an Eyewitness

Near Prosperity, _____, a mob placed a Negro, who had shot a white farmer, between two trees and made ready to lynch him. First, several men fired at him from a distance with shot-guns. The negro was uninjured, however, and merely pulled his cap over his face to shield it from the shot. Then more than a hundred men formed a half circle a few yards from the Negro. They fired a volley. The man's body was shot almost into a pulp.

Before all of the powder smoke had lifted, a number of the mob had rushed forward to the body of the

victim. There they fell upon their knees beside the torn corpse and struggled with each other for such souvenirs as bones, fingers, teeth, etc., which they eagerly picked up or cut off from the body with their pocket-knives.

Case 2

Reported by J. W. H.

_____, white man, who lives about 14 miles from Fairfax, _____, has in his possession a dried toe of the Negro -[16], who was lynched in _____ County about 1916 or 1917 after having been killed in _____ by a posse. His dead body was then hanged and riddled with bullets. For some time L. B.'s father, B. B., carried this toe upon his watch chain. B. B. is now dead... (Student has seen the toe which appears to be a valued possession.)

Case 3

Reported by C. P. P.

A Negro named _____ was lynched in _____ County, _____. The leader of the mob was Mr. _____ ,

16. The reports were that he was killed while resisting arrest, hence his name does not appear in the list of those lynched.

a lawyer. For some months after the lynching Mr. _____ carried in his pocket, and proudly exhibited, the little finger of the Negro. Mr. _____ was himself shot and killed not long after in a dispute over a case in court.

Case 4

Reported by H. C. B.

About 1917 a Negro named _____ was pursued by a mob in _____ County. The Negro was accused, probably falsely, of attempted criminal assault. _____ (the Negro) killed several of the mob and escaped to _____. There a sheriff's posse shot him - probably after he had surrendered. His dead body was then brought to _____ County, strung up, and riddled with bullets.

His _____ and _____ (sex organs), preserved in alcohol, were some months afterward exhibited upon the streets of one of the towns of the County...

Case 5

Reported by D. F. H.

In 1925 a white man near _____, had as a watch charm several teeth of a negro who had been lynched after "killing several persons". Holes had been bored in the teeth; they were then strung upon the watch chain.

It is not at all certain, however, that every

lynching in the South is committed by what would be called "the rabble". The conclusion that different types of persons go to make up the lynching mobs of the South seems warranted. Some of the cases cited indicate that what we call the average citizens, under proper stimulation, may make up what proves to be an extremely vicious lynching mob. If this be true, there must be other factors by which southern lynching mobs can be accounted for than hereditary instability and abnormally developed morbid impulses of a sadistic nature. Whether or not these factors are more common in the South than in other sections is doubtful, and must remain so until unfounded dogmatic statements are superseded by known facts. It seems altogether possible that the phenomena in question may be accounted for without these particular facts; that this may be done on a culture basis. It was for this purpose that the historical chapters were included. On the basis of these chapters let us summarize briefly the background, the remote factors for conditioning southern individuals to the type of reactions made in mob violence.

Accounts of the origin of lynch-law indicate that the practice is not indigenous to this country. While it seems altogether probable that there is some connection between this form of mob violence in Ireland and England and the early practices in America, it is not

certain. It seems significant that the earliest form of "lynching" was very similar to the behavior connoted by the old Anglo-Saxon verb "linch". However this may be, it appears that the practice sprung up in the early history of America as a natural result of imperative conditions. Lynch law had its origin where communities were lacking in organized government. At the time it was practically the only "law" to which an outraged citizenry could appeal. It was not a defiance of law but a substitute for a better law. It was an attempt to correct defects in an inchoate society, and was uncontaminated with race prejudice. For many years the most frequent victims of mobs were white men, who would be lynched no less speedily than Negroes or foreigners.

Starting in the colonies, the practice spread to the border States where outlaws congregated and courts were weak. When courts were firmly established in the colonies lynch-law seems generally to have waned, although there are instances of its degeneration to the regulation of morals and family relations.[17] In some of the colonies, and more especially in the newer states there was a struggle between the law and the advocates of extra-legal regulation as the former gradually developed. This seems to have been determined not only by the local conditions but by the type of settlers. Many of the people

17. Chapter II.

had come to escape law; they were slow to come again under its domination. They considered themselves a law unto themselves. To use the words of the English traveler:

> They surrender with reluctance, and only by halves, their right of defence against every aggression even to the laws which they themselves have constituted.

The attitude was handed down. The conception of "democracy" held by many Americans, possibly today, is that "we make the laws, therefore we can unmake them". This statement has been made by members of mobs bent upon taking criminals from officers for the purpose of lynching them. "If we say what the judge can do, why can't we do this thing ourselves when we want to?" is the attitude sometimes expressed. Cutler points out that "this is the spirit exhibited, the vague and perhaps unconscious attitude toward the law, which seems particularly to pervade the United States".[18] No doubt such an attitude played its part in the early history of mob violence and is a partial explanation for the general lawlessness characteristic of America until today.

In Chapter III we have noted how, in early days, lynch-law was practiced in the South. The practice of lynching was greatly increased during the anti-slavery agitation, and it was at this time that the Negroes began to be involved to an appreciable extent. They committed more crimes, apparently, and the masters tightened their hold on them by making "public examples" of criminals. It is doubtless true, too, that some of the

---

18. Op. cit., p. 269.

concentration of punishment on the Negro at this time was in the form of a rage reaction against the abolitionist.[19]

It was at this time also that fear of the Negro arose in the South. Previously he had been docile, scarcely ever an individual criminal, and never known to rise in an organized group to strike against his master. The Nat Turner insurrection, especially, left behind both fear and hatred. Under the spur of anti-slavery agitation other uprisings were planned and still others were thought to have been contemplated. Rumors later found to have no foundation were spread abroad; and doubtless played a part in creating added fear and hatred of the Negro. The term - and practice of - "lynch-law" now came into general use in the South. First Negro insurrectionists, criminals, and abolitionists were lynched in increased numbers; then the practice having become habitual spread to strangers - "unknown to the inhabitants" - who were "lynched and sent out of town". Between 1830 and 1860 when there was a marked increase of crimes by Negroes, the practice of burning was begun in the South. This was not, of course, the first punishment by burning. Heretics were burned during the Middle Ages.[20] The precedent for burning Negroes seems to have been set in New York. "As early as 1712 New York

19. Cf. Letter from Houston, Texas, quoted in Chapter III.
20. Sumner, W. G., op. cit., p. 244.

hanged and burnt slaves and left some in chains to starve to death. And in 1741 the city of New York burnt 14 Negroes and hanged twenty-one."[21] For the double crime of murder and rape two Negroes were burned at the stake in Alabama as early as 1835. During the decade between 1850 and the Civil War lynch-law was increasingly practiced in the South. It was during this time that the term came more and more to signify death.

After the War the term "lynching" soon came to connote summary punishment by death. Previously the Negro's economic value had insured his life save in cases of outrageous crimes. Now his economic value to the white man was gone - he was theoretically "free and equal". It was during the Reconstruction Period, therefore, that an actual "race problem" took shape. Whereas before the two races had lived side by side in a state of almost perfect accomodation, there now came a sudden change which brought about marked disorganization. This would have been a difficult situation under the best of conditions - but these were not forthcoming.

The "carpet-bagger" came South in large numbers; Negroes turned from cotton pickers to politicians - some of them apparently were less corrupt than the "carpet-Baggers" only in proportion to the difference in education. Negro soldiers, policemen and Congress-

21. Duncan, H. G., Changing Relationships etc., p. 101.

men were distasteful especially to the "low whites", some of whom had been against slavery more because they disliked the masters than because they liked or pitied the slaves.

The Freedmen's Bureau, Negro soldiers, and crime renewed and intensified the fear of the Negro which had been somewhat allayed during the War. It may be significant that some of the worst lynching states today were those in which Negro troops were stationed. The influence of Negro crimes committed during these years, and more especially such stories circulated about them as "The Lone Star of Texas", "Military Rule in Alabama" and "Negro Soldiers and White Girl" as given in Chapter IV cannot be measured. That both the incidents and the recitals of them were influential in conditioning southern people to fear and rage reactions to the Negro seems certain.

The Ku Klux Klan emerged quite as naturally as lynching had long before. At first it was an organization that attempted to fulfill a real need. Inherent in it, however, were weaknesses that spelled failure and worse. There were "vile desperadoes white and black" whom it was desirable to regul te for public safety, but the failure made by the Klan to accomplish this purpose might well have been foreseen. As shown by the cases cited in Chapter IV, some of the vilest of criminals

soon became Klansmen. During the decade following the War there was an unrivaled wave of lawlessness over the South. If the Klan was an effect, it was also a cause of lawlessness. It left as a part of the social heritage for future southern generations the practice of banding together under cover of hoods and darkness to wreak vengeance on criminals or others who had come into disfavor. For years after its official disbanding newspaper reports of lynchings would read: "by the Ku Klux." There was a marked increase in the number of prosecutions of lynchers.

Respect for law had been weakened for years to come. "Thus lawlessness, or an attitude of denial and defiance of law, became an irremovable element in the antagonism of the races."[22] Race prejudice first became a vital factor in inter-racial relations. The disposition to punish criminals, especially Negroes, extra-legally had become a habit to be handed down from one generation to another. Thus Professor Sumner has pointed out that "respect for law" is not in our mores, while physical pain in the form of lynching has been employed "to enforce comformity, and to suppress dissent from current mores" of society.[23]

By the process of conditioning, the natural response for the small boys shown in the following

---

22. Bishop, Charles M., op. cit. p. 192.
23. Sumner, W. G., Folkways, pp. 115, 221.

photograph to make in later years when a Negro commits a crime would be to lynch him. This response not only carries the sanction of their elders; it is a tense emotional experience.[24] While by no means all southern children actually see lynchings there are perhaps none who fail to read about or hear them discussed. So long as children read or hear their elders repeat such expressions as, "He ought to be lynched"; "It was what he deserved"; "Burning is too good for him"; the natural thing to expect is the "lynching" response when a corresponding situation arises.[25] This perhaps Accounts largely for the surprising statistics in Chapter VI; shows why it is in the South that 70 per cent of all whites and more than 90 per cent of all women lynched since 1900 have met that fate. Given crime, there is a vicious circle that conditions the "lynching" response in each generation.

There are evidently other aspects of the remote experience factor in conditioning southern individuals to the type of mob action characteristic of that section. We are now three generations removed from the Civil War. The lynching statistics treated in this study were made by the second and third generation after the "nightmare

---

24. The original of this and a few other photographs which we have collected suggests clearly the high emotionality of children in viewing lynchings. Numerous case reports state that women and children were present. Cf. Allport, op. cit., pp. 96-97.
25. Cf. Allport, op. cit., pp. 76, 249.

of Reconstruction". By this time, unless there were other aggravating factors, the impetus to mob violence gained at that period would doubtless have waned more than it has.

It is significant that since 1882 the proportion of Negroes to the total number of persons lynched has increased from 37 to 90 per cent. The well-known fact that no crime for which men are lynched is characteristic of the Negro alone suggests marked significance for the racial factor per se. That a Negro is much more likely than a white man to be lynched for Murder, for fighting a white man, for theft, for throwing stones, for failure to turn out of the road; for rape, attempted rape, insulting a white woman, contemplated elopement with a white woman, or for miscegenation, - this fact is usually explained by "race prejudice". As ordinarily used the phrase is a blanket term signifying an attitude of antagonism toward the Negro. "Race prejudice" say Park and Burgess, "may be regarded as a spontaneous, more or less instinctive, defense reaction, the practical effect of which is to restrict competition between races".[26] Bogardus speaks of race prejudice as "an antagonistic attitude of members of one race toward those of another", and adds, "It is usually a non-scientific pre-judgment".[27] In a discussion of the subject Young

26. Op. cit., p. 62.
27. Fundamentals of Social Psychology, p. 321. Cf. Lumley, F. E., Means of Social Control, pp. 126-127.

stresses what is intimated in the statement by Bogardus - the non-personal experience basis of race prejudice. "Prejudice is, in short, a name for a group of mental patterns which become thoroughly ingrained in the individual from infancy."[28]

Now race prejudice of a more or less marked degree is practically universal. Without aggravating circumstances, however, the race prejudice against the Negro in the South - which, on the part of some, sanctions lynching for the most trivial of offenses - would hardly persist. Without constant experience factors this "group of mental patterns" would not be "thoroughly" ingrained in infancy for succeeding generations. Young emphasizes this aspect of the subject as follows:[29]

> It should be clear at once that prejudice is connected with the in-group attitudes in reference to out-groups. ...It bespeaks, on the one hand, the attitudes of superiority and class domination. On the other hand. it reveals fear, jealousy and concern over the rising competition with the other- or out-group.

Broadly speaking it may be said, then, that the attitude of antagonism is kept alive by the different types of culture in close juxtaposition. In an article on race prejudice Professor Dewey says:[30]

> The qestion is not primarily one of race at all, but of the adjustment of different types of culture to

28. Young, Kimball, Source Book for Social Psychology, p. 482.
29. Loc. cit.
30. "Racial Prejudice and Friction," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, March, 1922, pp. 23-24.

> one another. These differences of culture include... differences of speech, manner, religion, moral codes, each of which is pregnant with causes of misunderstanding and friction... They include also economic and industrial differences involving differences in planes or standards of daily life on the part of the masses. What is called race prejudice is not then the cause of friction. It is rather a product and sign of the friction, which is generated by these other deep-seated causes. Like other social effects, it becomes in turn a cause of further consequences; expecially it intensifies and exasperates the other sources of friction...

This attitude of antagonism kept alive in each generation by economic competition and the differences in culture is thus passed on to the next. It is a part of the constitution of the individuals who exhibit the lynching reaction when a Negro commits, or is supposed to have committed, a crime. This no doubt explains, at least in part, the extremely high proportion of Negroes lynched in the South where 85 per cent of the Negroes live.

The Next Step

If the increasing concentration in the South of all lynchings, black and white, men and women, and the increasing concentration of this form of mob violence against the Negro race is accounted for on the basis of the factors discussed in this chapter, there are yet other facts that call for further study. That there are vast differences in some of the conditions leading to mob action in different localities is clearly shown in preceding chapters. Why 78 per cent of all lynchings in the South

are concentrated in seven states, three of which have had between 200 and 300 mob victims since 1900; why these 1,348 lynchings are further concentrated in a few counties of the major lynching states in which there are wide differences in the proportions of illiteracy, farm tenancy, and Negro population; why there is a variation from state to state in lynchings per season and per month; why striking differences in the reported "causes" of lynchings are noted from state to state and from county to county, - these facts indicate differences in local conditions which are beyond the bounds of the present study to determine.

If we have succeeded in picturing with a fair degree of accuracy the situation in the South as regards its characteristic type of mob action; if we have succeeded in pointing out the general background from which this type of social phenomena comes and the general factors involved in its persistence into the third decade of the Twentieth Century, our purpose is accomplished and the next step is clear.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Adler, A. — Neurotic Constitution, Moffat, Yard and Co., N. Y., 1917.

Allport, F. H. — Social Psychology, Houghton Mifflin Co., N. Y., 1924.

Angell, Norman — The Public Mind, E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y., 1927.

Aschaffenburg, Gustav — Crime and Its Repression, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1913.

Avary, M. L. — Dixie After the War, Doubleday, Page and Co., N. Y., 1906.

Bagby, English — Lectures on Social Psychology, Whitlock's Book Store, New Haven, Conn., 1924.

Bancroft, H. H. — Popular Tribunals, Vols. I, II, The History Company, San Francisco, 1887.

Beard, Charles A. — The Economic Basis of Politics, pp. 46ff., Knopf, N. Y., 1923.

Boas, Franz — The Mind of Primitive Man, Macmillan, N. Y., 1922.

Bogardus, E. S. — Fundamentals of Social Psychology, Century Co., N. Y., 1924.

Bonger, W. A. — Criminality and Economic Conditions, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1916.

Brawley, Benjamin — A Social History of the American Negro, Macmillan, N. Y., 1916.

Bryce, James — South America, Macmillan, N. Y., 1912.

Case, C. M. — Non-Violent Coercism, Century, N. Y., 1923.

Case, C. M. — Outlines of Introductory Sociology, pp. 355ff., Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y., 1924.

Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1922.

Collins, Winfield H. — The Truth about Lynching and the Negro in the South, Neale, N. Y., 1918.

Coulter, Ellis Merton — The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1926.

Cutler, James E. — Lynch Law, Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y., 1905.

Dowd, Jerome — The Negro in American Life, Century, N. Y., 1926.

Dubois, W. E. B. — The Souls of Black Folk, A. C. McClurg and Co., Chicago, 1907.

Duncan, H. G. — The Changing Race Relationships in the Border and Northern States, Doctor's Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1922.

Evans, M. S. — Black and White in the Southern States, Vol. I., Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1915.

Fleming, W. L. — Documentary History of Reconstruction, Vols. I, II, The A. H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1906-1907.

Fleming, W. L. — The Sequel to Appomattox, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921.

Garner, James Wilford — Reconstruction in Mississippi, Macmillan, N. Y., 1901.

Giddings, F. H. — Elements of Sociology, pp. 123ff., Macmillan, N. Y., 1922.

Ginsberg, M. — The Psychology of Society, E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y., 1922.

Gould, E. W. — Fifty Years of the Mississippi, Nixon-Jones Ptg. Co., St. Louis, 1889.

Grady, Henry W. — The New South, Robert Bronner's Sons, N. Y., 1890.

Gregg, Alexander — History of the Old Cheraws (1867) Richardson and Co., N. Y., 1867.

Gross, Hans Gustav Adolf — Criminal Psychology, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1918.

Groves, E. R. — The Rural Mind and Social Welfare, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922.

Gruening, Ernest Henry — These United States, "First Series," Boni and Liveright, N. Y., 1923-1924.

Hanna, C. A. — The Scotch-Irish, G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1902.

Hart, Albert Bushnell — The Southern South, Appleton, N. Y., 1910.

Hart, Bernard — Psycopathology: Its Development and its Place in Medicine, Macmillan, N. Y., 1927.

Hart, Bernard — The Psychology of Insanity, University Press, Cambridge, 1923.

Hollander, Bernard — The Psychology of Misconduct, Vice and Crime, Macmillan, N. Y., 1924.

Hollingworth, Leta S. — The Psychology of Subnormal Children, p. 170, Macmillan, N. Y., 1920.

Hollingworth, H. L. and Poffenberger, A. T. — Applied Psychology, D. Appleton and Co., N. Y., 1919.

Hundley, D. R. — Social Relations in Our Southern States, Henry B. Price Co., N. Y., 1860.

Ingle, Edward — Southern Sidelights, T. Y. Crowell and Co., N. Y., Boston, 1896.

Le Bon, Gustav — The Crowd, A Study of the Popular Mind, T. F. Unwin, London, 1920.

Leffingwell, Albert — Illegitimacy and the Influence of Seasons Upon Conduct, Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y. and Boston, 1892.

Lennes, N. J. — Whither Democracy? Harper and Brothers, N. Y., 1927.

Lester and Wilson — Ku Klux Klan, Nashville, Tenn., Williams, 1884.

Lynch, John R. — The Facts of Reconstruction, Neale, N. Y., 1915.

McDougall, William — The Group Mind, G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1920.

McMaster, John Bach — History of the People of the U. S., Vol. VI, D. Appleton and Co., N. Y., 1892.

Martin, E. D. — Behavior of Crowds, Harper and Brothers, N. Y., 1920.

Mecklin, John M. — Introduction to Social Ethics, Harcourt Brace and Co., N. Y., 1924.

Miller, Kelly — Race Adjustment, 3rd. ed., Neale's Publishing co., N. Y., 1910.

Murphy, Edgar Gardner — Problems of the Present South, Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1904.

Park and Burgess — An Introduction to the Science of Sociology, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921.

Pickett, Wm. P. — The Negro Problem, G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1909.

Phillips, U. B. — American Negro Slavery, D. Appleton and Co., N. Y., 1918.

Reynolds, J. S. — Reconstruction in South Carolina, State Co., Colum ia, 1905.

Richardson, R. F. — The Psychology and Pedagogy of Anger, Warwick and York, Baltimore, 1918.

Ross, E. A. — Social Psychology, Macmillan, N. Y., 1918.

Saleilles, Raymond — The Individualization of Punishment, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1913.

Sandburg, Carl — The Chicago Race Riots, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, N. Y., 1919.

Scott, E. J. — Negro Migration During the War, Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, #16, Oxford, 1920.

Seligmann, H. J. — The Negro Faces America, 2nd ed., C. S. Nathan, N. Y., 1924.

Seitz, Don C. — The Dreadful Decade, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1926.

Shepherd, Wm. R. — Latin America, Henry Holt, N. Y., 1914.

Skaggs, Wm. H. — The Southern Oligarchy, The Devin-Adair Co., N. Y., 1924.

Spaulding, H. S. — An Experimental Study of Psychopathic Delinquent Woman, Rand, N. Y., 1923.

Sumner, W. G. — Folkways, Ginn and Co., N. Y., 1907.

Thompson, Holland — The New South, Economic and Social, Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1914.

Tuskegee Institute — The Negro Year Book, 1920-1926 copies, Tuskegee Press, Alabama.

Williams, C. H. — Side Lights on Negro Soldiers, B. J. Brimmer Co., Boston, 1923.

Williams, George W. — History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880, G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1883.

Williams, J. M. — Our Social Heritage, Knopf, N. Y., 1925.

Williams, J. M. — Principles of Social Psychology, Book 2, Knopf, N. Y., 1922.

Williams, M. F. — History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851, University of California Press, 1921.

Williamson, Hugh — History of North Carolina, (1812) Vol. II, Dobson, Philadelphia, 1812.

Wissler, Clark — Man and Culture, Crowell Co., N. Y., 1923.

Woodson, Carter G. — The Negro in Our History, 4th ed., Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C., 1922.

Woofter, J. J. — Basis of Racial Adjustment, Ginn and Co., N. Y., 1925.

Wright, Carroll D. — Outlines of Practical Sociology, 5th ed. rev., Longmans Green and Co., N. Y., London, 1902.

Young, Kimball — Source Book for Social Psychology, Knopf, N. Y., 1927.

Journal and Magazine Articles, and Pamphlets

Alexander, W. W. — "Have We Really Improved as to Lynching"; Christian Advocate, Dec. 30, 1927, p. 10.

Alexander, W. W. — "The New Inter-race Relations in The South"; Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation, Atlanta, Ga., 1922.

American Cyclopedia — "Lynch Law", 1875 edition.

Bishop, Charles M. — "Causes, Consequences, and Cure of Mob Violence"; Report of Southern Sociological Congress, Benson Ptg. Co., Nashville, Tenn., 1918.

Bogardus, E. S. — "Social Distance and its Origin"; Journal of Applied Sociology, Vol. 9, 1925, pp. 216ff.

Bryce, James (Viscount) — "Race Sentiment as a Factor in History", a lecture delivered before the University of London, Feb. 22, 1915. (New York Public Library.)

Desjardins, Arthur — "Le Doit Des Gens it La Loi Lynch Aux Etats-Unis"; Revue des Deux Monds, Vol. 104, 1891, pp. 321-355.

Fleming, Wm. H. — "Slavery and the Race Pro lem in the South"; an address before the Alumni Society of the State University, Athens, Ga., June 19, 1906.

Freud, S. — "Selected Papers on Hysteria and other Psychoneuroses"; Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs, Series 4, N. Y., 1912.

Hall, G. S. — "Anger as a Primary Emotion and the Application of Freudian Mechanisms to its Phenomena"; Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 10, July, 1915.

Hart, Bernard — "Complex and Sentiment"; British Journal of Psychology, General Series, Oct., 1922.

Holt, George C. — "Lynching and Mobs"; American Journal of Social Science #32, Saratoga Papers, 1894. (Library of Congress.)

Howard. G. E. — "The Social Cost of Southern Race Prejudice"; American Journal of Sociology, July, 1922, pp. 113-119.

Johnson, James Weldon — "Lynching: America's National Disgrace"; Current History, New York Times, January, 1924.

Kilgo, J. C. — "An Inquiry Concerning Lynchings"; South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. I, 1902.

Lumley, F. E. — "Slogans as a Means of Social Control"; Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 16.

Merry, J. F. — "The Awakened South"; University of Louisiana, Bulletin Num er 3, March, 1911.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States": April, 1919.

Oppenheim, James — "The Lynching of Robert Johnson"; The Independent, Vol. 73, 1912, pp. 823-827.

Page, Thomas Walker — "The Real Judge Lynch"; Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 88, 1901.

Parker, W. T. — "The Evolution of the Negro Soldier"; North American Review, 1889.

Paton, S. — "Psychology of the Radical"; Yale Review, Vol. II, New Series, Oct. 1921.

Pell, E. L. — "Prevention of Lynch-Law Epidemics"; Review of Reviews, Vol. 17, 1898, pp. 321ff.

Pickens, William — "The American Congo: Burning of Henry Lowery"; The Nation, Vol. 112, Number 2907.

Poe, Clarence — "America Discovers Dixie"; American Review of Reviews, April, 1926, pp. 371ff.

Pruett, L. — "Some Application of the Inferiority Complex to Pluralistic Behavior"; Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 9, Jan., 1922.

Rice, S. A. — "Motives in Radicalism and Social Reform"; American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 28, March., 1923.

Scroggs, W. O. — "Mob Violence an Enemy to Both Races"; Southern Sociological Congress, 1916.

Seligmann, H. J. — "Protecting Southern Womanhood"; The Nation, Vol. 108, pp. 938ff.

Sidis, Boris — "A Study of the Mob"; Atlantic Monthly LXXV, pp. 188-197. (Library of Congress.)

Spitzka, E. A. — "Statisches uber das Lyncher in Nordamerika"; Archiv fur Kriminalanthropologie und kriminalistik, April, 1903, pp. 224-227. (Library of Congress.)

Stewart, H. L. — "The Casuistry of Lynch Law"; The Nation, Vol. 103, pp. 173ff.

Strong, E. K. Jr. — "Control of Propaganda as a Psychological Problem"; Scientific Monthly, Vol. 14, March, 1922.

Tansley, A. G. — "Complex and Sentiment"; British Journal of Psychology, General Series, Oct., 1922.

Terrell, Mary C. — "Lynching from a Negro's Point of View"; North American Review, Vol. 178, 1904.

U. S. Court — "Proceedings at the Ku Klux Trials, at Columbia, S. C., November Term, 1871"; State Printers, Columbia, S. C., 1872.

Weatherford, W. D. — "Lawlessness of Civilization, which?" Law and Order Conference, Blue Ridge, N. C., Aug., 1917.

Young, Earle Edward — "Lynching and Political Areas"; Sociology and Social Research, Vol. XII, 1928.

Newspapers, Reports, and General References

References under this category actually drawn from are listed. To list all of the newspaper clippings and articles bearing on the subject is impractical.

Files of Birmingham News

Files of Boston Evening Post

Files of Bronson Florida News

Files of Bureau of Education Bulletins

Files of Commercial Appeal

Encyclopedia Brittanica, 11th edition, "Lynch Law", Vol. XVII

Files of Green Bag

Hampton Institute, "Lynching: A National Menace", reprinted from "The Southern Workman", 1919.

Files of Lexington, Kentucky, Herald.

Files of Liberator (Library of Congress)

Files of Literary Digest

Files of London Gazette

Files of London Spectator

Files of Memphis Press

Files of Mobile, Alabama, Register

National Association Advancement of Colored People, numerous articles from the Crisis, various supplements to the "Thirty Years Lynching", reprints, and correspondence files.

Files of New York Evening Post

Files of New York Times

Files of New York World

Files of Niles' Register

Personal Correspondence

Files of Raleigh Times

Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Vol. III

Senate Document

Senate Report on Labor and Capital, Testimony, Vol. IV

Files of The Nation

U. S. Census Reports