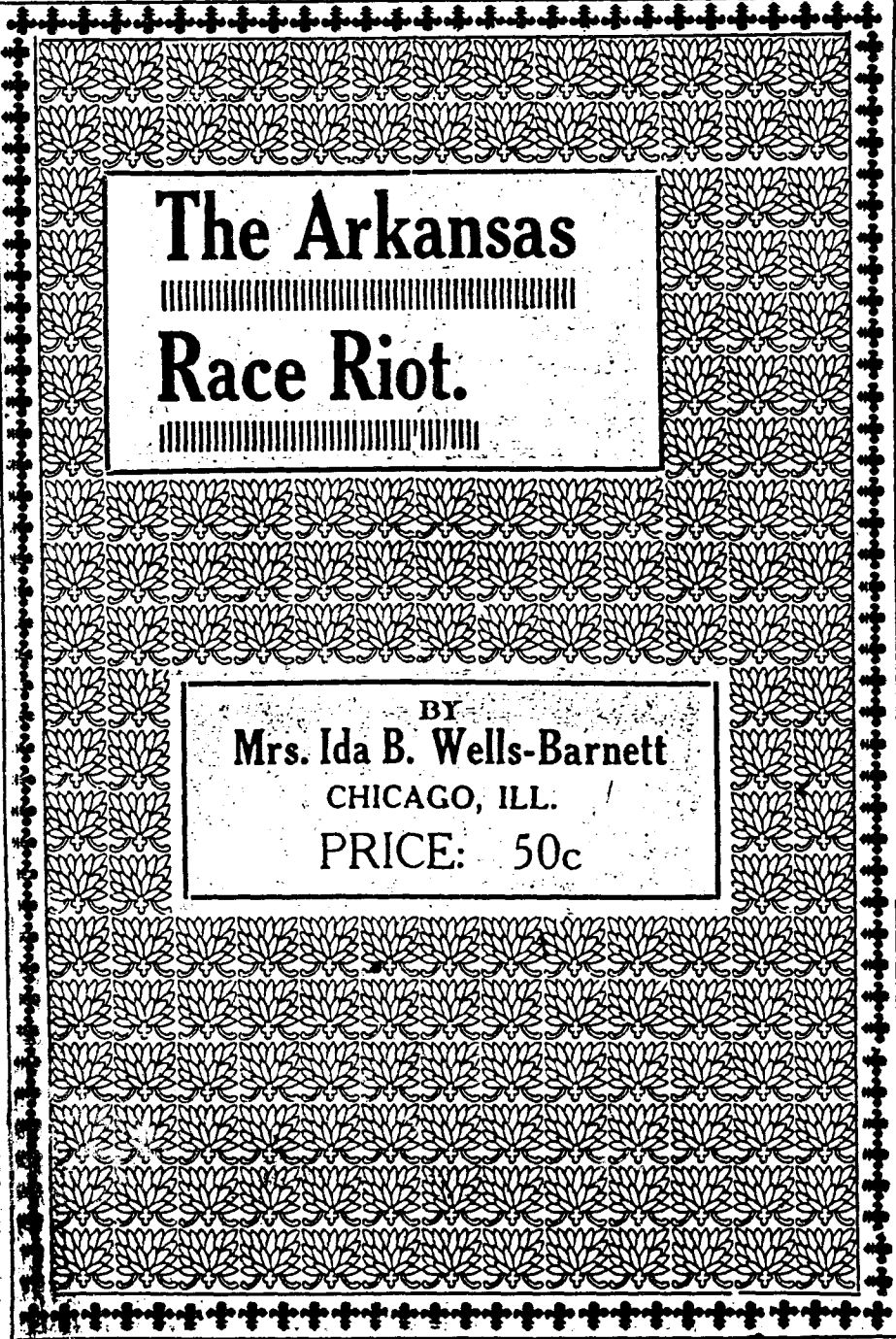


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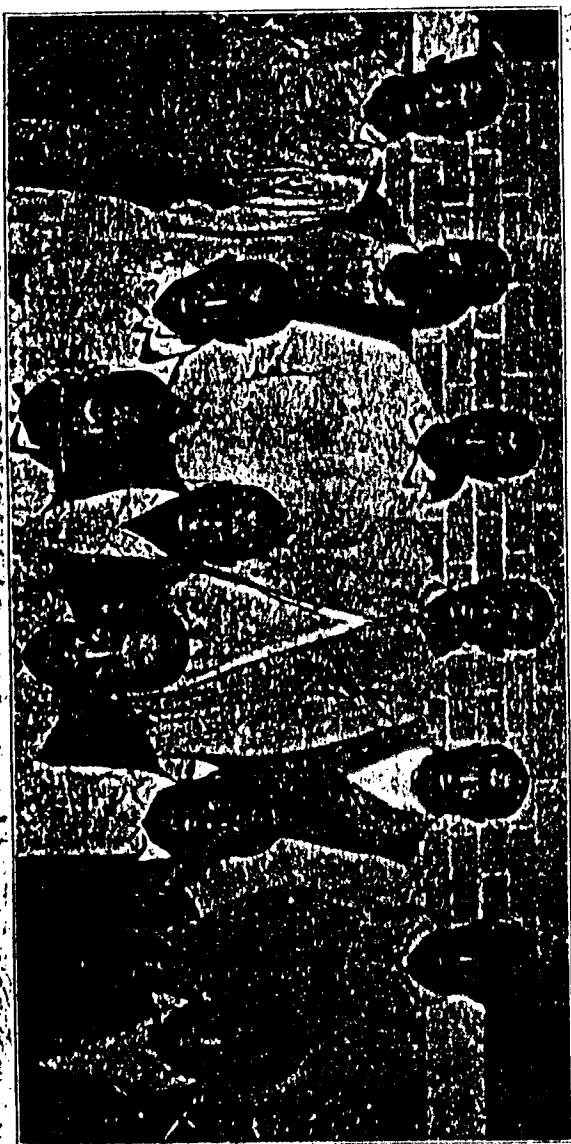


The Arkansas
|||||
Race Riot.
|||||

BY
Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnett
CHICAGO, ILL.
PRICE: 50c

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TWELVE MEN CONDEMNED BY THE COURT.



The Elaine Riot.

THE ELAINE (ARK.) RIOT

The press dispatches of October 1, 1919, heralded the news that another race riot had taken place the night before in Elaine, Ark., and that it was started by Negroes who had killed some white officers in an altercation.

Later on the country was told that the white people of Phillips County had risen against the Negroes, who started this riot and had killed many of them, and that this orgy of bloodshed was not stopped until United States soldiers from Camp Pike had been sent to the scene of the trouble.

Columns were printed telling of an organization among Negro farmers in this little burg who were banded together for the purpose of killing all the white people, the organization being known as the Farmers' Household Union. As a result of these charges over one hundred Negro farmers and laborers, men and women, were arrested and jailed in Helena, Ark., the county seat of Phillips County. One month later they were indicted and tried for murder in the first degree and the jury found them guilty after six minutes of deliberation. Twelve were sentenced to die in the electric chair—six on December 27th and six on January 2nd, and seventy-five of them were sent to the penitentiary on sentences ranging from five to twenty-one years!

Several national bodies among colored people, notably the Equal Rights League, sent letters of protest to Governor Brough, but press dispatches reported that the governor refused to interfere, because he believed the men had received justice. Thereupon, the Chicago branch of the Equal Rights League sent telegrams to Senators Medill McCormick and Curtis, chairman on committee on race riots and Congressman Martin B. Madden asking the federal government to take some action to protect these men and see that they got justice.

THE ARKANSAS RIOTERS.

The People's Movement, Chicago, Ill., on December 7th unanimously passed the following resolution offered by the writer and sent it to Governor Brough:

Whereas, The press dispatches bring the news that twelve Negroes have been condemned in Helena, Ark., to die in the electric chair for the alleged killing of five white men after a deliberation of eight minutes by the jury which found them guilty, and

Whereas, It would appear that this riot arose over a determination of those Negroes to form a union for the protection of their cotton crop, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand of Governor Brough that he exert his influence to see that those men are given a new trial or chance to present their cases to the Supreme Court. Hundreds of Negroes have left Arkansas because of unjust treatment, and we pledge ourselves to use our influence to bring thousands away if those twelve men die in the electric chair. Arkansas needs our labor but we will never rest till every Negro leaves the state unless those men are given justice.

Very soon thereafter the governor of Arkansas called a conference of white and colored citizens in Little Rock, Ark. He learned from them that his own colored people were dissatisfied and wanted these men to have a chance in the Supreme Court. He promised to exert his influence to secure this and appointed an inter-racial committee to adjudicate matters between the races.

The Chicago Defender of that same week, December 13th contained a letter of appeal by the writer to colored people throughout the country to raise funds to help these condemned men carry their cases to the Arkansas Supreme Court, also to the United States Supreme Court if necessary. Almost immediately following its appearance, donations were received by the writer from our people, and the tone of the letters was splendid in the expressed determination to help these poor men get justice. Other organizations to help were formed, lawyers were engaged, a stay of execution granted and proceedings begun for an appeal to the Supreme Court of Arkansas. Six of the men had been sentenced to be electrocuted December 27th and six on January 2nd.

During this time the following letter was received by the author of this pamphlet:

Little Rock, Ark., Dec. 30, 1919.

Dear Mrs. Wells-Barnett:

This is one of the 12 men which is sentenced to death speaking to you on this day and thanking you for your great speech you made throughout the country in the Chicago Defender paper. So I am thanking you to the very highest and

THE ARKANSAS RIOTERS.

5

hope you will do all you can for your collord race. Because we are innercent men, we was not handle with justice at all in Phillips County Court. It is prejudice that the white people had agence we Negroes. So I thank God that thro you, our Negroes, are looking into this truble, and thank the city of Chicago for what it did to start things and hopen to hear from you all soon. Now Mrs. Wells if you have any mail for us send it to _____ if there be enny secret in it. So I will close with much love from all to Chicago, Ill. Please pray for us, I am a Christian man. Please Chicago let us hear from you at enny time.

In response to this cry from Macedonia, the writer took the train for Little Rock, Ark., went to the address given in the letter and talked with some of the wives of the twelve, then went to the penitentiary and spent the day interviewing those men. I wish every one whose contribution enabled me to make this investigation could have seen the light which came on the faces of these men when I told them who I was! Again they sent thanks to every one who had responded to my Defender letter of December 13, 1919. They had been in prison in Helena, Ark., since the first week in October; they had been beaten many times and left for dead while there, given electric shocks, suffocated with drugs, and suffered every cruelty and torment at the hands of their jailers to make them confess to a conspiracy to kill white people. Besides this a mob from the outside tried to lynch them. During all that two months of terrible treatment and farcical trial, no word of help had come from their own people until a copy of the Chicago Defender, December 13th, fell into their hands!

No wonder that during this time of terror they composed and sung in heart-breaking tones this song:

I Stand and Wring My Hands and Cry
By Ed Ware.

I used to have some loving friends to walk and talk with me,
But now I am in trouble, they have turned their backs on me;
They just laugh me to scorn and will not come nigh,
And I just stand and wring my hands and cry.

Chorus.

And I just stand and wring my hands and cry,
And I just stand and wring my hands and cry, Oh Lord!
Sometimes I feel like I ain't got no friends at all,
And I just stand and wring my hands and cry.

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THE ARKANSAS RIOTERS.

Sometimes I like to be in company and again I want to be
alone,

With my enemies all crushing me and confusion in my home;
I then fold my arms and look to the skies,
And I just stand and wring my hands and cry.—Chorus.

My heart is overwhelmed with sorrow,
My eyes are melted down in tears;
But I have called to the God of Heaven,
And I know He always hears.—Chorus.

This they sang in the most mournful tones ever heard. Their wives and mothers and children were there spending Sunday with them, and talking through the bars, trying to encourage them. They sang and prayed together and were so grateful to the warden for his kind treatment of them. They exhorted each other to be faithful to the end, expressed their innocence of wrong-doing and readiness to die if it was God's will they should do so. I told them to pray to live and have faith to believe their God would open their prison doors as were those of Paul and Silas and to pray and believe that they would go free; that He would work on the hearts of those who held the scales of justice and to believe those prayers would be answered. Thousands of persons on the outside were praying for them and doing what they could to help, and for them to have faith to believe that the great state of Arkansas would undo the wrong that had been done to them. I said they should pray daily that God would give the authorities the wisdom to realize the wrong that had been done, and the courage to right that wrong. I earnestly believe such prayers will strengthen the hands of the white people of the state who want to do the right thing.

CHAPTER II.

THEIR CRIME

The terrible crime these men had committed was to organize their members into a union for the purpose of getting the market price for their cotton, to buy land of their own and to employ a lawyer to get settlements of their accounts with their white landlords. Cotton was selling for more than ever before in their lives. These Negroes believed their chance had come to make some money for themselves and get out from under the white landlord's thumb.

Phillips County got plenty Negro labor to till the land and they toiled with a will to raise the cotton crops of 1919, which would make them independent at last. Most of these men and their families had worked for years "on shares" and had come out every year in debt or just barely out. The price of cotton had been low, and the landlord who furnished the land and supplies saw to it that the Negro laborer remained in his clutches from years to year. Always the owner or agent who rents the land owns a general store or opens an account for the tenant where he must trade and pay the prices charged or get no food and supplies for himself family or hired hands. The season begins in March and lasts till the cotton is picked and ginned in October and November. So that for the period of nine months the cropper is dependent on the landlord for supplies. He receives no money until cotton is sold and settlements are made.

When cotton is ready to be marketed, the landlord simply tells the cropper what his bill for the year is and what he will allow him for his crop. As a rule the bill for supplies is almost always greater than the amount due the hardworking Negro and his family, and he has not been able to help himself. He must stay on the farm another year or be turned adrift to go to work on another farm under the same conditions. If he leaves in debt the laws of the state make it a penal offense. Thousands of Negro farmers have worked under this economic slavery for years.

The colored men who went to war for this democracy returned home determined to emancipate themselves from the slavery which took all a man and his family could earn, left

him in debt, gave him no freedom of action, no protection for his life or property, no education for his children, but did give him Jim Crow cars, lynching and disfranchisement. If they could get all the farmers in that neighborhood to join an organization they could employ a lawyer to look after settlements at the end of the year; they could create a treasury and buy a tract of land for themselves; they could get all the farmers to hold their cotton for higher prices.

Is it any wonder the idea spread like wild-fire? The Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America had been revived the year before, and when Robert L. Hill came among them with the plan the meetings were crowded with men and women bringing their money to join. There is not a word in the constitution and by-laws of this order about conspiracy to murder white people, as will be seen by the reader of this book.

It is most interesting to note that this union was first organized under Act of Congress in 1865, fifty-five years ago, was revised and reorganized in 1897; and revised and applied by Robert L. Hill and others in 1918. It was ratified and incorporated under orders of the Supreme Court of Arkansas in 1918 at Little Rock, Ark. The men who are now awaiting the verdict of the Supreme Court on their sentence of electrocution were working under a charter permitting them to organize granted by that same Supreme Court!

Robert Hill had organized under this constitution a lodge at Hoop Spur and one at Elaine, Ark. The white farmers, land owners and cotton brokers heard about those meetings and when the following circular was sent out by the union naturally they became uneasy and decided to take some action:

Don't Get Excited

Hold your cotton until the World's Cotton Conference is over October 13, 14, 15, 16.

Let us see what Uncle Sam means. Uncle Sam can help you when nobody else can.

World's Cotton Conference

There will be more than 1,800 delegates to the World's Cotton Conference in New Orleans, October 13-16. Not only will there be delegates there from all parts of the south, but all parts of the world. Hundreds of delegates from twenty countries abroad are now on the way. There was a time that ginner begg'd the farmers to haul away cotton seed and get them out the way, but today the cotton seed industry has reached to more than \$4,000,000,000 annually. This will enter largely into this conference showing the growing needs for

cotton seed products. For the foreign delegates it is agreed that landing on American soil be made in New York and then trains made up to convey them to New Orleans from New York City.

That was all, but it was a Declaration of Economic Independence, and the first united blow for economic liberty struck by the Negroes of the South! That was their crime and it had to be avenged.

But why was this movement a crime? Because "cotton is king" of the agricultural products of the South. With cotton selling for 45 to 50 cents per pound—the highest price since the Civil War—it meant that Negroes were in a fair way to become independent and it was not to the interest of the white landowners to let them do so. Ed Ware, one of the most prosperous men there, had already offered two bales of cotton for sale. Ware was secretary of the Hoop Spur lodge, and he had already refused to sell for 24 cents per pound, or 33 cents. He was then refused a settlement of his account at the store. He had gone to Helena to give a lawyer his case. On his return home rumors were flying that the white people were going to lynch him for doing this. This was Saturday, three days before the riot.

The United States is the greatest cotton producing country in the world. Of the 17,410,000 bales of cotton produced in 1918 in the whole world 11,818,000 bales came from the United States. With the exception of the little grown in California, these twelve million bales—more than two-thirds of all the cotton raised in the world—were produced by the Negro labor of the South! Without the Negro there would be no cotton. The South wants the Negro to produce this cotton but not to share in its benefits.

With cotton selling at 45 and 50 cents a pound, a bale of cotton averaging 500 pounds would bring \$250. Five bales of cotton would bring \$1,250. No padding of accounts nor inflation of prices could use all that money for supplies and leave the Negro in debt and subjection. Another way must be found to do this, and keep the Negro's wealth from him.

CHAPTER III.

THE RIOT

Tuesday, September 30th, the people gathered in their church at Hoop Spur to hold a meeting of the lodge. The place was crowded with men, women and children. Those who hadn't paid dues and become members were anxious to do so. A peaceful law-abiding hard-working group in their own church, attending strictly to their own business, about two hundred of them. Suddenly at 11 o'clock at night without warning a volley of shots are fired into this free assembly. The lights go out and those who are not killed or wounded get away as quickly as possible. One white man, W. A. Adkins, is killed out in front of this church, whether by the men he is with or the guards out in front will probably never be known.

No one knows how many of these peaceable unoffending Negroes were killed by this volley as the persons who did this dastardly deed burned the church down the next day so no bullet holes in walls, broken windows or dead bodies of Negroes would show the conspiracy of whites to kill black people. Had this been a conspiracy of Negroes to kill whites, they would not have started in by killing their own members, break up their own meeting, nor burn their own church. They would have been in or near some white assembly hall or home working mischief. There would be more evidence of the conspiracy to kill whites than the single body of W. A. Adkins found dead beside the automobile which brought him to the Negro church to disturb a Negro meeting and commit murder. Some excuse was necessary for their action, and the persons capable of planning and executing such a terrible deed were not above furnishing that excuse for their action. Or Will Adkins may have been killed accidentally by the men he was with. One of the Negro guards at the church declares he heard one of the white men say, "We are killing our own men."

It is because that one white man was killed in front of the Negro church at 11 o'clock that night that Frank Moore and eleven other Negroes are in the Arkansas penitentiary condemned to die. Nothing in the record shows he had any busi-

ness there; he was clearly a trespasser, for every Negro in that church agrees that without warning—while they were all in the church—a volley of bullets was fired in among them. Of those white men who were firing into the church without cause Will Adkins was one. If it had been clearly proven that he was killed by a bullet fired by the Negro guards on the outside, it was because of and in response to an attack made on the church they were there to guard. Nowhere in this land would an unprejudiced jury sentence a man to death for guarding and protecting his property and loved ones from unprovoked attack!

The other white man mentioned in the record, Clinton Lee, met his death next day while he and hundreds of other white men were chasing and murdering every Negro they could find, driving them from their homes and stalking them in the woods and fields as men hunt wild beasts. They were finishing up the job they began the night before. As a group of Negroes ran before the mob two shots were fired from a rifle one of them carried, and Clinton Lee fell dead. For his death five of the twelve men sentenced are awaiting death by electrocution. Yet no man in all this "land of the free and home of the brave" will say that a man is not justified in firing back on other men who are after him armed with shot-guns to take his life!

Both these white men for whose death there men were found guilty of murder in the first degree and sentenced to death were in the attacking parties with crowds of other white men. If there was any conspiracy, it would seem to be among white men to kill and drive away Negroes.

Why? The Negroes had made their crop. Every one of the two hundred Negroes condemned and killed had picked or was gathering in his year's crop of cotton and corn! The labor needed to plow the ground, plant the seed chop the cotton and "lay it by" had been furnished by their toil. Some of the landlords drove the Negroes off the land after this had been done by refusing to feed them longer and forcing them to leave their crop before the cotton was ready to pick. But cotton was now ready to pick and some of it had been picked by October 1st. It had been ginned and was ready for market and the Negro due to get the reward of his toil and white men determined to reap the value of it. What they could not do lawfully they did unlawfully with the aid of public sentiment and the mob. They are now enjoying the result of these Negroes' labor, while the Negroes are condemned to die or stay in prison twenty-one years. The wives and children of the white men who committed this crime and robbed these Negroes are riding in automobiles, living in comfortable homes,

enjoying good food and fine clothes. The wives and children of these Negroes are wandering from place to place, homeless, penniless, ragged and starving, depending on public charity.

CHAPTER IV.

THEIR CASE STATED

In this chapter is given the statements of these earnest, hard-working God-fearing men whose only ambition was to be good citizens and get on in the world. Ed Ware, who was secretary of the Progressive Farmers' Household Union, had 120 acres in cultivation. He owned a Ford car and while the crops were laid by, drove his car daily to Helena, thirty miles away, and made money carrying passengers. He says:

Ed Ware's Statement.

"On September 26, 1919, my merchants, Jackson & Longnecker, came to buy some cotton I had just ginned and offered me 24 cents and then 33 cents for it. I refused to take it, and they said they were going to take the cotton at that price. I rejected their offer and said I'd take my cotton to Helena to sell. They then said they were going to mob me, but I was warned about it. So when they tried to fool me into their store so they could get me I refused to go in and kept out of their way. On the 29th I went to Helena and gave my business over to an attorney so I would not have to deal with them. At the same time I went to see what cotton was selling at and found that Woolen & Davidson were paying 44½ cents for short cotton."

About the trouble which happened the next night Ed Ware says:

"On the 30th of September, 1919, we met in a regular meeting and while sitting attending to our business about 11 o'clock that night, some automobiles were heard to stop north of the church and in just a few minutes they began shooting in the church and did kill some people in the church (which they set afire and burned them up in it the next morning). Then about 150 armed men came over to my place and before they got over there the news reached us stating that they were coming over there to kill me and all of the other Negroes that belonged to that union and then I began to look out for myself. I went out in my field about 200 yards from my house, sitting there talking to two other men about the threats that I had just received. I happened to look up and I saw a Negro by the name of Kid Collins running down the road in front of my house and followed by a crowd of white men. The

Negro and all of the white men were armed with guns and they had almost surrounded my house when the old man, Charley Robinson, and Isaac Bird and myself began to run. The old man was crippled and could not run and they shot him down and took him up from there and carried him and put him in my wife's bed and let him stay there four days. Then they took the country broadcast and began to shoot down everything they saw like a Negro. I lost all of my household goods and 121 acres of cotton and corn, two mules, one horse, one Jersey cow and one farm wagon and all farming tools and harness and eight head of hogs, 135 chickens and one Ford car. This is a true report."

E. D. Hicks' Statement.

"On October 1, 1919, after the trouble the night before in the church, they were after all the colored people to kill them, so we ran into the swamp. I had 100 acres of land, rented from Stanley and Moore Bros. I had a good crop of cotton and corn on the whole place. My brother, Frank Hicks, worked about thirty acres of it in cotton and corn and I worked the rest. I bought four mules and wagon and farming tools and all of my wife's clothes and they took all that from me in that trouble. Now this is a true report from Frank and E. D. Hicks."

Joseph Fox's and Albert Giles' Statement.

"On October 1st we saw about 150 armed white men coming to our house and we left the house and ran on down into the woods and carried our sister down in the woods with us and they came and hunted us out and they shot at the women and killed three men and wounded Albert Giles and Alfred Banks and Joe Fox. They were so thick around us, they killed one white man, and we heard them say, "We are killing our own men," and they went to our house and took everything that was there. We do not know how the shooting started that night, because we were not there. We got the news the next day that they were going to kill every Negro they saw."

John Martin's Statement.

"I was at Hoop Spur Church that night to lodge meeting. I do know that four or five automobiles full of white men came about fifty yards from the church and put the lights out, then started shooting in the church with about 200 head of men, women and children. I was on the outside of the church and saw this for myself. Then I ran after they started firing in on the church. I don't know if anybody got killed at all. I went home and stayed home that night, then the white

people was sending word that they was going to kill all the black people, then I run back in the woods and hid two days then the soldiers came then, I made it to them. I was carried to Elaine and put in the school house and I was there eight days. Then I was brought to Helena and put in jail and whipped near to death and was put in an electric chair to make me lie on other Negroes. It was not the union that brought this trouble; it was our crops. They took everything I had, twenty-two acres of cotton, three acres of corn. All that was taken from me and my people. Also all my household goods. Clothes and all. All my hogs, chickens and everything my people had. I was whipped twice in jail. These white people know that they started this trouble. This union was only for a blind. We were threatened before this union was there to make us leave our crops."

Alfred Banks' Statement.

"I was at Hoop Spur church on that night to union meeting and do know that the white people came about fifty yards of that church and got out of the cars and started to shoot in the church on the Negroes. It was four or five cars of white men. I was on the outside of the church when these white men stopped and put the car lights out, then started to shoot into the church. Then I ran with some of the rest of the people. I went home and stayed in the bushes until the soldiers came. Then I was taken to Elaine and put in the schoolhouse and I was there about six days. I was brought to Helena jail and whipped near to death to make me lie on myself and the others. I was whipped three times in jail, also was put in an electric chair in Helena jail and shocked. I have the scars on my body to show now. Now I am sentenced to death. I did not kill anybody. The white people started the trouble themselves. We all were driven from our crops before this trouble started. Nine families had been driven from the place, I was on before this trouble started and several more were driven off other places. It was not the union made this trouble; it was for our crops. I was working thirty-two acres of cotton and eight acres of corn. All that was taken from me. Also one acre truck patch. All my hogs and all my household goods from us. All my clothes were taken and burned up. All I did in the time of this trouble was run to save my life and others. I saw when these white men came and started their dirt in that church."

William Wardlow's Statement.

"I do know that it was four or five automobile loads of white men did come, about forty-five or fifty yards from Hoop Spur church on the night of September 30, 1919, where

we were in union service that night and did shoot and kill some of the Negroes. I was out in front of the church in the road when these men came up in these cars and started shooting in the church on the other people both women, men and children. When the white men started that work I broke and ran away. I saw them when they made the first shot. I went in the woods and stayed all night. I stayed until the soldiers came, then I came to them. I had eight women and children with me to hide, keep them from getting killed. The white people sent word all through the county that they were coming to kill all the Negroes they could find. The soldiers took me to Elaine and I was put in the school-house and they kept me there seven days. Then they brought me on to Helena jail and we was whipped like dogs to make stories on each other. I did not kill no one. I did not have a gun. Then after my trial was over in six minutes, some of the white men came from Elaine to the jail and told me if I would put something on some more Negroes they would turn me free, if I would call just two or three men's names that they did call to me. I would not do so, because it would be a story and I will not lie on no one. I was whipped twice in jail. Near to death. While they were whipping me they put some kind of dope in my nose; also I was put in an electric chair and shocked to make me tell a story on other men.

"This is my crop. I was working sixteen acres of land, fifteen in cotton, one in corn. I was charged up for four months' groceries, \$226.25, but I did not owe that much. So all that was taken from my wife and she was driven off the place. There was only three in the family. These white people of Phillips County want to say the union caused all this trouble. It's not so. The white people was threatened before this lodge organized in this county. They only put this to hold up their side. Just as fast as the Negroes lay their crops by they are driven from their homes and farms. When we were under arrest, the white people went and burned the church down to keep from showing up what they had done. We was not taught to kill no one. It was only for us to come into union to farm and to buy government land. Robert L. Hill did not tell us in no meeting whatever to harm the white man. They took it upon themselves to make this trouble. There was over eighty men, women and children killed and burned up by fire."

Frank Moore's Statement.

"On the night of September 30th we Negroes was at Hoop Spur church at union meeting. Over 120 men, women and children were there in the lodge meeting and there was more than four or five automobiles of white people within about

forty or fifty yards from the church and stopped and started shooting into the church on the Negroes and killed some of them. So I ran home that night and the next morning the whites sent us word that they was coming down there and 'kill every nigger they found.' So just as many of us could get together we did so. About 11:30 that day there was about 300 or 400 white men armed with guns walking and in automobiles at the railroad coming from Elaine to kill us. So we all ran back of the field and just as we got back of the field there was a big crowd of white men shooting and killing Jim Miller and his children and brother and setting them on fire. So when we saw them shooting and burning them we turned running and went to the railroad east from there, and the white people tried to cut us off. They were shooting at us all the time, so just as we crossed the railroad and the public road, it was only two shots was made from the colored people. It wasn't my rifle that was taken from the man who made the two shots. We all was running, I having made not a shot in the whole trouble. Then I slipped back through the field to save my mother and little children. About 5 o'clock that evening, there was near 300 more white people coming on with guns, shooting and killing men, women and children. So I took the children and women and went to the woods and stayed until the next morning when the soldiers' train came. I took the children and women and made it to the soldier men; then they took us and carried us to Elaine village and put us in the white school-house and I was there five days. Was carried to Helena County jail and whipped nearly to death to make me tell stories on the others, to say we killed the white people and colored people when at the church that night I did not have a gun whatever.

"The white people want to say that union was the cause of the trouble. It's not so; the white people were threatening to run us away from our crops before this trouble started. The Phillips County people know they started this trouble and they only got the army there to cover what they had done.

"I was working fourteen acres of cotton, five acres of corn and it was the best crop on that place where I was farming. Now, after that they taken my old father and put him in jail after he had got his crops and taken everything from him. He was working thirty-eight acres of land, twenty-eight in cotton, ten acres in corn. Did not give him any of it, so he is still in Helena jail and I am sentenced to death. And all I made was taken from my wife and she was driven off the farm. Also, took \$678 worth of household goods from her. They did not give us a fair trial whatever and would not let us talk in court. Sentenced twelve men to death and put seventy-five

other Negroes on the farm from one year to twenty-one years. Also they put my wife in jail and a great many other women. Also they was whipped as well as the men. Also while whipping us men, they put something in our nose to strangle us. Also we was put in an electric chair and shocked to make us lie on each other."

Old Man Ed Colman, 79 Years Old.

"When this trouble started at Hoop Spur church, I was at home in bed asleep. I was living two and one-half miles from that trouble. By the Negroes running, I was awakened from my sleep and they told me about the white people shooting into the church on them. Then I was afraid to death near. When the morning had come, I saw about 200 white men in cars shooting down the Negroes and sent us word that they were going to "kill every nigger" they could find in the county. And at 11:30 that day we saw near 300 white armed white men coming and we all ran back of the field and when we got back of the field there was a big crowd of white men shooting and killing Jim Miller's family. We turned and went to the railroad. The white men tried to cut us off. When we got to the railroad, some of them was there shooting after us. It was only two shots made from we colored men. There was not any life taken whatever. We was still running and made it to the woods, where we were hid all night and all the next day. Then I came home to get my wife. She was about dead herself. When I got there, the white men had went and shot and killed some of the women and children. The next day I found her, then I taken her and went in the bushes and hid for all night and all the next day and part of the next night. The white people know they started this trouble. They did this to take our crops from us and run us away.

I was working eighteen acres of land, twelve in cotton, six in corn. All that was taken from me. All my hogs and everything was taken from me, then I am sentenced to die. Fifteen head of hogs was taken from me. Also my cotton and corn. The white people taken all that, then run my wife from home."

CHAPTER V.

WHAT WHITE FOLKS GOT FROM RIOT.

Billy Archdale, manager of Mrs. Jackson's farm at Elaine, Ark., was a leader in this movement against colored people. He had rented this farm for three years and then hired colored people to work it on shares. Last year he started with thirteen Negro families on the place. By the time the crops were "laid by" he had driven all but four of them off. This place is a mile and a half from Elaine. The way he did this was to refuse to feed the families longer, insist they were in his debt for supplies they got while planting, working and laying by the crop, and taking furniture, chickens, hogs and driving them away.

Four of these families determined not to be run away and made arrangements to get supplies without depending on Billy Archdale. They were Gilbert Jenkins, James and Frank Moore and Daisy Frazier. These worked and stood together, determined to stay and gather their crops, ignored the insults and threats of Archdale and were careful to give no offense. In May, 1919, Frank Moore, who was ill, asked Archdale for \$10. to go to the hospital. Archdale refused, cursing and threatening to kill him. Moore got help from a friend and went to the hospital. While he was gone his wife hired help and laid by the crop first of all on the farm. Moore was one of the prime movers in organizing the union and was at the meeting the night of the riot. His wife wanted him to leave but he refused, saying he had "done nothing to leave for; that if he ran they would say he was guilty of something, he wasn't going to leave his crops." But when the mob came next day he took his mother and her children and all the women on the place down in the swamp and stayed with them till the soldiers came. His wife got away and was gone till she saw in the papers four weeks later that all was quiet and people could go back and gather their crops. When she went back to her house, everything was gone. She went to the landlord's house and told his wife she had come to gather her crops and pay what she owed. She also asked Mrs. Archdale what had become of her furniture and clothes and where her husband was. Mrs. Archdale told her she would get nothing even though Mrs. Moore saw some of her furniture and clothes in

Mrs. Archdale's house. She also told her her husband was in jail in Helena and they were going to have him put in the electric chair. Mrs. Moore asked why. "Did he kill anybody?" "No," she said, "but he had just come from the army and he was too bigoted."

Archdale himself demanded to know what she came back for. When she said she came back for her crop, her furniture and clothes, he told her if she didn't get out and stay out he would kill her, burn her up and no one would know where she was. So she had to leave with only the clothes she stood in, her whole year's work gone and her husband in jail. John Nelson, another landlord, arrested and took her to Helena to jail although she had gone back because the newspapers invited those who had gone away to return. She was kept in jail eight days and made to work from 3 o'clock in the morning to 9 or 10 o'clock at night; she and fifteen other colored women. This John Nelson who ran the farm of Wilford & White was recognized by some of the colored people as one of the leaders of the mob. A Dr. Parker was another of the leaders, also a Mr. Curtis who is a renter in the neighborhood. Ed Ware told about the mob killing an old cripple named Charley Robinson and put him in his wife's bed. The two women were put in jail. Before doing this, however, they searched the house for Ed Ware. He was secretary of the hated union. They broke open trunks and drawers, took all of Ware's books, files, accounts with work people, secretary's minutes and Masonic lodge books away with them. They shot into the mirrors of the house and took fiendish delight in destroying things. They left the old man's body in the house for four days before they buried it. Longnecker and Jackson gave the Ware's three rooms of furniture to poor whites whom they afterwards moved on the place.

After keeping Mrs. Ware and the girl who was arrested with her in jail at hard labor for four weeks, sleeping sometimes on the concrete floor, they were discharged with seventeen others told to go back home and go to work as they had always done, "and never join nothing more unless they got their lawyer's or landlord's consent." Mrs. Ware went back to get what she had left and found nothing. She saw her safe in a Mrs. Forsyth's house and a Mr. George had her chairs.

A woman named Lula Black, who with her four children were working on a farm, was dragged out of her home by the mob and asked if she belonged to the union. She answered "Yes." They asked her why. She said, "Because it would better the condition of the colored people; when they worked it would help them to get what they worked for." When she

said that they knocked her down, beat her over the head with their pistols, kicked her all over the body, almost killed her, then took her to jail.

The same mob went to Frank Hall's house and killed Frances Hall, a crazy old woman housekeeper, tied her clothes over her head, threw her body in the public road where it lay thus exposed till the soldiers came Thursday evening and took it up. Frank had gone to the gin with a load of cotton. He left horse, wagon and cotton to get away from the mob. His brother, Paul had joined the union. He was shot in the foot, taken to jail and is now awaiting electrocution. He and his brother owned their forty acres which was in cultivation. His wife and aged father are still the c.

James Moore, father of Frank Moore, although sixty-five years old, was farming twenty-five acres of land, he and his wife and four younger children. He also belonged to this union and got away when the mob came. He, too went back on the assurance that trouble was over. They told him to go ahead and gather his crops which he did. Then he, too, was arrested and thrown in jail in Helena, where he is today. No charge against him and no trial. They have taken everything he had, every bit of the crops he gathered, and drove his wife and four small children off the place. They are now in Little Rock in want, while the father and husband is in prison.

Will Knox, his wife and three little children were working ten acres of land for two-thirds of the crop. They made six bales of cotton, the smallest bale weighing 550 pounds. When Knox was taken way Longnecker and Jackson said he owed them \$606 for the year's supplies up to October 1st. Two bales were sold to them at their price, which left the balance due of \$360. This meant that Mrs. Knox was allowed \$246 for the two bales of cotton sold to Longnecker and Jackson when at the market price she should have received that for one bale. She had four bales left in the field and stayed to gather it. This too was turned over to the firm, and she was told nothing was coming to her because she was still \$25 in debt! In other words six bales of cotton, the smallest one weighing 550 pounds at 45 cents per pound, should have paid the debt of \$606 and left Mrs. Knox over \$800 besides. They too are penniless and homeless.

Ed Hicks, president of the Elaine lodge, had 100 acres of land rented. His wife was the only woman to get any of her household goods when she went back after the trouble, also some of her hogs and chickens and a horse which she sold and realized a little money on. For the twenty-five acres of cotton and four in corn she received not a cent. All was taken from her.

After taking everything these people had, when these women went to Helena after the trial of their husbands they were permitted to see them only once and they had to pay a dollar each to the jailer for the privilege of doing that!

Summary

Ed Ware, 100 acres cotton; 100 bales at \$225 per bale.	\$22,500
Frank Hicks and Ed Hicks, 100 acres cotton; 100 bales at \$225 per bale.	22,500
Albert Giles, 20 acres cotton; 20 bales at \$225 per bale	4,500
Joseph Fox, 20 acres cotton; 20 bales at \$225 per bale	4,500
Alfred Banks, 32 acres cotton; 32 bales at \$225 per bale	7,200
John Martin, 22 acres cotton; 22 bales at \$225 per bale	4,950
William Wordlaw, 16 acres cotton; 16 bales at \$225 per bale	3,600
Frank Moore, 14 acres cotton; 15 bales at \$225 per bale	3,150
Ed Coleman, 12 acres cotton; 12 bales at \$225 per bale	2,700
Will Knox, 10 acres cotton; 10 bales at \$225 per bale.	2,250
Paul Hall, 40 acres cotton; 40 bales at \$225 per bale.	9,000
Total	\$86,050

This roughly estimates the yield of cotton at a bale to the acre, the average bale to weigh 500 pounds and the average price at 45 cents per pound. As a matter of fact the average was nearer 50 cents per pound. This does not include the cotton seed which has as high market value comparatively as cotton, nor does it include the 100 acres of corn raised by them, nor the stock, hogs and chickens raised by these men, all of which were stolen. It seems not too high as an estimate to say that these twelve men alone had \$100,000 worth of cotton, corn and cattle stolen from them by the mob which stole their liberty and are in a fair way to steal their lives unless the nation intervenes!

The record for the seventy-five who are serving terms of imprisonment is not complete but a glance at the list secured shows:

- Walter Guley, 23 acres of cotton and corn, farmed for B. B. Stanley, Elaine, Ark.
- B. Earl, 30 acres cotton and corn, worked for Dick Howard, Wabash, Ark.
- John and E. F. Foster, 40 acres cotton and corn, worked for Dr. Cruse, Elaine, Ark.
- Will Hampton, 35 acres cotton and corn, worked for R. P. Alman, Elaine, Ark.
- I. W. Swats, 20 acres cotton and corn, worked for George E. Blackburn, Melwood, Ark.
- Andrew Goff, 20 acres cotton and corn, worked for Dr. Cruse, Elaine, Ark.

Gilmore Jenkins, 15 acres cotton and corn, worked for Billy Archdale, Elaine, Ark.

Ed Mitchell, 40 acres cotton and 5 in corn, worked for Dr. Cox, Elaine, Ark.

Dave Haas, 15 acres cotton and corn, worked for Longnecker & Jackson, Elaine, Ark.

Sykes Fox, 18 acres cotton and 7 in corn, worked for Deck Howard, Wabash, Ark.

Will Curry, 70 acres cotton and corn, worked for Wilford White, Hoop Spur, Ark.

Ed Baker, 25 acres cotton and corn, worked for C. L. Baughard, Elaine, Ark.

Joe Leggens, 20 acres cotton and corn, worked for Deck Howard, Wabash, Ark.

Joe Meshane, 30 acres cotton and corn, worked for Deck Howard, Wabash, Ark.

S. J. Jackson, 58 acres cotton and corn, worked for J. L. Jones, Elaine, Ark.

Dan Rollins, 20 acres cotton and corn worked for R. P. Alman, Elaine, Ark.

D. Paine, 22 acres cotton and corn, worked for S. S. Stokes, Elaine, Ark.

Charley Jones, 26 acres cotton and corn, worked for Dr. Richardson, Elaine, Ark.

C. C. Hubert, 20 acres cotton and corn, worked for Lambrook & Co., Elaine, Ark.

T. Dixon, 20 acres cotton and corn, worked for Lambrook & Co., Elaine, Ark.

James Moore, 35 acres cotton and corn, worked for Billy Archdale, Elaine, Ark.

Will Mack, 18 acres cotton and corn, worked for Key Plantation, Wabash, Ark.

Sam Barber, 22 acres cotton and corn, worked for S. S. Stokes, Elaine, Ark.

Abe Brown, 20 acres cotton and corn, worked for Dr. Cruse, Elaine, Ark.

Dave Reed, 20 acres cotton and corn, worked for Lambrook, Elaine, Ark.

Henry Avant, 58 acres cotton and corn, worked for Lambrook, Elaine, Ark.

Charley Hubbard, 58 acres cotton and corn, worked for Lambrook, Elaine, Ark.

John Thomas, 35 acres cotton and corn, worked for S. S. Stokes, Elaine, Ark.

John Jefferson, 35 acres cotton and corn, worked for R. P. Alman, Elaine, Ark.

Bob Jackson, 23 acres cotton and corn worked for S. S. Stokes, Elaine, Ark.

Walter Ward, 20 acres cotton and corn, worked for Dr. Cruse, Elaine, Ark.

Will Steward, 50 acres cotton and corn, worked for R. P. Alman, Elaine, Ark.

Jim Smith, 48 acres cotton and corn, worked for Will Crege, Elaine, Ark.

Here are thirty-four of the seventy-five who are serving sentences ranging from five to twenty-one years. Less than half the whole number but this thirty-four had cultivated over a thousand acres of cotton and corn during the year of grace 1919. If the remaining forty-one did as well, those seventy-five Negroes are serving terms in the penitentiary for having nearly 2,000 acres of cotton and corn that the white men of Phillips County, Ark., could get away from them in no other way than by driving them away from their crops and preferring charges against them! It means that the white lynchers of Phillips County made a cool million dollars last year off the cotton crop of the twelve men who are sentenced to death, the seventy-five who are in the Arkansas penitentiary and the one hundred whom they lynched outright on that awful October 1, 1919! And that not one of them has ever been arrested for this wholesale conspiracy of murder, robbery and false imprisonment of these black men, nor for driving their wives and children out to suffer in rags and hunger and want!

CHAPTER VI.

The Johnston Boys

The mob which killed Jim Miller, president of the Hoop Spur lodge of the Farmers' Union, and his family, then burned their bodies, also arrested and jailed other officers and members of this union and thus stamped it out of existence had no such excuse in the murder of the four Johnston brothers of Helena, Ark. Yet they too paid with their lives the penalty of being prosperous negroes in the neighborhood of the riot.

Dr. D. A. E. Johnston, a native of Pine Bluff, Ark., was married to the daughter of Mrs. E. A. Miller, one of Helena's most prosperous citizens, and owned a splendid practice there.

In the ten years of his practice as dentist he had built up wealth for himself and family. He owned a building in which he also had a drug store on one of the main streets of the city and was doing well. His two younger brothers had been in the army. One of them, Leroy Johnston, was wounded in the trenches in France, and unable to come back with his regiment, the Fifteenth New York Infantry, because he was suffering from his wounds in a hospital when they left for home. Nor had he entirely recovered from these wounds when he was murdered. The two younger brothers were running an automobile business and lived with Dr. D. A. E. Johnston. An older brother, Dr. L. H. Johnston, a physician living in Oklahoma, had come to visit the three brothers and a hunting trip to celebrate the reunion was planned. On October 2nd when on their way back to Helena with an auto loaded down with game, they were told of the riot and advised not to drive through Elaine. They went back to their starting point, left their auto, game and guns and boarded the train for Helena. Somebody was on the lookout for them for when the train came through Elaine members of the mob boarded it and took the Johnston boys off, handcuffed them with ropes and placed them in an auto driven by O. A. Lilly, a real estate dealer of Helena. As he started to drive the auto away, members of the mob blazed away at it, and killed the Johnston brothers, the white driver, and filled the auto full of holes.

The bodies of these four brothers lay in the roadside where they fell from Thursday morning till Saturday afternoon in the hot sun just as if they had been so many dead dogs. At last permission was given the mother-in-law to move them and they were given burial. These prominent citizens, educated, cultured gentlemen, had committed no crime, nor were they even charged with belonging to the Farmers' Union or knowing anything about it. They were killed by Amos Jarman, county treasurer of Phillips County, who is also postmaster of Helena.

The Helena World of October 2, 1919, says in a bulletin: "The building on Walnut Street owned by Dr. D. A. E. Johnston, Negro dentist, killed by County Treasurer Amos Jarman today, after Johnston had shot and killed Alderman O. R. Lilly, was surrounded and searched this afternoon. More than a dozen high-power rifles and several cases of ammunition were found."

Another column in the same issue is headed:

"Important Correction"

"In the excitement and uncertainty created by the event of yesterday it was stated that Clinton Lee was shot and killed accidentally. The statement was made in absolute good faith, but investigation develops that young Lee was shot by a Negro with a high-power rifle. Other Helena boys who were with him bear witness to this fact. The sympathy of the entire city goes out to the bereaved family and that of James A. Tappen, who died from his injuries yesterday afternoon. They died in the line of duty and their memories will live forever in the hearts of the people of Phillips County."

What duty? That of leaving their home in Helena, thirty miles away to hunt and shoot down Negroes who were peaceably minding their own business and exercising the rights of American citizens to organize to better their condition. The leading citizens of the towns nearby joined in the hunt to kill Negroes as another article in this same paper states. It says:

"Parties of armed men who came to Helena from Claremont, Marianna, Marvell and other points near Helena on the Arkansas side, and other parties from Lula, Tunica, Friar Point and Clarksdale, Miss. aided in patrolling the streets of Helena last night and assisted in preserving order in the trouble zone. Some of these visitors left for their homes this morning."

Another item states that:

"O. S. Bratton white, held on a charge of murder in connection with the killing of Special Officer Adkins Tuesday

night, is said by the authorities to have been one of the instigators of the trouble at Elaine and Hoop Spur, was brought to Helena in chains last night. He is said to be a cousin of O. S. Bratton, attorney of Little Rock, and former postmaster of that city, and also a member of the law firm of Casey & Bratton with offices in Helena. Feeling against him is bitter, but there have been so far no indications of summary action. Bratton and nineteen Negroes, some of them women, arrested in connection with the race war, are held under strong guard in the county jail, and it is understood that they will be tried in the next term of the Phillips County Circuit Court which convenes two weeks hence."

The mayor of the city issues a proclamation which is also printed in black type and a two-column announcement reads:

"PROCLAMATION!"

The funeral services of
JAMES TAPPAN

Will be held at 4 p. m. today and

The services of
CLINTON LEE

At 10:30 a. m., Friday, October 3rd.

Therefore, I, J. G. Knight, Mayor of the City of Helena, call on the citizens of Helena to close their places of business during the hour of the respective services in order that the respect due our citizens who sacrificed their lives at our call may be shown.

J. G. KNIGHT, Mayor."

Neither of those men were officers of the law, yet "they sacrificed their lives at our call" says the mayor. The whole city did honor to the men who left their business, armed themselves, and went out to murder black men like the Johnston brothers and others who had broken no law nor done them harm. The Johnston brothers were in chains and could do no harm, they were high-class citizens and successful professional men, yet their lives were taken and their bodies lay beside the roadside in the blistering heat of the summer sun until they putrified, while the city of Helena did honor to their murderers and those of their brothers in black.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONTRAST.

Economic justice reached its awful climax in 1919 in the final answer to two appeals made by working men, both groups seeking through peaceful appeal to win better wage and working conditions; both presenting their grievances through chosen representatives, one to be rewarded by the President of the United States with patient hearing and final success, the other to suffer massacre at the hands of the mob and the death penalty by courts of law.

The first group of working men was composed of the coal miners whose appeal merged into a strike, the second group was composed of colored farmers, whose appeal was forestalled by a conspiracy against them, which, formed among white land owners, to perpetuate the peonage complained against, put to death by lynch law scores of colored farmers and then prostituted the process of courts to their purpose, sent seventy-five working men to the penitentiary for long terms of imprisonment, and doomed twelve to die in the electric chair.

The bare statement of these facts is so shocking to the sense of justice that it almost defies belief, but the statement finds its complete corroboration in the burnt and pillaged homes of the helpless colored farmers exiled or murdered and the ninety victims who in hopeless despair look through the penitentiary bars, twelve of them sentenced to death because they dared, in this democracy of ours, to ask relief from economic slavery.

The circumstances attending the two appeals were almost as remarkable as were the final and widely differing results. The miners made their appeals for higher wages accompanying them with the implied threat of a strike. That appeal was made to the Federal Government and was accorded a full and patient hearing. Representative labor leaders were heard by chosen representatives of the Government, who granted relief in some cases and denied it in others. The miners, dissatisfied, retired from the conference to determine further action.

Quick action by miners unions followed the report of the miner leaders. A strike vote was called, and in overwhelming numbers the miners decided to strike. The disastrous result

of the proposed strike caused the government to counsel against the militant methods threatened by the miners and even the President of the United States from his sick bed sent his appeal to the strikers in the interest of peace.

But the miners turned deaf ears to that appeal, closed their eyes to the disastrous results of the impending strife, and boasting of their power to throttle the nation into submission, went on a nation-wide strike and for a period of ten days crippled transportation, deprived the public of food, shut off lights, banked fires, thus threatening to freeze the helpless public, and spread misery over every part of American soil. Court injunctions were ignored and the Government, helpless, yielded, and the President capitulated to the strikers. The strike leaders, triumphant, called off the strike and the miners' appeal was rewarded with success.

Shortly preceding these eventful days, another group of laborers decided to make their appeal for better wages and working conditions. They had suffered conditions which denied them freedom to make fair contracts, forced them to buy at exorbitant prices and sell their produce at rates amounting almost to confiscation. Land tilled on shares barely brought the farmers money enough to pay their "findings," supplied by the white land owner, leaving the toiler a pittance of his year's work, often leaving him in debt.

The Negro farmer hoped to share in the increased price of cotton and the general prosperity of the Nation, and all during 1919 looked forward to a bountiful reward at harvest time. Cotton, which in former years had sold for twelve and fourteen cents a pound, had gone to forty-five cents and higher. The sunshine of "Great Expectations" brightened the cabin homes. But when harvest time came, the farmers' dream failed, for profiteering land owners combined and no forty-five-cent prices were to be had. Farmers who would sell their cotton for twenty-five cents were paid the price. Those who demanded the market price were unable to sell. Naturally widespread unrest followed. The farmers resented the imposition of the cotton buyers, and the buyers denounced the "darkies" who dared to demand a square deal.

Meanwhile, the Negro farmers decided to combine their forces and employ a white lawyer to represent them in their plea for better systems of contract, better wages, and better working conditions. The result was an organization which was of the nature of a secret fraternal order.

The farmers joined the lodge rapidly and the section in and around Elaine was represented by nearly two hundred farmers. The meeting places were the colored churches at

Elaine and Hoop Spur. Only three meetings had been held—two of them before the day of the "slaughter of innocents" which was the 30th day of September, 1919. The lodge employed Mr. Bratton, a white lawyer, to represent the members in their effort to secure the market price for their cotton, to arrange for better contracts, to adjust their accounts with the landowners and generally to safeguard their interests.

This labor movement among colored farmers did not please the white landowners and the proposal of the farmers to act through a white lawyer constituted a menace to the profit-making practices of the white people of the neighborhood. The dissatisfaction of the white people found expression at first in gentle hints that the Negroes were making a mistake, these were followed by warnings to colored people to let that lodge business alone. Colored men knew of the success of white men in labor movements, and, believing they would be protected by law, continued their plans for presenting their claims.

Then came the tragedy such as no labor movement in this country has ever witnessed. On the night of September 30th, while the lodge was in session at the church in Elaine, about 150 men, women and children being present, five automobile loads of white men stopped in front of the church and immediately fired a volley of shots into the building. The people rushed out only to meet volley after volley from the white mob. Several persons were killed, the others ran to the woods or made their way home. One white man was shot, but whether he was killed accidentally by one of his fellow lynchers or was shot by some Negro during the fight is not known.

Next day white men from all over Phillips County and even from Mississippi set the church on fire, burning up several persons who were killed the night before, and then began a systematic man-hunt, killing colored men indiscriminately, driving others from their homes, and then taking from these abandoned homes the produce saved by the farmers for their winter use. Thousands of dollars worth of property was destroyed and stolen and cotton by the bale which the farmers had refused to sell was boldly carted away by members of the mob.

Next followed an even more deplorable act of this Arkansas tragedy. Upon pretense that the white man who was killed on the night of the riot, and also the two next day were the victims of a conspiracy formed by colored people to kill all the white people, over one hundred colored men were arrested and thrown into jail. While they were thus con-

fining their homes were robbed of every bit of property, so that when those who were set at liberty, upon their promise not to join the lodge again returned, they were without food, shelter or clothes!

To contrast the result of the plea of the miners for better wages, with the results of the plea of the Arkansas colored farmers for identical the same thing, is to disclose to thinking people a phase of democracy not safe for the world in any part of it. The miners combined in unions, counseled together and chose representatives to present their plea which carried the threat of a strike. Their demands were not granted and ignoring the President's appeal, they struck. Their strike menaced the lives, health, comfort and welfare of the entire nation. They defied the courts and brought the President to his knees. He yielded, the strike was won and the miners came into their own.

The colored farmers combined, counseled together, employed counsel to present their plea. They did not threaten to strike, did not strike, menaced nothing, injured nobody, and yet:

Hundreds of them today are penniless, "Refugees from pillaged homes";

More than a hundred were killed by white mobs, for which not one white man has been arrested;

Seventy-five men are serving life sentences in the penitentiary, and

Twelve men are sentenced to die.

If this is democracy, what is bolshevism?

CHAPTER XI

THE ARKANSAS SUPREME COURT ACTS

Since the foregoing was written, the Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas has acted on the appeal of the twelve men awaiting electrocution in the penitentiary at Little Rock. The decision against six of these men was reversed and their cases were remanded to Phillips County for trial. This decision was rendered on the indictments and not on the merits of the cases.

The cases of the six who were found guilty of murder in the first degree as charged in the indictment, were affirmed and they were thus left to be electrocuted according to the sentence of the lower court. The entire country awaits the result of the decision.

The six men who were sent back to Phillips County by the Supreme Courts decision have been tried again by the Circuit Court and again sentenced to death—the faulty wording of the indictment this time having been corrected. In sending out the report of the same the Associated Press dispatch made again the charge that those Negroes were organized to kill white people and *seize their property*.

The dispatch reads as follows:

TRY SIX COLORED MEN

Second Trial of Accused Rioters in Arkansas.

Helena Ark., May 3.—Six Negroes sentenced to death for alleged participation in the Phillips County race disturbance last October, faced retrial here today. Ben Helm, Negro recently arrested, also will be tried on a first degree murder charge. The retrial was ordered because of faulty wording of the verdict.

Seventy five Negroes have been convicted of participation in the disorder, which resulted in the death of five white persons and unknown number of Negroes, and which were not controlled until Federal troops were sent into the district.

Of those convicted, 12 received sentence of death and 53 prison terms ranging from one to 21 years.

The disturbance according to evidence adduced at the

original trials, was the premature outbreak of an insurrection followed by the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America, a Negro organization, the purpose of which it is said was the annihilation of all whites and the seizure of their property."

The American thinking public cannot bring back the dead but it can open the prison doors and let these poor defenseless men go free. There must be enough justice in Arkansas to never rest until this great wrong is righted. Not until this is done and the peonage system ended can Arkansas take her place among the brave and the free.

Governor Brough has started the movement. Let the Christian, moral and legal forces "carry on" until these black men are given their lives and their freedom and Arkansas clears her skirts of this awful disgrace. When black men can receive protection to life and liberty and property, they will gladly give their labor for the prosperity of the South. As long as this dastardly crime is condoned, shielded and encouraged by white men, black men whose labor is needed for its development will avoid the state and leave the South to ruin and desolation as they are doing every day.

Meanwhile this booklet goes into the greatest court in the world and before the bar of public opinion pleads the cases of these helpless men. Every reader a member of that bar and the white people of Arkansas—the honest, law-abiding christian men and women of that state—are the judges and jury to whom this appeal is made. They are urged for the honor of the state and its material welfare to investigate the facts given in this book in an unprejudiced and impartial manner and if they are found to be true—these people will know what steps to take to right the great wrong done to these innocent hardworking men. If they are given freedom and opportunity, protection of the law for life and liberty—they will prove the greatest economic asset of the state. If not and this outrage is approved by the great Court of white public opinion in Arkansas, it will mean the lost of millions of dollars to the state, because Negroes will not remain in the state unless this great wrong is righted.

This is the answer to those who are honestly seeking a plan to stop Negro emigration from the farms of Arkansas. Put a stop to the plan of taking the fruit of the Negro's labor as was done at Elaine and Hoop Spur last

THE ARKANSAS RIOTERS.

October and is being done all over Arkansas where Negroes work the farms of white men.

Believing that under normal conditions with the black man's rights guaranteed him and the protection of law for his life, liberty, and property, the South is the best section of our country for the Negro, the priitor (a native of the South) will be only too glad to cooperate with the progressive element of the white South in bringing about such a desideratum.

CORPORAL LEROY JOHNSTON