

Alleged Plot Discovered / The trouble began with the discovery last night of an alleged negro plot to rise against the white residents of the southern part of Phillips county when Deputy Pratt, with Adkins and a negro trusty, were ambushed opposite a negro church at Hopp Spur, two miles north of Elaine, while on their way to arrest members of the Clem family, who were said to be involved in a row among themselves. Sheriff Kitchens, who had been ill, could not accompany them.

A man named Clem, alleged bootlegger, had been reported "on a rampage" in a message to the sheriff from Elaine authorities. Clem, it was said, had threatened to kill his wife and other members of the family including W. H. Clem, formerly a contractor of this city, but now a resident of Elaine, had become involved. The message requested that deputies be sent to arrest members of the family to prevent further disturbances.

The automobile in which Pratt, Adkins and the negro trusty were riding was stopped before the Hoop Spur church to repair a puncture, and while working on the car the party was fired upon from the church by unidentified persons. Adkins dropped dead and Pratt was wounded. The trusty who escaped unwounded, made his way to a near-by railroad station and telephoned a report of the incident to the sheriff. Pratt made his way to Helena this morning and despite his shattered knee was taken to the hospital.

The accounts of the deputy and the negro trusty indicating the attack on the three had been made by an organized band of negroes, posses were hastily organized by the sheriff and rushed to Elaine.

CLIPPING: Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 1, 1919, "B", Elaine Riots, NAACP MSS.

10 DEAD, DOZEN HURT, RACE WAR AT ELAINE, ARK. / Whites and Negroes in Battle in Phillips County / GRAVE SITUATION / Little Town Is Reported Surrounded by Heavily Armed Blacks / APPEALS SENT FOR HELP /

Three white men and seven negroes are known to be dead and more than a dozen wounded as the result of race rioting which broke out yesterday morning at Elaine, Phillips county, 24 miles south west of Helena. The situation was reported to be critical at Elaine last night, the negroes greatly outnumbering the whites, and an urgent call was issued for additional assistance from adjoining counties and the military authorities.

Late yesterday afternoon the town was reported to be almost completely surrounded by blacks heavily armed and some fighting was reported to have taken place in the streets.

Steps were being taken last night to remove all women and children from Elaine on a special train and take them to Helena, together with whites from the vicinity of the town who had taken refuge in the town after the outbreak of hostilities.

Communication with Elaine was difficult. Only one telephone line extends from the town to Helena. Late in the day communication was lost and the only reports obtained were from stragglers or wounded who returned to near-by towns from the scene of the rioting.

Posse Attacked by Negroes / The outbreak occurred when a large posse from Helena went to Elaine yesterday morning to search for the slayers of W. D. Adkins, special agent for the Missouri Pacific railroad, who was killed from ambush near Hoop Spur, two miles north of Elaine, Tuesday night. Adkins was en route to Elaine to arrest a negro bootlegger. Charles Pratt, a deputy sheriff accompanying Adkins, was seriously wounded. A third member of the party, a negro trusty, escaped and telephoned the news of the attack to Helena.

W. K. Monroe, a civil engineer, was wounded a few minutes after the attack when he passed in an automobile and attempted to rescue Pratt and remove Adkins' body. His automobile was riddled with shot.

News of the approach of the posse from Helena spread and, according to meager reports, members of the posse were fired upon from the woods near Elaine. After the posse reached

Elaine it would find the negroes in the woods about the town greatly exceeded the strength of the posse.

Several clashes occurred during the morning and sniping was reported to be in progress from about the town. No definite accounts of the fighting could be obtained later in the day, the chief word received by adjoining towns being calls for more assistance and more ammunition.

The Casualties / The known dead are as follows: W. D. Adkins, Helena. Clinton Lee, Helena. J. A. Tappan, Helena. Seven negroes, unidentified. White men known to be wounded are: Charles Pratt, Helena. Ira Proctor, Helena. W. K. Monroe, Helena. Kelly Cazort, Elaine.

The list of wounded is expected to be large. The only list that could be obtained yesterday was that of white men who were brought away from Elaine. Many negroes were reported to have been wounded in the clashes, but the number is not known.

Tappan was a well-known business man in Helena and a member of a widely known family. He was wounded early yesterday morning and died yesterday afternoon at a hospital in Helena. The body of Lee, who died before he could be removed from Elaine, was taken to Helena. Proctor was taken there late yesterday afternoon. He is not expected to live.

Nearly 100 Negroes Captured / During the day it was reported that nearly 100 negroes had been captured, together with a white man, who was alleged to have questionable propaganda literature in his possession. The report of his arrest was brought to Helena by Amos Jarman, former sheriff of the county.

Many rumors have existed lately of the circulation of vicious propaganda and race literature among the negroes by white men in that section of Phillips county, which is partly settled by whites and largely timber and canebrake country, inhabited by negroes.

Calls for assistance were sent from Elaine to adjoining towns shortly after the arrival of the posse there yesterday morning and relayed to near-by points in eastern Arkansas.

Ten automobile loads of deputy sheriffs and citizens hastily deputized, all heavily armed with high-powered rifles, left Clarendon yesterday morning under the leadership of Sheriff T. D. Malone of Monroe county and an additional posse was being raised to send to the assistance of the outnumbered force at Elaine. Smaller groups were organized at other

LEPPING: Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 1, 1919, "B", Elaine Riots, NAACP MSS. (Cont. 2)

towns to be rushed to the town.

Bitter Feeling Aroused / Feeling was reported to be rising to a dangerous stage in various parts of Phillips county and steps were taken to prevent any further outbreaks at other points.

Mayor G. G. Knight of Helena, and Sheriff Kitchens of Phillips county, ordered all theaters and other public gathering places in the city closed late yesterday afternoon and instructed the people to remain at their homes to prevent any trouble arising. The police force was supplemented by additional officers, sworn in by Sam Austin, chief of police, and armed men were reported to be patrolling every block in the city, which is the largest in the county.

A meeting was held in Helena yesterday afternoon by white ministers with leaders and ministers of the negro race. Steps were taken by the latter to issue an appeal to the negroes to abstain from any outbreaks and to assist in maintaining law and order.

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CLIPPINGS: Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 2, 1919 "A", Elaine Riots, NAACP MSS.

500 CAMP PIKE SOLDIERS SENT TO QUELL RIOT / Twelve Machine Guns Included in Equipment Taken/
BROUGH TO ELAINE / Gov. Brough Accompanied Troops, Which Are Commanded by Col. Jenks /
TO ARRIVE EARLY TODAY /

With equipment and supplies for an indefinite stay and for any sort of campaign that may be necessary to restore order at Elaine, Phillips county, where race rioting broke out yesterday, 500 troops from Camp Pike left Little Rock at midnight last night for the scene of disturbance. The troops are under command of Col. Isaac Jenks, of the Third Division, who will establish martial law and restore order in the riot sector. The troops are from the Third Division and from the 57th Infantry.

Governor Brough, who received many appeals from Elaine and Helena yesterday, accompanied the troops and planned to remain until the situation is adjusted. The governor chose to obtain his own information on the trouble and to take a personal hand in ending it as quickly as possible. The governor was accompanied by William A. Wilson, Gazette reporter, who will cover the story for the Gazette. . . .

Governor Phones Baker / Authority for the federal troops to be sent to the scene from Camp Pike was received by Governor Brough yesterday directly from Secretary of War Baker. When the governor learned of the trouble he called the secretary of war on the long-distance telephone and received authority to use as many soldiers as he needed. The War Department also sent instructions to the camp and within a few hours a special train had been equipped, the soldiers entrained and the start made for Elaine.

The equipment carried by the forces of Colonel Jenks include 12 machine guns, with a sufficient supply of ammunition to quiet the situation no matter how serious. The machine guns are expected to have a powerful moral effect upon the rioters even if they are not put into action. . . .

The delay of the start of the troop train was occasioned by the failure of formal orders from the War Department to reach the camp. Major General Sturgis, commanding general, refused to allow the troops to leave until confirmation of the governor's conversation with

Secretary Baker was received. This was obtained about 11:15 last night by Adjutant General Lloyd England, who talked with Brig. Gen. P. C. Harris, adjutant general of the army, over the long distance phone. General Harris said that permission for the use of the troops had been given and General Sturgis accepted this as authority to allow the train to proceed. . . .

Several Calls for Help / The first message received by the governor yesterday advising him of the disturbance came from C. W. L. Armour and Sid Stoaks of Elaine. They wired the following: "Having race riots here in Elaine and need some soldiers at once. Several white men and negroes killed last night and this morning."

It was upon receipt of this message that the governor made his long-distance call to Washington and received authority to use the federal troops.

Helena Is Alarmed / Later in the afternoon two more messages arrived at the capitol from Helena describing the situation at Elaine as very serious and appealing for military forces. The first message follows: "Circuit and county judges, sheriff, mayor and leading private citizens urgently request immediate dispatch of 500 troops with machine guns to Elaine. Situation intense. One hundred and seventy-five negro prisoners are expected to arrive at any moment among white men. Presence of troops is earnestly desired on account of the moral effect. Two dead and from 5 to 25 wounded. Add my personal request for troops for the safety of women and children. J. P. Burks."

Another telegram came from the mayor of Helena.

The message follows: "Situation continues very serious. One hundred prisoners. Five or six wounded, two of Phillips county dead. Posse numbering at least 500 will be in Elaine neighborhood before 6 p.m. Considering situation it is absolutely necessary federal troops be at Elaine at earliest possible moment. Will wire further developments as I learn them.

J. G. Knight."

CLIPPING: Memphis Press, Oct. 2, 1919, NAACP MSS.

BLACKS FIGHT TO FINISH ; Fire on Arkansas Governor; Four More Known Dead; Two Soldiers Shot / Negro rioters, surrounded by soldiers near Elaine, Ark., this afternoon fired on Governor C. H. Brough of Arkansas and Col. Isaac Jenks, commander of military forces here, but neither one was wounded.

Many negroes are reported killed by the soldiers. Two soldiers are seriously wounded. The negroes are surrounded in the woods near Elaine by nearly 500 soldiers and have refused to surrender. A battle to the finish is expected. The negroes are well drilled and armed. The soldiers have trained machine guns on them. Constant fighting is now in progress.

Four more were added to the list of known dead this afternoon. O. L. Lilly, a white real estate dealer, died of wounds inflicted by negroes. He was taking Dr. A. E. Johnson, negro, and three brothers to Helena when one of the blacks seized his gun and shot him. All four of the negroes were captured by a posse and killed.

Corp Luther Earls, Co. H, 4th Infantry, has been probably fatally wounded. His jaw was shot off.

Corp. Earl B. Gay, Headquarters Co., 4th Infantry, was shot thru the chest.

Several of the surrounded negroes surrendered and said that the other blacks planned to fight to the death.

While the situation is quiet in Helena at present, arrangements have been completed to rush 100 soldiers here by special train to prevent threatened trouble.

CLIPPING: Arkansas Democrat, Oct. 2, 1919, NAACP MSS.

"The Bratton held at Helena is not U. S. Bratton Jr., but my eldest brother, O. S. Bratton. U. S. Bratton Jr. is now at Fayetteville attending the University of Arkansas. O. S. Bratton was sent to Helena by my father and me to investigate certain legal cases we had accepted between planters and their tenants. My father and I were both at Heber Springs on legal business when the cases were offered to us. O. S. Bratton telephoned us at Heber Springs, telling us of the cases, and we sent him to Helena to make an investigation of the cases. He left Little Rock Tuesday night and arrived there Wednesday. It was the first time he had ever been in the town of Elaine.

"My father and I expect to go to Helena Thursday night to make thorough investigation of the case and I trust my friends will not be too hasty in their judgment or thoughts until the whole case is brought to light."

/This should head the above/

Guy Bratton gave out the following statement in connection with the arrest of his brother:

CLIPPING: Arkansas Democrat, Oct. 4, 1919, NAACP MSS.

CASEY & BRATTON LAW OFFICES AT HELENA ARE RAIDED / Socialistic Literature and Papers of "Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America" Found / NEGRO AGITATORS PUT UNDER ARREST / Soldiers, Civil Authorities and Citizens Patrol City to Quell Any Attempt at Mob Violence /

The death of another negro rioter in a local hospital, a raid upon local law offices of Casey & Bratton, resulting in confiscation of some socialistic literature, including some written by Emma Goldman, and the patrolling of the streets by regular army soldiers, constituted the situation in Helena on the fourth day of the rioting in Phillips county.

The negro had been brought here from Elaine suffering from gunshot wounds received when he sought to oppose white possemen.

In the law offices were found contracts with negro share croppers, showing that each of 12 negroes had paid \$50 ~~down~~ down and each was to pay an additional sum later in return for the legal advice. Papers representing the "Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America," supposed to have headquarters in Washington, D. C., and Winchester, Ark., and advocating social equality, also were found. The name of V. E. Powell, Md. D. was attached to the literature.

Rumors Stir City / Some of the literature showed that there had been a meeting of the organization at Winchester last August.

NO LYNCHING IN PHILLIPS COUNTY / Governor Says Situation Is Under Control and Law Will--
Take Its Course / "The situation at Elaine has been well handled and is absolutely under
control," said Governor Brough on his return from Helena yesterday afternoon. "There is
no danger of any lynchings. The saying is current among the white citizens that Phillips
county has never had a lynching and would not have one even in this crisis."

Governor Brough arrived at the capital shortly after 2 o'clock and immediately re-
sumed his work. He was somewhat worn and fatigued from the strenuous trip, but was soon
actively engaged in his duties after reaching his office.

Governor Brough said that no one who had not been on the scene could realize the seri-
ousness of the situation when the troops arrived at Elaine. The negroes were hiding in the
canebreaks and on more than one occasion had threatened to take possession of the town.
The majority of the negroes of Phillips county, Governor Brough said, are law abiding, took
no part in the demonstrations nor was in sympathy with it.

"The white citizens of the county," said Governor Brough, "deserve unstinted praise
for their action in preventing mob violence. The Citizens' Committee at Helena and Elaine
co-operated with Colonel Jenks and the federal troops to maintain law and order. O. S.
Bratton, who is in jail at Helena, is being protected against mob violence. All parties,
both white and black, who are said to be behind the 'Progressive Farmers' Household Union
of America,' the order which proclaims equality of rights in connection with getting a
minimum price of 50 cents a pound for cotton, will be treated absolutely fairly and will
be dealt with by the law rather by mob violence."

Killing of Mr. Lilly / Governor Brough spoke feelingly of O. H. Lilly and the sol-
diers who were shot. "Mr. Lilly," he said, "was one of the most prominent real estate
dealers in eastern Arkansas and enjoyed the esteem and confidence of every one who knew
him. He was assassinated by Dr. Johnson, a negro dentist, in whose house were found 21
high powered rifles and a large quantity of ammunition."

Governor Brough brought back with him one of the bullets similar to those used in the

battle and also one of the cards of the "Progressive Farmers' Household Union of America."
The card had blank spaces for signatures of the officers of the union, Winchester, Ark.,
being designated as the headquarters of the president; Little Rock as that of the general
attorney; Washington, D. C., as that of the headquarters of the organization, and Winchester
as the headquarters of the councilor. Another form used by the organization was headed,
"Orders from Washington," and in the body of the card was a prayer to God for light and
/torn/ of rights.

CLIPPING: Nashville Banner, Oct. 4, 1919, Editorial, Elaine Riets, NAACP MSS.

ARKANSAS RACE RIOT / The race trouble in Phillipps county, Arkansas, appears to be in the nature of a prepared Negro insurrection instigated by agitators. There was no lynching and no lawless aggression on the part of the whites that ~~gave~~ gave it incitement. . . .

There have been indication all over the South of some manner of propaganda and secret work among the Negroes in the endeavor to arouse them to an outbreak. . . .

The activity among the black, treats them as a labor element , and in regions like Phillips county, Ark., where they ~~are~~ have a large numerical majority, seeks to impress the tenant farmers with the idea that they should own the land.

Arkansas Negroes are in all material respects in better condition than they have been in years. The high price of cotton and of corn and hogs they produce has made them independent. They should be exceptionally well contented. The propaganda that has made them refractory and lead to an attempt at armed insurrection, is mischievous and dangerous. Its source, if possible, should be clearly ascertained.

CLAM PREVAILS IN ZONE OF RIOTING / Three Negroes Reported Killed During Sporadic Clashes/
COMMITTEE STARTS PROBE / Investigators Are Appointed at Helena With Sanction of Governor
Brough /

While the situation in Helena is almost normal tonight and virtual calm prevails in the southern part of the county which has been practically a zone of negro insurrection since Tuesday night, sporadic clashes have taken place in the last 24 hours.

Three negroes are reported to have been killed today in addition to two killed by soldiers near Elaine last night. Another negro is reported to have been wounded by machine gun fire. Rounding up of negroes by the federal troops sent into the section continues.

Investigation of the disorders was begun today by a "Committee of Seven," appointed by the civil authorities of the county with the approval of Governor Brough. The committee is working in co-operation with the military authorities and will take testimony from negroes as well as white persons.

A statement issued late today over the signatures of officials and well-known residents expressed the opinion that normal conditions would be resumed after today.

Leader Not Caught Yet / Among the negroes arrested at Elaine today was one identified as Ed Hicks, alleged to have been a leader in the movement to rise against the white residents. The alleged head of the disaffected negroes has not been captured, according to word reaching here, but his description has been sent broadcast, his name being given as "Hill" or "Hall." His home is said to be at Winchester, Drew county, southwest of the scene of the racial troubles in this county.

Henry Sloan, negro, was arrested at West Helena, four miles from here, last night on a charge of making incendiary speeches in the negro section of that town. West Helena is a lumber manufacturing center and has a population of about 4,000. The negro section is densely populated by workers in the mills and factories nearby and their families. This is the only incident of the kind reported from there. White residents say the negroes of that town have conducted themselves commendably during the last three days.

Negroes Planned Uprising / Evidence accumulates that the racial troubles of the last few days were due to carefully planned uprising on the part of a certain class of negroes which was revealed prematurely by the killing of Deputy Sheriff W. A. Adkins and the wounding of Deputy Sheriff Pratt from ambush at Hoop Spur Tuesday night.

A large number of high-power rifles, shotguns and pistols in possession of negroes have been confiscated and 27 similar rifles with a large quantity of ammunition in cases were seized in the building occupied by the four Johnson brothers, who were killed yesterday. The high-power rifles and ammunition for them were purchased outside Helena and shipped to the negroes' leaders by freight and express. Hardware merchants of Helena some weeks ago informed citizens they had sold more guns and ammunition to negroes during the preceding month than in any December which is the month when the demand for shotguns usually is heaviest because of the duck and goose hunting along the river. Their statements caused some discussion but aroused no alarm as these guns were of the kind used for hunting.

Outbreak is Premature / The suspicions of the negroes apparently proved their undoing; for it is believed now they fired on the party of deputies at Hoop Spur on the assumption their plotting had been discovered and was being investigated. It has been shown that a number of secret meetings had been held in the negro church there and elsewhere in the disaffected district.

The committee investigating the uprising is an outgrowth of a "committee of eight" originated two months ago to consider rumors of an impending uprising, is proceeding in co-operation with the military authorities and will hear the testimony of both blacks and whites. Announcement of the committee's functioning came today on the heels of a statement that it was expected normal conditions will be resumed after today, issued over the signatures of Sheriff F. F. Kitchens of Phillips county, Mayor J. C. Knight of Helena and E. M. Allen, president of the Helena Business Men's League, and Joseph L. Solomon, president of the Helena Board of Trade. The statement follows:

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CLIPPING: Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 4, 1919 NAACP MSS. (CONT. 2)

~~SHAM~~ PREVIALS

"Quiet having been restored at Hoop Spur, it is expected that normal conditions will be resumed after today. Most of the negroes of Elaine territory have already returned to work. Naturally many rumors and reports of the fighting have been terribly exaggerated. The negroes at Hoop Spur have been under the influence of a few rascally white men and designing leaders of their own race who have been exploiting them for personal gain. The people of Phillips county have never stood for mob violence, and will permit none to occur under any circumstances. There has been no trouble whatever in Helena."

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HAVE RIOT LEADER, OFFICERS BELIEVE / Arrested Negro Said to Have Been President of Revolutionary Organization.

With the arrest today of Ed Hicks, said to have been a ringleader of the organization believed by officials to have been largely responsible for the recent race disturbance in Phillips county, civil and military officials tonight expressed the opinion that at least one of the sources of the rioting of the past two days had been definitely eliminated.

Hicks is said to have admitted that he had been president of the "Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America," the title of an organization under which the negroes had banded themselves. Other negroes taken today made similar statements although literature seized by military authorities showed the signature of "T. L. Duker, Winchester, Ark.," as its head. Other prisoners are credited with having declared that Ed Baker, another negro under arrest, was the secretary of the organization and military authorities declared that they had other leaders in Frank and Will Hicks, and Frank Moore. These officials said they had been advised that a man known as Frank L. Will, of Winchester, was an organizer for the union.

The number of negroes known to have been killed remained, officially, tonight at 14, although statements made by prisoners today that 18 of their number had been killed previous to last night would bring the total to 26, accounting for possible duplications. Seven are reported wounded. Figures tonight on the white casualties showed a total of five dead and six wounded, the latter including a soldier wounded today and removed to a Helena hospital.

CLIPPING: Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 4, 1919, NAACP MSS. VICIOUS BLACKS

. . .
O. S. Bratton, son of U. S. Bratton, lawyer, of Little Rock, is still in custody at Helena. He was arrested at Ratio on a charge of inciting to riot, and is said to have had incriminating literature connecting ~~y~~ him with the insurrection then under way.

In a calmer mood today, the feeling against Bratton seemed to have somewhat diminished and it is said that the nature of the papers found in his possession had no direct bearing on the action of the insurgent negroes, although they might have had some influence in that direction. . . .

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A large number of high-power rifles, shotguns and pistols in possession of negroes have been confiscated and 27 similar rifles with a large quantity of ammunition in cases were seized in the building occupied by the four Johnson brothers, who were killed yesterday. The high-power rifles and ammunition for them were purchased outside Helena and shipped to the negroes' leaders by freight and express. Hardware merchants of Helena some weeks ago informed citizens they had sold more guns and ammunition to negroes during the preceding month than in any December which is the month when the demand for shotguns usually is heaviest because of the duck and goose hunting along the river. Their statements caused some discussion but aroused no alarm as these guns were of the kind used for hunting.

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The committee investigating the uprising is an outgrowth of a "committee of eight" originated two months ago to consider rumors of an impending uprising, is proceeding in co-operation with the military authorities and will hear the testimony of both blacks and whites. Announcement of the committee's functioning came today on the heels of a statement that it was expected normal conditions will be resumed after today, issued over the signatures of Sheriff F. F. Kitchens of Phillips county, Mayor J. C. Knight of Helena and E. M. Allen, president of the Helena Business Men's League, and Joseph L. Solomon, president of the Helena Board of Trade. The statement follows:

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CLIPPING: Memphis Press, Oct. 4, 1919, NAACP MSS.

Here's Story of Way Rioting Was Handled in Ark. / Press Reporter Spends Two Days at Helena and Elaine /

I have just returned from Helena, Ark., where in the past few days a score of persons were killed in the rioting between whites and negroes. I saw many persons fired upon and followed the posses and soldiers into the Elaine canebrakes in search of negro desperadoes, who were defying the officers.

Dead bodies were lying in the road a few miles outside the city. Enraged citizens fired at the bodies of the dead negroes as they road out of Helena toward Elaine, where the band of desperadoes were surrounded. . . . [more here)
Negroes Hide Guns / When the troops rounded up the negroes hardly any had guns or ammunition. The soldiers are of the opinion that the blacks had hidden their weapons.

A large stock of ammunition was taken at 1 a.m. today, when a negro was killed and two more were wounded while resisting arrest.

Our train brought the 100 troops back to Helena and the Red Cross and the people fed them. Immediately after supper the soldiers took charge of the town and asked everyone to disarm. They took up all the weapons they could get their hands on; these will be returned later.

. . . The soldiers used their machine guns on one group of negroes. They surrounded the blacks on the outskirts of Elaine. The soldier in charge hadn't been given orders to use the machine guns, so he sent a messenger to headquarters to find out if it would be all right. He was told that it was.

When they fired the powerful rapid fire gun two negroes were killed outright and the rest threw up their arms and surrendered.

. . .

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CLIPPING: Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 4, 1919, NAACP MSS.

HAVE RIOT LEADER, OFFICERS BELIEVE / Arrested Negro Said to Have Been President of Revolutionary Organization.

With the arrest today of Ed Hicks, said to have been a ringleader of the organization believed by officials to have been largely responsible for the recent race disturbance in Phillips county, civil and military officials tonight expressed the opinion that at least one of the sources of the rioting of the past two days had been definitely eliminated.

Hicks is said to have admitted that he had been president of the "Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America," the title of an organization under which the negroes had banded themselves. Other negroes taken today made similar statements although literature seized by military authorities showed the signature of "T. L. Duker, Winchester, Ark.," as its head. Other prisoners are credited with having declared that Ed Baker, another negro under arrest, was the secretary of the organization and military authorities declared that they had other leaders in Frank and Will Hicks, and Frank Moore. These officials said they had been advised that a man known as Frank L. Will, of Winchester, was an organizer for the union.

The number of negroes known to have been killed remained, officially, tonight at 14, although statements made by prisoners today that 18 of their number had been killed previous to last night would bring the total to 26, accounting for possible duplications. Seven are reported wounded. Figures tonight on the white casualties showed a total of five dead and six wounded, the latter including a soldier wounded today and removed to a Helena hospital.

CLIPPING: Nashville Banner, Oct. 4, 1919, Editorial, Elaine Riots, NAACP MSS.

ARKANSAS RACE RIOT / The race trouble in Phillipps county, Arkansas, appears to be in the nature of a prepared Negro insurrection instigated by agitators. There was no lynching and no lawless aggression on the part of the whites that ~~gave~~ gave it incitement. . . .

There have been indication all over the South of some manner of propaganda and secret work among the Negroes in the endeavor to arouse them to an outbreak. . . .

The activity among the black, treats them as a labor element , and in regions like Phillipps county, Ark., where they ~~are~~ have a large numerical majority, seeks to impress the tenant farmers with the idea that they should own the land.

Arkansas Negroes are in all material respects in better condition that they have been in years. The high price of cotton and of corn and hogs they produce has made them independent. They should be exceptionally well contented. The propaganda that has made them refractory and lead to an attempt at armed insurrection, is mischievous and dangerous. Its source, if possible, should be clearly ascertained.

TRACE PLOT TO STIR NEGROES TO RISE / Edward Hicks, a Prisoner from Elaine, Ark., Says Arms Were to be Distributed / WHITE LEADERS ACCUSED / Propaganda Captured in Raid—Inquiry is Begun—24 Are Now Dead / Helena, Ark.

Additional evidence of the existence of organized propaganda among the negroes which caused the recent race rioting at Elaine, southwest of Helena, was obtained to-day from Edward Hicks, one of fifteen armed negroes captured near Elaine after a running fight in which numerous shots were exchanged.

Hicks, who made a detailed confession to the military authorities, said that the negroes had been organized by a white lawyer from Little Rock. This man is alleged to be O. B. Bratton, who is being held here under murder charges for alleged implication in the killing of W. S. Adkins, a special officer, on Tuesday night, which precipitated the trouble.

The negroes, Hicks said, had been organized for some time to demand their rights, and their arming had been planned by the negro leaders. Yesterday officers found a quantity of rifles and ammunition stored in a building here owned by D. A. Johnson, a negro dentist, who was said to be one of the officers of the negroes' association. Johnson was killed yesterday after shooting O. R. Lilly of Helena, white.

Officers raided the offices of Casey & Bratton, white lawyers, today and confiscated some socialistic literature. Papers were found representing the "Progressive Farmers' Household Union," the negro organization said to be back of the outbreak. Numerous contracts with negro share croppers, members of the organization, were found showing that the negroes had paid \$50 down and were to pay an additional sum later for legal advice.

U. S. Bratton of Little Rock is a member of the firm and father of O. S. Bratton, who is being held here. O. S. Bratton is not connected with the firm as a member. Some of the literature pertaining to the "Progressive Farmers' Household Union" advocated social equality between negroes and whites.

A heavy guard is being maintained around the jail here to prevent possible violence

(Clipping: New York Times, Oct. 4, 1919, Elaine Riots, NAACP MSS. (Cont. 2)

against Bratton and the negro prisoners.

An investigation of the causes of the uprising was started today by a Committee of Seven appointed by the civil authorities with the sanction of Governor Brough. A similar committee existed two months ago to probe rumors of an uprising said to be pending among the negroes. The investigation will be conducted in co-operation with the military authorities.

A statement was ~~issued~~ issued by Sheriff F. F. Kitchens, of Phillips County, Mayor G. G. Knight of Helena, and E. M. Allen, President of the Business Men's League, today, giving assurance that normal conditions would be restored tomorrow. The statement said that many of the negroes were returning to work and charged that the uprising was due to white agitators and negro leaders who have been exploiting the blacks for their own gain.

The troops will be held in Phillips County until conditions are completely normal. One hundred soldiers are stationed in Helena, 400 in the vicinity of Elaine, 250 in West Helena, and 25 at Mellwood, a town several miles south of Elaine.

Two negroes were killed and one was wounded today by a military patrol near Elaine when the blacks failed to obey an order to surrender. This increases the death total to twenty-four, five whites and nineteen negroes. The bodies of other negroes probably will be found in the woods by searching parties.

At present 285 negro prisoners are being held in the Phillips County Jail, and the number is being increased hourly by additional ~~new~~ blacks brought in by patrols. Not all of the negroes were arrested as rioters, some being held as witnesses or for investigation. LITTLE ROCK, Ark. - Governor Charles E. Brough returned today from Elaine and announced that the situation was completely under control. An investigation of the uprising would be made, he said, in an effort to determine the real agencies back of the outbreak.

U. S. Bratton of Little Rock, former Postmaster here, and a member of the law firm of Casey & Bratton, of Helena, issued a general denial today after Helena officers had raided the firm's offices and found socialistic literature and papers of the negro organization

charged with inciting the riot. He said he had not been active in the affairs of the firm at Helena for several months and knew nothing concerning the papers found there.

FOR ACTION ON RACE TROUBLE PERIL / Radical Propaganda Among Negroes Growing, and Increase of Mob Violence Set Out in Senate Brief for Federal Inquiry /

Even though recurring race riots have made the public aware that the negro problem has entered upon a new and dangerous phase, only those in touch with the inner forces that are playing on ignorance, prejudice, and passion, realize how great this menace is. Bloodshed on a scale amounting to local insurrection at least will be threatened in more than one section where large white and black populations face each other unless some program of conciliation is adopted to forestall influences that are now working to drive a wedge of bitterness and hatred between the two races.

So far this problem, in some respects the most grave now facing the country, has been allowed to drift. The States have done nothing. The Federal Government has done nothing. The only move made at Washington is the introduction by Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas of a resolution calling for the appointment of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Judiciary to investigate recent riots and lynchings and to report what remedies should be employed to prevent their recurrence. Senator Curtis said in Washington the other day that information in his possession made it clear that there should be no delay in grappling the problem and that he would press for action. A brief containing new information as to the extent of race clashes which he will lay before the committee accompanies this article. It shows that since the beginning of the year there have been since Jan. 1, 1919, thirty-eight race riots and clashes in cities and other communities in various parts of the country. Senator Curtis is uncertain whether Congress has the authority to pass a law against riots and lynchings; this may be a question for action by the States, but he is certain that, after an investigation has laid bare the causes of the growing antagonism between white and black, recommendations can be made that will show the urgent need of a policy of organized conciliation, backed by the better elements in each race, in every community wherever whites and blacks confront each other in considerable numbers.

The War's Responsibility / Out of the war has come a new negro problem—that, observers agree, is the first fact to be recognized in taking up the question. Before the war negro

leaders, still under the influence of Booker Washington, were in the main for a policy of conciliation. For all the scattered injustice and oppression that the negro still suffered the majority of the negro leaders still held in clear prospective the great benefits granted the negro race in this country, the fact that their freedom had been won by the sacrifice of an immense number of white men's lives, that in no other country in the world where a large colored population lived in contact with the white race did the principle of the laws confer equal recognition to the black man. In a word, there was still active among the negro leaders a sense of appreciation tracing back to the civil war period. Whenever friction threatened, leaders of this type, believing that by forbearance and thrift on the part of the black man a fair and harmonious adjustment of the two races would be attained, steadily argued conciliatory methods.

Some of these leaders remain, but they are growing fewer. The assertion is made in explanation that these moderate leaders have been without the support of white leaders. Under heavy attack of radicals and militants, charged with being at heart the betrayers of the negro race, they have been unable, according to this attempted elucidation of the situation, to point to any organized co-operation on the part of the whites to see, for example, that police officers and courts dealt justly with the negro, to remove unjust treatment of the negro wherever found. The other side proclaims that there is no evidence that the great majority of the white men in this country, who as the result of a civil war had bestowed on the black man opportunities far in advance of those he had in any other part of the white man's world, were still the friend of the negro. They ask proof that forbearance, not militancy, is the course to follow.

Reds Inflaming Blacks / Every week the militant leaders gain more headway. They may be divided into general classes. One consists of radicals and revolutionaries. They are spreading Bolshevist propaganda. It is reported that they are winning many recruits among the colored race. When the ignorance that exists among negroes in many sections of the country is taken into consideration the danger of inflaming them by revolutionary doctrine may be apprehended. It is held that there is no element in this country so susceptible to organized propaganda of this kind as the less informed class of negroes.

The other class of militant leaders confine their agitation to a fight against all forms of color discrimination. They are for a program of uncompromising protest, "to fight and to continue to fight for citizenship rights and full democratic privileges." The former leadership of Booker Washington is derided. A negro paper of wide circulation said in a recent editorial: " * * * the late Booker T. Washington was selected by a group of Southern and Northern philanthropists and business men who sympathized with them to teach the negro to know his place. * * * Under the Frederick Douglass propaganda we gained freedom and citizenship. Under the Booker Washington propaganda we lost our citizenship in the Southland and saw the spread of mob violence all over the country. The thing to do is to get back to the teachings of Frederick Douglass, * * *"

W. E. B. Du Bois, a foremost leader in this class of militants, says in the leading editorial in the current issue of his magazine, *The Crisis*:

"We have cast off on the voyage which will lead to freedom or to death. For three centuries we have suffered and cowered. No race ever gave passive submission to evil longer, more piteous trial. Today we raise the terrible weapon of self-defense. When the murderer comes, he shall no longer strike us in the back. When the armed lynchers gather, we too must gather armed. When the mob moves, we propose to meet it with bricks and clubs and guns."

There is no doubt that owing to recent experiences many negroes have provided themselves with arms, and that unless Governmental efforts, based on some carefully considered policy, are made to stop the riots and race clashes and to remove their causes, that out-breaks of far greater extent than any of those that have yet occurred may take place. The one approach to a betterment of conditions is asserted to be through those negro leaders who are opposed to militant methods, but it is pointed out, while they preach co-operation, they insist also that the only solution is "full justice, manhood rights and full opportunities for the negro American."

Industrial Clashes / New industrial contacts between white and negro workers aggravate the problem. Three weeks before the riot last week in Omaha investigators from Washington

reported that a clash was imminent owing to ill-feeling between white and black workers in the stockyards. It is estimated that during the war period 500,000 negro workers migrated from the South to the North. In whatever Northern city they have settled in numbers there is the menace of racial clash, and consequently the immediate need of some agency of conciliation, in which both whites and negroes shall be represented, as a medium for clearing those misunderstandings that spring from rampant prejudice. An illustration of changes in Northern industrial centres is provided by the case of Detroit. In 1914 there were probably not 2,000 negroes in that city. At present it is estimated there are between 12,000 and 15,000 engaged in the automobile industry there. In the steel of Pittsburgh the number of negro workers has increased 100 per cent in some of the plants. In New York City many negro girls are now at work in the cheaper branches of the garment trade. This is one of the many industries in the North in which they have won or are seeking to win a place.

On this phase of the problem, Dr. George E. Haynes, a leading negro educator, and now Director of Negro Economics of the Department of Labor, recommends:

"To be concrete, the first step in this direction seems to be for local and national officials to call into conference and counsel the liberal-minded citizens of both races and with them to map out some plan to guarantee greater protection, justice, and opportunity to negroes that will gain the support of law-abiding citizens of both races. Co-operative local committees on matters involving race relations, both under private and governmental auspices, especially during the war, have demonstrated that far-reaching practical results can be secured by such efforts."

The brief on which the projected investigation of the race problem by the Senate Committee on Judiciary will be based follows, the more detailed information being summarized at several points. It is headed: "Why Congress Should Investigate Race Riots and Lynchings," and is divided into five heads:

I. The Facts--1919

A. Race riots:

Washington, D. C.: "Nation's Capital at Mercy of the Mob"--headline on Page 1 of Washington Post Tuesday, July 22, 1919. Rioting in the main streets of national capital was

acked during four nights from Saturday, July 19, until Wednesday, July 23. Six persons
e killed outright, 50 severely wounded, and a hundred or more less seriously wounded.

Chicago, Ill.: At least 36 persons were killed outright, by official report, in race riot-
ing which lasted from Sunday, July 27, to Friday, Aug. 1. According to unofficial reports,
the number killed was much larger. Houses were wrecked and burned, mobs roamed the streets,
and it was necessary to put seven regiments of State militia under arms.

Knoxville, Tenn.: On Aug. 30 a mob of white persons stormed the Knox County Jail, firing
on officers of the law, liberating 16 white prisoners of whom several were convicted murder-
ers; looting the house of the Sheriff, stealing stocks of confiscated whisky. The mob then
wrecked and looted shops and invaded the colored district. At least seven persons were killed
and twenty or more injured.

Longview, Texas: Four or more men were killed outright in a riot on the night of July 10,
when a mob of white men invaded the negro residence district, shooting and burning houses.

Norfolk, Va.: Receptions of the home-coming negro troops had to be suspended because of
riots July 21, in which six persons were shot, necessitating the calling out of the marines
and sailors to assist the police.

Philadelphia, Penn.: A riot call was sent to all West Philadelphia stations July 7; eight
arrests were made and one man was taken to a hospital in consequence of a race riot at a
carnival.

Charleston, S. C.: One or more men were killed and scores were shot or beaten in a race
riot led by United States sailors May 10; city placed under martial law.

Bisbee, Ariz.: Clashes occurred on July 3 between local police and members of the 10th
United States Cavalry, (colored.) Five persons were shot.

There were in addition race clashes in the following cities:

Tuscaloosa, Ala., July 9.

Hobson City, Ala., July 26.

New London, Conn., June 13.

Sylvester, Ga., May 10; one reported killed.

Putnam County, Ga., May 29.

Mullen, Ga., April 15; seven reported killed.

Blakely, Ga., Feb. 8; four reported killed.

Dublin, Ga., July 6; two reported killed.

Ocmulgee, Ga., Aug. 29; one reported killed.

Bloomington, Ill., July 31.

New Orleans, La., July 23.

Annapolis, Md., June 27.

Baltimore, Md., July 11.

Monticello, Miss., May 31.

Macon, Miss., June 27.

Hattiesburg, Miss., Aug. 4.

New York City, N. Y., Aug. 21.

Syracuse, N. Y., July 31.

Coatesville, Penn., July 8.

Philadelphia, Penn., July 31.

Scranton, Penn., July 5.

Darby, Penn., July 23.

Newberry, S. C., July 28.

Bedford County, Tenn., Jan. 22.

Memphis, Tenn., March 14; one killed.

Memphis, Tenn., June 13.

Port Arthur, Texas, July 15.

Texarkana, Texas, Aug. 6.

Morgan County, W. Va., April 10.

Lynchings:

Forty-three negroes, four white men lynched from Jan. 1 to Sept. 14.

Eight negroes burned at the stake, one of the burnings extensively announced beforehand in newspapers of Louisiana and Mississippi. Copies of these papers are filed as exhibits with the brief. Of the number sixteen were hanged. Others were shot. One was cut to pieces.

1889-1918

Two thousand four hundred and seventy-two colored men, 50 colored women, 891 white men and 11 white women lynched. Less than 24 per cent. of these lynchings were ascribed to be on account of attacks on women.

1918

Five negro women, 58 negro men and 4 white men lynched. No member of any mob was convicted. In only two cases were trials held.

II. The Failure of the States

The States have proven themselves unable or unwilling to stop lynchings, as the figures show. Even attempts to prosecute are so rare as to be exceptional. Before the burning at the stake of John Hartfield, at Ellisville, Miss., June 26, 1919, Governor Bilbo of Mississippi said:

"I am utterly powerless. The State has no troops, and if the civil authorities at Ellisville are helpless, the State's are equally so. Furthermore, excitement is at such a high pitch throughout South Mississippi that any armed attempt to interfere with the mob would doubtless result in the death of hundreds of persons. The negro has confessed, says he is ready to die, and nobody can keep the inevitable from happening."

The Houston Post, Texas, in a widely quoted editorial, said:

"The Post believes * * * that the half-century old lynching problem is about to pass from the jurisdiction of State authority into the domain of Federal action. Surely, in the light of half a century of lynchings, in which the victims have been numbered by the thousands, the failure of the States must be confessed.

III. A National Problem

Lynching and mob violence have become a national problem. President Wilson was aroused by the danger of mob violence to make a statement July 26, 1918, in which he called the subject one which "vitally affects the honor of the nation, and the very character and integrity of our institutions. * * * I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but is its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and right than the words of her statesmen or sacrifices of her heroic soldiers in the trenches can do to make a suffering people believe in her, their savior."

The extension of lynching to Northern States with white men as victims shows it is idle to suppose murder can be confined to one section of the country or to one race.

IV. Consequences of Lynching

1. Race riots: Persistence of unpunished lynchings of negroes fosters lawlessness among white men imbued with the mob spirit, and creates a spirit of bitterness among negroes. In such a state of public mind a trivial incident can precipitate a riot.

2. Industrial: Property values and productivity are lessened and business is disturbed in districts from which people are forced to migrate to escape mob violence.

3. Psychological: Brutalization of men, women, and children who take part in and witness hangings, burnings at stake, and the horrors of lynchings. Dr. A. A. Brill, neurologist, Assistant Professor Of Psychiatry at the Post Graduate Medical School, says:

"The torture which is an accompaniment of modern lynchings shows that it is an act of perversion only found in those suffering from extreme forms of sexual perversion. Of course, not all lynchings are conducted in that way, but it is not uncommon to read accounts telling that the victim was tortured with hot irons, that his eyes were burned out, and that other monstrous cruelties were inflicted upon him. Such bestiality can be recognized only as a form of perversion. Lynching is a distinct menace to the community. It allows primitive brutality to assert itself and thus destroys the strongest fabric of civilization. Any one taking part in or witnessing a lynching cannot remain a civilized person."

negro re: NG: New York Times, Oct. 5, 1919, NAACP MSS. (Cont. 5)

to po: politica;: The position of the United States before the world is impaired by its failure to accord protection and trial by law to its own citizens within its own borders.

V. The Danger

1. Disregard of law and legal process will inevitably lead to more and more frequent clashes and bloody encounters between white men and negroes and a condition of potential race war in many cities of the United States.

2. Unchecked mob violence creates hatred and intolerance, making impossible free and dispassionate discussion not only of race problems, but questions on which races and sections differ.

~~RACE TROUBLE~~ RACE TROUBLE OVER, OFFICIALS BELIEVE/ Precautions
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Helena October 4 - little fear ~~from~~ further trouble from race dis-
turbances is anticipated by local officers although every precaution is
being taken by authorities to prevent a recurrence of the rioting at
Elaine.

No further indications of the threatened insurrection of Negroes
at Helena, which caused the removal one hundred soldiers from Elaine
to Helena Thursday night, have appeared and the danger is believed to
have passed.

Several pistol shots were heard early today in various parts of
the city. Upon investigation by soldiers and officers /drunk young white
man of well known Helena family found to have caused trouble/ he was
taken into custody and charged with carrying a weapon and disturbing the
peace. Many residents thought trouble had started again, and were
preparing to come to the rescue of the whites.

Between 80 and 100 negroes are being held in the Helena jail, charged
with participating in the uprising at Elaine. Soldiers here had estab-
lished headquarters at the county courthouse, at the rear of which is
the jail. A machine gun, ready for action should the prisoners attempt
to break out, is stationed on the court house lawn. The buildings are
constantly guarded, and sentinels parade every street.

Many negroes employed in the various manufacturing establishments
in Helena and West Helena, who failed to show up for work following
for work following the insurrection at Elaine, have returned, it is

was said today, and it is believed that they will remain at work.

The proprietors are much relieved at the situation. An almost ab-
normal business was done by Helena merchants today, although many stores
were closed in observance of Yom Kippur. Many negroes from the rural
section were in the city but none showed any inclination to start
trouble, it was said.

Two deputy sheriffs - Ira Proctor and Charley Kraft - who were
hurt Wednesday "a battle with the negroes" are recovering. Two others -
J. R. Dalzell and W. K. Monroe and Sargent Pearl B. Gay of Company H,
30th Infantry, have been discharged from hospital after injury in battles
"with blacks near Elaine" /

The "Committee of Seven" official investigators of the race trouble
in Phillips County, were in session all day today, questioning negroes
brought here and placed in the county jail. The committee is composed
of Helena men and is working in conjunction with Governor Brogth and
military authorities. The committee told newspaper correspondence today
that many confessions have been made by the blacks brought before it,
strengthening the belief that the uprising was the result of a Progressive
Farmer's and Household Union of America. "Credentials" have been found
among the possessions of practically negro picked up by authorities on
charges of being connected with the insurrection.

It is the consensus of opinion among the business men other resi-
dents of Helena that the trouble is at an end. When two or three more of
the alleged ringleaders have been caught it is believed here that the
soldiers will be returned to Camp Pike. None of the officers in charge
has been advised as to when the soldiers will leave.

Arkansas Gazette October 5, 1919, War Dept. MSS, National Archives. (Cont. 2)

Guy Bratton, ~~brother~~ of Little Rock, brother of O. S. Bratton, in jail here, was in Helena last night. After a short conversation with his brother at the jail he was escorted to the passenger station by several soldiers. It is said he returned to Little Rock. He made no statements for publication.

Information was received here today from Arkansas City that V. E. Powell, negro, believed to have assisted in spreading propoganda of the negro organization, was arrested there. He will be brought to Helena. According to literature confiscated by officers, Powell is the "agent of the government" in the organization. Robert L. Hill, "counselor," is being sought as a ringleader.

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Arkansas Gazette October 6, 1919, War Dept. MSS, National Archives.

PHILLIPS COUNTY BLACKS ~~PLANNED UPRISING~~ PLANNED UPRISING TODAY/
Investigators learned that a wholesale massacre was intended/ AN ORGAN-
IZED PLOT/ Leaders had ordered negroes to procure arms and prepared for
conflict/ SUSPECTS DIVULGE PLANS/

By the Associated Press Helena, October 5 - That organized leaders of southern Phillips County, of which this city is the seat of government, had planned a general slaughter of white people in the locality tomorrow, was definitely revealed here today by authorized investigators of the past week's disturbances in that section.

According to these authorities the plot included a wide-spread uprising in the event certain demands were not met. With October 6 set as the day for the uprising, negroes prisoners are said to have confessed, each member of the organization at specified places was to pick a bale of cotton by that date, take the cotton to certain prominent land owners, plantation managers, and merchants and "demand settlement."

The confessions, as announced, made it appear to the investigators that without further ado following this demand the blacks were to shoot down all whites in sight. A list of 21 names, admitted to represent the men to whom the demand would be presented, was in the hands of the investigating committee.

Killing of these 21, the prisoners said, ~~was~~ to be the signal for all members of the organization to attack the white population. An extensive courier system was explained in the evidence, providing for messengers known to the negroes as "Paul Reveres." These couriers had been duly appointed to ride into all parts of the territory, according to testimony,

land summon members to arms. The organization concerned was declared to be the local lodge of the Progressive Farmer's and Household Union of America, (confiscated literature of which designates Washington, D. C., as national headquarters, with state offices at Winchester, Ark.

"We've just begun," was the password of the uprising, the negroes told the investigators. This pass word and the "Paul Revere" couriers were confessed to have been employed last Tuesday night and Wednesday morning in summoning blacks to Hoops Spur, one-eighth miles south of Helena, after W. A. Adkins, special agent of the ~~Miss~~ Missouri-Pacific Railroad, had been killed and Charles Pratt, deputy sheriff, had been wounded.

The confessions were taken to explain the rapidity with which armed blacks were assembled at Hoops Spur and the neighboring town of Elaine following the incident. The arguments add that at the time Adkins was killed there were one hundred armed negroes at the church at the scene of the shooting. Some of these were women, it was said, carrying automatic revolvers in their stockings.

Questioned about their supply of shotgun, rifles and ammunition, negroes declared that they often had been advised by speakers always to "keep their racks full," "if your rack ain't full fill it now."

Fifty thousand rounds of ammunition were discovered last night in Branch Normal School at Pine Bluff, Ark., according to a telephone message received here today from Mayor ~~xxxx~~ Hollis of that city. The institution is a negro school maintained by the state. This report and evidence found locally lead authorities here to believe that the contemplated uprising was of more than a local nature, possibly planned for the entire south.

Members of the investigating committee declare that there is every evidence that mercenary individuals have been inciting the negroes in the name of the federal government. Among other things, it was stated, they were led to believe that part of the government in Washington upheld them in arming and organizing against the whites. That a large temple and armories were to be erected at Washington for the convening of their "congress" and for federal training of ~~xxxx~~ 3,000 soldiers to protect them in their uprising.

Much of the investigation is known to be directed in an effort to establish conclusively white men with the agitation and there is said to be strong indications of such relation. Only two whites were in custody here today following last weeks disorders. A man named Fuller was brought in from Postelle last night and placed in the county jail. O. S. Bratton of Little Rock /Ark/ has been custody several days pending investigation.

~~xxxxxx~~ law firm

Pending investigation 13 ~~xxxxxx~~ alleged leaders of the negro organization have been brought to the local jail from Elaine since yesterday. The drive through the Lake View territory, south of the city, was to be made late tonight and early tomorrow morning in an effort to round up other prime movers. The authorities have announced that they still are seeking Robert L. Hill Of Winchester, represent~~xxxx~~ ed on the union literature variously as "government agent, employed the United States service," and "the United States and foreign detective". Another alleged leader said to be at large was Ed Ware, who negroes declared to have been their "secretary." V. E. Powell, "counselor" of the union, was brought to Helena last night from Arkansas City and jailed.

While the citizens committee and the military authorities continue their investigations and meetings here and at Elaine, where the latter have headquarters, patrols of troops maintaining a continuous search of

Arkansas Gazette October 4, 1919, War Dept. MSS, National Archives (Cont.)

localities though to be hiding places of negro bands. Especial attention is being given, it was announced, to the canebrake regions neighboring Old Town and Modoc. Fallen cane, dense vines and undergrowth, add to the difficulties of the dragnet process, veterans of the Meuse-Argonne campaign in the war asserting the Mississippi lowlands are more inaccessible than the Argonne forest.

Examining trials of the negroes are scheduled to begin tomorrow before Judge J. G. Burk and the first session of the Grand Jury is set for next Monday.

The authorities said today that Frank Hicks, a negro taken near Elaine several days ago, is charged with the murder of Clinton Lee of this city, who was killed in the fighting Wednesday morning. In a confession today, the officials said, Hicks he was unloading cotton at a gin when a "Paul Revere" summoned him to battle.

Arkansas Gazette, October 6, 1919, in War Dept. MSS, National Archives.

AGITATORS BLAMED FOR NEGRO REVOLTS/~~PROGRESSIVE FARMERS AND HOUSEHOLD UNION~~ "Progress Farmer's and Household Union" held mainly responsible/ ORDER FULLY RESTORED/ Much credit due sheriff and citizens for averting threatened lynchings/

By William A. Wilson - Phillips County officers and the citizens generally should be highly commended for the manner in ~~the~~ which they handled the negro uprising or insurrection which started Tuesday night about 200 yards north of Hoops Spur, a small sawmill town about 25 miles south of Helena, when Special Agent W. A. Adkins of the Missouri-Pacific Railroad was killed and Deputy Sheriff Charles Pratt was seriously wounded.

Sheriff Frank F. Kitchens had been too ill for sometime to be at his office in the court house at Helena, the business having been transacted by his deputies. As soon as he heard about the trouble at Elaine, he went immediately to his office. . . .

More than 300 special deputies were sworn in by Sheriff Kitchens and sent to the scene of the insurrection. Headquarters were established in the telephone building at Elaine and communication with the sheriff's office at Helena were being maintained throughout the uprising.

The sheriff upon ascertaining the seriousness of the situation immediately got in touch with Governor Brough and asked that the soldiers from Camp Pike be rushed to the scene. He did not attempt to overestimate the trouble but told the Governor only the cold facts." When Governor Brough arrived in Elaine at 8:10 o'clock Wednesday morning he found conditions even worse than Sheriff Kitchens had indicated.

Arkansas Gazette, October 6, 1919, War Dept, MSS, National Archives.
(Cont. 2) /

/Continued from clipping called "Agitators Blamed"/

The "Committee of seven" at Helena Saturday morning began an investigation of the area. Many negroes were brought before the committee and quizzed, and it is said that considerable information was received. Whether the federal government will take a hand in the matter remains to be seen. . . .

While it is believed that the promoters of the organization eventually expected to organize ~~in~~ in all of the counties in which large numbers of blacks reside, especially in the cotton region, Phillips County is the only one ventured into by the "officials" of the union, so far as can be learned.

Arkansas Gazette, October 6, 1919, War Dept, MSS, National Archives.

/Continued from clipping called "Agitators Blamed"

/Details of formation of PFHUA were learned by investigators and army from ~~xxxxxxx~~ negroes captured after trouble ~~xxxxxx~~. / "Negroes were charged one dollar fifty to join, with fifty cents additional if their wives were on list (2).

/Bylaws of PFHUA said to bear following notes: "First organized under act of Congress of 1865. Revised and organized by R. J. Leigh in 1897. Revised and applied by Robert L. Hill, ~~xxxx~~ counselor; E. D. Powell, MD; Knox DeGraphenreed and Lewis Laggroom in 1918, for the benefit of the negro race."/

The "object" of the union, ~~xxxxxxx~~ as stated in the literature, "shall be to advance the interests of the negro, mentally and intellectually, and to make him a better citizen and a better farmer." The constitution authorizes "pass words, door words, grips and signs" which would be changed every three months and provided for fine and expulsion for exposing secrets. . . . A capital stock of a thousand dollars with each member entitled to one share ~~of~~ at the rate of five dollars, was provided for.

/One membership card was signed by "T. L. Duker, president, Winchester, Arkansas; T. I. & Price, general attorney, Little Rock; Robert L. Hill, counselor, Winchester/"

Some negroes told officers that they were forced to affiliate with the union. One said that sooner or latter that Uncle Sam would take charge of the organization and force every negro in the United States to 1, and that if he would become a member now, the "penalties" would be exacted of him.

Upon the arrest of O. S. Bratton, charged with participating and inciting the uprising, Sheriff Kitchens directed that he be brought to Helena under heavy guard and placed in jail. He was arrested at Ratio, while more than 50 blacks were crowded around him paying him the first "installment" of dues. These fees were for the firm of Bratton and Bratton of Little Rock, who were to represent the negroes in court when their "cases" against their landlords were heard, according to some literature said to have been taken from Bratton at the time of his arrest.

. . . Some talk of lynching /Bratton/ was heard. Sheriff Kitchens summoned several business men to his office, and they discussed the situation. There has never been a lynching in Phillips County, and the citizens there say that they will not tolerate mob violence. They favor giving every man a fair trial - be he white or black. The troops from Camp Pike had arrived at Elaine, and it was decided by the sheriff and the business men that Colonel Jenks, the commanding officer, should be asked to send a detachment of one hundred men to Helena to maintain quiet. / This done/

Headquarters for the troops was established in the court house. A machine gun, ready for immediate action, was placed on the court house lawn, ready for any emergency. About seventy-five negroes, supposed to have been members of /PFHUA/ - the organization which officers say is responsible for the disturbances - have been incarcerated in the jail. The troops were for the purpose of preventing them from escaping, if such an attempt should be made, as well as for protecting them from outsiders who might desire to take the law in their own hands.

The arrival of the soldiers about 6 o'clock Wednesday afternoon put a quietus on the talk of lynching Bratton. Troops have constantly guarded the jail since their arrival. The streets of Helena have also been patrolled day and night by the boys in khaki.

Everyone of the 500 troops who went to Elaine appeared anxious to get into the battle with the blacks - not because they wanted to kill them but because they realized the negroes who had armed themselves and who were bent ~~xx~~ upon "cleaning up the country" should be stopped before women and children and more white men should be murdered.

"The Phillips County Expeditionary ~~XXXX~~ Forces," as the soldiers call themselves, was put into action immediately after they had arrived at Elaine. . . . While the soldiers were scouring the canebrake and woods for a radius of four or five miles Elaine, military headquarters were open in the telephone building where the blacks /those captured in the meantime by whites and soldiers/ were questioned. All information was taken in writing, and turned over ~~xxx~~ to the ~~xxxxxx~~ Phillips County officials.

Ring leaders of the combatant negroes soon were brought before the army officers at headquarters. Some of them confessed, while others would admit only that they "belonged to the union." Ed Hicks, said to be one of the "high officials" of the organization, made a clean breast part he played, and even gave up ~~xxxxxxx~~ the secrets of the "union." of the

A deputy sheriff said it was Hicks who killed Clinton Lee, a Helena young man who had been made a special deputy sheriff. Hicks, however, denied that he had killed anybody. /Some negroes began surrendering Thursday, having heard that they would be unmolested if they voluntarily gave up./ The troops were instructed to permit any blacks to surrender, but to not to kill if any showed an inclination to fight.

Arkansas Gazette, October 6, 1919. in War Dept
(Cont. 2)

Arkansas Gazette, October 6, 1919, in War Dept, MSS, National Archives.
(Cont. 3)

It was decided Thursday that all negroes in the vicinity must have passes, signed by army officers, before they would be allowed to appear upon the streets or work in the fields. Pass were issued only when the negroes employers would vouch for them.

Some of the negroes who had joined the belligerents were discharged soldiers. . . . /Two such had on their khaki/

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CLIPPING: New York Times, Oct. 6, 1919, Elaine Riots, NAACP MSS.

PLANNED MASSACRE OF WHITES TODAY / Negroes Seized in Arkansas Riots Confess to Widespread Plot Among Them / HAD PASSWORD FOR RISING / And a "Paul Revere" Courier System—School House an Ammunition Depot /

Helena, Ark.,—Bands of negroes in southern Phillips County, of which this city is the seat of government, had planned a general slaughter of white people in this locality tomorrow, according to members of the Committee of Seven appointed by the civil authorities with the sanction of Governor Charles Brough, who announced today that confessions made by some of the captured negroes and other information indicated a widespread plot.

Members of the committee said the plans of the negroes included an uprising in the event certain demands were not met. With October 6 set as the day for the uprising, negro prisoners are said to have confessed, each member of the organization at specified places was to take a bale of cotton by that date to certain prominent land owners, plantation managers and merchants and "demand a settlement."

The confessions as announced made it appear to the investigators that following this demand the negroes were to shoot down all whites in sight. A list of twenty-one names, admitted to represent the men to whom the demand would be presented, is in the hands of the investigating committee.

Killing of these twenty-one, the prisoners said, was to be the signal for all members of the organization to attack the white population.

An extensive courier system, explained in the evidence, provided for messengers known to the negroes as "Paul Reveres." The couriers had been appointed to ride into all parts of the territory, according to the testimony, and summon members to arms. The organization concerned was declared to be the Lodge of Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America, confiscated literature of which designates Washington, D. C., as national headquarters. "We've just begun" was the password of the uprising, the negroes are said to have told the investigators.

This password and the "Paul Revere" couriers were admitted to have been employed last

Tuesday night and Wednesday morning in summoning blacks to Hoop Spur, eighteen miles south of Helena, after M. A. Adkins, special agent of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, had been killed and Charles Pratt, Deputy Sheriff, had been wounded. The confessions were taken to explain the rapidity with which armed blacks were assembled at Hoop Spur and the neighboring town of Elaine following the incident.

Questioned about their supply of shotguns, rifles, and ammunition, the negroes declared they often had been advised by speakers always "to keep their racks full."

Fifty thousand rounds of ammunition were discovered last night in the Branch School, at Pine Bluff, Ark., according to a telephone message received here today from Mayor Hollis of that city. The institution is a negro school, maintained by the State. This report and evidence found locally lead authorities here to believe the contemplated uprising was of more than a local nature.

A member of the Investigating Committee declared there is every evidence that mercenary individuals have been inciting the negroes in the name of the Federal Government. Among other things, it was stated, they were led to believe a part of the Government at Washington upheld them in arming and organizing against the whites, that a large temple and armories were to be erected at Washington for the convening of the "congress" and for Federal training of 3,000 soldiers to protect them in their uprising.

Pending investigation thirteen alleged leaders of the negro organization have been brought to the local jail from Elaine since yesterday. The authorities have announced that they are still seeking Robert L. Hill of Winchester, Ark., represented on the union literature as "Government agent, employed in the United States service and United States and Foreign Detective."

The authorities stated today that Frank Hicks, a negro taken near Elaine several days ago, was charged with the murder of Clinton Lee of this city, who was killed in the fighting on Wednesday morning. In a confession today, the officials said, Hicks stated he was unloading cotton at a gin when a "Paul Revere" summoned him to battle.

CLIPPING: New York Evening Sun, Oct. 7, 1919, Elaine Riots, Editorial, NAACP MSS.

REDS and BLACKS / Arrests of negroes in the region of disturbance around Elaine, Ark., were apparently made on the information that the colored farmers in the locality had fallen under the spell of radical agitators and meditated an outbreak against the whites. If this information was correct the Elaine case forms an exception to the general failure of Red doctrines to impress our citizens of black race.

At the outbreak of the war, when conscription came, Reds and enemy agents and sympathizers tried their hand at luring the negroes out from the concord of patriotic Americans. They wasted their time. They learned that the negroes as a whole thought simply but soundly on the patriotic issue.

Since the war all have entered into a new state of mind. Not only the whites have changed. Some of their mood of social dissatisfaction has passed to negroes. Yet to-day, as at the moment of enlistment, it is safe to say that far fewer of the negroes than of the whites meditate any act of defiance against our system of law and social order. The one risk that many might fall under the spell of an individual leader is nearly obviated by the fact that the greater part dwell widely scattered, among a population largely white.

The only safeguard that is really needed in order to keep this scattered population quiet as a whole is to avoid the demonstrations of hostility to the negro as a negro. Display of this sentiment by small groups of the ignorant and prejudiced among a peaceable white population can easily give the victims a mistaken notion of prevailing white enmity, which might render some a prey to Red agitators.

Negroes Were Impressed With Titles and Scripture / Documents Found on Phillips County.
Blacks Show How Agitators Worked Upon Their Ignorance, Vanity and Superstition /

The negroes at the head of the Progressive Farmers' and Household Union of America, believed by officers to have been responsible for the recent insurrection among the negroes of Phillips county, circulated considerable literature among the blacks in the vicinity of Elaine, Ratio, Mellwood and other small towns in the lower part of the county. Practically every negro arrested by the sheriff's deputies and the soldiers who were called to the scene had among his possessions some of the propaganda.

Among the papers found on one negro was a copy of a song, believed by officers to have been the "rallying song" of the union. The title of the stanzas is "A Favor." The song was not set to music, but a remark indicated that it was to be sung to the air of "Maryland My Maryland." "The time has come when you must organize or miss many good opportunities," said a note at the top of the song. The words of the "rallying son" follow:

"Ye farmers of this mighty land,
Organize, ~~oh~~ oh, organize!
For with the flag of right unfurled
In spite of darts against you hurled,
You still must free this hungry world--
Organize, oh, organize!

"If you would come into your own,
Organize, oh, organize!
Or be forever overthrown--
Organize, oh, organize!
Yes, everywhere throughout this land
The tillers of the soil must stand
And be a firm, united band--
Organize, oh, organize!

"To firmly stand against each wrong,
Organize, oh, organize!
Your only hope is union strong--
Organize, oh, organize!
To break the bonds of slavery
That bind you now from sea to sea
And from oppression to be free,
Organize, oh, organize!

"Your calling was the first on earth--
Organize, oh, organize!
And ever since has proved its worth--
Organize, oh, organize!
Then come, ye farmers, good and true;-->
The die is cast--it's up to you--
Organize, oh, organize!

"Robert L. Hill,

"United States and Foreign Detective, Box 31, Winchester, Ark."

Bible Is Quoted / One of the circulars said to have been sent out from the "union's headquarters was intended to get the negroes "all stirred up," as one officer said, and induced him to affiliate with the organization. Quotations from the Bible were used frequently. A circular found a few days ago says:

"The Negro Business League Join the Progressive Farmers' and Household Union of America

"O, you laborers of the earth, hear the world!

"The time is at hand that all men, all nations and tongues must receive a just reward

"This union wants to know why it is that the laborers cannot control their just earnings which they work for. Some of the leading business, merchants and authorities are saying we are pleading the right cause and due consideration.

"There are many of our families suffering because our men are forced to act as childr

"We also plead that we be recognized as tax-paying citizens.

"Remember the Holy Word, when the Almighty took John upon the mountain and commanded him to look, and asked John what he saw, and John said, 'I see all nations and tongues coming up before God.'

"Now, we are a nation and a tongue. Why should we be cut off from fair play?

"Hear us, O God, hear us!

"We only ask every negro man for \$1.50 for joining fees; women, 50¢.

"Write Box 31, Winchester, Ark.

"And we will come down and set up a body among you. Get 15 men and 12 women. We will set you up together."

"Recruits" Examined / Each negro desiring to join the "union" was required to undergo an examination. After the applicant was examined and declared worthy of membership, the following "credential" was given to him:

"Orders of Washington, D. C., The Great Touch of Liberty. Examination Certificate.

"To the Congress called by the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America.

"Equality and Justice are finding its way before the Legal Bar.

This is to certify, That I have examined Mr. Charles Black and found him fit to sit in the Congress Called by the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America, and he shall be allowed to speak on all subjects and laws that shall come before the house. This Congress is called for the purpose of improving our country, also setting plans to secure the Constitution of the United States from being questioned.

"Examined by me this 10, day of July, 1919.

"Robert L. Hill,

"Grand Councillor.

"Congress will be held in August, 1919, at Winchester, Ark."

Captured literature also disclosed that some kind of a "temple" was being built at

Winchester, the "home" of the organization. Stock was offered for sale among the members at \$10 per share. The following receipt was obtained from Amos Worley, one of the negroes arrested at Ratio:

"Progressive Farmers' and Household Union of America; Stock Certificate.

"This is to certify, That Amos Worley of Ratio, Ark., has bought \$50 worth of shares, value \$10 each, totaling five shares, in the building that is being erected at Winchester, Arkansas, known as the Progressive Farmers' and Household Union of America Temple, with R. L. Hil, W. L. People and J. W. Lewis names engraved; and it is agreed that all income from said Union Building will be shared equal with all Stockholders according to the extent of their investment.

"Wiley Stevenson, Secretary,

"Charley Morten, Treasurer,

"J. W. Lewis, D. R. C.

"The name of Mr. Amos Worley shall be engraved in said building.

"Robert L. Hill, Legal Adjuster.

"\$20.00 in stamp; due \$30 by note."

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Equality Promised / Following is an application blank which would-be members were required to fill out and sign:

"Orders of Washington, D. C., the Great Torch of Liberty That Leads to Rights and Privileges.

"O God Thy Truth and Thy Light have gone out and are giving sight to all men.

"Your name in full. . . . Tyle Dyllar. . . .; Your age . . 37; Place of Birth. . . . Lake Providence. . County. . East Call. . . State. . . Louisiana. Did you register for war. . no; why. . not called; your nationality. . negro; do you believe in the Almighty God. . yes; your postoffice address. . Elaine; county. . Phillips; state. . Arkansas. Do you give respect to all humankind. . yes; your health. . good; are you married. . yes; do you go to church. . yes; do you obey the law at all times. . yes; how many children have you. . X; How old youngest. . X; have you a sound mind. . yes; do you visit court. . no; why. .not allowed. Do you believe in court. . yes; will you defend this government and h-

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B CLIPPING: Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 10, 1919, Naacp Mss. (Cont. 3)

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E "God grant that all men will be equal in Thy sight and the sight of man. Examined
by me and found fit to sit in the first Congress called by the Progressive Farmers and
Household Union of America, which Congress will be held in August at Winchester, Arkansas.

"V. E. Powell, M. D.,

"Employed in the United States Service."

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