

2019

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Recommended Citation

Blue, Tammy (2019) "Blood on the Great Seal of Alabama," *Vulcan Historical Review*: Vol. 23, Article 6.
Available at: <https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/vulcan/vol23/iss2019/6>

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BLOOD ON THE GREAT SEAL OF ALABAMA

by Tammy Blue

On August 14, 1933, three black men faced transport to the Birmingham Jail for the murder of a white woman named Vaudine Maddox.¹ Threats of lynching, a norm in the southern landscape, became imminent after their arrest. It took less than 24 hours before the defendants were lured to a secluded location by Sheriff Shamblin and his deputies, intercepted by a mob, and riddled with bullets.² The local public outcry proved tremendous – but not for the loss of the lives of Dan Pippen (18), A.T. Harden (16) and Elmore Clark (28)³; the public remained only concerned about how they appeared to the rest of the nation. On the surface it seemed that the motivation behind these lynchings was justice, and that the public acted on good faith in dispensing proper punishment with the consensus that the law would not. The public lacked confidence and patience in the law to efficiently execute a black person which the public had already convicted. It may also appear that the calls to end lynchings in the state were an act of a growing moral consciousness when, on the contrary, the preservation of Alabama’s reputation reveals itself as a major incentive.

Following the Tuscaloosa lynching, the editor of The Montgomery Advertiser published an editorial titled, “Blood on the Great Seal of Alabama,”⁴ insisting the entire state shared responsibility for the lynching and should be ashamed. Local Alabamians and authorities scrambled to avoid humiliation in front of the nation for their backwards attempt at handling the law, however, feelings of remorse in reaction to a moral crime did not motivate them. Justification for their actions and the deflection of blame became their only motivation. The goal with this area of discussion is not to suggest that everyone in Alabama shared the same hostility toward African-Americans during this time. Nor is it meant to claim that no genuine moral opposition toward lynchings resided among the public. It is intended to shed light on what happens when



Seal of Alabama

support or objection of lynchings.

The Montgomery Advertiser, a leading newspaper among southern states, provides a perfect reflection of Alabama public opinion. At the time of the Tuscaloosa lynching in 1933, Grover C. Hall served as the paper’s editor who called for Alabama’s shame in allowing this and other lynchings a place within the state’s culture. His editorial, “Blood on the Great Seal of Alabama,” recounts the details surrounding the events of the lynching and admits to the true motivation behind the mobs’ violent attack. The article candidly states that a “group of armed zealots...had become impatient with slow justice... [and that there was] evidence of mob law which none can dispute and for which none can apologize.”⁵ That same impatience and lack of faith in the law led to an official kidnapping and execution of three African-American defendants while in court custody. Tuscaloosa News reported that the escort car following the defendants on their route to the Birmingham Jail, turned around after driving 20 miles away from Tuscaloosa, because there was no sign of trouble. According to historian B. J. Hollars,

hate is used as motivation for murder under the guise of justice. A close examination of this editorial, as well as other articles and letters from various periodicals, will show a distrust Alabamians had for the law, as well as the public’s true motivation behind their

conspirators including the sheriff prearranged the mob attack.⁶ The men were sacrificed to the mercy of the lynch mob.

“IT HAS BECOME PART OF THE UNWRITTEN BUT FULLY RECOGNIZED LAW, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOUTH, THAT IF THE STATUTES FAIL TO DEAL OUT JUSTICE TO THE OFFENDER, THE PEOPLE WILL.”

Hall’s editorial that followed the lynching stirred up a lot of emotions in Alabamians – embarrassed that “Alabama hot heads” overpowered police and dispense their own justice.⁷ The Montgomery Advertiser editorial accuses those who committed the act of violence of making all of Alabama look bad. The editorial does not take the position that the mob murders were immoral, but indicates how Alabamians might appear to other areas of the country – particularly the North.⁸ The editor expresses concern with the “lies [that] have been spread abroad about the people of Alabama and their courts, gross lies of injustice, conviction of the innocent, [and] legal murder by the courts.”⁹ Furthermore, a violent, public lynching did little toward saving Alabama’s already tarnished reputation. He further insists that Alabama courts could not function properly with any type of outside interference, whether it be violent mobs, or good-intentioned organizations seeking protection and justice for African-Americans. Instead of advocating the abolition of lynching itself, papers like The Montgomery Advertiser carried the message that the main problem was keeping punishment out of the hands of those who “fear that outside interference would block the course of justice.”¹⁰ The Montgomery Advertiser, as well as other periodicals at the time, missed the crucial importance of looking at what drove that consensus, and failed to identify the motivation

behind that fear. Another article noted that, “it has become part of the unwritten but fully recognized law, especially in the South, that if the statutes fail to deal out justice to the offender, the people will.”¹¹ The Alabama public often claimed justice as the motivation behind the public participation and encouragement of lynchings. Through lynchings, whites exhorted their power and control over blacks, while delivering the message that “if the law fails... then the other law will act, and it will be upheld with public sentiment.”¹² However, that sentiment changed when it cast Alabama in an unfavorable light to other states and abroad. Frustration grew when convictions or executions did not move swiftly, and the community needed a more efficient and politically correct way of murdering blacks – one that did not make the Alabama public look bad.

Sociologist Arthur F. Raper’s meticulously researched analysis, prepared by a commission composed of Southern scholars and investigators, examined over 20 lynchings in detail. He speaks boldly about the tarnished reputation left on a community after a lynching.¹³ In several cases he studied, Raper discovered that mobs seized the accused persons from the sheriff or other peace officers in broad daylight.¹⁴ This is true in relation to the Tuscaloosa lynching as focused on in this essay. Raper continues that in many cases when the officers later testified, they never identified a member of the mob. The public also often failed in providing potentially damning evidence. In the Tuscaloosa lynching, the court did “not consider the evidence sufficient to indict” the accused parties.¹⁵ Raper accurately claims that due to these inevitable outcomes, lynching makes a “mockery of courts and citizenship,” much like it did in the Tuscaloosa case. Whenever a situation exists when the courts mishandle the case or citizens lie in covering up the despicable violence, the “community [shares] in the responsibility for the crime of the mob... the state itself has been lynched.”¹⁶ Alabama failed to keep their trust in the law and courts, therefore no final triumph of justice in regard to the three African-American defendants occurred, further staining

the reputation of Alabama citizens. An editorial in *The Montgomery Advertiser* called the credibility of Alabama into question. The public outcry for stopping lynchings grew – and nothing inspired growth in Alabama more than the view from outside.

The economic damage toward Alabama businesses became one strong motivation for stopping lynchings. Less than 40 years before the Tuscaloosa lynching, Hon. Robert P. Porter issued a “friendly warning” from London to *Chicago Inter Ocean*¹⁷ that lynchings get in the way of economic progress in the south. This candid letter significantly captures the foreign hesitancy to invest in southern states, such as Alabama, who participated in lynching. A portion of this letter reads:

“This feeling is by no means all sentiment. An Englishman...who could send a million sterling to any legitimate Southern enterprise said the other day, ‘I will not invest a farthing in States where these horrors occur. I have no particular sympathy with the anti-lynching committee, but such outrages indicate to my mind that where life is held to be of such little value there is even less assurance that the laws will protect property. As I understand it the States, not the national government, control in such matters, and where those laws are strongest there is the best field for British capital.’”¹⁸

This type of open admittance from wealthy foreign investors clearly showed the disapproval and lack of confidence that outside nations felt in dealing with lynching states (such as Alabama). Their hesitancy to involve themselves in the violent chaos leaves little mystery as to why locals desperately needed the retention of an image of control and civility. Opinions from Europe such as Porter’s showed that countries outside the United States remained aware of the struggle, and the failure of states like Alabama to exude respectability with racial relations.

Interestingly, a letter from distinguished Boston Clergyman to *The Baltimore Sun*¹⁹ candidly speaks

of the pride African-Americans who relocated to the North still felt toward their native South. Despite the persecution and constant threat of violence in the south, the preservation of the region’s reputation remained a constant on some level, even for blacks. However, this love of home became somewhat exploited in the north and some used it in downplaying the lynching experience from an outsider’s perspective. Primarily, some northerners claimed the lynchings in the South were “grossly exaggerated; that the provocations that produce these uprisings are unprecedented, and that men in any community [...] would exercise no more self-control than Southern men do under like conditions.”²⁰ It easy to say this if you maintained a view from the outside, but then again this remained the perspective many Alabamians concerned themselves with.

Alabama failed to secure an honorable reputation for law abiding and efficient handling of the mob presence in the state – ultimately portraying themselves as inadequate business partners and a risky investment. In this case, reputation had economic implications attached, and was no doubt one other motivation for at least attempting to pass official legislation or speaking out against the mob violence. However, Alabama was not the only state with lynch mob violence, nor were they the only state to fail at passing anti-lynching laws.

The adoption of anti-lynching laws could curb mob violence, however, *The Atlanta Georgian* argued that, “although most people must despise lynchings, they cannot translate their mental opposition into physical opposition.”²¹ The resentment toward African-Americans stemmed from social, political and economic motivation to stop blacks from becoming “full acting citizens.”²² Essentially, some whites feared encroachment of their superiority. The upholding of white control superseded any moral motivation for opposing lynchings. However, desire for that control remained among the many reasons why anti-lynching laws never passed. Attempted efforts at implementing anti-lynching laws failed due to the

power-play between the public and the state and federal governments; where once again control and appearances dominated. It is also important to note the extreme difficulty in defining such a complex term also contributed to the difficulty in passing anti-lynching legislation.

‘Lynching’ became synonymous in newspapers with murder. Although the history of lynchings is more widely known today, misconceptions remain about what a “lynching” would often entail. By the turn of the 20th century, the NAACP referred to lynching as, “murder sanctioned by the community.” Finally, in 1940 an accepted definition defined lynching as, “an extrajudicial murder carried out by a group.” This still left the false impression that a lynching only represented a murder by the means of hanging.²³ Ironically, the same public that called for the end of lynchings often used its ambiguous term to justify lynchings through statements that lynchings required some form of a mob attack. In addition, public statements made by leading officials in Alabama claimed a lack of necessity for anti-lynching legislation. Congressman Frank W. Boykin, First District of Alabama, asserted, “We certainly do not have any lynching in Alabama.”²⁴ This statement proved inaccurate when compared to the more than a dozen lynchings in Alabama by 1981.

Nonetheless, while the burden to pass anti-lynching laws did not fall solely on the shoulders of Alabama, state officials did their part in blocking formal attempts at legislation, specifically the Dyer Bill.²⁵ There were a lot of reasons the bill and similar provisions, never came close to being passed; the most popular being – it violated the state’s rights. The simple explanation of the bill stipulates that if a lynching occurred, the federal government would prosecute the mob, not the state. Due to defining lynching as a murder, the state argued that nothing prevents the federal government from intervening on other issues declared within state jurisdiction if they gained access to lynching cases, again showing the refusal to relinquish control. The Associated

Press out of Washington, declared the Dyer Bill “unconstitutional and an invasion of the police rights of the states.”²⁶ The Montgomery Advertiser published this outside opinion, pointing to the fact that the state of Alabama and Southern Congressmen held the same thoughts. In a section of the paper titled “Logic,” the social commentary points out the irony that the Federal Government may “annul a man’s right to drink, but not to take a human life.”²⁷ Despite inspirational pleas, such as Rev. J.G. Robinson’s letter to President Wilson, the need for state control and credibility in the eyes of the nation remained paramount, Alabama Congressmen could not afford to appear weak and give up a right.²⁸

Southern Congressmen experienced public shaming because of their “cowardice for shirking their civic duty” and hoped to avoid association with prosecuting lynchings.²⁹ Some public backlash included warnings to “stand up manfully for a doctrine their fathers had fought for, meaning the state right to prosecute murders.”³⁰ This essentially insulted any Southern man for even considering relinquishing control to the federal government. The state of Alabama seemed stuck without an easy solution or scapegoat for this issue. This issue became increasingly complicated, however, when specific provisions of the Dyer Bill reached a vote.

On November 16, 1937, The Montgomery Advertiser published the Dyer Bill provision updates which then appeared for a vote within the House of Representatives and the Senate.³¹ The bold provisions intended to hold the state of Alabama, as well as all states plagued with lynchings, accountable; just as the focal editorial in The Montgomery Advertiser called for in 1933. These provisions did not shift the power to the federal courts, but it made the state liable for next of kin in the event a lynching occurred. The provisions also required police officers to make an “affirmative defense” in the event of a mob attack and “any officer failing to make a diligent effort to prevent a lynching may be fined to a maximum of \$5,000, imprisoned for five years or both.”³²

The surface-level motivation behind the public's efforts for anti-lynching legislation ultimately killed any attempts at these bills passing. The consensus view toward African-Americans still very much placed them under the control of white supremacy, and one could argue that the mainstream public did not want an end for the practice of lynching. Any attempts at passing legislation proved purely social or politically motivated. A 1938 editorial in the Montgomery Advertiser reads, "It is not the Negro's life for which the concern is felt. It is his vote."³³ In a fascinating letter from citizen, Norman Evans to the editor of The Montgomery Advertiser, he talks about the "cheap life" of the African-American in the eyes of whites.³⁴ In this letter he also refers to the failure of passing any anti-lynching laws which could save blacks from "wanton slaughter"³⁵ and the wonderment behind successful passing of restrictions against rioting. Evan's words simply addressed the reality of these empty attempts to redeem the reputation of the state, and illustrate that a majority viewed the African-American life as having no value. His words resonate in The Montgomery Advertiser which published this quote from the Associated Press in Washington: "Lynchings will forever cease in any community when mental disapproval of the same is translated into physical position."³⁶ Essentially, a change in racial sentiment amongst the white public could render anti-lynching laws unnecessary.

Any efforts to pass anti-lynching laws in Alabama, or nationwide, often proved in vain. Congress received drafts of nearly 200 bills between 1882 and 1968, where only three passed in the House. Seven U.S. Presidents urged Congress to pass a bill to federal law, but because of the powerful opposition from the southern branches of the Democratic party, Senate did not vote in favor of a single bill. As evident today, Alabama never enacted an anti-lynching law, and the argument could be made for no one in power wanting it passed.³⁷

Although a few strong advocates maintained support for anti-lynching laws, few other efforts at thwarting

lynchings materialized. The public still had little faith in the Alabama State court system, and repeatedly took matters into their own hands while tarnishing the reputation of all Alabama's citizens. When outside opinion began to intervene with their disapproval, Alabamians viewed it necessary to preserve reputation and advocate for legislation. Unwillingness to surrender control of local government power caused inaction by legislation.

As far back as 1892, activist Ida B. Wells records this pattern repeatedly as examined here in Tuscaloosa:

Thus, acts the mob with the victim of its fury, conscious that it will never be called to an account. Not only is this true, but the moral support of those who are chosen by the people to execute the law, is frequently given to the support of lawlessness and mob violence. The press and even the pulpit, in the main either by silence or open apology, have condoned and encouraged this state of anarchy."³⁸

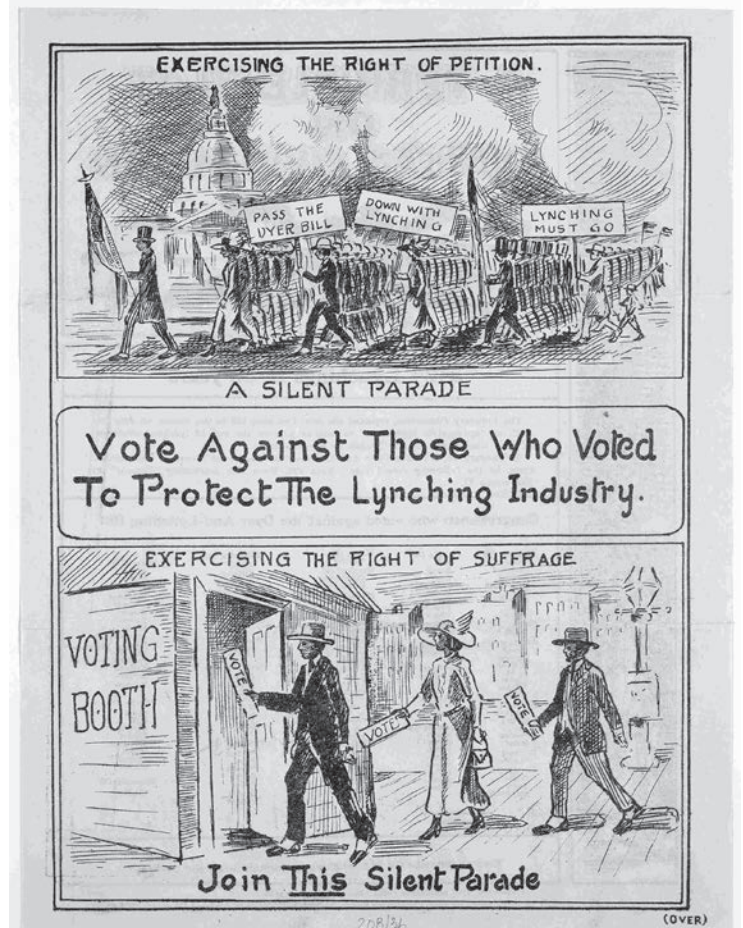
"[THE] COMMUNITY [SHARES] IN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CRIME OF THE MOB... THE STATE ITSELF HAS BEEN LYNCHED."

Also, in Wells' The Red Record, another lynching which occurred in 1892 Alabama is recorded. In this event, a woman named Emma Fair and three African-American men are killed with shotguns while "caged in their cells, helpless and defenseless."³⁹ In this instance Wells testifies that "public sentiment was not moved to action," that it was only a matter of days before the good Christian people of Alabama went back to swelling the list of murders.⁴⁰ It is interesting to note this example in comparison to the Tuscaloosa

lynching in 1933, since the editorial that followed that event motivated public attempts to regain favorable standing in the eyes of world. During that time, lynchings still occurred, just unbeknownst to the wider public.⁴¹ It appears only logical that responses by the public to these various acts of violence varied so considerably due to their lack of faith in the law, as well as the underlying motivation to retain “social control for white majority in the South.”⁴² It only helped incite mob action that the public knew the unlikelihood of the law’s prosecution of these paralegal killings. Although these high-profile lynchings seemed to fade in 1933, the mob’s need to assert their control continued.

In 1981, Alabama’s lynching heritage made headlines once again when a lynch mob executed nineteen-year old Michael Donald in Mobile. Newspapers published that, “Michael’s body was crumpled from beatings and his neck slashed. The brutally slayed young man was hanging hideously about a mile from Mobile’s City Hall and the Courthouse – where a KKK cross had been burned on the lawn the same night.”⁴³ A desire for the Ku Klux to send a terror-based message to blacks likely motivated this murder. The trial of Josephus Anderson ended at the very same courthouse with a hung jury. He was an African-American man accused of killing a white policeman in self-defense.⁴⁴ Just like Tuscaloosa Alabama in 1933, and hundreds of cases throughout history, the mob dispensed its own “justice.” In this case, an innocent kid, unassociated with the case at all, became the medium for the Klan’s warning. While the Ku Klux Klan is not an accurate depiction of most Alabamians; the actions of the racist mob infects the reputation of the state – very much like Hall mentioned 48 years earlier in the editorial in the aftermath of the Tuscaloosa event. In contrast to previous incidents however, this lynching had an unprecedented outcome.

In the 2018 documentary, *The Lynching that brought Down the Klan in Alabama*, 12-year old Lily Hoyle, (and Mobile resident), spoke to former Alabama



Issued by District of Columbia anti-lynching committee

District Attorney, Chris Galanos who originally tried the case against Donald’s murderers. The sentence that followed resulted in Klan member and perpetrator, Henry Hays, being sentenced to death and executed in 1997 – “It was the only execution of a KKK member during the 20th century for the murder of an African-American.”⁴⁵ James Knowles received a sentence of life in prison and two others also faced prosecution. The crucial twist in the story is that Donald’s mother brought a successful civil suit against the Ku Klux Klan where she sued for millions.⁴⁶ The legal fees and negative press bankrupted the

Klan for a short time and sent a message for civil legal action against other racist hate groups.

Interestingly however, when responding in Hoyle's interview, former D.A. Galanos states, "it was critical that officials of the state of Alabama, not the US government take a proactive role in pursuing this case."⁴⁷ This becomes reminiscent of what happened after the Tuscaloosa lynching when everyone anxiously sought to save face yet hold onto state power; while at the same time having distrust in local law. According to State Senator Michael Figures, "the slaying of Michael Donald was the most volatile situation that has every come to Mobile."⁴⁸ In this instance, Alabama successfully regained some of her dignity, as well as finally sent a message that deviations from the law will have consequences. Activist Yohuru Williams claims, "this culture of violence has a very discernable impact on the African-American community."⁴⁹ This extends to include every human being everywhere. While the Klan became severely incapacitated and lynchings across America became much less frequent - the underlying motivation of hate simply changed into another version of violence.

Periodicals such as The Montgomery Advertiser proved crucial for examining the disposition of the public and how their opinion fluctuates during this time-frame. When the justice system failed or took too long in the eyes of the locals, a select few then decided to take matters into their own hands, while the rest of the public watched, or lamented after the fact. When outside opinion condemned Alabama's behavior, some advocates for anti-lynching attempted to pass laws - but it many in the public still fought against losing their state rights and appearing collectively incapable.

At the very least, The Montgomery Advertiser acknowledged this hypocrisy in the 1933 editorial and

later would even concede their own "shameful place in the history of these dastardly, murderous deeds." The board of directors noted, "[This is] our shame, the sins of our past laid bare for all to see."⁵⁰ While the press certainly holds enough influence to push a particular agenda, and did not do enough in the case of preventing lynching, the problem lies at the core of humanity. Ida B. Wells states, "This evil cannot be cured or remedied by silence to its existence."⁵¹ Additionally, lifetime Southern resident, Thelma Dangerfield insightfully elaborates, "You can move as many statues, as many flags as you want...but until the hate goes - until you clean the heart out, it's not going anywhere."⁵²

To heed this advice and truly understand the motivation behind lynchings, historians must examine the public sentiment and the manner in which they allowed them to occur; by their expressed opinion and physical actions. In the few occurrences discussed in this paper, we see this cycle repeat. Alabamians' distrust in the system provided the perfect excuse to justify lynchings. This scholarship reveals the ugly truth that the public was motivated by hate, reactive to shame, and willing to exchange their moral code for reputation alone. Over 300 African-American men and women became victims of lynching in Alabama between 1877 and 1981, as well as over 4,000 nationwide. Today, the public's manner of racial violence has shifted to something even more sophisticated. The unequal and appalling number of incarcerated African-Americans, unchecked white supremacist rallies and racist apologists in high government positions, make it more relevant than ever to study these arguments - because the underlying motivation is exactly the same.

- 1 Hollars, B.J. *Thirteen Loops: Race, Violence, and the Last Lynching in America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011, pg. 27.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Clark was shot three times and hid under the bodies of his friends. Believing he was dead, the mob left, and Clark survived only to be picked up again by police. The same prosecutor who tried the Scottsboro case, Thomas Knight prosecuted the case, however Clark was acquitted of all charges. Hollars, B.J. *Thirteen Loops: Race, Violence, and the Last Lynching in America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011, 27.
- 4 "Blood on the Great Seal of Alabama," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Monday Aug 14, 1933, 4.
- 5 "Blood on the Great Seal of Alabama," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Monday Aug 14, 1933, 4
- 6 Hollars, B.J. *Thirteen Loops: Race, Violence, and the Last Lynching in America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011, 56.
- 7 "Blood on the Great Seal of Alabama," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Monday Aug 14, 1933, 4.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 "The Birmingham Lynching," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, November 28, 1883, 2.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Arthur F. Raper. *The Tragedy of Lynching*. (1933). Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. Print.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Dissertation "Tuscaloosa, Alabama 1933: A Summer of Violence." Kimberly Sharpe, Northeastern University School of Law. p. 31.
- 16 Arthur F. Raper. *The Tragedy of Lynching*. (1933). Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. Print. Ibid.
- 17 Ida B. Wells-Barnett. *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States*. (1895), EBook #14977 (www.gutenberg.net).
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 *The Baltimore Sun* via *The Montgomery Advertiser*, August 26, 1894, 13.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 "The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, January 4, 1922, 4.
- 22 Jonathan Holloway. *An Outrage: The History and Legacy of Lynching in the South*, Directed by Hannah Ayers and Lance Warren. Field Studio, 2017, 34 min. <https://uab.kanopy.com/video/outrage-O>.
- 23 Christopher Waldrep. "War of Words: The Controversy over the Definition of Lynching, 1899-1940." *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 66, No. 1 (February 2000), pp. 75-100.
- 24 Frank W. Boykin, M.C., First District, Alabama. "The Alabama Journal," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, February 27, 1949, 13.
- 25 Congressman Leonidas Dyer of Missouri first introduced his Anti-Lynching Bill--known as the Dyer Bill--into Congress in 1918. The NAACP supported the passage of this bill from 1919 onward; they had not done so initially, arguing that the bill was unconstitutional based on the recommendations of Moorfield Storey, a lawyer and the first president of the NAACP. Storey revised his position in 1918 and from 1919 onward the NAACP supported Dyer's anti-lynching legislation. The Dyer Bill was passed by the House of Representatives on the 26th of January 1922 and was given a favorable report by the Senate Committee assigned to report on it in July 1922, but its passage was halted by a filibuster in the Senate. Efforts to pass similar legislation were not taken up again until the 1930s with the Costigan-Wagner Bill. The Dyer Bill influenced the text of anti-lynching legislation promoted by the NAACP into the 1950s, including the Costigan-Wagner Bill. <https://web.archive.org/web/20150516144410/http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history-anti-lynching-bill>.
- 26 "Hot Fight is Expected in House on Anti-Lynching Measure Today," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, December 19, 1921, 1.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 In a letter dated July 28, 1919, Rev. J.G. Robinson wrote to President Wilson, appealing for support on the Dyer Bill, and to put Negroes on

juries where he felt most injustices were committed against the black race. "Writes to Wilson for Anti-Lynching Laws," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, July 28, 1919, 1.

29 "Hot Fight is Expected in House on Anti-Lynching Measure Today," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, December 19, 1921, 1.

30 Ibid.

31 "Anti-Lynching Bill Provisions Listed," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, November 16, 1937, 1.

32 Ibid.

33 "A Common Problem," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, January 19, 1938, 4.

34 Norman Evans of Columbus, GA: Letter to the Editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, June 11, 1968, 4.

35 Ibid.

36 "Hot Fight is Expected in House on Anti-Lynching Measure Today," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, December 19, 1921, 1.

37 The U.S. Senate passed the bill titled "The Justice for Victims of Lynching Act of 2018" in December of the same year, but the House did not act in time to send the measure to President Donald Trump's desk. Sponsors of the bill have tallied nearly 200 past failed attempts to approve anti-lynching legislation over the past several decades. "Senate Brings Back Anti-Lynching Bill, Sending It to House" *U.S. News & World Report*, 14 February 2019.

38 Ida B. Wells-Barnett. *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States*. (1895), EBook #14977 (www.gutenberg.net).

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 For example, in 1933 at the end of June, an African-American woman named Elizabeth Lawrence was shot to death, and her house burned in response to her scolding white children for throwing rocks at her. This event was not published until the International Labor Defense heard the story from Elizabeth's son, Alexander, who had fled the state to escape the same mob.

42 Yohuru Williams. *An Outrage: The History and*

Legacy of Lynching in the South, Directed by Hannah Ayers and Lance Warren. Field Studio, 2017, 34 min. <https://uab.kanopy.com/video/outrage-O>.

43 Zack Carter. "Questions remain on Jeff Sessions' role in prosecuting Michael Donald's Klan lynching in Mobile in the 1980s." *Greene County Democrat*. Blog. (January 26, 2017). <https://greynecodemocrat.com/tag/mobile-d-a-chris-galanos/>, accessed December 8, 2018.

44 Ibid.

45 Zack Carter. "Questions remain on Jeff Sessions' role in prosecuting Michael Donald's Klan lynching in Mobile in the 1980s." *Greene County Democrat*. Blog. (January 26, 2017). <https://greynecodemocrat.com/tag/mobile-d-a-chris-galanos/>, accessed December 8, 2018.

46 *The Klan is legally referred to as the United Klans of America (UKA)*. Unfortunately, Donald's mother received only \$50k after the sale of the land she acquired in the settlement. Hollars, B.J. *Thirteen Loops: Race, Violence, and the Last Lynching in America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011, 56.

47 Chris Galanos. *The Lynching That Brought Down the Klan in Alabama*. Directed by Lily Hoyle. Video. Alabama Humanities Foundation, 2017. Vimeo. Web, <https://vimeo.com/274005061> (accessed October 2018).

48 "Mobile police say racial motive unlikely in slaying," *The Montgomery Advertiser*, March 27, 1981, 13.

49 Yohuru Williams. *An Outrage: The History and Legacy of Lynching in the South*, Directed by Hannah Ayers and Lance Warren. Field Studio, 2017, 34 min. <https://uab.kanopy.com/video/outrage-O>.

50 "Our Shame." *The Montgomery Advertiser*, April 26, 2018.

51 Ida B. Wells-Barnett. *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States*. (1895), EBook #14977 (www.gutenberg.net).

52 Thelma Dangerfield. *An Outrage: The History and Legacy of Lynching in the South*, Directed by Hannah Ayers and Lance Warren. Field Studio, 2017, 34 min. <https://uab.kanopy.com/video/outrage-O>.