

**SOUTHERN TRUTH AND
RECONCILIATION:
NARRATIVE SUMMARIES
& CHART**

Reparations, Reconciliation, and Restorative Justice
Professor Ifill
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DEMOCRACY FORUM OCOEE, FL

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Francina Boykin

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On November 2, 1920, two Black men named July Perry and Mose Norman attempted to vote in the West Orange Agricultural Community of Ocoee, Florida. Enraged, white citizens targeted these African-American leaders (and the black community at large) with an outburst of mob violence that concluded with the lynching of Perry at a main intersection just outside Orlando. Just days before the massacre, the Ku Klux Klan had marched through Orlando's Streets as a show of white supremacist power. During the ten hour rampage, the white mob stormed into Ocoee, burning churches and homes. By the night's end, Norman had vanished, and at least thirty to sixty others laid dead. Perry's body was cut down from a tree the next day. On November 2, 1920 and the days following, virtually the entire Black community fled Ocoee- at least 300-400 people. As a result of the "Election Day Massacre," the racially mixed town of Ocoee, Florida was converted into an all white community for decades. Discussions of the Ocoee Massacre produced varied accounts from whites and blacks. To some, Perry was a killer, responsible for the deaths of two whites who had come in a mob to his house. To others, however, he was a powerful landowner, labor contractor, and a hero, immortalized by writer Zora Neale Hurston.

II. ORGANIZATION

a. Goals of the Organization

Democracy Forum was a multi-racial, nonprofit community organization that conducted historical research on the racial violence which occurred in Central Florida. A main goal of Democracy Forum was to bring awareness to Ocoee Residents about the incident of November 2, 1920 through its “Ocoee Project.” In addition, Democracy Forum desired to bring racial justice, racial reconciliation and educate residents regarding realities of racial violence by informing the public and fostering discussions regarding effects of such violence today. Finally, a goal of the Ocoee Project was to document Ocoee’s violent history and develop a curriculum to be used by grade school history teachers.

b. Structure of the Organization

In 1997, Francina Boykin and fifteen to twenty other Ocoee community members formed Democracy Forum. The group was first founded by group members of First Unitarian Universalist Church of Orlando. The group conducted extensive research on the 1920 Ocoee massacre. In addition, Democracy Forum began to sponsor public presentations of their information followed by community dialogue regarding the Election Day Riot, and Ocoee’s history of race relations.

The structure of the organization was based on consensus amongst the fifteen to twenty members regarding which members would assume co-leadership roles for a given activity. In essence, two members would co-lead each activity with the co-leadership always consisting of one Black female. The selection process was a part of recognizing white and male privilege and

counteractively empowering Black women. Members of Democracy Forum came from various different racial and professional backgrounds. In fact, one of its founding members, Dorcas Gilmore, was only a high school student when she became involved with the organization.

B. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

Democracy Forum sponsored an array of activities that involved the Ocoee community. The organization used community dialogues, panel discussions, and research presentations as ways to attain their goals of racial justice, reconciliation, and education.

III. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

In general, the work of Democracy Forum evoked mostly a positive response from the Ocoee community. Many residents participated openly in group dialogue sessions. Others whom expressed initial reluctance also found themselves participating after a while.

In 2002, Black and White Central Floridians gathered around the historic grave of July Perry to celebrate the life of the leader. A gravestone was erected in recognition of his violent death. Ocoee Mayor S. Scott Vandergrift remarked that the event was “symbolic of the healing process.”

Despite the successes of Democracy Forum and the Ocoee Project, some Ocoee residents continued to voice disdain regarding the organizations efforts, asserting that they preferred to leave the memories and truths of the Election Day Massacre buried in the past.

IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

a. Resources about Democracy Forum

So far no report or findings has been published by Democracy Forum regarding Ocoee Project. However, West Orange Reconciliation Task Force has carried on some of the work of the former organization

West Orange Reconciliation Task Force
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MOORE'S FORD MEMORIAL COMMITTEE WALTON COUNTY, GA

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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the summer of 1946, African-Americans in Georgia were preparing for the first primary election in which they had been able to vote in fifty years. Three days before the election, on July 11, 1946, Roger Malcolm, a black day laborer, was booked in the county jail, charge with the stabbing of his white landlord, Barnette Hester, whom he suspected was having an affair with his wife, Dorothy Malcolm. Dorothy, along with her brother George Dorsey, a sharecropper, and her sister-in-law Mae Murray Dorsey convinced the Dorsey's white landlord, Loy Harrison, to bail Roger out of jail. Several days later, on July 25, 1946, Harrison acceded, and Roger Malcolm was released from jail. Harrison piled into a car driven by Harrison and occupied by his wife and the Dorseys.

On the way home, the car was stopped by a group of white men on the Moore's Ford bridge, located sixty miles east of Atlanta, Georgia. The mob, consisting of between twelve to fifteen unidentified white men, forced the Malcolms and the Dorseys out of the vehicle while holding Harrison at gunpoint. The four young African-Americans were then shoved into the woods where they were lined up and then brutally shot multiple times. After the murders, Harrison was released unharmed.

After the killings, none of the perpetrators or witnesses talked about the crime. As a result, no one was ever prosecuted for the murders. In 1991, however, Clinton Adams told the FBI that he had witnessed the Moore's Ford bridge murders as a ten year-old. Newspaper coverage of Adams's revelations reignited interest in the murders that are known today as the last mass lynching in America.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Organization

The Moore's Ford Memorial Committee's mission statement announces that its purpose is to work for "cultural healing, racial harmony, and social justice." The organization achieves this purpose by telling the story of the Moore's Ford murders, honoring the Dorseys and the Malcoms, encouraging healing and justice, and creating a memorial for the victims.

B. Structure of the Organization

In the late 1990s, civil rights workers started to call for a response to the Moore's Ford murders. In August of 1997, the Moore's Ford Memorial Committee was incorporated as a non-profit organization by a group of biracial Georgians. The board of directors is composed of a diverse range of professionals and community activists, including educators, legal professionals, graduate students, a historian, a farmer, a publisher, and journalist among others.

In addition to its board, the Moore's Ford Memorial Committee receives support from volunteers recruited on the committee's website. Another source of support is the funding for the organization provided by donations requested over its website.

C. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

The Moore's Ford Memorial Committee has engaged in numerous activities in pursuit of its goals. Its efforts to memorialize the victims are particularly extensive. Three of the four victims' graves were located and properly restored, including the additions of grave monuments inscribed with "May your suffering be in brotherly love."

(<http://www.fireinacanebrake.com/html/photos.html>) On Memorial Day in 1999, a military service was held to honor World War II veteran George Dorsey. On the anniversary of the murders in 1999, the Committee erected a State of Georgia historic sign in commemoration of the victims. (<http://www.cviog.uga.edu/Projects/gainfo/gahistmarkers/mooresfordhistmarker.htm>)

Other events sponsored by the Committee are designed to promote healing and unity, including songfests, joint church services, and shared meals. Workshops and the Committee website are designed to educate the public about the lynching. (<http://www.mooresford.org/index.html>) The murders are confronted more artistically in art exhibits and re-enactments. To promote social justice in the future, the Committee awards a scholarship each year to students from each of the area high schools in recognition of their commitment to racial justice and healing. The Committee has collaborated with other truth and reconciliation groups to organize a conference held at Bennett College to discuss the reconciliation process.

III. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

Generally, the Moore's Ford Memorial Committee has inspired a positive response from the community and active participation.

The families of the victims have participated in the Committee's activities. Roger Malcolm's son and George Dorsey's nephew among other relatives were present at a memorial service for the victims.

The Committee's efforts have also generated a renewed interest in reopening the investigation into the murders. In early 2007, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) announced that it was reopening the Moore's Ford murder case along with about a dozen other civil rights era investigations.

IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Historical Background Resources

Laura Wexler, FIRE IN A CANEBRAKE (2003).

Fire in a Canebrake website, <http://www.fireinacanebrake.com/index.html>

B. Resources About the Moore's Ford Memorial Committee

Georgia Historical Society, <http://www.georgiahistory.com/moore's.htm>

Moore's Ford Memorial Committee, Inc., <http://www.mooresford.org/>

ANTHONY CRAWFORD REMEMBERED MEMORIAL COMMITTEE ABBEVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Anthony Crawford was born in 1865 in Abbeville, South Carolina. Although he had attended school, he worked as a laborer until 1893. In that year, Crawford inherited land from his father. On this land, he raised thirteen children of his own, and established a school for local black children. His farmland prospered, producing cotton, corn, and melons among other crops. Crawford was soon not only the wealthiest African-American farmer in the area, but a respected community leader.

On October 21, 1916, Crawford offered to sell cottonseed to W. D. Barksdale, a local storeowner. Barksdale offered eighty-five cents per bushel, but Crawford refused the low price, stating that he already had a higher bid for the seed. When Barksdale accused him of being a liar, Crawford cursed the storeowner, and the argument continued until the parties had reached the town square. There, Crawford was arrested for cursing and as he was taken off to jail, an angry crowd began to form. He paid bail, and the sheriff released him.

Crawford did not proceed far before realizing that the mob was following him. To evade them, he ducked into the boiler room of a gin, but the crowd found him. In self-defense, Crawford crushed the skull of mob leader McKinnley Cann, but was restrained from killing him. Once again, Crawford was removed to the jail. Then the mob, now consisting of between two hundred and four hundred white men, invaded his cell, beat him unconscious, and dragged him

to the town square. When he regained consciousness, he was hit with a rock, beaten again, and dragged through the black neighborhood tied to a buggy. Finally, the crowd strung him to a tree and shot him hundreds of times.

South Carolina's governor ordered an investigation of the crime, but a grand jury did not think there was enough evidence against the killers for a trial. After receiving threats, Crawford's family and many other blacks in Abbeville left town, leaving behind their fertile land and Crawford's body, buried in an unknown grave. The large, tightly-knit Crawford clan was scattered, the land sold for a pittance, and the family fortune was quickly depleted.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Organization

The Anthony Crawford Remembered Memorial Committee was founded to accomplish several purposes. The Committee's goals included honoring Anthony Crawford as well as other lynching victims and educating the public about African-American successes during Reconstruction, achievements that were systematically destroyed by racial hatred, prejudice, and Jim Crow laws. Additionally, the Committee was to serve as a clearinghouse for people affected by lynchings, advocate for victims who lost property due to lynchings, and call on communities and governments to apologize for their roles in lynchings. In furtherance of these purposes, the Committee aimed to participate in the organization of a "National Day of Atonement."

B. Structure of the Organization

The Committee is led by its founder and President Doria Dee Johnson, Anthony Crawford's great-great-granddaughter. Johnson is an African-American researcher, author, lecturer, and trustee of the Evanston Historical Society.

C. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

The Committee participated in the lobbying effort to convince the Senate to apologize for not passing anti-lynching legislation. It has collaborated with other truth and reconciliation groups to organize a conference held at Bennett College to discuss the reconciliation process. The Committee maintains a website detailing its agenda, Anthony Crawford's life, and recent news related to lynchings.

III. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

The descendants of Anthony Crawford, particularly Doria Johnson, have active roles on the Committee. In 2005, one hundred of Crawford's descendants, including members of the Committee, were present at a luncheon during which the United States Senate apologized for its failure to pass anti-lynching legislation.

IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Historical Background Resources

The Lynching of Anthony Crawford, <http://www.ccharity.com/acarter.php>

B. Resources About the Anthony Crawford Remembered Memorial Committee

Anthony Crawford Remembered Memorial Committee Website, <http://home.comcast.net/~doriajohnson/> and <http://rememberanthonycrawford.net/Page1.php>

GREENSBORO TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMISSION GREENSBORO, NC

Contact Information

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www.greensborotrc.org

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On November 3, 1979, extreme racial tensions and hostility between groups erupted in a string of violence. In the absence of dissuasive police presence, white supremacists confronted demonstrators preparing for a "Death to the Klan" rally. The rally had been sponsored by Greensboro's black Morningside Homes public housing community in association with the Communist Workers Party (CWP) and Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO). Members of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and National Socialist Party of America (Nazi) headed towards Greensboro in a caravan of cars, all planning to disrupt the parade, assault demonstrators and intended to provoke a violent confrontation. At the rally, KKK and Nazi members opened fire on demonstrators, killing five demonstrators and wounding ten others.

Evidence gathered by the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission (GTRC) found that the Greensboro Police Department (GPD) failed to take many precautions to thwart the possibility of violence, including failing to warn the demonstration organizers about the Klan and Nazi plans of provocation, directing officers away from the parade starting point, failing to stop or accompany the caravan to the demonstration site, and failing to intervene most cars fleeing the site after shots were fired.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Organization

The Greensboro Truth & Reconciliation aimed to foster healing and reconciliation of the Greensboro community, and to reconcile fragmentation caused by the occurrence of racial violence and its aftermath. Additionally, GTRC's goals were to help to facilitate positive changes in social consciousness and community institutions and clarify confusion through educating the public of its findings. Finally, GTRC aspired to acknowledge and recognize people's feelings of guilt, loss, shame, anger, and fear.

B. Structure of the Organization

Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in June 2004 to begin in aiding the city's reconciliation process. In May 2003, the Greensboro Truth & Community Reconciliation Project issued a call to the entire Greensboro community for commissioner nominations and invited seventeen organizations and sectors of the community to each appoint one person to serve on the independent Selection Panel. Following organization appointments, Selection Panel selected seven commissioners from among the pool of sixty-seven nominations submitted by Greensboro residents.

III. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

Through formal public hearings, victims, survivors, and experts offered their private and enlightening testimony regarding the racial climate of Greensboro in 1979, causes and effects of the riot, and even opinions about the commission and its work. GTRC also collected statements from many residents of Greensboro and the surrounding community who experienced the consequences of the racial tensions of the time. In addition, GTRC and other community groups

sponsored panel discussions, focus groups, a silent march, and spiritual gatherings in honor and recognition of the commission's work.

IV. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

Many responded favorably with encouragement and admiration for GTRC's work. The commission received many encouraging letters of support from community businesses and leaders (http://www.greensborotrc.org/letters_of_support.php) and individual residents. Still, some individuals felt as though the GTRC was drumming up old nightmares that were better left in the silent past. Virgil Griffin, a member of the KKK, expressed to the commission at a public hearing that the whole project was "a waste of time" and actually bringing more harm than good to Greensboro.

In May 2005 the commission spawned enough interest to warrant a production of three episodes of a half hour-talk show produced with the support of the North Carolina A&T State University TV Studio under the direction of faculty member Bruce Clark. "TRC Talk" premiered on Greensboro Community Television (Cable 8). The show included interviews with Commissioners, staff, interns and other community members as well as footage from Commission events and other content. Episodes available at

http://www.greensborotrc.org/trc_talk.php.

V. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Resources About Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Greensboro Truth & Community Reconciliation Project

<http://www.gtcp.org/>

Beloved Community

<http://www.belovedcommunitycenter.org/truth.htm>

Greensboro Justice Fund- <http://www.gjf.org/>

1898 FOUNDATION WILMINGTON, NC

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After Reconstruction, African-Americans in Wilmington developed a distinct society, held public office, and owned businesses. One of the most prominent businessmen was Alex Manly who operated a newspaper for the African-American community, the *Daily Record*. For years the Democrats had vied with the Republicans and Fusion candidates for power at both the state and local levels. As Election Day 1898 approached, tensions between the parties mounted. Manly wrote an article in his newspaper on interracial sexual relationships that was used by the Democrats to intensify white antagonism. This antagonism increased until finally, the Republicans agreed not to run any candidates provided the Democrats promise to avert violence during the election. Election Day itself was peaceful, and predictably the Democrats won.

The day after the elections, a meeting of whites passed resolutions calling for Manly to leave Wilmington, the suppression of his newspaper, and a White Declaration of Independence among others. This group established the Committee of Twenty-Five which was charged with informing the black community, led by Committee of Colored Citizens, of its demands.

Violence soon broke out in Wilmington. The Committee of Twenty-Five led a mob of 2,000 white men in setting fire to the *Daily Record* office. In other parts of town, gunshots rang out as arguments broke out between whites and blacks. Then the North Carolina governor called in the Wilmington Light Infantry militia and the Naval Reserves, but instead of restoring the peace the troops turned guns on both blacks and whites. These skirmishes resulted in the deaths of several black men and wounded people of both races. In response to the violence, elected

officials resigned, and their abandoned seats were filled by Democrats chosen by the Committee of Twenty-Five.

Once in control, the Democrats banished from Wilmington African-American leaders and politicians who benefited from black voting support. All black municipal employees were fired. Later, the Democrats rewrote Wilmington's charter and added a suffrage amendment that used poll taxes and literacy tests to disenfranchise blacks. With these restrictions and the threat of continued violence, many blacks chose to leave Wilmington during this period.

The violence of 1898 resulted in extensive damage to the African-American community in Wilmington. Blacks lost their economic and political standing in addition to their property and sense of security. The black population decreased, as did the size of integrated neighborhoods.

There was only minimal official reaction to the violence in Wilmington. Both President McKinley and the North Carolina state government failed to prevent, stop, or condemn the violence. One federal investigation into the ejection of a federally-appointed commissioner was opened, but soon closed with no indictment. Other attempts to expose the injustice similarly failed. The only compensation ever received was for the destruction of the *Daily Record* building.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Organization

The 1898 Foundation was established in 1996 in order to educate the public about the riots, to honor the victims and the reformers, to facilitate reconciliation, and to restore hope for the future. The Foundation remained neutral on the reparations issue.

B. Structure of the Organization

The Foundation's activities were often co-sponsored by other organizations including the Friends of David Walker and the Spiritual Assemblies of the Baha'is of Wilmington and New Hanover County. Other events were supported by local day schools and the University of North Carolina at Wilmington.

The 1898 Foundation's activities were funded by donations. Additional funding was provided by the Reynolds Foundation's "Race Will Not Divide Us" initiative and the Landfall Foundation, dedicated to health, education, and the arts.

III. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

The 1898 Foundation sponsored a wide range of activities in the Wilmington community. Its commemorative efforts included designing a memorial park and sculpture and ceremonies held in schools.

The Foundation educated the public about the events of 1898 by sponsoring a lecture series entitled "Memories and Monuments." A book club to discuss readings on the 1898 violence was started in 2000. Additionally, members of the Foundation gave presentations, often in conjunction with viewings of documentaries on the events of 1898.

Activities of an artistic nature include a festival featuring dancing, singing, and storytelling.

IV. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

The 1898 Foundation received some criticism for not actively seeking reparations for the victim's descendants.

At least two other organizations have evolved directly from the 1898 Foundation. The Partners for Economic Inclusion is devoted to advancing businesses owned by African-Americans into the economic mainstream. The Carolinas Heritage Tourism Network is a nonprofit organization that promotes black historical sites, especially by the production and distribution of the African-American Guide Map. Additionally, the efforts of the 1898 Foundation and other citizens to commemorate the centennial of the violence in Wilmington inspired the establishment of the Wilmington Race Riot Commission, charged by the state government with researching the history of this event in detail.

V. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Historical Background Resources

DEMOCRACY BETRAYED: THE WILMINGTON RACE RIOT OF 1898 AND ITS LEGACY (David S. Cecelski & Timothy B. Tyson, eds., 1998).

B. Resources About the 1898 Foundation

Alliance for Truth and Reconciliation , <http://www.olemiss.edu/winterinstitute/atrr/documents/SEconf-orgs.pdf>

WILMINGTON RACE RIOT COMMISSION WILMINGTON, NC

Contact Information:

Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
4610 Mail Service Center
Raleigh, NC 27699-4610

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After Reconstruction, African-Americans in Wilmington developed a distinct society, held public office, and owned businesses. One of the most prominent businessmen was Alex Manly who operated a newspaper for the African-American community, the *Daily Record*. For years the Democrats vied with the Republicans and Fusion candidates for power at both the state and local levels. As Election Day 1898 approached, tensions between the parties mounted. Manly wrote an article in his newspaper on interracial sexual relationships that was used by the Democrats to intensify white antagonism. This antagonism increased until finally, the Republicans agreed not to run any candidates provided the Democrats promise to avert violence during the election. Election Day itself was peaceful, and predictably the Democrats won.

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II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Organization

The Wilmington Race Riot Commission sought to continue the work started by activists during the centennial year of the Wilmington Race Riots. To accomplish this end, the Commission was charged with researching and accurately documenting the history of the violence of 1898. The Commissioners were not only to evaluate the events' economic impact, but to inspire a dialogue in the community today. Additionally, the Commission aimed to hold public hearings, produce detailed historical and economic analyses, and make recommendations regarding a monument.

B. Structure of the Organization

Senator Luther H. Jordan and Representative Thomas E. Wright sponsored enabling legislation that resulted in the North Carolina General Assembly's creation of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission. In 2000, the General Assembly established the Commission.

As specified by the bylaws, the Commission was composed of thirteen members, appointed by the legislature, the governor, the mayor and city council of Wilmington, and the New Hanover County Commission. Each member was to serve a two-year term. Eleven African-Americans and three whites served on the Commission during the span of its existence. Both co-chairmen were members of the state legislature and the vice-chairman was a law professor.

The Commission members were all volunteers and additional volunteers were recruited to assist with research and event planning. The Commission received extensive support from the Department of Cultural Resources' Research Branch in the Office of Archives and History which provided both research and administrative assistance.

III. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

The Commission's earliest activities were public hearings, held in three Sunday afternoon sessions in 2003. The hearings took place at the Cape Fear Museum in Wilmington. They were open to members of the public who wished to either speak or observe. More public hearings were held in 2005 and 2006, but these were primarily formal presentations of the Commission's findings. Community participation was encouraged during question and answer sessions following the presentation. Panel discussions were also held.

The Commission's most notable achievement was the 1898 Race Riot Commission Report that was issued in 2006. This report contained a thorough history of the events leading up to the 1898 election, the violence that ensued, and the aftermath. The effects of the 1898 violence were also analyzed in detail. This research will continue to be updated by researchers at the Office of Archives and History.

The Commission still maintains a website and its report is available online, along with a PowerPoint presentation of the Commission's findings. The website welcomes inquiries from visitors and notes that members of the Commission are available as speakers.

IV. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

The events sponsored by the Commission, including the hearings and presentations were attended by people of all racial groups, socioeconomic classes, and ages. Descendants of the victims were involved in the Commission's work. The public hearings gave the descendants of the victims an opportunity to speak and many descendants did choose to participate in these hearings. Alexander Manly's grandson publicly thanked the Commission for answering his questions about his family's role in the events of 1898.

The overall community reaction to the Commission and the newspaper articles it inspired was mixed. Some people were horrified by the details revealed by the Commission's report and were eager to carry out the Commission's recommendations. Many letters to the editor took the recommendations one step further by offering concrete suggestions including the naming of buildings after 1898 participants, further nationwide discourse, and funding for museums devoted to African-Americans, Jim Crow, and the history of white supremacy. A few commentators advocated renaming buildings named for known racists, removing racists from the Raleigh Hall of Fame, and tearing down monuments dedicated to them.

The Commission also received negative responses from community members. These people believed that the events of 1898 are history and therefore the community needs to "get over it." Others feared that newspapers stories about white racism would lead to more prejudice and hatred. Reparations was another contentious issue. Many of the Commission's detractors accused the Commission of attempting to pave the way for monetary reparations which they denounced as either inappropriate or meaningless.

Despite the varying responses to the Commission's work, it is undoubted that the Commission has had an impact on the Wilmington community. Community members are better informed about the historical events and their impact today. As a result, African-Americans and whites have become more comfortable discussing the violence of 1898 and the aftermath now that more facts are known.

Individuals were not alone in responding to the Commission's report and recommendations. Newspapers, such as the *News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC) published long articles not only telling about the violence of 1898, but detailing the newspapers' own role in the

events. In 2007, the Democratic Party offered an apology for its own role in the violence. Currently, the North Carolina General Assembly is considering legislation to implement the Commission's recommendations.

V. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Historical Background Resources

DEMOCRACY BETRAYED: THE WILMINGTON RACE RIOT OF 1898 AND ITS LEGACY (David S. Cecelski & Timothy B. Tyson, eds., 1998).

B. Resources About the Wilmington Race Riot Commission

1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission, <http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/1898-wrrc/default.htm>

1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission Final Report, <http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/1898-wrrc/report/report.htm>

CLAYTON JACKSON MCGHIE MEMORIAL BOARD DULUTH, MN

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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On June 15, 1920, three black men stood wrongly accused of raping a white woman. They were abducted from the city jail and subsequently beaten, tortured, and hanged from a downtown lamppost in what most people consider the most heinous lynching of 1920 – a year with many. On August 8, 1920, 19 men were indicted for rioting and first degree murder in connection with the lynching. While 3 men were convicted, they were not convicted of murder but only of rioting. They each received a sentence of no more than five years. Meanwhile, the man ultimately convicted of raping the woman received a sentence of 30 years two months later.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Organization

The Clayton Jackson McGhie Memorial Board began with broad goals to instigate dialogue and healing around the 80th anniversary of the heinous 1920 lynching of those three young men. An initial major goal was to get a plaque dedicated at the corner at which the victims had been hanged. Soon after meetings began, specific goals of community education, formation of a scholarship program, curriculum development, and website development were set aside to focus on a larger plan to memorialize the victims. The chief goal became to plan and

fund a large-scale memorial at the downtown site. After the memorial was built and dedicated, the organization returned its focus to some of the additional goals.

B. Structure of the Organization

The organization was created somewhat organically. After Heidi Bakk-Hansen wrote an article on the 1920 lynching in 2000, a meeting was organized to discuss memorializing the event with a plaque. More than 30 individuals came to the first meeting and broader goals were discussed. Within a year, leaders were elected and voting rights were held by anyone who came to three consecutive meetings. No members of other organizations held standing positions. Instead, influence on the board was earned through attendance and serving on sub-committees.

C. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

The main activity sponsored by Clayton Jackson McGhie Memorial Board was the creation of the Clayton Jackson McGhie Memorial – dedicated in October, 2003. Today, the organization is focused on curriculum development, implementation of a scholarship program, and developing its website.

III. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Historical Background Resources

B. Resources About CJMM Inc.

OKLAHOMA COMMISSION TO STUDY THE TULSA RACE RIOT OF 1921 TULSA, OK

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On May 30, 1921, an altercation arose in an elevator between a 19-year old black man (Dick Rowland) and a 17-year old white woman (Sarah Page). The altercation was most likely limited to Rowland accidentally tripping and stepping on Page's foot and then fleeing, although at least some people claim the two might have been dating. Nevertheless, in its May 31 edition, the Tulsa Tribune reported on its front page that Rowland had attempted to rape Page, and may have written about lynching Rowland in a now-lost editorial. By that evening, a lynch mob of nearly 2,000 whites – many of them already armed – gathered at the courthouse where Rowland was being held. A group of black Tulsa residents – heeding cries of “We can’t let this happen here” – armed themselves and went to the courthouse to offer assistance to the local police in protecting Rowland from being lynched, but they were told they were not needed. This group of about twenty-five men later returned a second time to offer assistance to the police, at which time a gunshot was fired by someone and the riot began.

The violence, all committed within one day, included assault, shooting and murder. Also, homes, businesses, and other buildings were looted and burned. There were some reports that airplanes were used to drop bombs in the attacks upon the black community of Greenwood. Local police provided weapons to some individuals in the white mob. The toll on the community was almost incalculable. As many as 300 people were killed, including some whites. Additionally, more than 1,200 homes were destroyed and over 300 other homes and buildings

were looted but not burned. Ten thousand people were left homeless. When some black residents fled to surrounding areas, they faced even more discrimination in predominantly white towns. Many black residents had been detained during the riot and were not let go until a white person applied for their release. Finally, when black residents initiated claims to recover more than \$4 million in damages, all were denied.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Commission

The Commission had several goals. First, the Commission sought to identify living survivors of the riot – any individuals who could show that they had been living in Tulsa in 1921, especially in the Greenwood community which was destroyed during the riot. Next, the Commission was to gather information having historical significance. The third goal was to develop a historical record of the race riot. Fourth, the Commission could, but need not, make recommendations for reparations. Finally, the Commission had to provide a final report of its findings and any recommendations.

B. Structure of the Commission

The Commission had eleven members. The statute establishing the commission decreed that the members would be chosen as follows: (1) the governor would appoint six members, (2) the director of the Oklahoma Human Rights Commission (or a deputy) would serve, (3) the director of the Oklahoma Historical Society (or a deputy) would serve, and (4) the Tulsa mayor would appoint three members, including at least one survivor of the 1921 race riot and at least two current Greenwood residents. For his six members, Governor Frank Keating chose two

legislators who had previously worked as history teachers, two historians who worked at Oklahoma colleges, and two individuals from Tulsa.

III. Activities Sponsored by the Commission

Implementing its statutory guidelines, the Commission identified and interviewed survivors of the Race Riot. The Commission was able to identify 126 living survivors, as well as 176 descendants of victims of the riot. Its 188-page final report included in-depth accounts of all aspects of the riot. The Commission made five recommendations for reparations:

- 1) Direct payment of reparations to survivors of the Tulsa Race Riot.
- 2) Direct payment of reparations to descendants of the survivors of the Tulsa Race Riot.
- 3) A scholarship fund available to students affected by the Tulsa Race Riot.
- 4) Establishment of an economic development enterprise zone in the historic area of the Greenwood District.
- 5) A memorial for the reburial of any human remains found in the search for unmarked graves of riot victims.

IV. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

V. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Historical Background Resources

B. Resources About Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921

TULSA REPARATIONS COALITION TULSA, OK

Contact Information:

Reginald King, Chair
Tulsa Reparations Commission Steering Committee
(W) 918-585-2084
<http://www.tulsareparations.org>

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After the Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 issued its final report in February of 2001, the Center for Racial Justice organized the Tulsa Reparations Coalition (TRC) on April 7, 2001.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Organization

The Tulsa Reparations Coalition was organized to push for the implementation of the five recommendations for reparations made by the Commission.

B. Structure of the Organization

The TRC has a steering committee made up of various community members.

III. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

The TRC's activities first included lobbying local and state government officials to implement the recommendations of the Commission. When the state took little action and the city of Tulsa claimed it could do nothing without being sued, the TRC decided to sue. The case was dismissed, the dismissal was upheld on appeal and the U.S. Supreme Court denied certiorari

in 2005. The TRC now seeks to persuade Congress to act on the recommendations of the Commission.

IV. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

V. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Historical Background Resources

B. Resources About Tulsa Reparations Coalition

THE JAMES BYRD FOUNDATION FOR RACIAL HEALING JASPER, TX

Contact Information:

I. Historical Background

James Byrd was born and raised in Jasper, Texas and was the third of seven children born to James and Stella Byrd. In 1967, Byrd was in the last segregated class to graduate from Jasper's Rowe High School.

On June 7, 1998, Byrd, 49, accepted a ride from Shawn Allen Berry, Lawrence Russel Brewer, and John William King.. Instead of taking him home, however, the three men beat Byrd, tied him to their pickup truck with a chain, and dragged him about three miles. Although Lawrence Russell Brewer claimed that Byrd's throat had been slashed before he was dragged, forensic evidence suggests that Byrd had been attempting to keep his head up, and an autopsy suggested that Byrd was alive for much of the dragging and died only after his right arm and head were severed when his body hit a culvert. King, Berry, and Brewer dumped their victim's mutilated remains in the town's segregated black cemetery, and then went to a barbecue.

State law enforcement officials and Jasper's District Attorney determined that since King and Brewer were well-known white supremacists, the murder was a hate crime, and summoned the FBI less than 24 hours after the discovery of Byrd's brutalized remains. One of Byrd's murderers, John King, had a tattoo depicting a black man hanging from a tree, other tattoos such as Nazi symbols, the words "Aryan Pride," and the patch for the Confederate Knights of America, a gang of white supremacist inmates. In a jailhouse letter to Brewer which was intercepted by jail officials, King expressed pride in the crime and said he realized he might have

to die for committing it. "Regardless of the outcome of this, we have made history. Death before dishonor. Sieg Heil!", King wrote. Brewer and King were sentenced to death. Berry received life in prison.

II. ORGANIZATION

The James Byrd Jr. Foundation for Racial Healing was founded by the family of James Byrd Jr. and local community and business leaders in 1988.

A. Goals of the Organization

The Byrd Foundation's mission is to promote racial healing and fight hate crimes of any kind. They aim to facilitate widespread public dialogue on racial healing through educational programs such as public service announcements, a media campaign, classroom presentations and curriculum, web-site work, television appearances, articles, billboards, database, bibliography, etc.

B. Structure of Organization

III. ACTIVITIES STRUCTURED BY THE ORGANIZATION

The Foundation offers support to other victims of hate crimes and are developing cultural diversity training' in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League, National Ethnic Coalition Organization, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and the Southern Poverty Law Center. They plan to offer programs in their local community of Jasper, Texas where the killing occurred, including tutorial services, GED counseling, scholarship programs, general counseling services, recreational facilities, and a historical museum. The James Byrd Jr. Racism Oral History Project has completed 120 interviews nationwide on 'race in America'. The oral histories are meant to help researchers better understand the dynamics of racism and hate crimes and will also serve as

a memorial to victims of racism. The project works with the San Francisco Unified School District and the School of Social Work at San Francisco State University.

III. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Additional Background Resources

B. Resources About the James Byrd Foundation for Racial Healing

COMMUNITY RACE RELATIONS COALITION WACO, TEXAS

Contact Information:

Community Race Relations Coalition
P.O. Box 824
Waco, TX 76703

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Jesse Washington was a seventeen year old African-American who was accused and convicted of raping and killing a white woman. On May 15, 1916, he was forced from the courthouse, beaten, stoned, stabbed, and castrated. Finally, he was lynched by the mob in front of Waco's city hall. As he was hanging by his neck from a chain, the mob lowered him into a fire, cut off various body parts. His body was then dragged through the streets.

Lynching was a common practice in central Texas for many years. Lynching has continued into the present era, as evidenced by the murder of James Byrd in 1998.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Organization

The Community Race Relations Coalition's goal is to promote racial and cultural awareness and acceptance and to strengthen the Waco community.

B. Structure of the Organization

The Community Race Relations Coalition was established after community dialogues on race relations that occurred in 1999 and 2000. The Coalition is led by a board consisting of twelve to fifteen directors who determine the organization's policies. An advocacy council, composed of community leaders in business, education, and other fields, further assist in leading the Coalition. In addition, the Coalition is supported by dues from the general members.

C. Activities Sponsored by the Organization

The Coalition is involved in a wide variety of activities in pursuit of its goals. These activities include memorializing events such as cemetery clean-ups as well as an array of educational initiatives including the Waco History Project which provides resources on Waco history and develops curricula for schools. The Coalition also acts to promote diversity today by presenting awards to organizations that exemplify commitment to diversity and offering diversity-centered training. Discussion groups and member meetings also provide a forum for talking about race relations.

Additionally, the Coalition maintains a website.

III. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

Members of the community have participated in the discussion groups.

IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Numerous aspects of the Byrd murder echo lynching traditions, including mutilation, decapitation and revelry such as a barbecue or a picnic, during or after. These acts are documented by James Allen in his book, film, and exhibit about lynching, “Without Sanctuary,” which consists of photographs taken from the 1800s through 1960 of white townspeople, including women and young children, picnicking and posing next to the corpses of lynching victims.

A. Historical Background Resources

The Lynching Issue, http://www.crrcwaco.org/main_content.html

B. Resources

Community Race Relations Coalition website, [http://www.crrcwaco.org/
main_content.html](http://www.crrcwaco.org/main_content.html)

DAY OF RECONCILIATION PRICE, UTAH

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The facts of the lynching in Price, Utah vary widely depending on the source, but the most detailed accounts seem to describe the event as follows. Robert Marshall, an African-American itinerant coal miner, was employed by the Utah Fuel Company in 1925. He argued with the company's agent and town marshal J. Milton Burns, and on June 15, 1925 Marshall quit his job. Soon afterwards, he was accused of staking out a nearby bridge, waiting for Marshal Burns to make his rounds. Supposedly, as Burns approached the bridge around 7:30 that evening, Marshall confronted him with gun. Marshall shot Burns five times, inflicting the serious wounds that proved fatal by the next evening. Marshall spent the rest of the night hiding in a fellow workers' home, but he was arrested the next morning on June 18, 1925. Two white boys had identified him as being near the scene of the murder.

Having heard news of Burns's death, a large crowd met Marshall at the courthouse when he arrived in the police car. The deputies were forced out of the car, and Marshall, accompanied by about one hundred vehicles, was driven to a farm about three miles out of town. There, a few white men emerged from the mob with a rope, one end of which they tied around Marshall's neck before throwing the other end into a cottonwood tree. Marshall was hanged for nine minutes and four seconds before being cut down. After the mob of one thousand people, which included women and children, realized Marshall was still alive, he was hanged a second time. This time he died.

Photographs of the lynching were soon being sold in town for twenty-five cents apiece. Backed by widespread public support, the participants in the lynching made no effort to conceal their identities, and eleven men, mostly Ku Klux Klan members, were eventually charged with first-degree murder. However, no one was ultimately held responsible for the crime because witnesses refused to identify the men who had executed the hanging. In effect, the community had conspired to cover up the crime.

Marshall's lynching did heighten public awareness of the Ku Klux Klan, leading to the anti-mask ordinances that foiled the Klan's activities in Utah. Today Robert Marshall is remembered as the last lynching victim in the American West.

II. ORGANIZATION

A. Goals of the Event

The Day of Reconciliation was intended not to condemn the citizens of Price, but to acknowledge the injustice done to Robert Marshall, heal the community, promote forgiveness, and inspire tolerance in the future.

B. Structure of the Organizers

Price's Day of Reconciliation was organized primarily by Craddock Matthew Gilmour. He was inspired to organize the event by former President Clinton's Commission on Race and its call for healing and reconciliation. Gilmour was a retired lawyer and former resident of Price who was still haunted by the memory of a bloodthirsty man wielding a rope around town the day of Marshall's lynching. Like Gilmour, other organizers were mostly from out of town and mostly from the Salt Lake City area.

The event received the support of the Mormon, Baptist, Roman Catholic, Episcopal, and Greek Orthodox churches. The Notre Dame school hosted the indoor portion of the Day of Remembrance.

III. Activities Sponsored by the Organizers

The Day of Reconciliation was held on April 4, 1998, the thirtieth anniversary of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s death and seventy-three years after Robert Marshall's lynching. The event had two components. First, a ceremony was held in a school gymnasium. During the ceremony, representatives read letters of support from the president and the governor and songs about the lynching were performed. Second, the participants walked to the nearby Price Cemetery where they gathered at the site of Marshall's formerly unmarked grave to dedicate a headstone engraved with the inscription "Robert Marshall lynched June 18, 1925. A victim of intolerance. May God forgive."

IV. COMMUNITY RESPONSE

Price's Day of Reconciliation received a range of responses from community members. Attendance was lower than could be expected, with between two and three hundred participants. Many of these participants, particularly Gilmour, found the event "cleansing," and many were moved to tears.

Some of the community members who chose to stay at home on that day resented the event because they believed that since the lynching was over, there was no need to raise the issue anew. Editorialist questioned the need for reconciliation in a community marked by racial harmony and condemned the event as an attempt to make a martyr out of a murderer. At least

one news article suggested that the fact that the organizers resided in Salt Lake City and not close-knit Price induced a negative response from the local community.

The descendants of the accused perpetrators also spoke out about the event. The daughter of one of the eleven men charged with the lynching described how she was besieged with questions as the Day of Reconciliation approached. She viewed the event as an attack on her generation and succeeding generations.

V. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Historical Background Resources

Klansmen at a Funeral and a Terrible Lynching, http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/from_war_to_war/klansmenatafuneralandaterriblelynching.html

B. Resources About Price, Utah's Day of Reconciliation

National Public Radio, Last Lynching Victim of American West Remembered, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1026180>