agrarianism, 167, 157
Albertype Company, 152
Alexander, W. C., 45
Allred, J. D., 58
anti-lynching campaigns, 17, 71, 125, 209
Anti-Lynching League of Chicago, 17
Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the
World (Walker), 66
archives and museums
access to, 213, 228
historical meaning and, 215–221,
228–230
monetary value of objects, 221–230
racism of, reckoning with, 214
rise of, 211–215
trauma and power structures, 211–215,
220
archives of trauma, 11
Ashe, Moses, 93
Associated Press, 27
Audobon, John James, 116
ballads, 181–183, 188–192. See also lynching ballads
banjos, 189
“Barbara Allen,” 180
Barnhart, Charles, 3
Barrier, Wade, 37
Bartram, William, 116
bathing, 101
Belk Brothers, 99
Beveridge, Albert, 156–159
blackface, 196–198, 208
Black men
Fusion movement and, 57
stereotypes of, 96, 119, 136–141, 175, 176
threat to white women, imagined, 92
white scrutiny of, 97, 98, 101–104
Boggan, John, 72
Bonds, Larkin, 108–110
Bost, Catherine, 167
Brockman, Polk, 200
Brown, William Garrot, 157, 161
Brown family, 206
burial rites, 108
Burlington, N.C., 70
Burris, Laton, 145
Butler, Marion, 56
Byrd, James, Jr., 219
Carson, John, 200
Center, Tex., lynching, 218
Chambers, Robert, 41
Champey, J. Wells, 119
Child, Francis James, 182
child labor, 156–159
Civil Rights Movement, 191, 208
The Clansman (Dixon), 74
Clayton, Norman, 183
clothing
anonymity and, 96–98
consumer good, 94, 97–100
fashion and, 99
material and texture of, 98, 99, 110–113
race and status, marker of, 85, 94–100,
113
substitute for body, 93, 94, 97, 98
See also relics
Cobb, Ned, 99
Cohen, John, 195, 203–207
Index

236

Coleman, Warren C.
Coleman mill, 149, 163
economic status of, 170–172
communication networks, 21, 22, 44, 45
Company L, 16, 17, 44, 45
Concord, N.C.
Confederate memorial, 90–92
industrialization of, 151–155. See also
Coleman, Warren C.
Concord lynching
accounts of, 1–4, 37–40
Black participation in, narrative of, 174–176, 192–194
denial of, 77
geographic and temporal reach of, 174–176
justification for, shifting, 192
legacy of, 3
local memory fading, 192–194
mob as coalition, 34, 39
newspaper accounts of, 192–194
photography and postcards, 145–147, 159, 199, 204
relics and souvenirs, 83, 114, 144
tree, description of, 114
white economic anxieties, 169, 170
See also “The Death of Emma Hartsell” (ballad); Hartsell’s letter; Johnson, Tom; Kizer, Joe
Confederate Memorial Day, 91, 92
Confederate veterans, 45
cotton mills
aesthetic work, fluidity of, 152
Coleman mill, 149, 163, 169–173
rise of, 149, 152
crime
punishment and race, linking of, 6
cult of loss, 86
and Lost Cause monuments, 88–92
daguerreotypes, 87. See also photographs
and postcards
Daniels, Josephus, 56, 56
Davidson County, N.C., 77
Davis, A. C., 223–230
Davis, Varina, 90
Dayvault, Grace Heglar, 145
Dayvault, Ira, 206
“The Death of Emma Hartsell” (ballad)
cataloging of, lack of, 187, 188
comparison with other lynching ballads, 186
feelings versus facts of, 192
identities of victims, 185
Maine version, 198, 203
mob, anonymity of, 185
nostalgia and local ties of, 190
origins of, 180
simple narrative of, 188
variations of, 184, 190, 191
Deaton, Harry P., 16, 17
DeBenning, Jody, 216, 217
DeBenning, T., 216, 217
Deloney, Emmet, 73
Deloney, Fayette, 73
Dillingham, "Jack," 73
disfranchisement, 54, 78
Dixon, Thomas
The Clansman, 74
dogwood trees
postcards and, 141–143
symbol of, 124–132
Dowd, Jerome, 165
Du Bois, W. E. B., 93, 125
Duke, Washington, 165
Dunning School, 213
Edmonds, Helen, 213
education, 157
Eshelman, A. F., 167
Evans, Jerry, 129
Felton, Ed, 75
Fisher, Charles, 65
Foil, Jack, 144
folklorists, 123–125
talk music
authenticity and, 198–208
ballads, 181–183, 188–192
revival of, 180, 181, 194–196, 198, 201–208
Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, 123–125
Franklin, John Hope, 213
Fusion movement
newspapers and Black leaders, 57
reforme of, 46, 47, 51, 53, 54
success of, 55
urban problem, perception of, 57–59, 62
Gillespie, John, 73
Gillespie, Nease, 73
Index

“Gladys Kincaid,” 186
Goodman, Augustus, 74, 75
Great Migration, 232
Hamilton, Joseph Grégoire de Roulhac, 213
Hancock, Randolph S., 193
Hartsell, Emma, death of, 2. See also Concord lynching
Hartsell, Sam
white supremacy, commitment to, 53
See also Hartsell’s letter
Hartsell’s letter
Fusion politics, refutation of, 77
mode of public address, 46, 59
notes left at lynching sites, tradition of, 70–77
political tradition of, 51
publication of, initial, 51
reprinting and editorializing of, 52, 53, 159–161
Hemphill, Sid, 183, 189
Hemphill lynching (Center, Tex.), 218
Herbert, Morris, 201
Hibbler, Poc, 112
Hill (Captain of L Company), 17
Hill, J. S., 104
Hilliard, Henry, 222–230
Hine, Lewis, 156–159
historical memory, meaning of, 10
Holliday, Billie, 140
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 87
Holt, Lawrence, 159, 163
Hose, Sam, 93, 125
House, Sam, 183
imperialism, 49
“An Indian Legend,” 154
Indigenous peoples, 116, 212
industrialization and urbanization
agrarian labor, fluidity of, 158
anonymity of, 61
Black labor and, 154, 155, 160–173
labor and white supremacy, 39, 155–164
landscape and, 23
mill villages, rise of, 68
Irwin, George, 73
Jarvis, Thomas Jordan, 52
Johnson, Archie, 72
Johnson, Tom
bibliographical information, limited, xi
burial, 108
clothing of, 104, 106, 107–110
identity, erasure of, 185
jail, mob breaks into, 148
newspaper portrayal of, 38
petty crimes, posthumous accusations of, 109
reputation of, fabrications, 1
surveillance by white employer, 102
See also Concord lynching
Johnson, Will, 129
Jones, Robert, 73
Jones, Thomas, 73
Jones, Virgil, 73
Keefer, Steven, 164
“Keenly Touching,” 159–161
King, Edward, 119
King, Mary, 167
Kirk, J. Allen, 80–82
Kizer, Joe
bibliographical information, limited, xi
burial, 108
clothing, cleanliness as sign of guilt, 104, 105
clothing of, 107–110
jail, mob breaks into, 148
newspaper portrayal of, 38
petty crimes, posthumous accusations of, 109
reputation of, fabrications, 1
See also Concord lynching
Ku Klux Klan, 67, 167
Ladies’ Memorial Association, 89, 90
landscape
Black landownership, 170–172
consumerism and, 132–143
creation and documenting of, 116–122
historical markers, 231–233
industrialization and urbanization, 153
inhabitants of, 116, 119–122, 136–141
lynching and, 145–147
religion and, 124–132
Lankford, J. A., 170
Lee, Henry, 73
Liberty Tree (Rhode Island), 133
Library of Congress (LOC), 221–230
Linker, E. J., 193
Linker, Ervin, 174–176
238

Index

Lomax, Alan, 183, 189
Lost Cause
archives and museums preservation of, 211–215
fabrication of imagined past, 90–92
monuments, 89–92
sacrifice and religion, 125, 127–132
Lyde, Ely, 42
Lyde, Joseph, 42
lynching ballads
Black men as threat, 185–187
generic South and, 191, 192
immediacy and historicism of, 183
nostalgia and, 189
performance of, 179
See also “The Death of Emma Hartsell” (ballad); Mainer, J. E.
lynching memorial (Montgomery, Ala.), 230–233
lynchings, general
accounts of as orderly, 79
anonymity and, 129, 159
burial rites, subversion of, 106, 108
definition of, 24–27, 43
economic conditions and, 150
justifications for, purported, 72–75, 173
normalization of, 33, 34, 36
photography and postcards, 73, 215–221
prevalence of, 42, 43, 46, 47, 112
temporal and geographic frame for, 11
theater and, 74
lynching victims
Boggan, John, 72
Chambers, Robert, 41
Deloney, Emmet, 75
Deloney, Fayette, 75
Dillingham, “Jack,” 73
Evans, Jerry, 129
Felton, Ed, 75
Gillespie, John, 73
Gillespie, Nease, 73
Goodman, Augustus, 74, 75
Hibbler, Poe, 112
Hilliard, Henry, 222–230
Hose, Sam, 93, 125
Irwin, George, 73
Johnson, Archie, 72
Johnson, Will, 129
Jones, Robert, 73
Jones, Thomas, 73
Jones, Virgil, 73
Lee, Henry, 73
Lyde, Ely, 42
Lyde, Joseph, 42
Manuel, Will, 129
McIver, A. B., 42
Meeks, Sam, 112
Miller, Broadus, 186
Moore, John, 41
Outlaw, Wyatt, 72
Riley, Joseph, 73
Ross, John, 76
Smith, Henry, 225
Spellman, Moses, 129
Till, Emmett, 113
Williams, Cleveland, 129
Williams, Frank, 129
See also Johnson, Tom; Kizer, Joe
Mainer, Carolyn, 199
Mainer, J. E., 145, 159, 179, 191, 194, 196–208
Mainer, Sadie, 199
Manly, Alexander, 78
Manuel, Will, 129
materiality
explanation of, 8
McIver, A. B., 42
McKelway, Alexander Jeffrey, 156–159
Means, Paul, 168
Meeks, Sam, 112
Meeropol, Abel, 140
memorialization, 230–233
Mencken, H. L., 122
Miller, Broadus, 186
mill villages, 68, 70, 153
minstrelsy, 196–198, 208
miscegenation, 157
Moore, John, 41
Morrison, Toni, 230
mourning
gendered practices of, 91, 92
National Child Labor Committee (NCLC), 156–159
National Memorial for Peace and Justice, 230–233
naturalists, 116
Negro Act (S.C., 1735), 95
New South, 151
### Index

**newspapers**
- circulation of news story and construction of narrative, 5, 17, 18, 26, 30–40, 41, 43, 129
- Concord and clothing, 105
- firsthand experience, stand in as, 26
- geographical and temporal frame for, 25–30, 36
- local knowledge and, 18
- local newspapers, prevalence of, 23, 27–28
- news, nature of as changing, 19
- orality and, 34–35
- pedagogy of, 19, 40–44
- photographs, lack of, 59
- politics and, 56, 57
- public space and, 50
- noose, tying of, 2
- North Carolina Folklore Society, 184
- North Carolina Negro Fair, 168

**Olds, Frederick**, 212
**Olmsted, Frederick Law**, 118
**O’Neal, Jim**, 201
**orality**, 44–45
**Outlaw, Wyatt**, 72
**Owen, Marie Bankhead**, 213
**Owen, Thomas**, 211

**Paris, Tex., lynching**, 225
**Peer, Ralph**, 200
**Pettigrew, James Johnson**, 212
**Pharr (examining physician)**, 37
**Pharr, Frank**, 101–103, 105, 107–110
**Pharr, Whit**, 105, 107–110
**photographs and postcards**, circulation of, 129–132
**dogwood trees and**, 141–143
**landscape and commercialism**, 133
**monetary value of**, 221–230
**stereoscopes**, 222
**Pickens County, Ala., lynchings**, 112
**political cartoons**, 56
**Polk, Leonidas L.**, 56
**postal service**, 21
**public address**
- community formation and, 65–70
- Jim Crow segregation signs, 81
- racial power structures, 63

**public space**
- *Ku Klux Klan and*, 67
- mill villages and, 68
- mourning and, 91–92
- newspapers and, 50
- segregation and, 94
- public work, 149, 153. See also industrialization and urbanization

**railroads**, 22–23, 28
- *“The Red Record,”* 47
- Red Shirts, 48, 78
- Reith, Lydia, 146
**relics**
- distributed intimacy of, 87
- everyday objects, reversion to, 107–110
- hairwork, 87
- hatred and, 88, 109
- meaning behind, 84
- mourning in public space, 91–92
- owners as participants, 7
- sacred to secular, move from, 87
- souvenirs, distinction between, 133, 142–143
- surveillance and, 101
- See also souvenirs

**Riley, Joseph**, 73
**Robbins, William McKendree**, 90
**Ross, John**, 76
**runaway slave ads**, 96
**rural spaces**, 62–64. See also industrialization and urbanization

**Sabine County, Tex., lynching**, 129–132, 215–225
- *St. George, Robert Blair*, 133
- Sanders, Bob Ray, 219
- Scott, Z. E., 206
- Sellers, P. G., 58
- sharecropping and tenancy, 101–103, 151, 152
- Sharp, Cecil, 182
- slave codes, 95
- Smith, Henry, 225
- Somerville, Catherine, 110–113
- *“Song of Emma Hartsell”* (Mainer), 198–199
- sonic landscapes
- technology and, 187–188
Southern Historical Collection, 213–221
souvenirs
collections, 143
heirlooms, 114
memory objects, transition to, 145
owners as participants, 7
relics, distinction between, 133, 142–143
See also relics
Spanish-American War, 16, 32
spectacle, 26, 47, 78
spectacle lynching
definition of, 47
photography and, 60
relics and hatred, 88
response to, 60
Spellman, Moses, 129
Spofford, Ainsworth Rand, 222
Stanly County, N.C., 184
stereoscopes, 222–230. See also photographs and postcards
Strachwitz, Chris, 199
“The Strayhorn Mob,” 183, 189
telegraph and telegrams, 17, 21, 29
Thompson, Mary Cornelia, 214
Till, Emmett, 113
Till, Mamie, 113
travel narratives, 118–121
Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, 144, 215, 220
Tyler, Tex., lynching, 222–230
United Daughters of the Confederacy, 90
vigilantism, 54
viral textualty, 43–44
Waddell, Alfred Moore, 79, 80
Walker, David
Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, 66
Walker, Zeb, 109
Washington, Booker T., 98, 99, 101
Wellford, Edwin Taliaferro, 125
Wells, Ida B., 150, 169
White Government Union, 53
White Oak mill, 68
white women
Lost Cause and mourning, 89, 91, 92
threats to, imagined, 92
Williams, Cleveland, 129
Williams, Ed, 3
Williams, Frank, 129
Wilmington, N.C.
Black political power and, 57–59
Confederate monument, 89, 90
massacre, 48, 53, 78–82
sepulchral notices, 67
Without Sanctuary (ed. Allen), 60
Womack, Peggy, 218–220
word of mouth, 17
Work, Monroe, 214
“working memory”
meanings of, 149
York, Henry, 223