

"I expect to pass through this life but once. If there is any kindness to show, or any good thing I can do to my fellow-beings let me do it now. Let me not defer nor neglect it. I will pass this way but once."—New York Herald.

14, GROSVENOR ROAD,

BIRKDALE, SOUTHPORT.

Wass Peryly in
Ida B Wells -

I am across the Aden

23. VI. 94.

IDA B. WELLS ABROAD.

The Bishop of Manchester on
American Lynching.

ITS HORRIBLE CRUELITIES.

England Sympathizes with the
African Race.

Attitude of Moody and Miss Willard to
the Negroes—Description of
England's "Big Ditch."

MANCHESTER, England, April 4.—Special Correspondence.—Until the first of this year Manchester has been an inland town, thirty-five miles from the sea. By means of the ship canal she is now in direct communication with the sea, and therefore independent of Liverpool, her great rival in point of size, wealth, etc. Liverpool has few manufacturing interests—her importance is derived from her situation as a seaport; her life is purely commercial, and her wealth derived from handling the produce of other towns and countries; so the citizen of Manchester will tell you, Manchester, on the other hand, is an enormous manufacturing center. There are near 500 cotton spinning firms in and around the city and these own over 18,000,000 spindles, more than one-third of all those in Great Britain. There are chemical works and great engineering factories, and the export and import trade of these industries is of great magnitude. Liverpool and the railways made their burdens too grievous to be borne, besides diverting this trade from Manchester, and the ship canal is the result.

The largest ships bringing produce, cotton, and iron to the markets and mills need not now wait in vexatious delay outside Liverpool to be docked, but steaming up the canal, reach Manchester as quickly as they can be unloaded from the vessels and onto the railways at Liverpool. In return manufacturers can ship machinery and cotton goods to all parts of the world, direct from Manchester factories, and at far less cost and delay. Manchester is jubilant at its emancipation, and Liverpool consents itself for the loss of this great trade speaking contemptuously of the "Big

It is more than a big ditch, as will be seen by the most skeptical person who takes a ride along its thirty-five miles of waterway and observes what engineering skill and patient plodding have accomplished. Where there was formerly a small stream of water winding in and out toward the sea there is now a broad, deep channel, twice the width of the Suez Canal, and any two of the largest vessels afloat can sail together abreast along its waters.

This canal, which has been open to traffic only three months, is the realization of an idea nearly 180 years old, for it was first suggested in 1710. The plan came up for consideration from time to time, until in 1877 it assumed concrete shape, and in 1882 a bill was laid before Parliament by a committee of merchants and manufacturers for permission to construct the canal. The bill was bitterly opposed by the dock and railway companies of Liverpool. It took three years to overcome opposition and secure the grant from Parliament; it required another three years to secure sufficient capital to undertake the work and the remaining five years in which to actually do the work and realize the dreams of the promoters. Not only is the canal dotted with ships bearing freight from all parts of the world, but passenger steamers also. The America and Australia go up and down its length, and when the smell is less suggestive of the Chicago River the ride on this artificial waterway will be much more pleasant than it is at present.

The Queen to Open the Canal.

Her gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, appreciating the success of this, one of the most gigantic of modern undertakings, will come to Manchester in June to formally open the canal. Manchester people are making huge preparations to celebrate the completion of what has cost them \$75,000,000, and the celebration promises to be the success so magnificent an undertaking deserves.

The city proper of Manchester claims nearly 600,000 inhabitants. Her immediate suburban towns, especially Salford, give her a population of a million and a half souls. Though each one maintains its own city government, one cannot easily tell where Manchester ends and Salford, Rusholme, Ancoats, and Ashton begin. The main streets are named after London, for Piccadilly and Pall Mall are as familiar Manchester localities as London. Her public buildings, like those of most English towns, have stood for years and are black with the century's smoke and dust; and very few know the use of paint. Her art galleries are so arranged that the frame of every picture is plainly seen, and one has no need of a catalogue to pick out name after name. This is a convenience to the artist, which other art galleries,

which shall be mentioned, might not have to the advantage. To her treasures of art Manchester has lately added Mr. Watts' latest picture, "The Good Samaritan."

American Lynching Condemned.

The feeling which developed in Liverpool during the American civil war was shared in large measure and for the same reasons (the injury to the cotton trade) by the people of Manchester. In this city also Rev. Henry Ward Beecher fought one of his hard-won battles on the lecture platform with the mob of pro-slavery and secession sympathizers. But that is all past. The freedom of her public halls, church platforms, and the press is cheerfully granted to those who speak for justice and fair play to the oppressed.

From the Bishop of Manchester, the Society of Friends, Unitarians, Methodists, and Congregationalists, American lynching has received not only strong words of condemnation, but earnest resolutions have been passed in a spirit of Christian love, calling upon the people of the United States to remove the blot upon their good name and put a stop to our "national crime."

A Letter to the Christian Register.

The following letter addressed to the *Christian Register*, the leading Unitarian organ of the United States, was published in a daily paper here this week:

Dear Sir—Last Sunday evening, after our usual service, Miss Ida B. Wells told my congregation the story of the lynchings in your Southern States. My church is the historic Church of James Martin and William Henry Channing, and we believe that we were on the line of our best traditions in giving the platform to a lady who told us that she wished to plead for justice and for mercy. She spoke with singular refinement, dignity, and self-restraint, nor have I ever met any other "agitator" so cautious and unimpassioned in speech. But by this marvelous self-restraint itself she moved us all the more profoundly. When she sat down we resolved with solemn unanimity—"That we, who are this evening assembled in Hope Street Church, learn with grief and horror of the barbarities of lynch law as carried out by white men on some of the colored citizens of the United States, and that, in the name of our common humanity, we call on all lovers of justice, of freedom, and of brotherhood among our kinsmen in the States to determine that these things shall no more be." We know, dear New England brothers and sisters, that remonstrance addressed by members of one nationality to the people of another can only be justified in the rarest cases, and that there is always danger that such remonstrance will rather stir up resentment than achieve its purpose. Yet in the face of the terrible facts we cannot do other than plead with you to bestir yourselves to save the good name of your nation. When I think of the strong men and the gracious ladies I met in Boston, and their generous culture, of their wide and noble views on social problems, of their high and pure Christianity, of their devoted lives, I am bewildered to be told that people such as these will not listen to the pleadings of those who are denied the ordinary securities of law, that they are passive in the view of sickening brutalities, that they are silent when their fellow citizens are scourged and flayed and burnt without trial or appeal. I know well what you of the North have suffered for the slave. Was it for this that with so supreme a courage you carried through your colossal war? I know, too, the jealousy with which State rights are guarded and your wise reluctance to interfere with the domestic usages of sister States. Yet can I not believe that free murder is among those State rights with which the national legislature cannot concern itself or the national conscience be aroused. What are you doing, men and women of Boston? Are you so busy laying wreaths on the tombs of Channing and of Parker, of brave John Brown and your immortal Garrison, that you have no time to head the seizure of untried men and women, their execution with every device and torture, and acquiescence of all the guardians of the law, the instilling into the boys and girls of the United States of the lust of cruelty and callousness to murder? What meant the marvelous parliament of religions at Chicago with its astounding manifestation of a world-wide human brotherhood if the negro on your own soil—nay, the mulatto in whose veins flows as much Anglo-Saxon blood as African—can find beneath your national flag no security against the brutality of lawless mobs and the nameless horrors of the amateur scaffold, the branding iron, and the stake? In great disturbance of soul I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,

RICHARD ACLAND ARMSTRONG.

Liverpool, March 21.

Twelve Lectures in Ten Days.

The same matter will be brought before the national conference of Unitarians, which meets in Manchester next week. I have spoken twelve times during my ten days' stay in Manchester. Three of these were drawing-room meetings in the homes of as many of Manchester's wealthy citizens; one was in the town hall, three in churches, and five in public halls. There were accounts of recent lynchings in the afternoon papers, which were read at two of my meetings as emphasis to what I had told them. I had seen the account of the colored woman who was found hanging to a tree in Little Rock, Ark., about which body, as usual, seemed to know any-

case of the woman in Salem, who had been boxed up in nails driven through the sides of a down hill till she was dead.

A gentleman who was principal city school rose and read the account of my address. He had bought the paper to read on his way to the railway and this lynching was the first thing he saw as he opened the paper. And there as if turned to stone, with his rolling down my cheeks at this evidence of outrage upon my people and sympathy of the American white people.

Mr. Axon Speaks of Slavery.

My first big meeting in this city was held by Mr. W. E. A. Axon, one of the editors of the *Manchester Guardian* visitor to the World's Fair, and devoted to the vegetarian congress last year. He is my host, and had a sad confirmation of all I said here last year, when he was in the States. At the next important meeting there was taken by Rev. S. A. Steinthal, known in Boston as the friend of Garrison and a member of the Anti-Slavery Society. He was a delegate to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and in his address introducing me, he told how surprised was to find people in the North excusing and condoning lynching; that he was out from Chicago, when a fresh lynching was being discussed, and he was astounded to find every white man present approving of it! So much so that, stranger as I was, he was compelled to express his sympathy to those advocates of lawlessness, and to them that nothing justified such lawlessness.

A Leader in the Guardian.

The *Manchester Guardian* of March 21 contained the following significant letter on the encroachments of the mob on Northern territory:

Lynch law has long been an abominable characteristic of the Southern States of America; it appears to be infecting the North also. It were lynchings in Illinois whilst the Chicago Exposition was inviting the attention of the world to the products of American civilization. In the present month not only Tennessee but Pennsylvania has shown the ghastly spectacle of human beings put to an ignominious death without any form of trial. The victims of these lynchings are usually persons of negro blood. A whole machinery of law and justice is in the hands of the whites there can be no pretense that there would be any likelihood of the escape of those whose guilt could be reasonably established. These ghastly murders are, in fact, the outcome of the race prejudice which has survived the days of slavery. The average American protests that all men are "born free and equal" but denies in practice the commonest right of humanity to all American citizens who have negro blood in their veins. How the matter bears to the intelligent and educated Americans may be seen from the public utterances of Miss Ida B. Wells, who is now on her second visit to England. Her indictment of the more telling from the absence of the negro race has made great progress in the war in intelligence, refinement, and wisdom but everywhere the brazen words of "dice shuts him out from the color line" inheritance. The "color line" is sharply drawn in the churches, the professions, the trades, the industries of America. In the South he may enter the white man's church, school, college, even railway carriage. There is perhaps no more tempting kindness for him so long as he remains a lawbreaker of wood and drawer of wages, but no aspirations or with aspirations, care suppressed, but so soon as he claims the rights of a citizen of a free country the whole social pressure is exerted to keep him down. The hangings, shootings, burnings of those who have not been convicted of any crime, discredit upon the American Nation, and who take part in these murders or condone them are the deadliest foes of those free institutions of which America claims to be in a special way the home.

The Voice of the "Bystander."

Will the American Nation heed the utterances made by those who love her, and are proud of her achievements? It is earnestly to be hoped so, since I can point nothing which has been done heretofore that would save the voice of the "bystander," which has been heard so long in the columns of THE INTER-COMMUNICATOR. I insisted on justice full and free to every American citizen. I was asked as to the attitude of L. Moody and Miss F. E. B. both well known in Britain, on this subject of the negro. I have been compelled to insist, not to say that the greatest weight of their influence is in the hands of the white man's prejudices. Moody has secured the drawing of a color line in the churches by coming to preach on the day and the hour when the colored people are rough.

entry - Ocean
April 9, 1894.

B. WELLS ABROAD.

Working in Liverpool Against Lynchers of Negroes.

BRITISH SENTIMENT.

From the Chicago of England Learned a Lesson.

Photograph Sent Out by Lynchers Brought Up in Evidence Against Them.

LIVERPOOL, March 24.—*Special Correspondent.*—Liverpool was the center of slave efforts from the days of good Queen Bess to the abolition of slavery by the British in 1833. More than half the slave ships which carried human merchandise from Africa to the West Indies and America were built in Liverpool docks and owned by Liverpool merchants. The triple voyages of these ships brought enormous wealth to the owners and to the city. There was at the voyage to Africa, where hundreds of slaves were captured or bought for a few gewgaws; thence to the West Indies, where the cargo was sold at 100 per cent profit, and the ship's hold stored with sugar and rum; this at Liverpool brought as great profit as had the slaves in the West Indies. The opposition to the abolition of the slave trade as a matter of course came from those who profited most largely by it. Right finally prevailed, and Liverpool in 1806 returned its member of Parliament a man who had written the first philippic against slavery thirty years before. William Roscoe aided materially in the passage of the bill for the abolition of slavery.

In 1861, fifty-five years later, the strongest sympathy evinced for the pro-slavery party in the United States was found in Liverpool. After the cessation of its own slave trade the shipping merchants and cotton mills had gradually built up a flourishing trade in the cotton produced by slave labor in the Southern States. The Southern ports were blockaded and no more cotton could be obtained. The ships were idle and the looms empty. Men of self-interest pointed the way, and Liverpoolians gave their support to the South. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, a native of Liverpool, whose wealth had come from slave labor on a West India plantation, and who was then leader of the House of Commons, said concerning secession: "Jeff Davis has created a nation." In the Liverpool docks were built the gunboats Florida and Alabama, which saw such active service in the Confederate cause. Here it was that Henry Ward Beecher met the greatest resistance to his attempts to speak in behalf of the Union in 1863. For nearly three hours the mob at the Philharmonic Hall yelled, hisses, hooted, and interrupted him when he began to speak, but he managed little by little to get his address all out at last.

What Liverpool Has Learned.

But Liverpool has learned that she can prosper without the slave trade or slave labor. Her docks are crowded with shipping from all parts of the world, and the city, with its population of 600,000 souls, is one of the most prosperous in the United Kingdom. Her freedom-loving citizens not only subscribe to the doctrine that man beings, regardless of color and condition, are equal before the law, but they practice as they preach. To a colored man who has been reared in the peculiar conditions which obtain only in free (?) America, it is like being born into another world, where all are welcomed and persons of color are of intellectual and social value to themselves.

Here a "colored" person can ride in any sort of conveyance in any part of the country without being insulted, stop at any hotel, or be accommodated at any restaurant one wishes without being refused with contempt; wander into any picture gallery, lecture-room, concert hall, theater, or church and receive only the most courteous treatment from officials and fellow sight-seers. The privilege of being once in a country where "man's a man for a' that" is one which can best be appreciated by those Americans whose black skins are a bar to them receiving genuine courtesy and kindness at home.

I have spent two weeks in Liverpool, and have delivered by invitation ten addresses on "Lynch Law in the United States." These meetings have averaged 1,000 persons each, and though I grieved to have to do so, yet truth compelled me to say that lynch law is spreading in the States. Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, and Pennsylvania have each had lynchings within the past nine months, and nothing more has been done to punish lynchings in these States than in the States south of Mason and Dixon's line. I take the statistics of lynchings and prove that according to the charges given not one-third of the men and women lynched are charged with assault on white women, and brand that statement as a falsehood invented by the lynchers to justify acts of cruelty and outrage. I find wherever I go that we are deprived the expression of condemnation such hangings and burnings deserve, because the world believes negro men are despoilers of the virtue of white women.

A Picture.

Unfortunately for the negro race and for themselves, Miss Frances E. Willard and Bishops Fitzgerald and Haygood have published utterances in confirmation of this slander, and the magazines of my country have printed this libel on an entire race to the four corners of the earth. Whatever is lacking in these articles is supplied by the white American individual abroad. He draws a picture of the isolated districts in the South where great hordes of ignorant and dangerous negroes swarm, of the inadequacy and delay of the law, and then asks: "What would you do if your wife or daughter were so assaulted?" And the person for whose benefit this picture is drawn finds himself relishing in his judgment and he remains silent when he meant to condemn burning and hanging.

Finding that such a picture is drawn, I am thus forced to draw another and show (1) that all the machinery of law and politics is in the hands of those who commit the lynchings; they, therefore, have the amending of the laws in their own hands; and that it is only wealthy white men whom the law fails to reach, in every case of criminal procedure the negro is punished. 2. Hundreds of negroes, including women and children, are lynched for trivial offenses, on suspicion, and in many cases when known to be guiltless of any crime, and the law refuses to punish the murderers because it is not considered a crime to kill a negro. 3. Many of the cases of "assault" are simple adultery between white women and colored men. The Society for the Furtherance of Human Brotherhood hopes first to arouse public sentiment by making known the facts of the lynching infamy, then to appeal to American honor through the various Christian philanthropic and temperance organizations of this country to remove the stain against its Christianity and civilization by putting down mob law and establishing it as a fact as well as a theory that every man shall be tried by law and punished by the same agency for any crime he commits.

The Sympathetic Audiences.

I spoke in Pembroke Chapel the first Sunday night of my stay in Liverpool, and the pastor of the church, Rev. C. F. Aked, presided. Last Sunday afternoon to an audience of 1,500 men in the Congregational Church. Sunday night at the Unitarian Church, after service, Rev. R. A. Armstrong presiding. The Lord Mayor of Liverpool is a member of this congregation, and consented at first to preside but was prevented from so doing. At a monster meeting in honor of the ninetieth birthday of General Neal Dow Tuesday, March 20, I

spoke again, and the storms of applause convinced me of the sympathy of the audience. Every newspaper in the city has contained full accounts of the meetings and several strong editorials have been written. When our own newspapers in season and out of season, lynch law will soon become infamous. Not only have the daily and weekly newspapers

given much space to the subject, but the editor of the *Daily Post*, Sir Edward Russell, presided over the large meeting held at Hope Hall Thursday night, March 22. This gentleman is the most prominent and influential citizen in Liverpool today, and his time is fully occupied with his literary, social, and political pursuits. Yet he has taken deep interest in this question ever since he saw a cut of the photograph of a lynching sent Judge Tourgee nearly three years ago by the Christians of Clanton, Ala. It will be remembered that a negro was lynched in that town, August, 1891; that the mob ranged itself under the body of the man as he hung and was photographed; and that photograph was sent to Judge Tourgee, with the following message on the back: "This — — — was hung at Clanton, Ala., Friday, Aug. 21, 1891, for murdering a little white boy in cold blood for 35 cents in cash. He is a good specimen of your black Christians hung by white heathens. With compliments of the committee."

Lyncher Against Lyncher.

This photograph represented boys from 10 years old upward standing under the ghastly object. An English lady, who published a little journal called *Anti-Caste*, had a cut made from this photograph and reproduced it in her paper. When Sir Edward Russell saw a copy of it he wrote an editorial protesting against it as an illustration drawn from the imagination, and was horrified to be told that it was a photograph taken from life and sent out by the lynchers themselves. From that moment dates his interest in the subject. He thinks it the one subject upon which the sympathies of the world need arousing.

The following account is taken from the *Daily Post* of next morning, and it is submitted because the full text of Sir Edward Russell's address is given, together with the resolution which was passed by the meeting. This resolution is the same in tenor as those passed at other meetings:

Last evening, in Hope Hall, Hope street, Miss Ida Wells, colored editress of *Free Speech*, lectured to a large and enthusiastic auditory on the subject of "American Atrocities."

Sir Edward Russell presided, and in introducing the lecturer, after devotional exercises, said it was the function of those who, like himself, were not specially informed upon the subject to hear rather than to speak. They were present to listen to the testimony of a distinguished lady. [Applause.] It was important to know whom they were to hear, and why; and when they heard Miss Wells he hoped they would say that she was adorned by every grace of womanhood, and justified by her abilities the public duty which she had undertaken, having been provoked into appealing to the public opinion of this country by acts which they must all deplore, and of which they should be glad to make some people ashamed. [Applause.] At the outset they were confronted with the objection that it was scarcely a fitting thing for the people of one country to pronounce upon the misdeeds of the people of another. He was afraid, however, that it was rather late in the day for English people to stop short at such an objection as that. [Hear, hear.] We had our own faults, but it had never been one of these to hold our tongues about the iniquities of other peoples. [Laughter.]

England's Sacrifice.

We had an honorable pre-eminence in this matter of the war of the races, because this country made an unexampled sacrifice by a heroic declaration, expression, and enactment of its will which had entitled Great Britain to speak on the subject of the colored races wherever their liberties were interfered with. They were glad to believe, also, that they had many friends in America, and that there were many consciences in that country which were not unwilling to listen to the testimony of the English race when directed against things which had an iniquitous aspect in reference to the colored race. For many, many years the sympathy of the English nation for those who wished to emancipate the colored race was the one great strength of the abolitionists of America [hear, hear], and now that the old days of slavery had passed away, but had left behind them liabilities to injustice and even to bloodshed, they might fairly step into the arena again, so as to see if they could not yet accomplish something for the good old cause. They had in this matter two things to consider. The first was the existence of lynch law in a civilized country, and the second the especial application of it to the colored people of America. Either of these things was a very fair subject for protest. For his own part, he would say without qualification that he could not imagine a crime so great that it need be avenged by lynch law in any country in the world [hear, hear]; and, what was more, he did not believe that crime ever was avenged by lynch law without a lowering of the moral tone of the community, and without the introduction of worse evils than were attempted to be suppressed. [Applause.]

The Worst Phase.

The worst of it was, too, that lynch law was directed against persons very largely defenseless, and more or less under a social ban, afflicted by disabilities, and always under a very fatal disadvantage of race prejudice. It would, therefore, be a very great thing if everybody in that

hall, and those who heard the proceedings, were to form a resolution to the day of their death any founded upon prejudice against race should be dismissed from the mind as being beneath contempt (hear, hear); as consistent with Christian character, and even incompatible with civilization. [Applause.]

Miss Wells, who was very cordially received, narrated in her own quiet and unimpassioned earnest and forcible way her tale of lynch atrocities perpetrated in recent years against the people of her race in America and the operation of the social prejudices directed against them. In the course of her address she paid Chicago the tribute of being the freest city in America in expression of opinion in favor of the negro. [Applause.]

Rev. C. F. Aked moved: "This meeting having heard from Miss Ida B. Wells, with the deepest pain, a recital of the wrongs done to the colored people of the Southern States of America by lawless mobs, and having in mind the confirmation of Miss Wells' story supplied by the lamentable frequency by the press of the United States and Great Britain, expresses the opinion that the perpetration of such outrages, unchecked by the civil power, must necessarily reflect upon the administration of justice in the United States and upon the honor of its people. [Applause.] In advocating the cause Mr. Aked said that lynching, however bad for the negro was still worse for those who did it."

The Results of War.

Mr. S. J. Celestine Edwards, a colored man seconding the proposition, maintained that it had never ended anything so as to permanently satisfy both the conquered and the conqueror [Hear, hear.] The Southerners of America have never been satisfied with the defeat they sustained at the hands of the Northerners, the loss of their property in negroes. This has been a thorn in their flesh for years, and he believed that they would never succeed in ameliorating the conditions under which his race labored until the remnant of the old Abolitionist America began the work where they left it off when the civil war began. Northerners, he acknowledged, had been tolerant of negro compensation, but the Southern whites could never abide it. An instance of the prejudice existing against his people, he said that when a well-to-do negro took his invalid wife to Louisiana the white citizens demanded his expulsion, his only crime being that he was the richest man among them. They had white friends working in their cause in America, and British sympathy would greatly strengthen them and hasten the time when the negroes would be properly emancipated. He argued that whatever might be said about the laziness of the negro, he was not nearly so vicious as the European.

Rev. W. W. Howard, in supporting, spoke of the *Liverpool Daily Post* as having first taken up the questions of temperance and social purity, and now it was taking up another great question.

The resolution was carried with great enthusiasm.

The *Liverpool Mercury*, which is the other leading daily of the city, contained a strong leader of more than a column on the subject. From Liverpool I go to Manchester where large meetings have been arranged. IDA B. WELLS.