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WELLS-BARNETT, IDA BELL

July 16, 1862–March 25, 1931

JOURNALIST, SUFFRAGIST, CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST

Cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and best known for launching the nation's first antilynching campaign from Memphis, Tennessee, Ida Bell Wells was the first of eight children born to James Wells, a carpenter, and Elizabeth (Arrington) Wells, a well-known cook in Holly Springs, Mississippi. Her parents worked for Spires Boling, a contractor and architect, as slaves and then as freed persons until 1867, when a dispute over voting rights prompted James to remove his family and work for himself.

Ida Wells attended Shaw University (later Rust College), established in 1866 by the Freedmen's Aid Society, in Holly Springs. Her self-described "butterfly existence" (*Crusade for Justice*, 16) abruptly came to an end in 1878, when both parents



FIG. 128. Journalist and clubwoman Ida B. Wells-Barnett led a national antilynching movement as a young woman and continued to speak out against racism the rest of her life.

succumbed to a yellow fever epidemic, forcing Wells to end her days as a student and teach in a rural school to support her two brothers and three sisters. About 1880, the disposition of the family was such that Wells could accept an aunt's invitation to move to Memphis, Tennessee, where she eventually secured a teaching position in the Memphis public schools.

Wells's activist career began in earnest on September 15, 1883, when, after being forcibly removed from the first-class Ladies Car on the Chesapeake, Ohio, and Southwestern Railway, she won suit against the railroad in the lower courts. (The decision would be overturned in the state supreme court in 1887.) A request to write about the experience for a Baptist

weekly, the *Living Way*, marked the beginning of her journalistic career, during which her writings on politics, race matters, and advice columns under the name "Iola" were picked up by the *New York Freeman*, the *Gate City Press* (Kansas City, Missouri), and the *Fisk University Herald* (Nashville, Tennessee), among others. In 1889, the "Princess of the Press," as she was anointed by her colleagues, was elected a secretary of the Afro-American Press Association — the first woman to hold an office

in the organization—and became a co-owner of the Memphis *Free Speech and Headlight*, a militant weekly. Two years later, Wells was dismissed from her teaching position after criticizing the school system for its inadequate facilities and instances of exploitative sexual relations between black female teachers and white board members.

Amidst growing racial tension in Memphis, a close friend of Wells, Thomas Moss, president of a black grocery cooperative, was lynched on March 9, 1892, with two other employees, Calvin McDowell and Henry Stewart. When the only arrests made for the crime were enraged black members of the community, she counseled armed self-defense, led a successful boycott of the city's trolley cars, and, in accordance with Moss's last words, encouraged thousands to abandon Memphis for the new territories opening up in the West.

The murders would also transform the journalist into one of the nation's first investigative reporters, as Wells began culling newspaper accounts, visiting sites, and interviewing witnesses to meticulously document that, as in the case of Moss, the growing number of lynchings was due to economic competition and racial "control"—not the oft-claimed charge that black men were being summarily killed for raping white women. Her May 21, 1892, editorial observing that "rapes" were in fact often consensual liaisons between white women and black men, resulted in her newspaper office's being destroyed and threats that she would be lynched herself if found in Memphis.

Wells moved to New York City, where she wrote articles in the *New York Age* on lynching. In October 1892, black women activists from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, held a testimonial on Wells's behalf and raised money to publish her pamphlet *Southern Horrors*, which documented that of the 728 lynchings between 1884 and 1892, only a third of the victims were even accused of rape, much less guilty of it. The testimonial marked, as Wells noted, "the real beginning of the club movement among the colored women in this country" (*Crusade for Justice*, 81), which culminated in 1896 with formation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the first national black woman's organization in the United States.

In 1893, Wells was invited to the British Isles by Isabelle Fyvie Mayo and Catherine Impey, coeditors of the journal *Anti Caste*, the publication of the Society for the Brotherhood of Man, to talk about lynching. After Wells returned to the United States in 1894, the campaign, widely covered in the British and American press, resulted in the formation of British antilynching committees made up of influential journalists, members of Parliament, and such prominent figures as the Duke of Argyle and the Archbishop of Canterbury. This development in turn spurred stateside attention to the issue, and such Americans as the labor leader Samuel Gompers and Woman's Christian Temperance Union president FRANCES E. WILLARD—despite an earlier confrontation with Wells—lent their names to the cause.

Between trips to England, Wells made an appearance at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago to protest the exclusion of African American contributions to the world and to distribute a pamphlet, *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*. It was published with the assistance of Frederick Douglass, who wrote an essay in the pamphlet as did Wells, and of Ferdinand L. Barnett, a widowed

lawyer with militant views, who was the founder of Chicago's first black weekly, the *Conservator*. By the time Wells was on her second tour of England, she was receiving letters of courtship from Barnett, and soon after her return, the two were married on June 27, 1895, in Chicago's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church.

A year later, Ferdinand Barnett was named assistant state's attorney and headed the Negro Bureau for the Republican presidential campaign. Also in 1896, the couple began their family with the birth of Charles Aked, followed by Herman Kohlsaat in 1897, Ida Bell Jr. in 1901, and Alfreda Marguerita in 1904. Although the birth of her children forced Ida to recede from the public periodically, compelling suffragist Susan B. Anthony to bemoan her "divided duty" (*Crusade for Justice*, 255), Wells-Barnett still maintained a strenuous schedule. In 1896, though still nursing her first-born, she stumped the state for the Women's Republican State Central Committee (upon its promise to provide a nurse at every stop). In the following year—through the Ida B. Wells Club, established in 1893—she helped establish the first black kindergarten in the city at Bethel Church. The lynching of a black South Carolina postmaster, Frazier Baker, in 1898 sent her, infants in tow, to Washington, D.C., where she was part of an Illinois delegation of civic leaders and congressional representatives who waited on President William McKinley. As one of the group's spokespersons asking for federal intervention, she made "a very clear and able presentation of the case and the President was much impressed by what she said," the *Cleveland Gazette* reported on April 9, 1898. Although the Justice Department took the unprecedented step of going to South Carolina to try the case, little could be done about the refusal of the jury to convict the perpetrators. Some months later, Wells-Barnett traveled to Virden, Illinois, when Governor John R. Tanner refused to give protection to two hundred black strikebreakers whom he characterized as "colored ex-convicts and scalawags" (Springfield, Illinois, *Record*, October 22, 1898). The black men had been shot at by white coal miners, and Wells-Barnett, despite her husband's being a state appointee, publicly criticized the governor and arranged that the men tell their side of the issue at two mass meetings in Springfield and Chicago, respectively.

Although she was sometimes depicted as being too individualistic to work with others, the formation of effective organizations to press protection and protest was important in her activist concerns. She welcomed the establishment of the Afro-American Council in 1898—in which she served as secretary and then as head of the Anti-Lynching Bureau—particularly in the wake of the Wilmington, North Carolina, riot that resulted in the death of several Blacks, the fleeing of thousands more, and the turning out of an interracial coalition of elected city officials. Both Barnetts would stop being active in the Afro-American Council only when Booker T. Washington's allies began to dominate it in 1902. By that time, Wells-Barnett was the most outspoken critic of Washington. As early as 1897, Wells-Barnett had argued that Washington was making a great mistake "in imagining that black people could gain their rights merely by making them factors in industrial life" (*Washington Colored American*, January 7, 1897). Perhaps she was most disturbed by the Tuskegee educator's oft-expressed view that the criminal be-

havior of Blacks was also responsible for lynching, and his implication that with sufficient funding he and Tuskegee could ameliorate such pathology. Between 1900 and 1904, Wells-Barnett also published views in direct contradistinction to Washington's in mainstream publications, including the *Independent*, *Arena*, and *World Today*.

Ideology was also responsible, in part, for Wells-Barnett's becoming inactive in the National Association of Colored Women, when, after its 1899 convention in Chicago, she unsuccessfully challenged the reelection of then Washington ally Mary Church Terrell as president. It would not be the last time the two prominent activists would cross swords.

In lieu of the other organizations, Wells-Barnett worked with the Equal Opportunity League, founded in 1903 by Chicago anti-Bookerite activists Charles E. Bentley and Edward H. Morris; and she continued to work with Illinois women's organizations, both black and interracial. Wells-Barnett believed that white women activists had an important role to play in terms of community uplift in general and lynching in particular, and therefore that it was important that black women "emancipate" their white sisters from prejudice. Wells-Barnett had longstanding memberships in the Illinois Equal Suffrage Organization and the Chicago Political Equality League. Although she was critical of JANE ADDAMS's views about lynching, Wells-Barnett made common cause with her on numerous occasions. In 1903, for example, she enjoined the Hull-House reformer to lead an interracial group that successfully put an end to pro-school-segregation articles in the *Chicago Tribune*.

Wells-Barnett served as vice-president of the Frederick Douglass Center established by CELIA WOOLLEY, a white Unitarian minister, writer, and settlement house worker. Wells-Barnett organized black women to help fund the center, and Woolley, after some difficulty in finding a site where the owner would permit Blacks to meet, eventually found a building on Chicago's South Side. Subsequently, Woolley moved her own family into the center, which became the locus of black and white civic leaders who provided recreational and instructional facilities for young people, as well as of a forum for educational lectures and political speakers. By 1906, Chicago clubwoman FANNIE BARRIER WILLIAMS boasted that there were between three and four hundred black and white members, both women and men, as well as a woman's club, established the year before, numbering seventy women. On several occasions, Woolley and other white woman reformers of the center showed their courage when they refused to be intimidated by articles in the daily press denigrating the interracial teas that featured "White women and Negresses" (*Voice of the Negro*, December 1904). Nevertheless, the disaffection of Wells-Barnett began with the presumption on Woolley's part that a white woman should preside over the center's woman's club, then reached a climax when the president, Mary R. Plummer, implied that black criminality was largely to blame for the bloody Atlanta race riot of 1906. Similarly, Woolley probably showed evidence of a similar point of view, one revealed in her telling Booker T. Washington allies in Chicago that she thought W. E. B. Du Bois's poignant elegy, "The Litany of Atlanta," written in response to the violence, was "sickening" (S. L. Williams to Emmett J. Scott, October 22, 1906, Booker T. Washington Papers).

Of personal concern that year was her husband's unsuccessful campaign to become the first Black elected to a municipal judgeship. At first count, with the support of Chief Judge Harry Olson, and a brilliant record as states attorney, it appeared that he had eked out a narrow victory despite a virulently racist reaction to his candidacy. But the demand for a recount resulted in the finding that he had in fact lost by 304 votes out of a total of 200,000 cast. Wells-Barnett bitterly pointed out that the decisive reason for the margin of defeat was the antipathy of black ministers whom she had earlier antagonized and, though she does not mention it, who were also loyal to other factions of the party.

Subsequent issues in Chicago, such as the failure to stop a showing of Thomas Dixon's racist play *The Clansman* in the city's theaters despite the effort of Jane Addams, and nationally, such as the unjust dismissal of black soldiers after a riot in Brownsville, Texas, helped make the Springfield, Illinois, riot of 1908 a proverbial "last straw." Precipitated by a white woman's accusation of rape (later recanted), it resulted in the lynching of two Blacks and the deployment of five thousand militia to restore order. The Springfield riot held special significance. Although there had been such violence in the North before—including two 1903 lynchings in Belleville and Danville, Illinois, respectively—that this one took place in the home of Abraham Lincoln would awaken a neoabolitionist sentiment in the Northeast that challenged the accommodationist strategies of Booker T. Washington. In Illinois, a black legislator, Edward Green, was able to pass a bill that stipulated the removal of any law enforcement official who did not make adequate efforts to prevent the illegal removal of a prisoner under his "protection." The riot also led Wells-Barnett to organize the Negro Fellowship League in September 1908. The first meetings of the league were held in her home and were attended by young men from her Bible class at Grace Presbyterian Church.

Her hopes for an effective national organization to achieve equal rights for Blacks were no doubt buoyed by the "Call," which appeared in February of 1909 and called for a conference of progressive activists to be held in New York City. The author of the circular, which was distributed across the country, was Oswald Garrison Villard, son of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and publisher of the *New York Evening Post*. According to Mary White Ovington—the New York settlement house worker who was a catalyst for the formation of what became known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—eight Chicagoans signed the "Call." The group included three women: Jane Addams, who would later preside over the Chicago branch of the organization; MARY McDOWELL, the University of Chicago Settlement director; and Wells-Barnett, who was also the only African American in the city to respond to this first appeal. In May, Wells-Barnett attended the first conference, where she gave an address later published as *Lynching: Our National Crime*, which called for the implementation of a federal antilynching law.

Although the NAACP would subsequently take Wells-Barnett's lead and make lynching the focus of its concerns, Wells-Barnett's relationship with the civil rights organization was troubled from the beginning. Writing about the first meeting, W. E. B. Du Bois, the only black officer of the group, described a woman, undoubtedly Wells-Barnett, who, during the

deliberations, jumped to her feet and exclaimed that their white supporters were being treacherous. Subsequently, Du Bois dropped her name from the "Founding Forty" list of the organization, explaining that he wanted to replace it with Charles Bentley's name, since he thought Wells-Barnett could be "represented" by Celia Parker Woolley of the Frederick Douglass Center. After the adverse reaction to Wells-Barnett's exclusion—particularly that of John Milholland, businessman and founder of the Constitution League, who volunteered to resign so that she might be put in his place—she was restored to the list and named a member of the executive committee. She spoke at the NAACP's meeting in May 1910, which formalized the organization. She also convinced the board to authorize her and Frances Blascoer, the secretary of the organization, to attend the National Association of Colored Women meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, to talk about the NAACP. Although her first appearance at an NACW conference in almost a decade met with enthusiastic applause at the beginning, Wells-Barnett's decision to call for a resolution to make the editor of the *National Notes*, the NACW organ, an elected instead of a perpetual office, elicited much vocal disapproval. The editor of the publication was Margaret Murray Washington, wife of Booker T. Washington. By the following year, Wells-Barnett complained of being excluded from the counsels of the NAACP and attenuated her relationship with it.

Wells-Barnett was more appreciated on other fronts. Between the two NAACP meetings, she had traveled to the scene of the lynching of "Froggie" James in November 1909 by a mob in Cairo, Illinois. There she was able to mobilize the support of reluctant black local leaders and successfully argue the legal case to deny Cairo's Sheriff, Frank Davis, from being reinstated by then Governor Charles S. Deneen, in accordance with the antilynching law passed after the Springfield riot. Understanding the important principle behind Wells-Barnett's achievement, the *Chicago Defender*, February 19, 1910, praised her as "the race's greatest advocate," and another black newspaper, the *Springfield Forum*, though lamenting that a woman was doing the work "naturally presumed to be that of the men," characterized Wells-Barnett as "the heroine of her age" and concluded that "the nation is better off for her having lived in it" (*Forum*, December 11, 1909).

The following year, it was Wells-Barnett who first alerted the community and served as liaison to Oswald Villard regarding the plight of Steve Green, an Arkansas tenant farmer who, after killing his landlord in self-defense, fled to Chicago. In August 1910, he was betrayed by an acquaintance, and a group of community leaders was able to prevent his extradition to Arkansas, where he faced certain death. For her role in the Green case, the *Chicago Defender* described her as "that watchdog of human life and liberty" (September 24, 1910).

When it became necessary for Green to hide from authorities, he found refuge in the new headquarters of the Negro Fellowship League located on South State Street. Wells-Barnett was able to acquire the space as a result of a public appearance in which she talked about the exclusionist policies of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the need for an uplifting institution. After the speech, she was approached by Jessie Lawson, wife of *Chicago Daily News* publisher and YMCA

benefactor Victor Lawson, who agreed to fund a reading room. The three-story Negro Fellowship League building, which opened on May 1, 1910, was subsequently also used to lodge homeless men and provide job placement services; it also became the site for a number of black women's organizations, including the Ideal Woman's Club, of which Wells-Barnett was, in that year, listed as president.

One of the concerns of the club was woman suffrage; in the same year, Wells-Barnett founded the Women's Second Ward Republican Club, the stated purpose of which was "to assist the men in getting better laws for the race and having representation in everything which tends to the uplift of the city and the race" (*Broad Ax*, April 9, 1912). Meetings featured both black and white suffragists, and attendance reached two hundred. The timeliness and popularity of the suffrage organization was due, in part, to the burgeoning black population of the 2nd Ward, which in 1910 made up 25 percent of the 42,801 population and in five years would grow to 40 percent of the 63,342 residents in the ward. The group also reflected a new phase of the woman's suffrage movement that saw such organizations proliferate among Chicago's ethnic and working-class women.

Anticipating Illinois's becoming, in 1913, the first state east of the Mississippi to grant women the vote for presidential electors and township officials, Wells-Barnett organized the Alpha Suffrage Club in January of that year. The club, Illinois's first black woman's suffrage organization—and also the first to hold meetings in Bridewell prison for the edification of female inmates—soon grew to a membership of two hundred women. Wells-Barnett, with money raised from the club, went to Washington, D.C., to attend the National American Woman Suffrage Association's parade in March 1913—only to discover that the national organizers, for fear of alienating southern white suffragists, did not want Blacks to march. Refusing to accede to such a demand, Wells-Barnett waited for the parade to begin, then suddenly materialized from the crowd and determinedly took her place amidst the other Illinois suffragists. On either side of her were two supportive white members of the contingent: Belle Squire, who had helped Wells-Barnett organize the Alpha Suffrage Club, and Virginia Brooks, the acknowledged leader of the younger suffragists.

Back in Chicago, the Alpha Suffrage Club prepared for enfranchisement by using the block system to canvass the predominantly black wards to get women registered to vote in the aldermanic primary held February 1914. Although during the canvass the women were in some cases met with jeers and sarcasm, Wells-Barnett told them not to be intimidated and encouraged them to return to the neighborhoods. By the time of the election, three thousand women were registered in the 2nd Ward, and when their support for a black independent in lieu of the regular machine candidate nearly resulted in the latter's defeat, they got the attention of the political establishment. The near miss prompted the black Republican Oscar De Priest and the ward organization president, Samuel Ettleson, to promise the women that if they voted for the party regular, the Republicans would fill the next vacancy with a black candidate. True to their word, De Priest was nominated for the aldermanic seat for the following year, as were two other black candidates from other factions. Refusing to split the black vote, which would re-

sult in the election of a white Democrat, the Suffrage Club members had all three candidates come before them to seek their endorsement. They chose De Priest, and, on February 27, 1915, he won the Republican primary and subsequently became the first black alderman in the history of Chicago. De Priest praised the women's work and acuity that had given him a three thousand vote margin in a field of five. In return, Wells-Barnett had hoped that De Priest would support her husband, who was then in private practice, when he sought the judgeship again.

That Wells-Barnett was not attuned to the new era of machine politics was evident when, at the height of her political influence, she switched her support from the successful mayoralty candidate, William Hale Thompson—for whom she had been actively campaigning in the 1915 election—to Judge Harry Olson. The latter, like Ferdinand Barnett, belonged to the progressive wing of the Republican Party and had not only supported Ferdinand's candidacy but, with the termination of Lawson's financial support of the Fellowship League, had come to Wells-Barnett's aid. The judge had augmented Wells-Barnett's income by appointing her, in 1913, as an adult probation officer in the municipal courts, the first such appointment given to a person of color. The meaning of such monies to the Barnetts was evident in their legal and personal support for numerous individuals for whom they appeared before pardon boards, obtaining commuted sentences and even releases from prison. One of the most publicized cases, begun in 1915, was that of Joe Campbell, a Joliet prisoner accused of setting a fire that killed the warden's wife. While Campbell was awaiting execution, Wells-Barnett, convinced that his confession had been obtained by coercion and that he was innocent, took Campbell's case. She and her husband spent the next three years and much of Ferdinand Barnett's professional and personal resources to take the case all the way to the Illinois Supreme Court. In the end, Campbell's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

The Barnetts' loyalty to Olson, despite his late and politically disastrous entrance into the race, resulted in Wells-Barnett's losing her appointment as an adult probation officer. The Negro Fellowship League was forced to move into smaller quarters. Although the struggle to keep it open was made even more difficult by competing organizations like the black YMCA and the Urban League, the Negro Fellowship League continued to be a base, until 1920, from which Wells-Barnett would meet the new challenges of the postwar years.

Coinciding with the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 and the showing of D. W. Griffith's salacious film *Birth of a Nation*, the migration of African Americans—urged on by oppressive economic and social conditions in the South and job opportunities in the North—became, as one historian described it, “a mass movement” (Spear, 129). In Chicago alone, fifty thousand mostly poor, mostly uneducated Blacks made their way to the city's South Side between 1916 and 1919. The consequent racial upheavals found Wells-Barnett responding as she had in the past. In the immediate wake of the East St. Louis “massacre,” where between fifty and one hundred Blacks were killed, Wells-Barnett, braving police barricades, traveled to the city, where she gathered first-hand information, published the victims' side of the story, and subsequently attacked the states attorney for fo-

cusings primarily on indictments against Blacks. In 1918, with little support from her more cautious peers, she determined to memorialize black soldiers in Houston, Texas, who had been courtmartialled and hung for firing on the city in response to white harassment. She passed out “Martyred Soldiers” buttons despite warnings from the Justice Department that she could be arrested under the new Espionage and Sedition laws. She implored Chicago city authorities—who had done little about the twenty-six bombings of the last two years aimed at black residences in once all-white neighborhoods and their realtors—“to set the wheels of justice in motion before . . . Chicago would be disgraced by some of the bloody outrages that have disgraced East St. Louis” (“Voice of the People,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1919). Her words were a harbinger of things to come. Three weeks later in Chicago, the stoning and drowning of a black boy for swimming in a contested “white area” of Lake Michigan precipitated three days of violence that resulted in the death of 23 black and 15 white individuals and injuries to another 537 persons. In this case, she ended her participation in the Protective Association led by ministers and other civic leaders when they insisted on asking the same attorney general whom Wells-Barnett had criticized in East St. Louis to take over the Chicago investigations.

By this time, Wells-Barnett had cast her fate with more radical organizations, such as the National Equal Rights League, headed by journalist Monroe Trotter, and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). In 1918, she was elected a UNIA delegate to the Versailles Peace talks held at the end of World War I in Paris, France. However, she was now marked as “a far more dangerous agitator than Marcus Garvey” by the Justice Department and denied a passport (Hill, 329).

A year after the Chicago riot, Wells-Barnett, amidst criticism that her activism undermined efforts by both local and national organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League, was forced to close the Negro Fellowship League. In that year, she also became ill, and after being hospitalized, wondered, in her autobiography, if it was time to look out for her own personal interests instead of those of the race, which had drawn so much criticism and so little financial support. Perhaps her final answer was reflected in the last decade of her life. A year after she was hospitalized, Wells-Barnett went undercover to Little Rock, Arkansas, where she interviewed black union members sentenced to be executed for killing white persons in self-defense. Her articles on the men were published at a crucial time in the legal proceedings, which eventually led to commuted terms and the freeing of the men. In 1924, she was defeated by Mary McLeod Bethune for the presidency of the NACW. In the mid-twenties, she and other progressive black Illinois clubwomen supported A. Phillip Randolph's effort to unionize Blacks in his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids, which went against the grain of most of Chicago's black leadership. In 1929 she was head of the Conference of Women's Republican Clubs, and in 1930 she ran, unsuccessfully, for a state senate seat as an independent.

At age sixty-nine, after a brief illness, Ida B. Wells-Barnett died of uremia, a kidney disease, at Dailey Hospital, Chicago, and was buried at Oak Woods Cemetery. Nine years later, as a result of an intensive campaign conducted by women's clubs and

civic and social organizations, the Chicago Housing Authority changed the name of South Parkway Garden Apartments to the Ida B. Wells Garden Homes.

Sources. The Ida B. Wells Papers, including her diary, are in UC Spec. Coll. The Chicago Woman's Club records are at the CHS. Correspondence in the Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, has material about Wells-Barnett. The primary source of information on Ida B. Wells-Barnett's life is *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (1970), edited by her daughter, Alfreda Duster. Articles by Wells-Barnett were published in *New York Age*, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, the *Chicago Conservator*, and the *Independent*. Selected works by Wells-Barnett include "Afro-Americans and Africa," *A.M.E. Church Review*, July 1882; *On Lynchings: Southern Horrors* (1892); "Booker T. Washington and His Critics," *World Today*, April 1904; "How Enfranchisement Stops Lynchings," *Original Rights Magazine*, June 1910; "Lynch Law in All Its Phases," *Our Day*, May 1893; *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, with Frederick Douglass, I. Garland Penn, and Ferdinand L. Barnett (1893); *A Red Record* (1895); "Lynch Law in America," *Arena*, January 1900; "Lynching and the Excuse for It," *Independent*, May 16, 1901; *Mob Rule in New Orleans* (1900); "The Negro's Case in Equity," *Independent*, April 26, 1900; "Our Country's Lynching Record," *Survey*, February 1, 1913; *The Arkansas Race Riot* (1922). Reports about Wells-Barnett's activities include untitled newspaper articles in the *Cleveland Gazette*, April 8, 1898; *Washington Colored American*, January 7, 1897; *Voice of the Negro*, December 1904; and the article, "Voice of the People," *CT*, July 7, 1919. Bettina Aptheker, ed., *Lynching and Rape: An Exchange of Views by Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells* (1977), includes Hull-House's head resident's views. Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (1993), has an analysis of the mainstream settlement movement's relationship to Blacks, including a discussion of Jane Addams and Louise deKoven Bowen of Hull-House. Anna Massa, "Black Women in the 'White City,'" *Phylon*, Winter 1965, discusses the race issue and the politics of white clubwomen and black clubwomen during the World's Columbian Exposition. Works on black clubwomen include Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb* (1933) and *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs* (1922); Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 33, 1991; Deborah Gray White, "The Cost of Club Work, the Price of Black Feminism," in *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lesock (1993); Anne Meis Knupfer, *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (1996). Selected books and dissertations about black women in American history that include information on Ida B. Wells-Barnett are Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (1984); Dorothy Sterling, *Black Foremothers: Three Lives* (1979); Mildred I. Thompson, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett: An Exploratory Study of an American-Black Woman, 1893-1930*, vol. 15 of *Black Women in United States History*, ed. by Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Tiffany R. L. Patterson, and Lillian S. Williams (1990); Emilie Maureen Townes, "The Social and Moral Perspective of Ida B. Wells-Barnett as Resources for a Contemporary Afro-Feminist Christian Social Ethic" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern Univ., 1989); Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Afro-Americans in the Struggle for Woman Suffrage" (Ph.D. diss., Howard Univ., 1977); Karen M. Mason, "Testing the Boundaries: Women, Politics, and Gender Roles in Chicago, 1890-1930" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1991); Wanda Hendricks, "The Politics of Race: Black Women in Illinois, 1890-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Purdue Univ., 1990). Works on the history of Blacks in Chicago include Charles Bran-

ham, "Black Chicago: Accommodationist Politics before the Great Migration," in *The Ethnic Frontier: Group Survival in Chicago and the Midwest*, ed. Melvin Holli and Peter d'A. Jones (1977); St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945); Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of A Negro Ghetto 1890-1920* (1967); Beth L. Bates, "The Unfinished Task of Emancipation: Protest Politics Come of Age in Black Chicago, 1925-1943" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1997). See also Robert A. Hill, ed., *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* (1983), and the articles in the *Springfield, Illinois Record*, October 22, 1898, and *Broad Ax*, April 9, 1912.

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