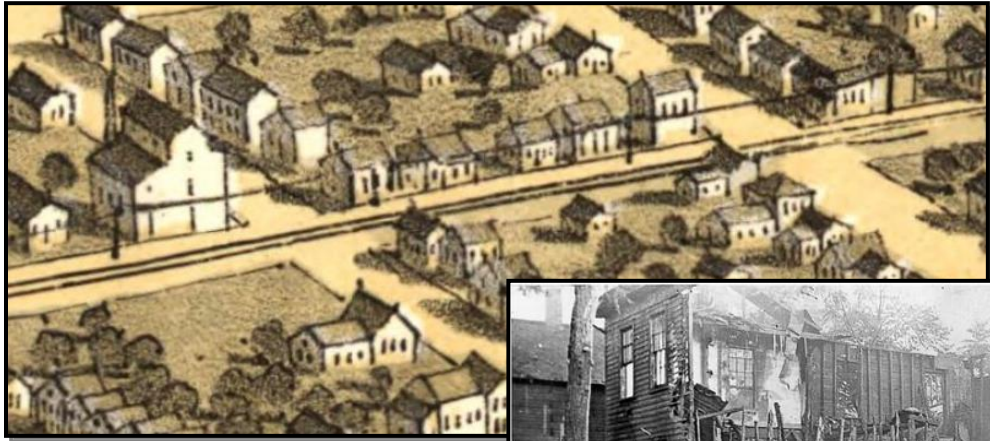


***RESULTS OF PHASE III DATA RECOVERY
FOR THE SPRINGFIELD RAIL IMPROVEMENTS PROJECT,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS***

**VOLUME I:
PROJECT INTRODUCTION**



Fever River Research, Inc.
Springfield, Illinois

2024
[5/31/2024]

***RESULTS OF PHASE III DATA RECOVERY
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**VOLUME I:
PROJECT INTRODUCTION**

By:
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Prepared for:
City of Springfield
Springfield, Illinois

and

Federal Railroad Administration
Washington, D.C.

2024

Abstract

This report serves as an introduction for a ten-volume set of reports documenting the series of Phase III archaeological mitigations conducted for the Springfield Rail Improvements Project (SRIP), with particular emphasis on archaeological site 11SG1432 (the Race Riot Site). Located in Springfield, Illinois, Site 11SG1432 was first identified during the Phase I archaeological investigations for the proposed Carpenter Street Underpass project, which was the first component of the improvements being undertaken by the City of Springfield along the Tenth Street rail corridor to accommodate consolidated and expanded rail traffic through the city. The remains of seven nineteenth century houses (six of frame construction, one of brick construction; all pre-dating circa 1870) were documented within that portion of Site 11SG1432 that lies within the proposed project right-of-way. The Phase II archaeological testing conducted in 2014 documented the excellent subsurface integrity of this site, and resulted in the determination of the site's National Register eligibility under Criterion D (archaeology). The site was determined to have local significance in respect to its potential to contribute substantially to our understanding of the lifeways of the city's Black occupants during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Additionally, the site was determined nationally significant under Criterion A (social history) for its association with the 1908 Springfield Race Riot, which was a seminal event in the history of the city as well as of national importance due to its role in the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Subsequent consultation with interested parties negotiated the protection of a part of the site, which is under City of Springfield ownership and awaiting potential inclusion into the National Park Service (as a national monument). That part of the site that could not be protected from the proposed rail improvements were subjected to Phase III archaeological mitigation (data recovery) from April through November 2019. This multi-volume report details the result of the archaeological investigations at the five house sites destroyed in August 1908 by a white mob driven by racial hate and attempts to give new insights into the character and lifeways of the individuals impacted by that horrific event.

Acknowledgements

A great number of individuals have contributed to the success of this multi-year project. This project was undertaken simultaneously with the Phase III archaeological mitigation of the adjacent Portuguese Site (11SG1433), and it is impossible to distinguish between these two projects with regard to the assistance given to us by the multiple individuals and institutions who contributed to the success of this project.

First and foremost, I would like to thank the City of Springfield for their assistance. Ultimately, it was the City of Springfield's rail improvement project that spurred the archaeological investigations. The project has spanned the tenure of three mayors (J. Michael Houston 2011-2015; James Langfelder 2015-2023; and Misty Busher 2023-present) and multiple Directors of Public Works (Mark Mahoney 2011-2019; and Nate Bottom, Chief City Engineer and former Director of Public Works).

As for state and federal support, we would like to acknowledge the unfailing support of Nikki Budzinski, Rodney Davis, Tammy Duckworth, Richard Durbin, as well as the staff of the National Park Service, (particularly Tim Good and Tim Townsend, Lincoln Home National Historic Site, Springfield) and the Library of Congress (particularly its Director, Dr. Carla Hayden).

The staff of the Preservation Services Division, Illinois Historic Preservation Agency (subsequently Preservation Services Division, Illinois Department of Natural Resources) who have assisted with the various stages of the National Historic Preservation Act review and compliance efforts have included Anne Haaker (Deputy State Historic Preservations Officer), Rachel Liebowitz, (Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer), C. J. Wallace, and Staff archaeologists Joseph Phillippe and Jeff Kruchten.

On the federal level, we would like to acknowledge the assistance of the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA), particularly Andrea Martin and Laura Shick (Environmental Protection Specialists, Washington, D.C.). Assisting the FRA with their review of the draft report was the consulting firm of Rummel, Klepper and Kahl (RKK; Raleigh, North Carolina) whose staff included Kristina Miller (Project Manager) and Jason Shellenhamer (archaeologist). Kristen Zschomler, with the FRA, was responsible for the final review of the report.

All work conducted by Fever River Research for the City of Springfield was conducted under subcontract with Hanson Professional Services, Inc. We would like to thank Sergio "Satch" Pecori (Chairman and CEO, Hanson Professional Services, Inc.), James Moll (Vice President and Project Manager), Mike Mendenhall (Senior Structural Engineer and Project Manager) and Kevin Seals (Chief Environmental Scientist) for their continued support and encouragement on this project.

This work could not have been accomplished without the assistance of James Burke (Burke Excavating, Inc.). Jim's skill with the backhoe and his common-sense approach to the staging and implementation of the mechanical excavations necessary to complete this complex task was greatly appreciated. Beginning in 2000 with work on the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library

and Museum project, Burke has been working with Fever River Research for over 23 years and has gained keen insights into our archaeological needs.

Besides Mansberger and Stratton (who participated in all aspects of the field and laboratory work), Fever River Research field and laboratory crew in 2014 included: Melody Chester, Tobias Donaker, Ruth Jorgenson, Steve Lewis, Kathryn Powell, and Brad Williams. The 2019 field and laboratory crew included: Katie Brethorst, Chelsea Coates, Tommie Cotton, Paul Golladay, Scott Hewitt, Steve Lewis, Josh McCormick, Dr. Terrance Martin, Laura Reed, Clark Sturdevant, and Brad Williams. The 2020 field crew included: Chelsea Coates, Scott Hewitt, and Yekaterina “Kat” Pruitt. The 2014 laboratory crew included Rhonda Buckhold, Ruth Jorgenson, and Brad Williams. Much of the preliminary laboratory work during the 2019 field season was conducted by the above-mentioned field crew. Subsequent to the completion of the field work in late 2019, the majority of the laboratory work was conducted by Chelsea Coates. Chelsea also conducted a detailed analysis of the House E fabrics, integrating the results of that research into her Masters of Arts thesis (Coates 2022). Dr. Carmen Keist (Bradley University, Peoria) assisted with the fabric research and analysis. Video documentation of the fieldwork was conducted by Storyteller Videos (Springfield). Dr. Terrance Martin (Illinois State Museum) also conducted the faunal analysis for the project.

The field crew participating in the mitigation of the Price-Edwards Site (Site 19, 11SG1532) and the Sappington Site (Site 20, 11SG1533) during summer 2022 included Jessica Anderson, Ethan Anderson, Tabatha Chasteen, Chelsea Coates, Paul Golladay, Scott Hewitt, Adam Krall, Floyd Mansberger, Dr. Terrance Martin, Yekaterina “Kat” Pruitt, Madeline Robinson, Christopher Stratton, and Trey Tholen. Subsequent post-field laboratory work (artifact processing, inventory, and CADD) was conducted by Tabatha Chasteen, under the supervision of Mansberger and Stratton. Aerial drone photographs of the excavations were taken by Leighton Morrissey.

We were assisted with historical research by both Curtis Mann (Sangamon Valley Collections, Lincoln Library, Springfield), the staff of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library (particularly with access to photographs and maps), as well as staff at the Smithsonian’s African American History Museum (Washington, D.C). We greatly appreciate Ms. Leslee Randall sharing her family research relating to Robert Wright (House B) with us, as well as engaging conversations with historical fictional writer Nancy Horan regarding the Donnegan family. The assistance of Brooke Morgan (Curator of Anthropology, Illinois State Museum) and DeAnn Watt (Illinois State Museum) with curation issues was, and continues to be, greatly appreciated. The staff of the Illinois State Military Museum (Springfield) has assisted with research relating to the Illinois National Guard and the military service records of Robert Wright (House B).

Beginning at an early point in this project, several local organizations (and their membership) consulted during the Section 106 process contributed insights into the history of the Springfield Race Riot and its impact on the community. We would particularly like to acknowledge the Springfield chapter of the NAACP and would specifically like to thank Theresa Haley (President, NAACP Illinois State Conference) and her many volunteers who also participated enthusiastically in the fieldwork at various points in time. We would also like to thank the Springfield African American History Museum (Springfield).

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the numerous individuals who happened to “stop by” and ask as to what we were doing, and thank them for their unwavering support and fascination for the project.

Floyd Mansberger
Christopher Stratton

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Introduction

The Springfield Railroad Improvements Project (SRIP and/or Project) is a multi-year construction project aimed at relocating rail traffic from the City's Third Street Rail Corridor onto an improved and expanded Tenth Street Corridor. The purpose of the SRIP is to accommodate a projected increase in passenger and freight rail traffic through Springfield in the near future. There presently are three principal rail lines passing through Springfield: the Union Pacific (UP) Railroad, which runs down Third Street; the Norfolk Southern (NS) Railroad, following Tenth Street; and the Canadian National (CN) Railroad, centered on Nineteenth Street. In 2011, the UP alone expected to increase the number of freight trains it runs through the city per day to twenty-two over the next few years. In the event funding is secured for high-speed passenger service between Chicago and St. Louis, eighteen passenger trains could also pass through Springfield on the UP's tracks per day, thereby bringing the total daily traffic on this line to forty trains (a figure independent of the current or future traffic on the NS and CN lines). An increase in rail traffic of this magnitude will present significant challenges to the residents of Springfield—challenges the SRIP is intended to address. The SRIP involves the expansion of the pre-existing 66-foot-wide railway right-of-way on Tenth Street to 140 feet in order to accommodate up to four sets of tracks, with two each being assigned to the UP and NS. An entirely new section of rail grade will be developed between Sangamon Avenue and Division Street to provide the UP access to the Tenth Street corridor (and thereby allowing that railroad to vacate Third Street).¹ This expanded, joint-use, rail corridor will extend for over four miles through Springfield, stretching from Sangamon Avenue on the north to Stanford Avenue on the south. In addition to the new grading and trackage put down, the SRIP also will involve the construction of six new underpasses and one overpass, and the reconstruction of four existing underpasses along the Tenth Street rail corridor. It also will reduce the number of at-grade rail crossing in the city from 68 to 32 (Figure 1).² A new Transportation Center referred to as the Hub, servicing Amtrak and local bus passengers, also will be built along the corridor. In addition, plans have been made for the construction of two new underpasses beneath the CN Railroad at South Grand Avenue and Ash Street. The SRIP has been built in phases as funding becomes available; and to facilitate this, the Tenth Street portion of the SRIP has been divided into six "Usable Segments" (Figure 2).

Participants in the SRIP include the City of Springfield (City), the Illinois Department of Transportation (IDOT), the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA), the Illinois State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), Illinois Commerce Commission (ICC), Norfolk Southern Corporation, and the Union Pacific Railroad Corporation. Funding sources for this project are varied and have included major federal grants distributed through the Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery (TIGER), Consolidated Rail Infrastructure and Safety Improvements (CRISI), and Rebuilding American Infrastructure with Sustainability and Equity

¹ The NS Railroad turns to the east, away from Tenth Street, at Division Street.

² <http://www.hanson-inc.com/news.aspx?page=news-release-text&articleid=hanson-submits-preliminary-plans-for-carpen-ter-str>; <http://springfieldrailroad.com/newsite/>

(RAISE) programs. Monies from the Grade Crossing Protection Fund (GCPF), managed by the ICC, have also been utilized.

In compliance with the provisions of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 (36 CFR 800, et. seq.), it was the responsibility of the City to assess the impact of the proposed construction activity associated with the new rail corridor and associated under/overpasses on cultural resources and/or historic properties. Fever River Research was hired as the cultural resource consultant for the project under subcontract with Hanson Professional Services, Inc. (Springfield, Illinois), the firm responsible for overall engineering design and management of the Project.

Fever River Research's involvement with the Project began in 2010, when the firm was tasked with preparing a cultural resources study of both the Third and Tenth Street rail corridors in order to evaluate the potential impacts posed by the expansion, or consolidation, of these corridors. At that time, although architectural resources were the primary focus of the study, potential archaeological resources were considered as well. Due to the extent of the study area, the cultural resources evaluation was broad stroked and did not entail a comprehensive survey of every property within the respective rail corridors. The cultural resources evaluation was part of a larger, multi-faceted study aimed at determining the best option for accommodating increased rail traffic through Springfield. The larger study evaluated the possible environmental, social, and economic impacts of several different alternatives for managing the increased rail traffic. Among the alternatives considered were: 1) double tracking the UP line, with limited additional improvements; 2) double tracking the UP and making additional changes (i.e., new grade separations, creation of quiet zones, and closure of certain streets) to it and possibly the NS and CN lines; 3) shifting the current rail traffic on the UP to the NS tracks and making additional improvements to the latter and CN line; and 4) moving the existing traffic on both the UP and CN to the NS tracks. The final recommendation of a preferred alternative was intended to best satisfy the purpose and needs of the study, respect environmental and cultural resources, consider public safety and mobility, and compliment community goals and plans.

The results of Fever River Research's initial study were presented in *Phase I Cultural Resources Evaluation: Springfield Railroad Corridor Study, Springfield, Illinois* (Stratton and Mansberger 2011). The report recommended that Tenth Street presented a better alternative for rail consolidation than Third Street, as viewed from a cultural resource perspective. The findings of the other studies prepared for the Springfield Rail Corridor Study also weighed in favor of consolidating UP freight and passenger traffic on Tenth Street. A formal record of decision to this effect was signed by the FRA in December 2012 (FRA 2012).³ Once the preferred alternative was selected, all buildings within areas of new alignment were surveyed in order to determine their eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Photographs of the buildings, with short descriptions and recommendations on NRHP eligibility, were provided in a separate report entitled *National Register of Historic Places Evaluation for Residential and*

³ In the FRA's record of decision, the preferred alternative is discussed as Alternative 2A, which proposed relocating the UP to the Tenth Street corridor and providing grade separations along Tenth and Nineteenth streets (FRA 2012:11).

Commercial Properties Proposed for Displacement Along the Tenth Street Corridor, Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield, Illinois (Mansberger and Stratton 2012).⁴

In late 2013, Fever River Research conducted a cultural resource assessment (literature search) of the Carpenter Street Underpass area to assess the impact of the proposed construction activity associated with the new underpass on the historic resources within the Area of Potential Effect (APE). Construction of the Carpenter Street Underpass was the first component of the greater SRIP and was subsequently referred to as Usable Segment I (US-I), which covers the three-block section of the Tenth Street rail corridor between Carpenter and Madison streets. The Phase I archaeological survey identified two potential archaeological sites (Sites 11SG1432 and 11SG1433) that were recommended for Phase II archaeological testing (Stratton and Mansberger 2014).⁵ The SHPO concurred with this assessment, and in the late summer and early fall of 2014, Fever River Research conducted Phase II testing at the two sites. At Site 11SG1432, these investigations discovered the foundation remains of seven nineteenth-century houses within the proposed project right-of-way (ROW), five which were destroyed by fire by a white mob during the Springfield Race Riot in August 1908. At 11SG1433, the Phase II testing uncovered the foundations remains of a nineteenth century house and adjacent store building, as well as with numerous pit features (particularly privies) that were associated with Portuguese immigrants from the island of Madeira who came to Springfield circa 1850 (see Mansberger and Stratton 2016). Additional Phase II testing was conducted along the Madison Street frontage of Site 11SG1432 in 2018 (Stratton and Mansberger 2018).

Based on these investigations, Sites 11SG1432 and 11SG1433 were determined to exhibit excellent archaeological integrity and thus were recommended as being eligible for listing in the NRHP, an assessment subsequently concurred with by the FRA and SHPO. Site 11SG1432, also known as Race Riot Site, was determined to have both local and national significance, due to the pivotal role the Springfield Race Riot had in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. The site's significance led to an extended period of discussions between participating agencies and consulting parties regarding potential options for the site in relation to the SRIP (i.e., avoidance, minimization, and mitigation), the details of which are discussed further below. In the end, it was determined to relocate the proposed right-of-way as best as circumstances would allow, and mitigate, through data recovery, those portions of Sites 11SG1432 (the Race Riot Site) and 11SG1433 (the Portuguese Site) located within the APE of the SRIP. Archaeological mitigation was conducted at Site 11SG1433 in late 2018 and early 2019, and at Site 11SG1432 in April-November 2019.⁶

Another portion of Site 11SG1433 (the Portuguese Site), located immediately adjacent to the Project APE, had been subject to archaeological mitigation in 2017 prior to the construction of a new medical office building for the adjacent St. John's Hospital. The latter work also was undertaken by Fever River Research for the Hospital Sisters Health System (HSHS). Although

⁴ Alternative 2A necessitated the removal of numerous buildings within the expanded railroad corridor. Although several buildings within the Area of Potential Effect (APE) of Alternative 2A were recommended as eligible to the NRHP by Fever River Research, the SHPO did not concur with this evaluation and no further compliance work was done in respect to documenting these properties.

⁶ A small portion of the Madison Street frontage of Site 11SG1432 associated with House A was mitigated separately in the fall of 2020.

representing a separate undertaking, this project had direct relevance to the early Portuguese immigrant community in Springfield—the basis on which Site 11SG1433 was determined eligible to the NRHP.

In 2016, Fever River Research prepared a Phase I archaeological survey of the remainder of the Tenth Street Corridor. Following the model previously employed for the Carpenter Street Underpass/Usable Segment I project area, this study was literature based (relying on the wealth of historic maps and other documentary sources available for Springfield) and focused on identifying sites within the corridor that were developed by circa 1870 and indicated a high probability of having good archaeological integrity. The results of this study were presented in the *Phase I Archaeological Survey for the Tenth Street Corridor, Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield, Illinois* (Stratton and Mansberger 2016). As part of this research, eighteen archaeological sites were recommended for Phase II testing. Two additional sites later were added to this list when the alignment of the revised railroad corridor was shifted 22 feet to the east of the originally proposed right-of-way in order reduce the impact to site 11SG1432 (Figure 3).⁷ The FRA and SHPO concurred with this recommendation, and the Phase II testing of these twenty sites was agreed to under a document entitled *First Amendment to the Programmatic Agreement Among The Federal Railroad Administration, Illinois State Historic Preservation Officer, Illinois Department of Transportation, and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Regarding Compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, For the Proposed Chicago to St. Louis High-Speed Rail Project*. This Programmatic Agreement (hereafter referred to as the PA) was finalized in May 2017.

Phase II investigations were carried out on Usable Segments II-VI at intervals, preliminary to construction being initiated on the different segments. Testing was carried out on five sites in Usable Segment II in 2017, one site in Usable Segment IV in 2018, six sites in Usable Segment V in 2021, four sites in Usable Segment III in 2022, and three sites in Usable Segment VI in 2023.⁸ The findings were presented in separate reports for each Usable Segment (see Stratton and Mansberger 2017, 2019, 2022a, 2022b, 2023). Seven of the twenty sites were recommended as eligible to the NRHP. Five of these sites (11SG1451, 11SG1524, 11SG1525, 11SG1528, and 11SG1544) effectively were mitigated during the Phase II investigations, through the excavation of the limited number of features determined to be significant at each site. At Sites 11SG1532 and 11SG1533, however, the Phase II testing found the well-preserved remains of two additional houses constructed by free Black residents in the early 1860s and later destroyed during the 1908 Springfield Race Riot. These two sites are located adjacent to one another, directly across Tenth Street to the east of the Race Riot Site. Those portions of Sites 11SG1532 and 11SG1533 located within the Project APE required formal Phase III mitigation, which was carried out in the summer of 2022. Table 1 is a summary of the archaeological investigations completed by Fever River Research for the SRIP between 2014 and 2023.

⁷ The twenty sites involved were given survey field numbers and later assigned Illinois Archaeological Survey (IAS) trinomial site numbers. Sites 19 and 20, for example, were recorded as Sites 11SG1532 and 1533 by the IAS.

⁸ Phase II testing originally recommended for Site 4 (the former site of a grist mill) was not undertaken, as the shifting of the alignment to the east resulted in the removal of the site from the new APE.

The multi-volume *Results of Phase III Data Recovery for the Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield* is a compilation of the archaeological mitigation work undertaken by Fever River Research, Inc. for the Springfield Railroad Improvements Project between 2014 and 2023. The methods and results of the long-term archaeological project undertaken by Fever River Research for the SRIP has been integrated into a ten-volume set of reports (Table 2). The present volume (Volume I) in this ten-volume set is a project overview which discusses the sequence of archaeological investigations conducted for this project to meet the City of Springfield's Section 106 compliance needs, and provides a detailed historical context for the project area. The accompanying historical context presented in Volume I is heavily weighted with respect to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century context related to the near northeast neighborhood and the seminal 1908 Race Riot, as the Race Riot Site (11SG1432) was the most extensive and complex of the mitigation projects. This site also attracted the most attention in respect to public interest and NRHP significance, with bipartisan support hopefully culminating in the creation of a National Monument at the site commemorating the establishment of the NAACP and rise of the Civil Rights movement in the United States.

The subsequent five volumes cover the results of the investigations undertaken at five houses within the Race Riot Site (11SG1432) destroyed in August 1908 by a white mob driven by racial hatred. Volume II, which details the results of the archaeological investigations at House A (301 North Tenth Street), includes a site-specific history of the property and its occupants, a description of the archaeological features uncovered, as well as a detailed inventory of the artifacts recovered from this house. Separate volumes similarly present the results of the archaeological investigations at Houses B through E. Volume III discusses the results of the investigations conducted at House B (311 North Tenth Street). Volume IV discusses the results of the investigations conducted at House C (313 North Tenth Street). Volumes V and VI discuss the results of the investigations conducted at House D (315/319 North Tenth Street) and House E (323 North Tenth Street), respectively.

Volume VII summarizes the results of similar archaeological mitigation undertaken at the Price-Edwards (11SG1532) and Sappington (11SG1533) sites located immediately to the east of, and across the street from the Race Riot Site (at 314 and 312 North Tenth Street, respectively). These two sites initially were settled by free-Black families in the early 1860s, and they too had houses on them that were destroyed during the August 1908 riot. Volume VIII similarly summarizes archaeological mitigation undertaken at the Portuguese Site (11SG1433), located immediately to the north of the Race Riot Site (and fronting Mason Street). The Portuguese Site represents the remains of residential dwellings and commercial properties initially constructed by Portuguese immigrants during the middle nineteenth century. Four adjacent historic lots—three with houses and one with a store building—were investigated at the Portuguese Site over the course of two separate undertakings, one of which was part of the Carpenter Street Underpass Project (in 2014 and 2018-19) and the other for St. John's Hospital's new Medical Office Building (in 2017). The findings of these two separate projects have been integrated into a single volume due to the interrelated, and in some cases overlapping, histories of the four lots involved and their particular relevance to the early Portuguese community in Springfield. Yet another volume (Volume IX) summarizes limited mitigation efforts at six additional middle-to-late nineteenth century urban house sites located along the greater rail corridor within Usable Segment II (11SG1451), Usable Segment V (11SG1523, 11SG1524, 11SG1525, 11SG1528) and

Usable Segment VI (11SG1544). Based on the presence at these sites of subsurface archaeological features capable of addressing relevant research questions (as developed in Stratton and Mansberger 2016), these sites were determined to be eligible to the NRHP. As the number of significant features identified at each of these sites was low, subsequent mitigation efforts consisting of the excavation of the significant features was undertaken during the Phase II investigations. The Henwood Site (11SG1451) represents a short-term occupation (circa 1868 through circa 1899) of a Virginia-born railroad employee and his family. Four sequential privy pits associated with this family, and dating from circa 1870 through 1900, were excavated. The W. Iles Tenant Site (11SG1523) was occupied by three tenant families during the 1870s and very early 1880s. Two of the families were represented by skilled Irish tradesmen (Perejoy and Henney), whereas the third was a native-born American laborer (Sullivan). Two sequential privies were excavated at that site. The Williams Site (11SG1524) was occupied by a tenant laborer between circa 1868 and 1881. A single privy pit was present at this site. The Howet Site (11SG1525) was similarly occupied from circa 1867 through 1881 by a tenant. A single privy pit was identified at this site. The Murphy Site (11SG1528) was occupied by an Irish laborer and his wife/widow from circa 1854 through 1880. Features identified at this site included an early midden, an earthen cellar, a well, and several posts. The Mauzy/Gardnier Site (11SG1544) was occupied by a Kentucky-born carpenter (William Mauzy between 1854 and 1864, followed by a Vermont-born carpenter turned confectioner (Z. W. Gardnier) from circa 1864 through circa 1870. Two privy pits were excavated at this site, one of which was associated with the Mauzy occupation, and the other with the Gardnier occupation of the site. Volume IX summarizes the results of these excavations and describes the material culture remains recovered from the excavations of these sites.

Finally, Volume X is a summary volume that discusses the collective results of the multi-year archaeological mitigation project and addresses the original research questions identified within the Data Recovery Plan which was developed at the onset of the project.

Archaeology is often envisioned by the popular press and the public as being all about *artifacts*. Although archaeologists do study artifacts, it is the *power* of the artifact (and its interpretation in its proper historical context) that allows archaeologist to understand *people* living in times past; and it is people who often get lost in the study of archaeology (at least within the public perception of the discipline). Although many of the individuals impacted by the events that hot August night in 1908 remain more-or-less anonymous, with diligent sleuthing within the archival record, supplemented by the material culture remains (or artifacts) serendipitously preserved at these archaeological sites, the lives of a handful of the inhabitants of the neighborhood impacted by the mob action were fleshed out with some detail. The emphasis of this research has been to focus less on the artifacts themselves and more on the individuals impacted by the riot. In order to achieve this goal, the research has presented a series of short biographies (or “vignettes”) of these individuals using some of the more relevant artifacts recovered from the house sites to highlight various aspects of their lives. As the work progressed, the quality and quantity of the material available on some of the individuals (such as that associated with the elderly, ex-slave Cyrus Greenleaf) resulted in some rather lengthy “vignettes” (which more appropriately should be referred to as “historical sketches”) that contribute remarkably well to our understanding of the individuals who occupied this neighborhood. Similarly, in an effort to characterize the development of the neighborhood through the nineteenth century, additional historical sketches

were similarly developed in an effort to bring a more human element to the bare-bone artifacts typical of archaeological research. Such in-depth understanding of the neighborhood occupants has been lacking from previous historical research, and it has been our hope that the archaeological investigations ultimately would speak—or give voice to—not the *artifacts* recovered from the aftermath of the riot, but of the *people* directly affected by the riot.

Table 3 summarizes the vignettes and/or historical sketches accompanying the various volumes within this series. Accompanying Volume I is a detailed historical sketch of prostitution and associated illicit activities in Springfield entitled “Springfield a Wicked Old City”: The Rise of Vice in Illinois’ Capital City” (Appendix I). This vignette discusses the historical development of the Levee and the Badlands, as well as ancillary local landmarks known as Shinbone Alley and Cocaine Alley. Appendix III is a short historical sketch of Jewish settlement in Springfield followed by biographies of several landlords that played a role in the historical development of the Badlands. Appendix IV is an historical perspective of lynching in Illinois leading up to the 1908 riots, and is followed by biographies of both Scott Burton (Appendix V) and William Donnegan (Appendix VI), the two Black men lynched during the 1908 riot.

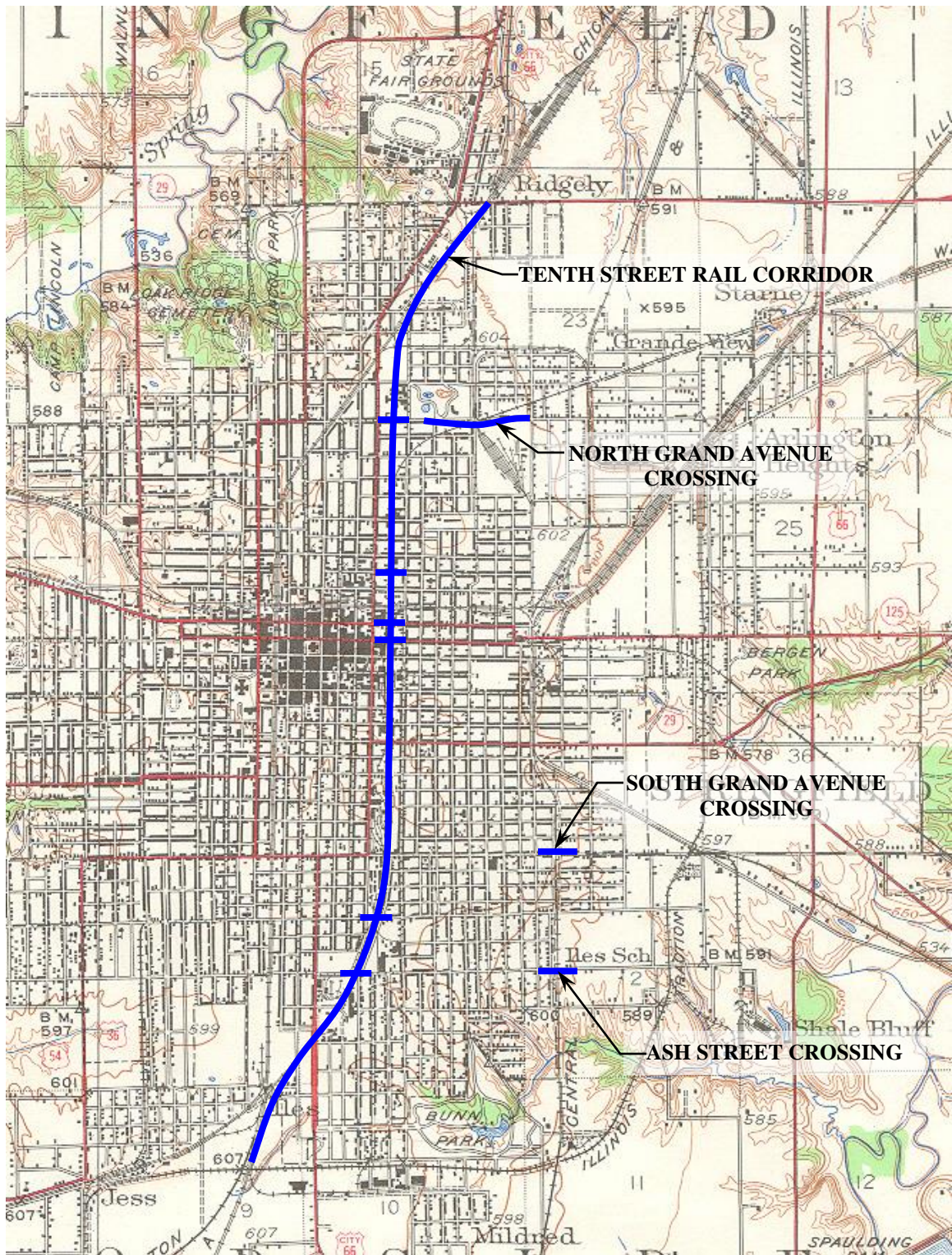


Figure 1. Topographic map illustrating the study area for the Springfield Rail Improvements Project, with the route of consolidated rail corridor and locations of grade separations indicated in blue (USGS 1940).

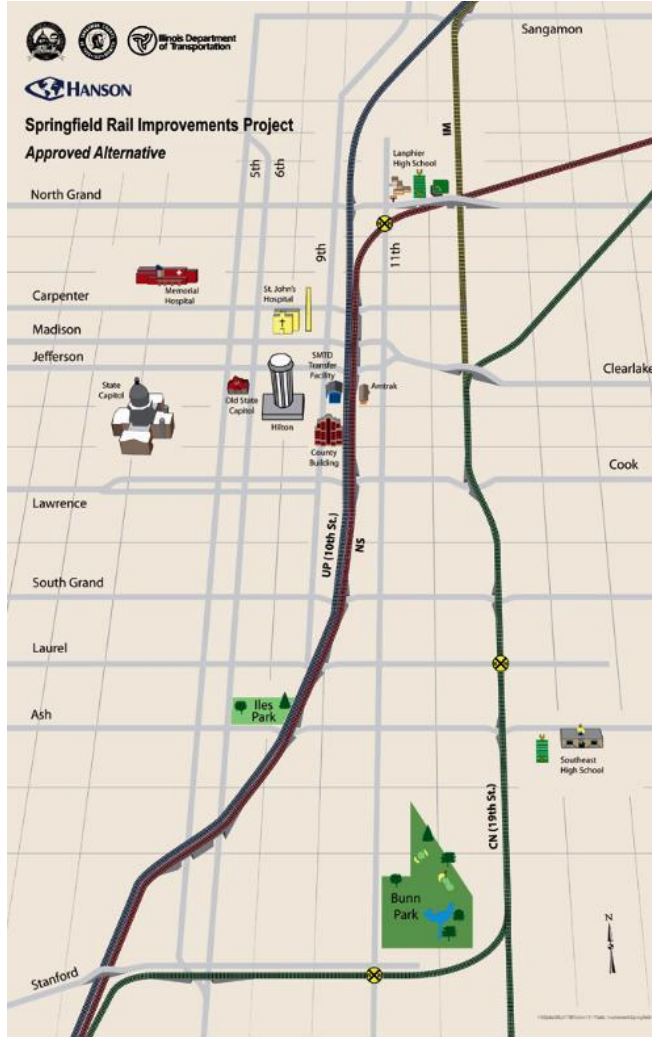


Figure 2. Left: Simplified schematic drawings of the greater Springfield Rail Improvements Project (Hanson n.d.). Right: Location of Usable Segments I-VI.

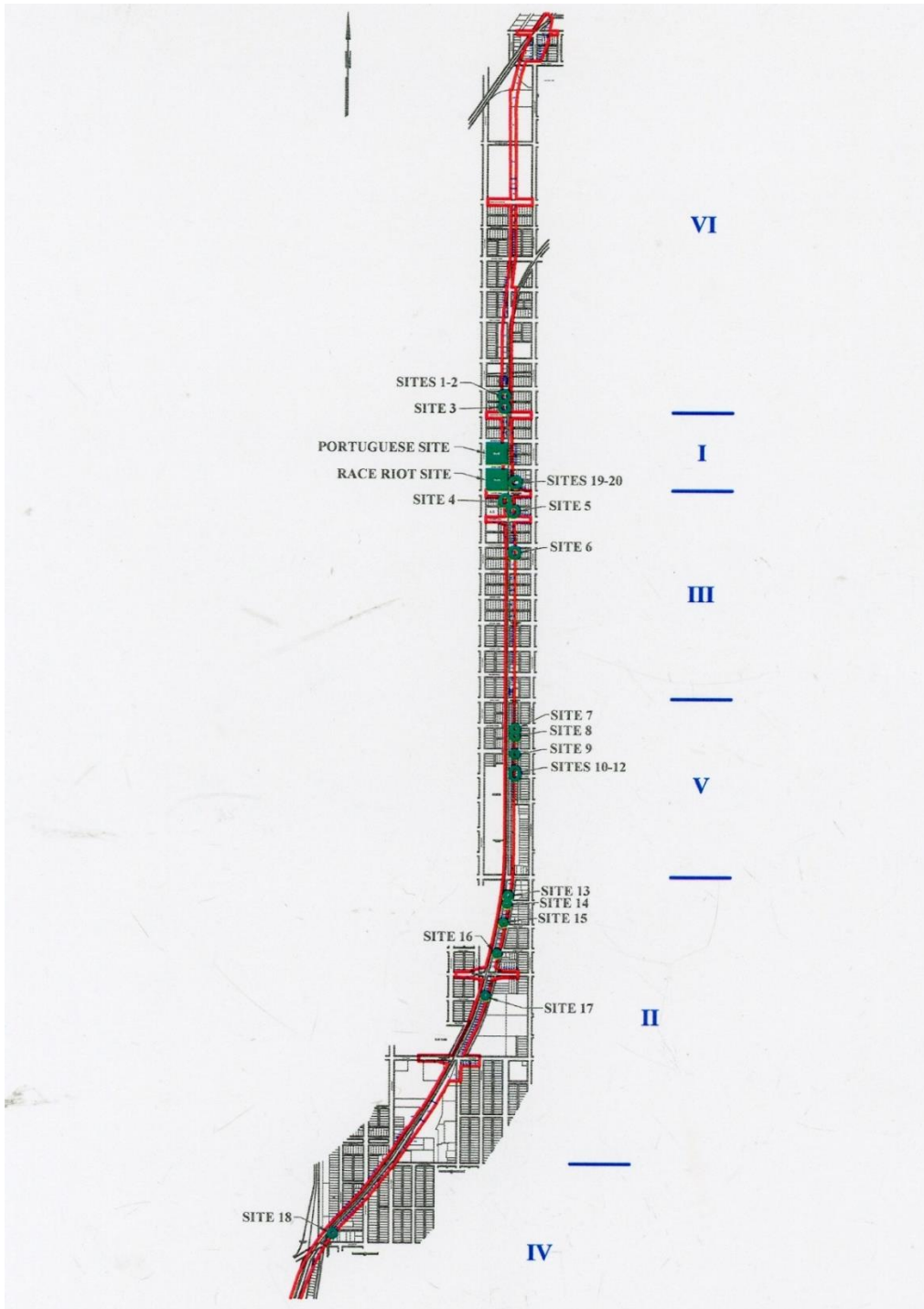


Figure 3. Map of the Tenth Street rail corridor showing the locations of historic sites subject to archaeological investigations as part of the Springfield Rail Improvements Project (outlined in red). The boundaries of Usable Segments I-VI for the project also are indicated. Besides the Race Riot Site (11SG1432) and the Portuguese Site (11SG1433), limited archaeological mitigation was undertaken at six additional sites: the W. Iles Tenant Site (Site 7), the William Site (Site 8), the Howet Site (Site 9), the Murphy Site (Site 12), the Henwood Site (Site 17), the Edwards/Price Site (Site 19), and the Sappington Site (Site 20).

Table 1
Springfield Rail Improvements Project,
Archaeological Results and Status by Usable Segment

<u>Usable Segment</u>	<u>Date of Phase II Testing</u>	<u>Sites Tested</u>	<u>Number of House Lots Tested</u>	<u>Number of House Lots Determined Significant</u>	<u>Date of Mitigation</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Status of Mitigation Report</u>
I	2014	Race Riot Site	7	5	2019-20	Mansberger and Stratton (2016, 2017, 2018)	Completed
		Portuguese Site	2	2	2018-19	Mansberger and Stratton (2016, 2017)	In Progress
II	2017	Sites 13-17	5	1	2017	Stratton and Mansberger (2017)	Awaiting Funding
IV	2018	Site 18	1	0	none	Stratton and Mansberger (2019)	Completed
V	2021	Sites 7-12	6	4	2021	Stratton and Mansberger (2022a)	Awaiting Funding
III	2021	Sites 4-6, 19-20	5	2	2022	Stratton and Mansberger (2022b)	In Progress
VI	2023	Sites 1-3	3	1	2023	Stratton and Mansberger (2023)	Awaiting Funding

Table 2
Constituent Volumes of *Results of Phase III Data Recovery for the Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield, Illinois*

- Volume I: Race Riot Site (11SG1432), Project Introduction
- Volume II: Race Riot Site (11SG1432), House A (301 North Tenth Street)
- Volume III: Race Riot Site (11SG1432), House B (311 North Tenth Street)
- Volume IV: Race Riot Site (11SG1432), House C (313 North Tenth Street)
- Volume V: Race Riot Site (11SG1432), House D (315/319 North Tenth Street)
- Volume VI: Race Riot Site (11SG1432), House E (323 North Tenth Street)
- Volume VII: Archaeological Sites 11SG1532 (The Price-Edwards Site) and 11SG1533 (The Sappington Site).
- Volume VIII: The Portuguese Site (11SG1433)
- Volume IX: Archaeological Sites 11SG1451, 11SG1523, 11SG1524, 11SG1525, 11SG1528, and 11SG1544
- Volume X: Project Summary and Conclusions

Table 3
List of “Vignettes” by House Location (and Volume)

Vice in Early Springfield	Volume I (Introduction)	Appendix I
The Landlords (Springfield’s Jewish Community)	Volume I (Introduction)	Appendix III
Lynching in Illinois	Volume I (Introduction)	Appendix IV
Scott Burton	Volume I (Introduction)	Appendix V
William Donnegan	Volume I (Introduction)	Appendix VI
The Riot’s Aftermath	Volume I (Introduction)	Appendix X
Harrison West and William Smith	Volume II (House A)	Appendix V
“Aunt Lou” Maxwell	Volume II (House A)	Appendix VI
Robert Wright	Volume III (House B)	Appendix V
The Phoenix Mill	Volume IV (House C)	Appendix VIII
The Early Black Families of the Neighborhood	Volume IV (House C)	Appendix IX
Reverend Henry Brown	Volume IV (House C)	Appendix X
The Wright and Brown Subdivision	Volume IV (House C)	Appendix XI
Lloyd Thomas	Volume IV (House C)	Appendix XII
Cyrus Greenleaf (Civil War Veteran)	Volume V (House D)	Appendix V
John Roll (Plasterer, Carpenter/Builder)	Volume VI (House E)	Appendix XVI
Bessie Black	Volume VI (House E)	Appendix XVII
Black Barbers in Early Springfield	Volume VII (Site 19)	In progress
Leanna Donnegan	Volume VII (Site 19)	In progress
The Chinese Diaspora and Springfield	Volume VII (Site 20)	In progress
Cocaine Alley and the Rise of Opiate Use	Volume VII (Site 20)	In progress

Previous Research and Research Strategy

Phase I Survey

In 2013, the City of Springfield was awarded a Federal Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery (TIGER) grant to fund the construction of the Carpenter Street Underpass Project, which was later to become known as Usable Segment I (US-I) of the Springfield Rail Improvements Project. As originally designed, the US-I project area was defined as covering the western side of the existing Tenth Street right-of-way (ROW), beginning a half block north of Carpenter Street and proceeding south to Madison Street. It also included the frontages on both sides of Carpenter Street between Ninth and Tenth streets, as well as that on north side of Madison Street, sufficient to allow the construction of underpasses at these locations. The Carpenter Street Underpass was to be built as part of US-I, while the underpass on Madison Street was to be done at a later date.⁹ Land needed to be acquired from three different property owners prior to initiating construction on US-I (Figures 4-5).

As US-I of the Project received federal funding, it was subject to review under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and its implementing regulations (36 CFR 800, et. eq). In late 2013, in compliance with the provisions of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, Fever River Research conducted a cultural resource assessment (literature search) of the three-block US-I project area for the City of Springfield, under subcontract to Hanson Professional Services, Inc. to assess the impact of the proposed construction of the Carpenter Street Underpass and development of the expanded railroad ROW. The results of that Phase I archaeological survey are detailed in the report entitled *A Cultural and Historical Resources Study for the Proposed Carpenter Street Underpass, Springfield Rail Improvements Project* (Stratton and Mansberger 2014).

Ultimately, the objectives of the initial archaeological survey were to identify historic properties within the APE for US-I and evaluate them for NRHP eligibility. Although urban environments often are overlooked for their archaeological potential, significant archaeological deposits—both prehistoric and historic—can often be found with good integrity within such settings (Mansberger 1989). In heavily built-up urban environments, such as US-I, where most of the ground surface has been paved and/or covered with extensive fill deposits, traditional Phase I archaeological reconnaissance surveys (i.e., pedestrian and shovel testing) are more difficult to conduct and are less effective than in other environments; hence, they often require extensive disruption of the existing landscape, such as the excavation of backhoe trenches, to accomplish the survey. With this in mind, the Phase I archaeological reconnaissance survey was divided into two separate phases (referred to as Phase IA and Phase IB).

The objectives of the Phase IA archaeological reconnaissance survey was to: 1) conduct a literature and/or archival search to assess site-specific documentary records pertaining to the project area land use through time; 2) develop an historical context for the project area to assist with the evaluation of potential resources; 3) prepare a predictive model of potential

⁹ The Madison Street Underpass ultimately was integrated into the Project's Usable Segment III (US-III). Construction on this underpass began in early 2023.

archaeological resources within the project area to assist with the excavation of backhoe trenches, if warranted; and 4) prepare a report that discusses the methods and results of these investigations. The study was broad stroked, by nature and intent, and focused primarily on a review of historic maps and views. It did not entail in-depth site-specific research.

The literature search consisted of a systematic assessment of archival resources in order to locate site-specific information pertaining to the historic land use in the project area. A wide range of archival resources was used to achieve this task. Of particular interest were two middle-nineteenth-century city maps (Potter 1854, Sides 1858), three bird's eye views of Springfield (Ruger 1867, Koch 1873, and Beck and Pauli 1878), as well as several late- nineteenth and early twentieth century fire insurance maps (Sanborn 1884, 1890, 1896, 1917, 1950, 1952, 1972). The 1854 and 1858 city maps, combined with information obtained from land sales and/or deed records, allowed researchers to assess the pre-Civil War land use of each block. Similarly, the fire insurance maps allowed the researchers to assess the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century land use history of each location—particularly the presence of second (or third) generation building episodes that might impact on the earlier historic resources. The literature search was conducted at various local repositories including the Sangamon Valley Collection at the Lincoln Library (Springfield City Library) and the Illinois State Library. The vertical files at the Sangamon Valley Collection, as well as the county histories, city directories, and biographical sources were consulted for general historical background and site-specific information.

By looking at the many historic documents available for this area and the character of the recently demolished buildings (such as presence or absence of deep basements), a predictive model outlining the probability of intact archaeological resources in the project area was developed. The modeling is based on two primary factors: 1) the probability of early archaeological resources with good integrity being present; and 2) whether or not the suspected resources had a significant research potential (i.e., can provide significant data to address relevant research questions). A greater emphasis was placed on early archaeological resources, with 1870 serving as the benchmark date. Later archaeological components do exist within the project area but are considered to have less significance—one exception being those specifically related to the 1908 Race Riot.¹⁰

This model identified areas within the US-I project area that had high potential for intact archaeological deposits. Sites pre-dating 1870 were considered more significant than later ones, as the former have the potential to provide information on periods that are not as well documented in the historic record and hence can fill in relevant data gaps that are not as deficient in the later time periods. The archaeological rating system also factored in the issue of where historic archaeological features typically are found within an urban lot, given that the APE for the Project sometimes does not encompass an entire lot (in some instances, only a portion of a given lot is included within the APE). Rear yards are activity areas that often contain significant archaeological features (i.e., privies, trash pits); hence, they offer great information potential from an archaeological perspective. Front and side yards, however, present comparatively less

¹⁰ This strategy was subsequently modified and applied to the entire Project, as reported in Stratton and Mansberger (2016).

archaeological potential than rear yards. Similarly, house footprints have the potential to offer more data than a front or side yard (see Mansberger and Stratton 2016:5-7 for more detail on the predictive modeling employed). The archaeological rating system employed for Usable Segment I is outlined and explained below (Figures 6-7).

Areas identified as *Very Low Potential* (D) on the map indicates that no early (pre-1870) resources were identified for this area. Areas identified as *Low Potential* (C) indicates 1) that historic resources associated with a pre-1870 component were identified for this area but 2) these resources have a low research potential. Low research potential may be due to loss of integrity, caused by the subsequent building construction (particularly in the case of buildings with deep basements) or other disturbance. Areas identified as *Moderate Potential* (B) indicates that 1) historic resources associated with a pre-1870 component were documented for this area and 2) that subsequent disturbances associated with the construction of later buildings have occurred but the extent of its impact to the early archaeological component remains undetermined. Areas identified as *High Potential* (A) indicate that 1) historic resources associated with an early component (pre-1870s) were documented for this area and 2) subsequent disturbances associated with later construction are suspected as being light. These areas also have a direct association with several significant research themes, including the early period of settlement in Springfield, the city's Portuguese community (one of the earliest in the Midwest), and the 1908 Race Riot. Two of these themes overlap on Block 3, which contained early-settlement-period housing that later was occupied by Black residents and destroyed during the race riot.

In consultation with the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency (and the State Historic Preservation Officer), areas identified as *Very Low* and *Low Potential* were determined unworthy of Phase II testing, whereas areas identified as *Moderate* and *High Potential* warranted Phase II archaeological testing. As such, much of the area located within the APE of Site 11SG1432 was determined to warrant Phase IB/II investigations. The Phase IIB/II archaeological testing was recommended to “ground truth” the earlier archival research and model building to determine if intact archaeological deposits are present in the identified areas, and whether or not those subsurface archaeological resources have integrity and research potential.¹¹

This strategy, albeit slightly modified, became our standard of operations for the rest of this multi-year project. It ultimately resulted in the identification of 22 archaeological sites that warranted Phase II testing (including Sites 11SG1432 and 11SG1433).

Phase IB/II Testing

In late September-November 2014, Fever River Research conducted Phase II archaeological investigations at archaeological site 11SG1432.¹² Prior to the archaeological investigations, the

¹¹ The Phase I archaeological survey identified two areas of *High Potential*, which warranted Phase IB/II archaeological testing. These were identified as sites 11Sg1432 (the Race Riot Site) and 11Sg1433 (the Portuguese Site).

¹² Archaeological boundaries for both sites were defined as the entire block, with the adjacent streets demarking the site edges. Although these city blocks were part of a much larger geographical area—the City of Springfield—which might have been identified as the actual site, this approach is not practical due to the large, complex nature of this community. As both sites were occupied during the historic period (and dating from a period after the 1830s

asphalt surface capping site 11SG1432 was saw-cut along the entire length of the APE's western edge, after which the general contractor removed the asphalt pavement and gravel underlayment exposing the underlying pre-parking lot ground surface. Once this had been accomplished, the Phase IB/II archaeological investigations were initiated by Fever River Research, beginning within the southern end of the site (at Madison Street), and proceeding north.

The initial field strategy was to excavate a series of parallel backhoe trenches along the length of the project area, parallel to Tenth Street, with work beginning at the southern end of the project area (at Madison Street) and proceeding north. This work was initiated, and immediately upon opening the first backhoe trench, it became clear that intact structural remains were present, and the field strategy shifted from the excavation of trenches to larger block excavations. The shift in strategy was employed to better facilitate the exposure of the house foundations, and was undertaken in consultation with the SHPO (Figure 8).

The Phase II investigations at Site 11SG1432 exposed the structural remains of seven houses (all fronting Tenth Street to the east). Figures 10-11 illustrate the location of the seven houses, identified in the field as Houses A through G (from south at Madison Street proceeding north to Mason Street). In order to better assess the depth of the archaeological deposits, the presence or absence of basement cellars, and the complexity of the fill deposits in each house, at least one test unit (1m x 2m in size) was hand excavated within each of the first five houses (Houses A-E). In most instances, two tests were excavated—one in each section of the house (i.e. main dwelling and rear service wing)—to determine comparative fill sequences in each section of the structure.

The initial stripping of the houses indicated that the archaeological integrity of Houses A through E was excellent, whereas the integrity of Houses F and G had been compromised. Whereas Houses A through E all exhibited evidence of having been destroyed by fire (presumably during the August 1908 riots), Houses F and G exhibited no such evidence of fire damage. Houses F and G were located in an area crucial for the construction of an underground electrical utility line servicing power to St. John's Hospital. In consultation with the SHPO, as these two houses were not destroyed during the 1908 riots, and their integrity was poor, limited excavations were undertaken during the Phase II testing to document these two houses during the Phase II investigations. The remains of these two houses were mapped, an early midden was excavated (see discussion of House F) and additional stripping was done in the area of these two houses within the APE to verify that no additional features were present at these two locations.

plating of these neighborhoods), there was little potential for individual components identified in each of these sites to overflow into the surrounding street. An alternative approach might have been to identify each individual platted lot as a site. Unfortunately, as with the current project, these lot boundaries do not equate with the individual components (individual buildings—often houses—and their adjacent activity areas) on a city block, with various lots (and portions of lots) often being reorganized through time to suit changing landscapes (and the needs of the lot owners and/or occupants). By identifying the city block as the archaeological site, overlapping historic components—each with distinctively different geographical limits and/or boundaries—generally all fall within a single block and ultimately share a common border. This is the practice that has been followed in Springfield for many years regarding the identification of site limits, including the Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum archaeological investigations in 2001-2004. Subsequent archaeological investigations undertaken for the Project defined site limits more narrowly, to a specific lot (or lots) as opposed to an entire block, as the archaeological components at these sites did not overlap property boundaries.

In addition to the field investigations, additional archival research was conducted as part of the Phase IB/II investigations and addressed both site specific questions and general context development. Of particular interest were historic plats, Sanborn fire insurance maps, and aerial photographs illustrating the project area through time. A third bird's-eye view (Beck and Pauli [1878]), which was not available for the Phase IA survey, was utilized for the Phase IB/II investigations. County histories, city directories, censuses, newspapers, and biographical sources also were consulted for general historical background and site-specific information. Partial chain-of-titles for each site investigated also were compiled, focusing on the nineteenth-century site ownership. City directory and newspaper research focused on identifying house occupants through the years. The archival research was conducted at various local repositories including the Sangamon Valley Collection at the Lincoln Library (Springfield City Library), the Illinois State Library, and Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. Several on-line resources also were utilized, including Ancestry.com and GenealogyBank.com.

The results of the Phase II archaeological testing at the Race Riot and Portuguese Sites are detailed in the two-volume report entitled *Results of the Phase II Archaeological Investigations of Sites 11SG1432 and 11SG1433 For the Proposed Carpenter Street Underpass, Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield, Illinois* (Mansberger and Stratton 2016, 2017).¹³ As the post-Phase II consultation process had not progressed as quickly as anticipated, the site was covered with geo-tech fabric and backfilled with clean sand in October 2015 awaiting completion of the consultation process and initiation of potential data recovery (and/or archaeological mitigation).

The initial Phase II testing at Site 11SG1432 entailed only that part of the APE located within the main right-of-way and did not cover the narrow strip of ground located on the north side of Madison Street required for the eventual construction of an underpass at this location. Phase II testing along the Madison Street frontage of US-I was conducted in the spring of 2018. It exposed the southwest corner of House A and several other features located in the rear yard of this property. The testing also indicated that the area immediately west of the historic property associated with House A, included intact subsurface features associated with two commercial structures (one representing the remains of a long-used brothel and the second representing the remains of a tavern operated in conjunction with the brothel), both of which were destroyed in the 1908 riot. This Phase II testing suggests that these two sites, both of which had been destroyed by fire in August 1908, had a high probability of having good archaeological integrity (Figure 12).

Following the Phase II archaeological testing, the FRA determined that Site 11SG1432 was eligible for listing on the NRHP. The site consists of an entire city block bounded by Mason Street on the north, Madison Street on the south, Ninth Street on the west, and the Tenth Street rail corridor on the east (Figure 3). It is comprised of building foundations, subsurface pits (such

¹³ This first volume of this report did not include a detailed inventory and analysis of recovered artifacts, which were subsequently discussed in a separate volume entitled *Results of Phase II Archaeological Investigations of Sites 11SG1432 and 11SG1433 for the Proposed Carpenter Street Underpass, Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield, Illinois: Appendices VIII-XII (The Artifacts)* (Mansberger and Stratton 2017).

as privies, cisterns, wells), and artifact middens once associated with the historic (circa 1840 through 1908) occupation of the multiple city lots located within the city block. The NRHP-eligible portion of Site 11SG1432 located within the US-I project area is comprised of five house foundations representing the front sections of middle nineteenth century houses and associated front and side yard activity areas (including artifacts from a variety of pre-1908 contexts). The houses were destroyed in mid-August 1908 during what came to be known as the Springfield Race Riot. The site's period of significance is 1842 through 1908, a timeframe that incorporates the earliest development of the neighborhood up through the 1908 event. As part of its NRHP eligibility determination, FRA commented that "given the site's eligibility for the NRHP under Criterion A as possessing local and national significance with its direct association with the events of the 1908 Springfield Race Riot and its subsequent relevance to the formation of the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People], FRA recommends that Site 11SG1432 warrants preservation in place." Site 11SG1432 was determined to have local significance in respect to its potential to contribute substantially to our understanding of the lifeways of the city's Black occupants during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Additionally, the site was determined nationally significant under Criterion A (social history) for its association with the 1908 Springfield Race Riot, which was a seminal event in the history of the city as well as of national importance due to its role in the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Following SHPO's concurrence with FRA's Section 106 findings, FRA initiated an evaluation pursuant to Section 4(f) of the U.S. Department of Transportation Act of 1966 (Section 4(f)) to determine if there were ways to avoid or minimize impacts of the Project on Site 11SG1432. In short, Section 4(f) prohibits USDOT from approving the use of land from publicly owned parks, recreational areas, wildlife and waterfowl refuges, or public and private historic sites (which include archaeological sites that warrant preservation in place) for transportation purposes unless there is no feasible and prudent avoidance alternative to the use of land and the action includes all possible planning to minimize harm to the Section 4(f)-protected resource resulting from such use. Preliminary Section 4(f) analysis indicated that there were no feasible and prudent alternatives to avoid use of the archaeological site. Over the subsequent four years (2015-2019), the City and the FRA subsequently held meetings with the Project's Section 106 Consulting Parties to discuss potential options to mitigate the adverse effect of the Project on Site 11SG1432, and to develop plans for mitigating the adverse effect of the project on those archaeological resources that could not be preserved in place. The City developed several options to minimize the direct physical impacts of the Project on the archaeological site. FRA and the City presented the minimization options to the Consulting Parties at a meeting held on March 8, 2018. At that meeting, the majority of the Consulting Parties in attendance agreed that Minimization Option M2 was the best option for the reasons described below.

Minimization Option M2 realigned the US-I Project right-of-way (ROW) from its original proposed configuration, as presented in the Final Environmental Impact Statement (FEIS) prepared for the Springfield Rail Improvements Project by the City, for purposes of FRA's compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act, dated June 2012 and in FRA's subsequent Record of Decision issued on December 12, 2012. The western boundary was shifted 22 feet to the east in order to minimize the direct construction impacts on Site 11SG1432. This shift in the alignment completely avoids the foundation of House A, and requires

archaeological data recovery on a greatly reduced portion of the site, thereby allowing for preservation in place of a significantly larger portion of the site than what would have been the case with the original project design. Under Minimization Option M2, an area of approximately 8,300 square feet was subject to data recovery. Figures 6-8 illustrate the US-I Project as originally proposed. Figures 13-15 illustrate the Minimization Option M2 design parameters in relationship to the foundations of Houses A through E, and distinguish between the portion of the site that will be subject to archaeological data recovery (Area A) and the portion that will be preserved in place on City-owned property (Area B; awaiting potential inclusion into the National Park Service, as a part of the Lincoln Home National Historic Site).

Phase III Mitigation (and/or Data Recovery)

In early 2019, Fever River Research prepared a Phase III Data Recovery Plan (DRP) for Site 11SG1432 as a stipulation of the First Amendment to the Carpenter Street Underpass Project MOA (MOA Amendment) among FRA, the City, SHPO, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. In April 2019, Fever River Research under contract with Hanson Professional Services, Inc., which is the City's consultant for Project design and construction, implemented the DRP.¹⁴ This document presents the results of the program of scientific data recovery that the City implemented to mitigate the adverse effects of the Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) on archaeological site 11SG1432, which the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) determined, and the Illinois State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) concurred, was eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under Criteria A and D. The archaeological fieldwork was conducted by Fever River Research during the summer and early fall of 2019 at the five house sites destroyed in August 1908 by the angry white mob driven by racial hate, and attempts to give new insights into the character and lifeways of the individuals impacted by that horrific event.

Figures 9 and 11 illustrate the portion of Site 11SG1432 in which the Phase III archaeological investigations were undertaken (Area A), as well as the portion of the site that will be preserved in place on City-owned property (Area B). Combined, the area mitigated was approximately 32 feet wide at the north end, and 17 feet wide at the south end, with approximately 22 feet being the distance between the originally proposed ROW edge to the west, and the revised ROW associated with Minimization Option M2.

The archaeological fieldwork implementing the Data Recovery Plan was initiated by Fever River Research in April 2019. Although the archaeological site consisted of all five house lots, each dwelling (and/or house lot) was handled as a separate entity with regard to the excavations and subsequent analysis.¹⁵ The fieldwork began along the north end of the US-I project area with the

¹⁴ All archaeological field and laboratory work was conducted under the guidance of Floyd Mansberger, Principal, Fever River Research. Mansberger exceeds the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualification Standards* in the fields of archaeology and architectural history, as published in 36 CFR Part 61. All work conducted by Fever River Research, under the direction of Mansberger, was conducted in a manner consistent with the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation* (48 FR 44716), and "The Treatment of Archaeological Properties" published in 1980 by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

¹⁵ This is reminiscent of Swords' (2014:19) use of the concept of "operational units" within larger community (see Swords 2014:19).

excavation of House E, followed by the excavation of Houses D, C, B, and A (in that order). Fieldwork proceeded through November of 2019.

The initial task at each of the house sites was the removal of the overburden which had been used to cover those areas previously investigated in 2014. This required the removal of the sand backfill that had been deposited over the site in 2015. This backfill was removed with backhoe, supplemented with hand excavations to expose the underlying, previously exposed house foundations. Additionally, those front-yard areas extending to the eastern property line, which not previously been investigated in 2014, were stripped of the post-1908 fill deposits.

Upon removal of the overburden, the area located within the footprint of each house (defined by the perimeter foundations) was laid out in a series of 1m x 2m excavation units following an orientation established during the earlier Phase II testing. Because the project area runs on a diagonal across Houses B, C, D, and E, portions of several of the rectangular test units were located partially outside of the area of direct impact and immediately adjacent to the ROW edge. These excavation units, which extended slightly over into the adjacent City-owned property, were excavated in their entirety. The number of excavation units per house varied.

The excavation strategy entailed the initial excavation of alternating test units in a checkerboard pattern which allowed for the documentation of a series of north/south and east/west profile walls through the dwelling and front yard. Each unit was excavated by hand, using standard archaeological methods of troweling and shovel scraping. These initial test units were excavated in arbitrary levels, typically 10cm in depth. Upon recording of the requisite profile walls (by photographs and scaled drawings), the second half of the checkerboard was excavated. Although all profile walls were not drawn to scale, a composite east/west and north/south profile wall was drawn to scale through each house. The second half of the test units were excavated natural stratigraphic zones keyed to the profile drawings. All fill was screened through ¼" hardware cloth.

The methodology used in the front and side yards of each house varied. With House E, the front yard was laid out in 1m x 2m test units similar to the main house (representing a continuation of the main grid), with the initial excavation of alternating test units. The front yards of the other houses (Houses A-D) utilized a different strategy. With these other houses, the front yards were systematically stripped with the aid of a backhoe in search of landscape features (such as walks, posts, and middens).

After completion of the hand excavations, the excavation units were backfilled with clean sand fill immediately adjacent to the western edge of the excavation unit. This was conducted to prevent slumping of unexcavated portions of the house deposits. The remainder of the excavation blocks was backfilled with soil previously removed from the excavations. This task was conducted with the use of a backhoe. Prior to backfilling each house, the upper two courses of brick work from each house was removed, placed on pallets, and moved off-site for storage.

All archaeological features defined in the field investigations were assigned a consecutive number, mapped in plan view, and plotted on a site base map. All early to middle nineteenth century features were excavated using standard archaeological procedure. Small features were

excavated in two sections (cross-sectioned). After excavating the first half of each feature in a combination of arbitrary and natural stratigraphic levels, the profile was drawn and photographed. If determined in the field that the second half of the feature had the potential to contribute significant additional information above that which was recovered from the first half, then the second half was also excavated in natural stratigraphic levels. Additionally, the field excavations were documented by professional-quality video recordation.

Artifacts recovered from the test units and features were bagged in the field indicating each bags unique provenience location (House, Test, Level, and Area, if warranted). Each artifact bag was labeled with the project name, site number, feature number, date, and name of the excavator. Concurrent with the field investigations, all artifacts were transported to Fever River Research's Springfield office, with archaeological laboratory personnel immediately conducting initial processing (i.e., washing, re-bagging, and boxing of artifacts) in preparation for later inventory and analysis. All artifacts were washed and air dried with attention to maintaining provenience integrity. Artifacts were then bagged in archival plastic, and each provenience was assigned a unique "lot" number by "site" (in this case, by house).

Upon completion of the fieldwork, the artifact analysis consisted of the initial inventory of artifacts by provenience (lot). Accompanying each of the volumes summarizing the archaeology of each house site are appendices which contain lists of lot proveniences and descriptive lot-by-lot inventories. The inventory of the ceramic and glass artifacts focused on the identification of individual vessels (de-emphasizing sherd counts). [Add discussion of minimum number of vessel methodology. Although individual vessels numbers were assigned based on either a unique rim or foot detail, unique body sherds were also assigned individual vessel numbers as well. Architectural items such as door knobs, personal items such as smoking pipes, toys (such as tea sets) and knickknacks [?] were considered "small find" and not assigned vessel numbers. [Discuss primary versus secondary vessels.]

Upon completion of the lot-by-lot inventories, the various lot proveniences were each assigned a temporal context (Pre-Fire, Fire, and Post-Fire). Artifacts from the Pre-Fire context were additionally sorted into temporally more discrete units such as Early, Middle, and Late Pre-Fire contexts. Upon completion of the inventory, the collective ceramic and glass vessels from each of the temporal contexts were sorted into one of nine functional categories. These functional categories were initially defined by Orser, Nekola and Roark (1987) and slightly revised for our Midwestern studies by Mansberger (1990).¹⁶ These categories differ from the more widely used functional categories defined by South (1977) and more accurately reflect nineteenth century domestic sites. These functional categories consist of Foodways Service (ceramic and glass tablewares and other artifacts associated with the serving of foods); Foodways Storage and Preparation (artifacts associated with the preparation and/or storage of foods); Foodways Remains (the actual faunal and/or floral remains of foods); Household/Furnishings (artifacts associated with furniture and the furnishing of the home); Labor/Activities (artifacts associated with various non-kitchen or non-Foodways tasks conducted around the site), Architecture (physical remains associated with the fabric of the house and/or other buildings); Personal (non-clothing related artifacts associated with the individual, including alcoholic beverages and

¹⁶ Our revised functional categories also rely heavily on Sprague (1982).

smoking related items); Clothing (small items of clothing); and Indeterminate (artifacts of unknown function) (Table 4). Artifact discussions in the subsequent volumes for each of the house sites focus on these functional categories, and discuss them in terms of both the small finds as well as ceramic and glass vessels from each temporal context. The objectives of the cultural material analysis will be to: 1) provide a tabulation and description of the artifacts; 2) interpret these materials as indicators of activities conducted by the site by inhabitants, and 3) provide a general chronological framework for site occupation.

All cultural material, field notes, and photographs collected during the implementation of this DRP, as well as the Phase I and Phase II archaeological excavations, will be curated at the Illinois State Museum's Research and Collections Center in Springfield, Illinois.

A similar mitigation strategy, albeit slightly modified, was utilized for the mitigation of the Price-Edwards Site (11SG1532) and the Sappington Site (11SG1533), which are located directly opposite Site 11SG1432 and also were impacted by the 1908 Springfield Race Riot.

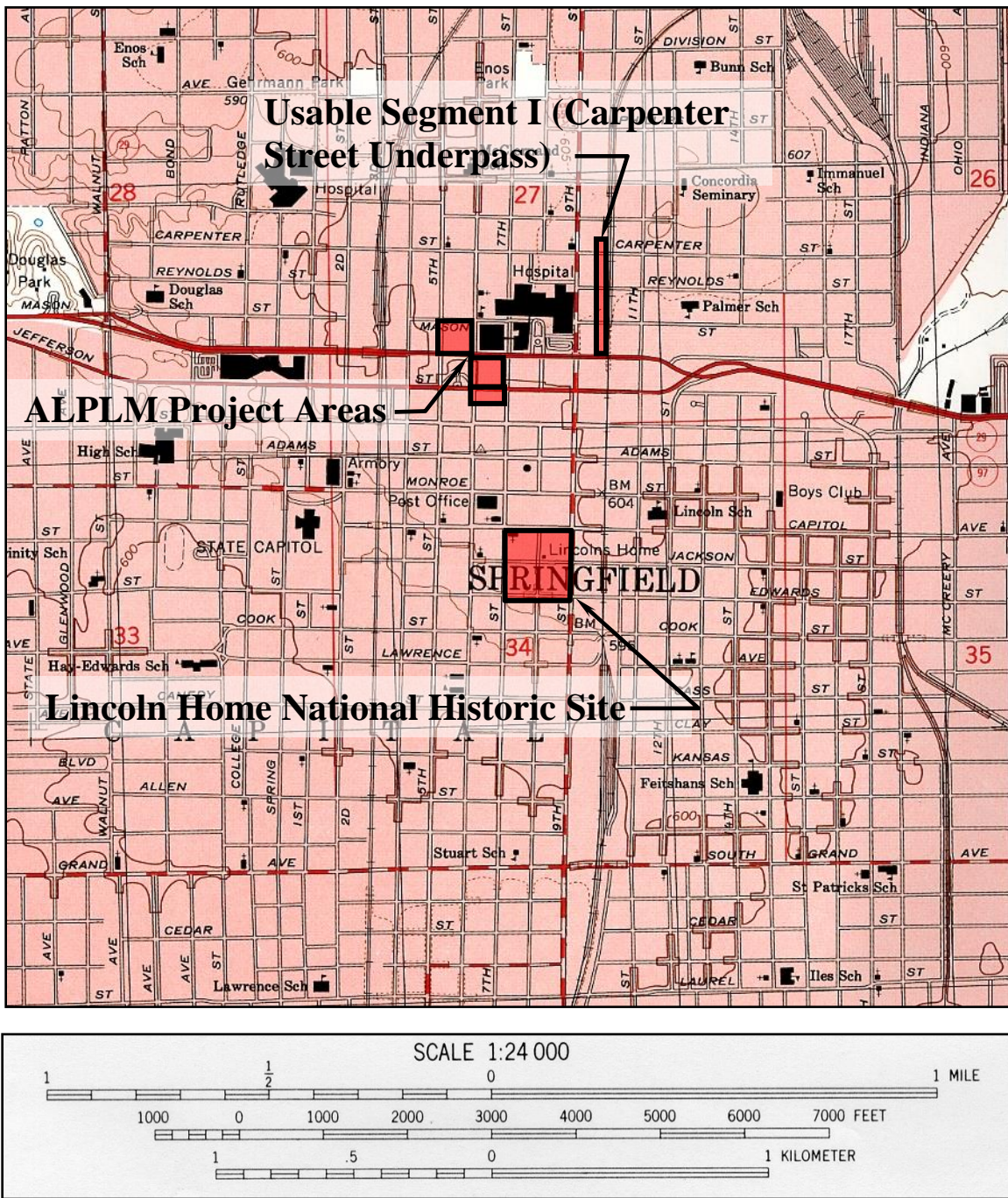


Figure 4. Location of the Usable Segment I (Carpenter Street Underpass) project area within Springfield, Illinois on a 7.5-minute topographic map (USGS 1998). The location of both the Lincoln Home National Historic Site and the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM) project area also are indicated. Significant subsurface archaeological resources have been identified in both urban areas.



Figure 5. Location of the proposed Carpenter Street Underpass (later identified as Usable Segment I) in Springfield, Illinois (Hanson Professional Services, Inc. 2013). The areas of new right-of-way are color coded (red, green, and blue) by existing property owner.

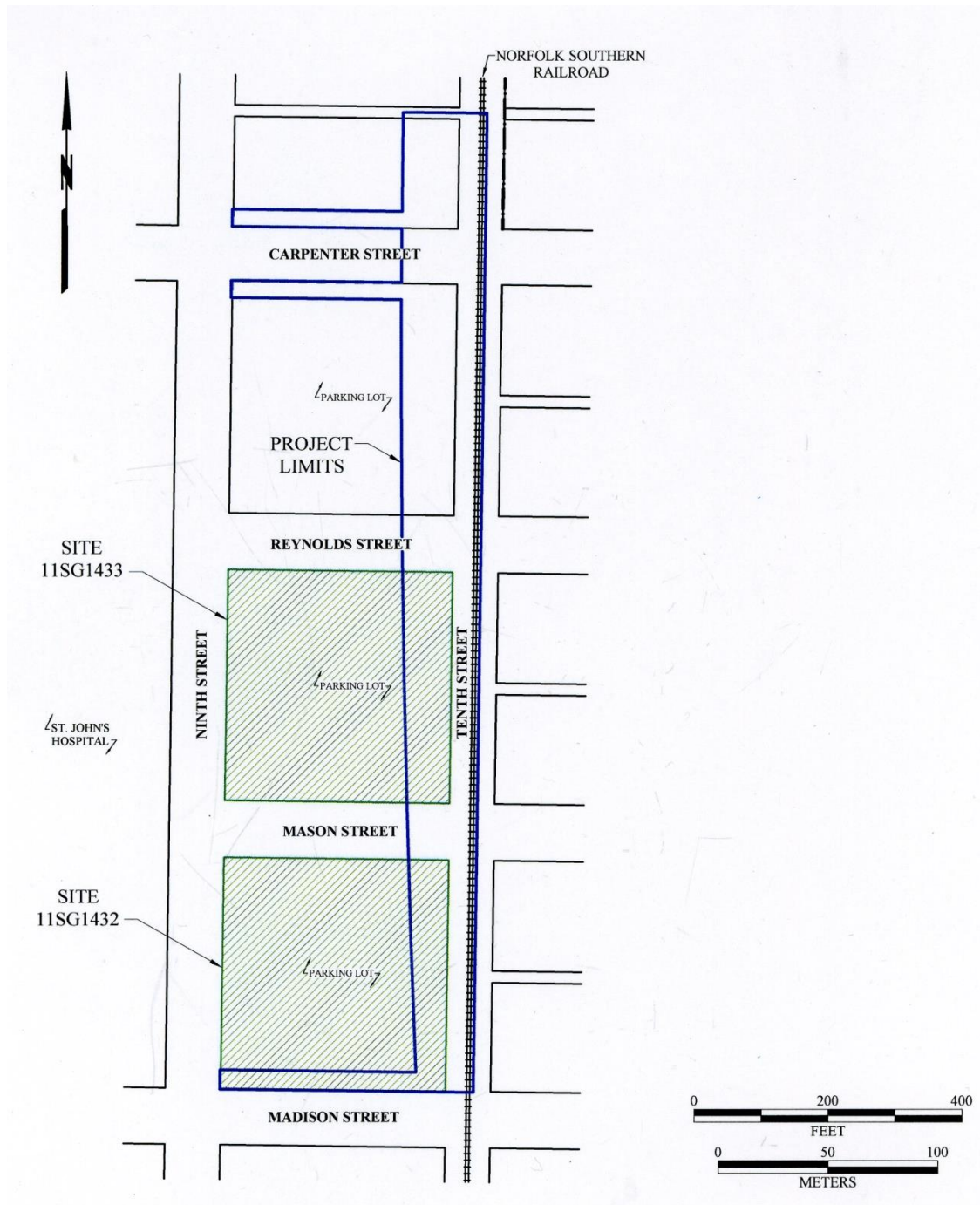


Figure 6. Site plan showing the relationship of Sites 11SG1432 and 11SG1433 (hatched in green) in relationship to the Carpenter Street Underpass (US-I) Project Area (outlined in blue) and surrounding vicinity. Site 11SG1432, bounded by Ninth, Tenth, Mason, and Madison Streets, consists of two adjacent plats which corresponds to Block 14 of Wells and Peck’s Addition, and Block 3, J. Whitney’s Addition.

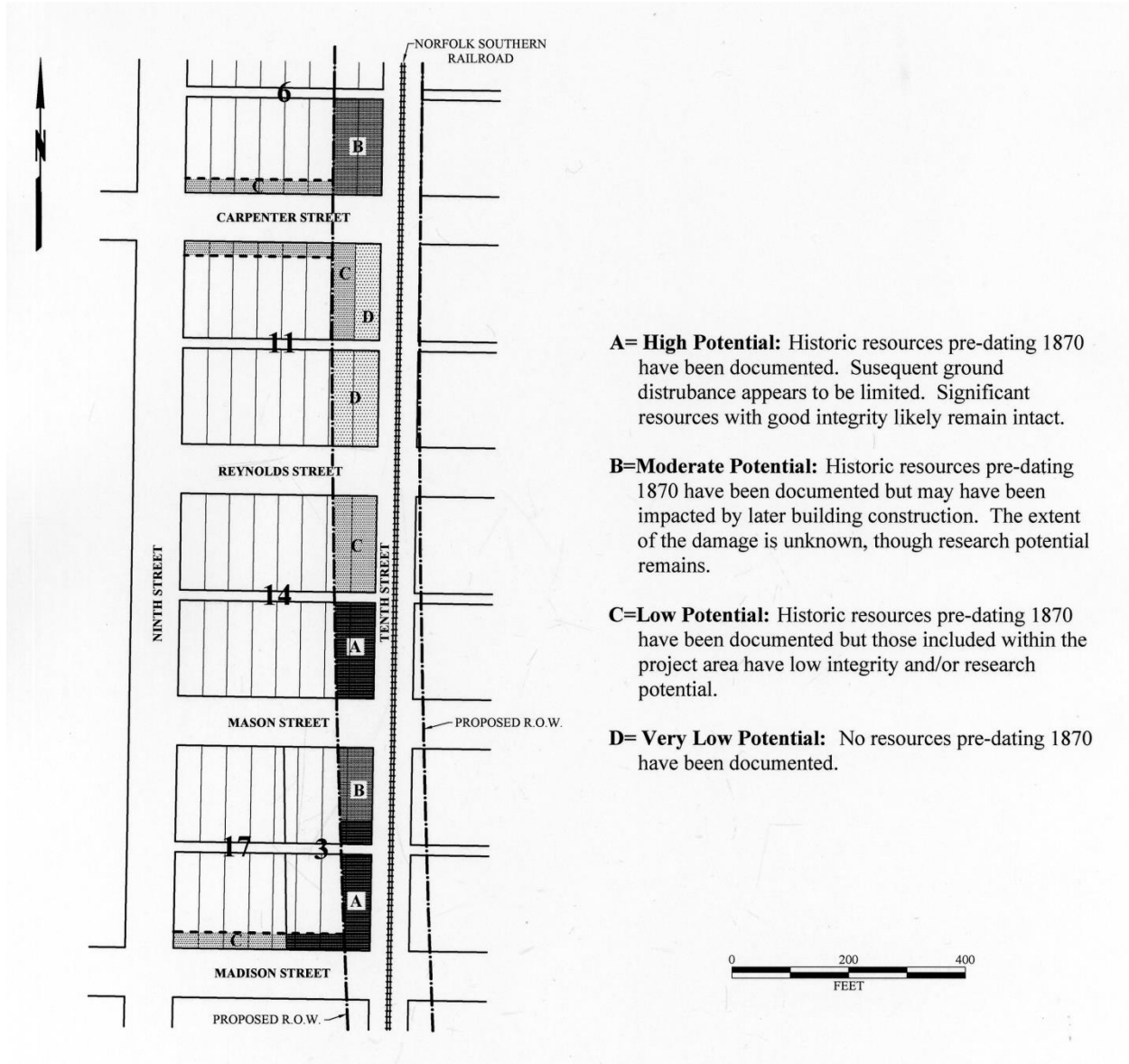


Figure 7. View of the Carpenter Street Underpass project area illustrating the archaeological probability areas identified during the Phase I archaeological survey (Stratton and Mansberger 2014).

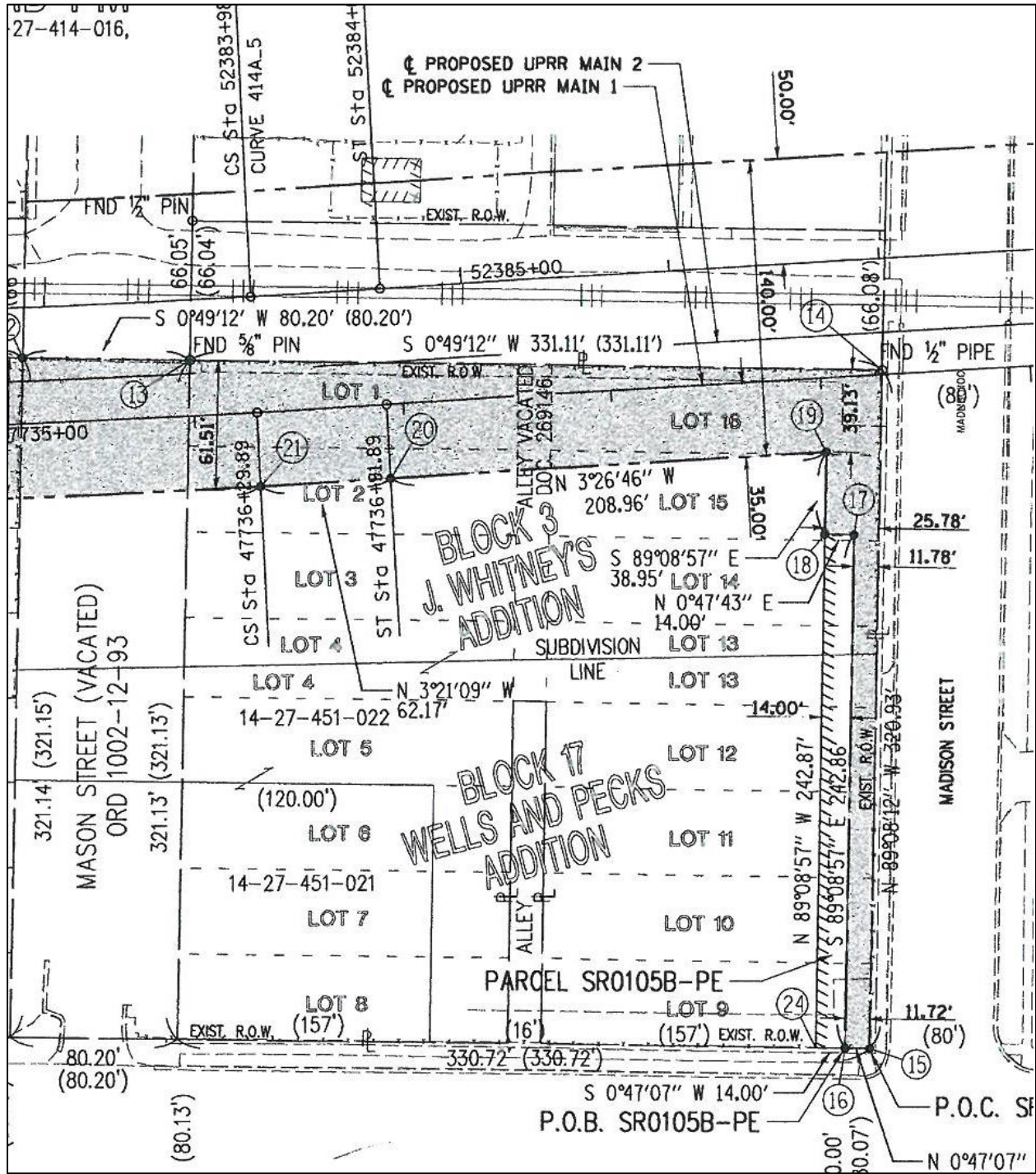


Figure 8. Portion of archaeological site 11SG1432 within Carpenter Street Underpass/Tenth Street Rail Project right-of-way, as originally designed.



Figure 9. Phase II archaeological investigations in process. Top: Initial investigations opening area north of House A, using a small tractor-mounted backhoe. Bottom: Continuation of stripping near House D, using a larger track hoe. The foundations of Houses A, B, and C are located on the side of the track hoe. Springfield's central business district appears in the background of this view.

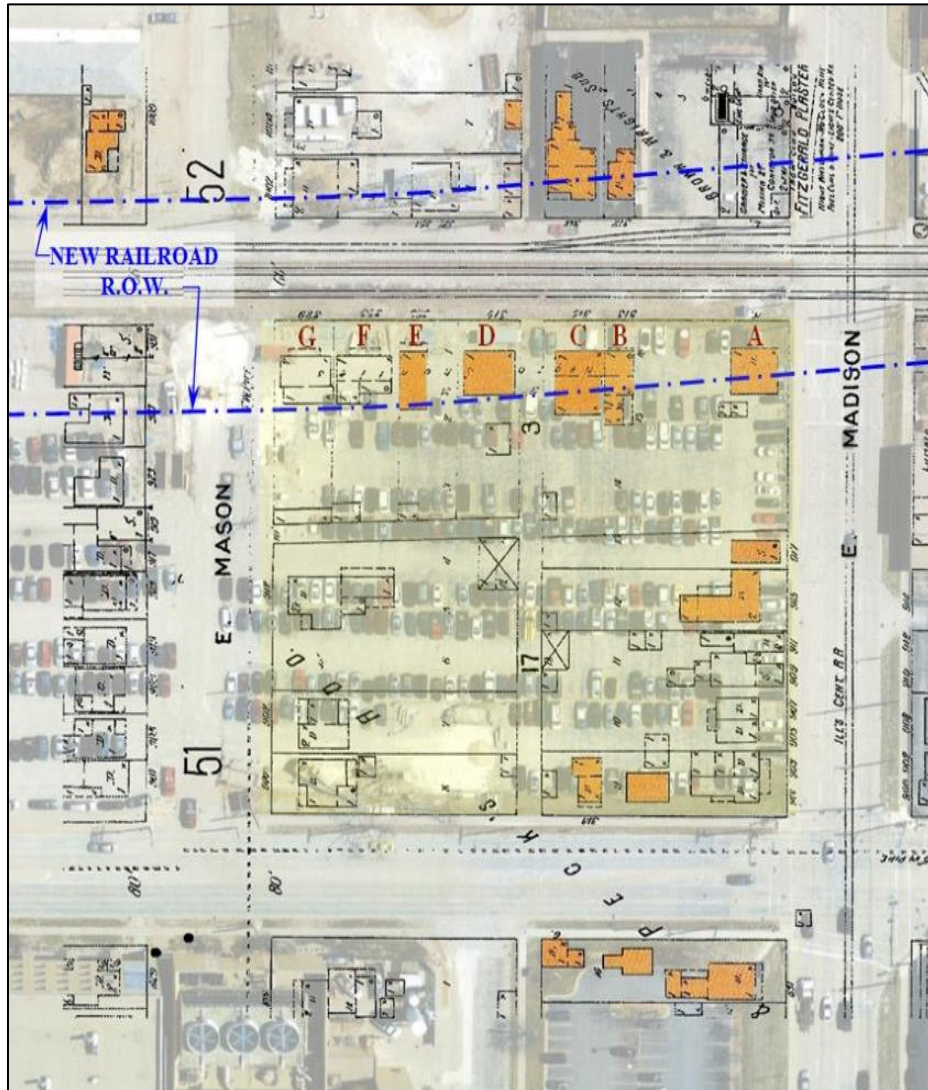


Figure 10. Location of seven houses (Houses A-G) documented at Site 11SG1432 (highlighted in yellow) within the Carpenter Street Underpass Project area, as originally designed at the time of the Phase II testing. The 1896 Sanborn map, with burned houses from the August 1908 event highlighted in orange, is overlain onto a recent aerial photograph of the Project area. Houses A through E were burned on the evening of August 14, 1908. House F was not impacted during that event. According to Sanborn maps, House G was demolished sometime in late 1906 or 1907. At least four additional buildings on Site 11SG1432 (all located at the southwest corner of the block) were destroyed during the 1908 event, as were homes on neighboring blocks (represented by structures in orange).

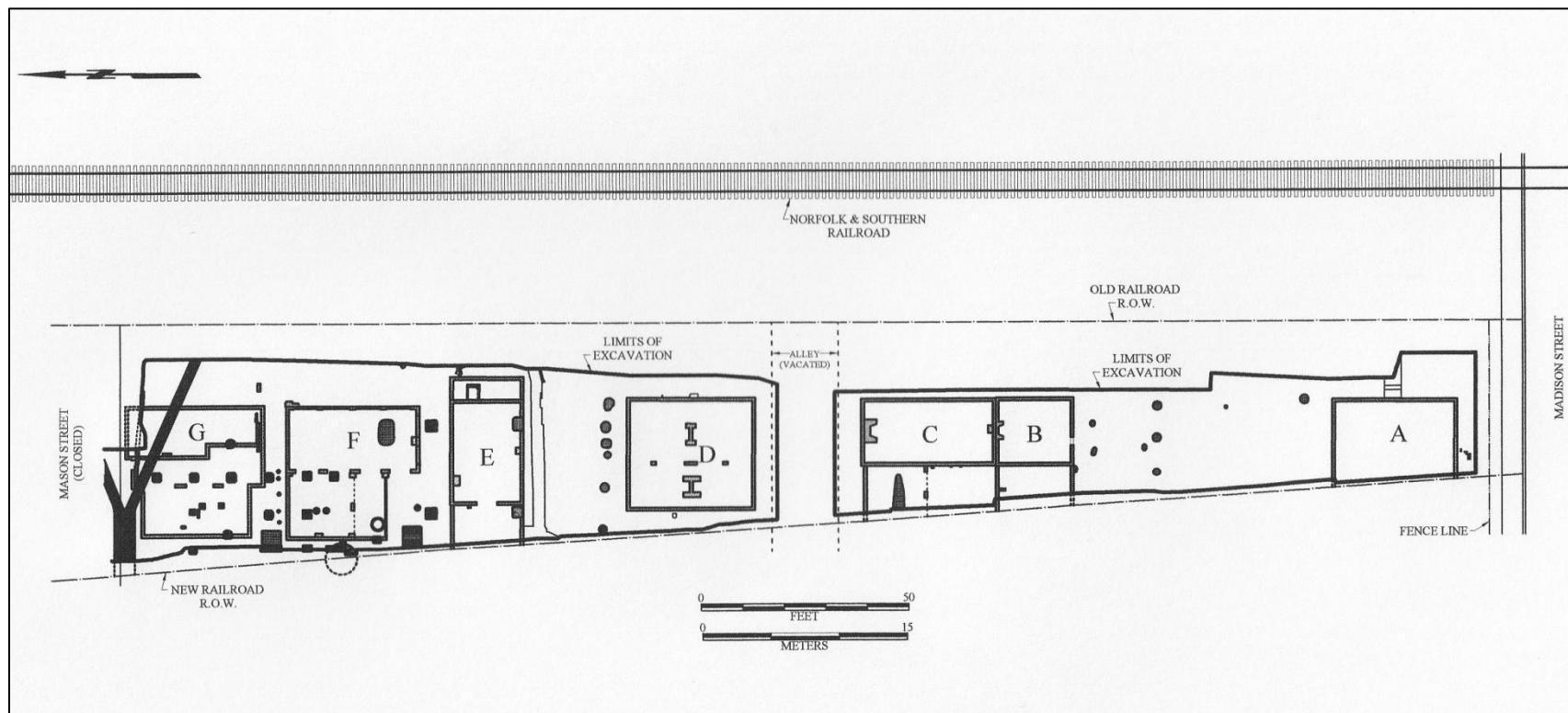


Figure 11. Plan map of the Site 11SG1432 illustrating the limits of the Phase II archaeological investigations and the location of the seven house foundations identified. The houses are labeled A through G, from south to north. Houses A through E were constructed in the 1840s-early 1850s. Houses F and G were constructed slightly later, probably in the 1860s.

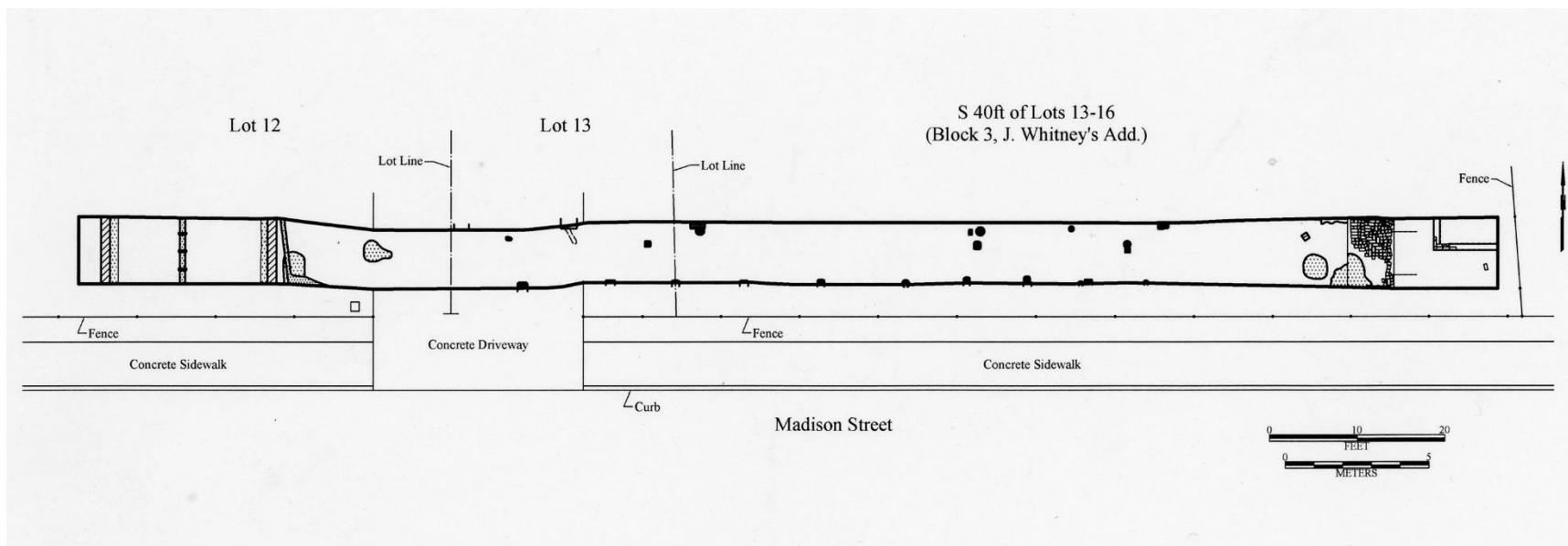
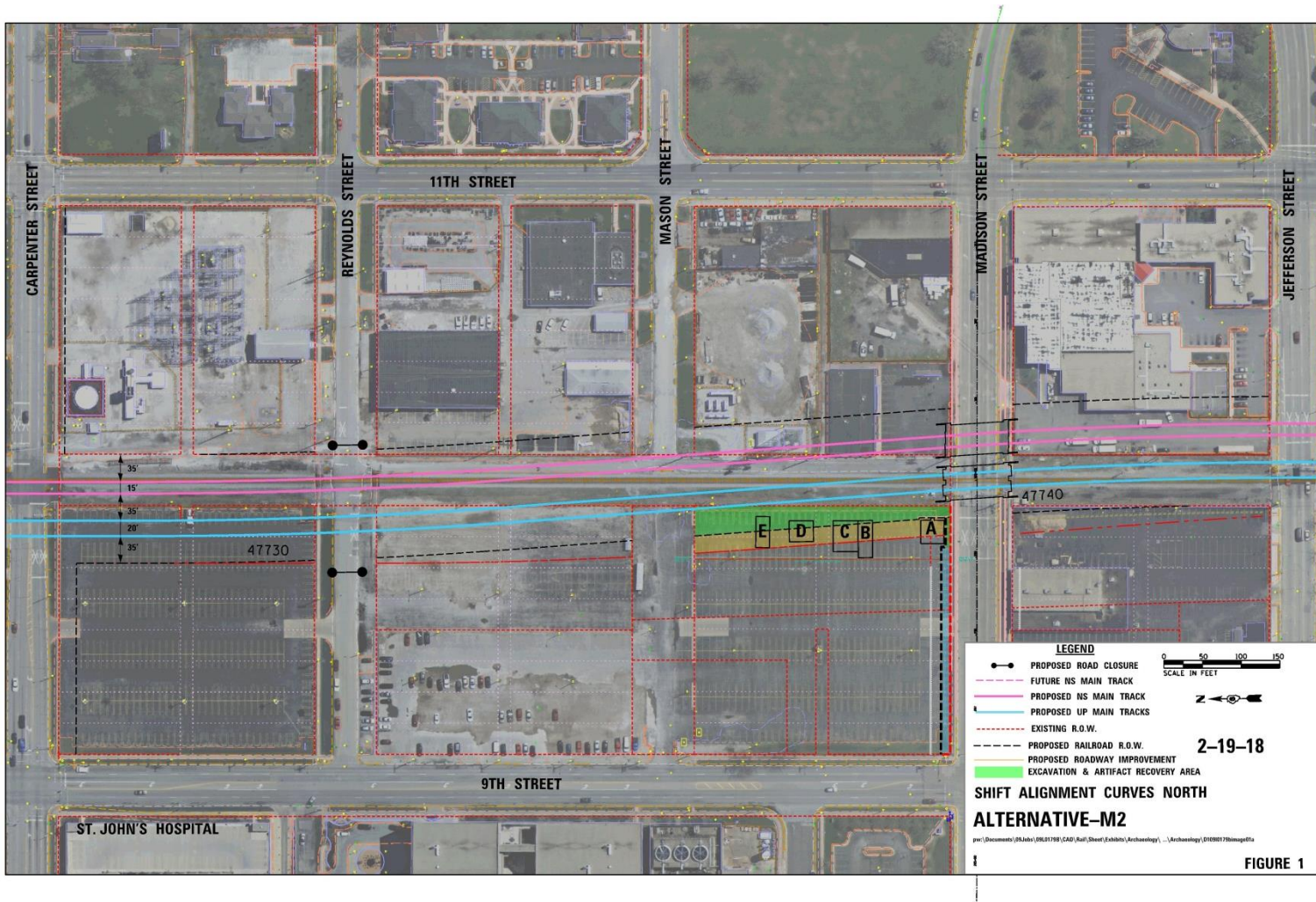


Figure 12. Site plan, illustrating the trench excavated along the Madison Street frontage of Site 11Sg1432 during the Phase II testing conducted in 2018. This testing exposed additional features associated with House A. It also indicated that the area immediately west of House A (on Lots 12-13 above), where a tavern and a house (long used as a brothel) destroyed in the 1908 race riot were located, had a high probability of having good archaeological integrity.



Figures 13. The revised design for the Carpenter Street Underpass Project (Minimization Option M2) shifts the western edge of the railroad right-of-way approximately 22 feet to the east, resulting in the preservation in place of the entire foundation of House A and portions of the foundations of Houses B, C, D, and E.

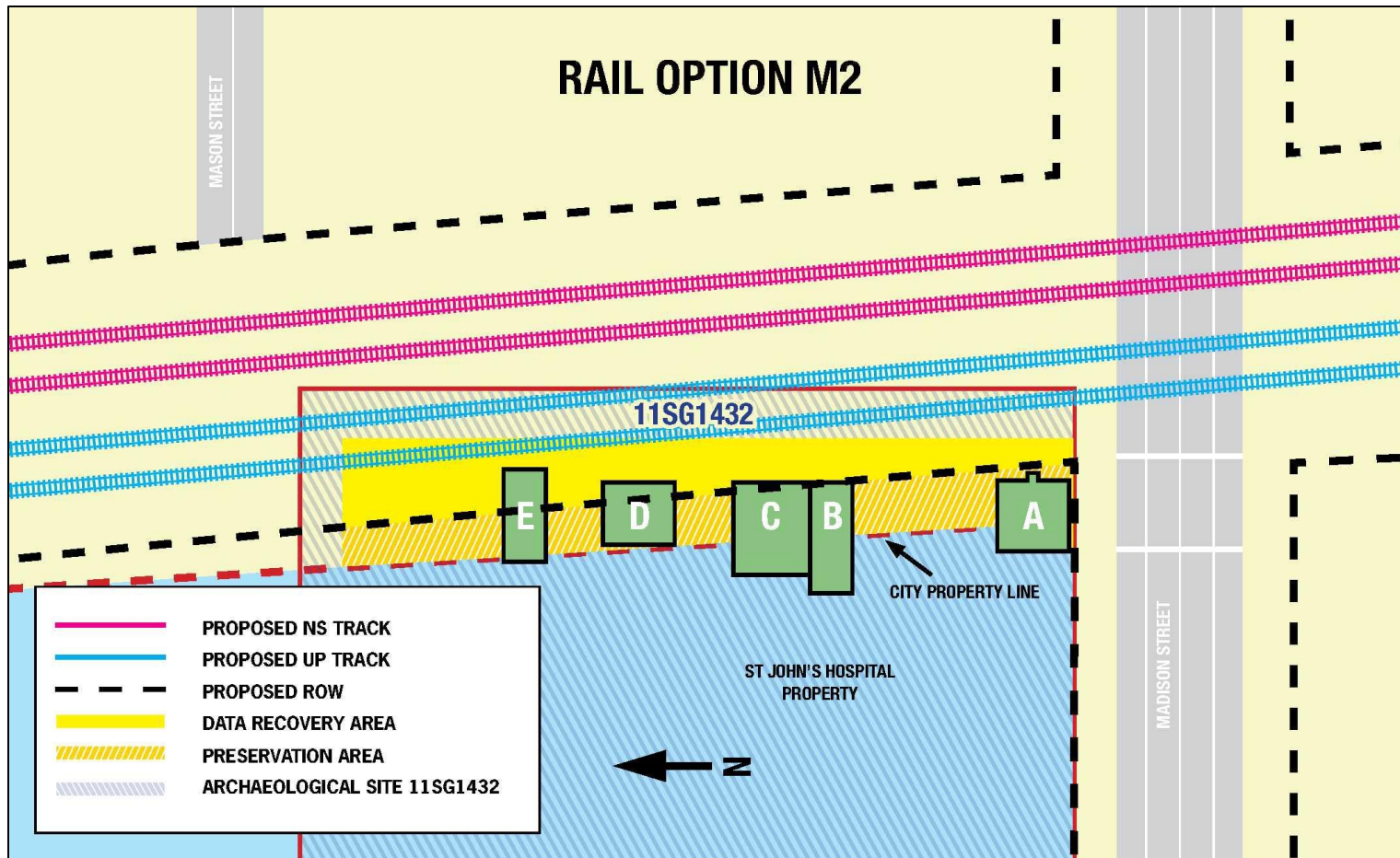


Figure 14. Close-up detail of the revised design for the Carpenter Street Underpass Project (Minimization Option M2), which shifted the western edge of the railroad right-of-way approximately 22 feet to the east, resulting in the preservation in place of the entire foundation of House A and portions of the foundations of Houses B, C, D, and E. The darker yellow indicated “Data Recovery Area” indicates the area in which Phase III data recovery occurred (Area A), and the crosshatched dark yellow indicates the area that will be preserved in place on City-owned property (Area B).

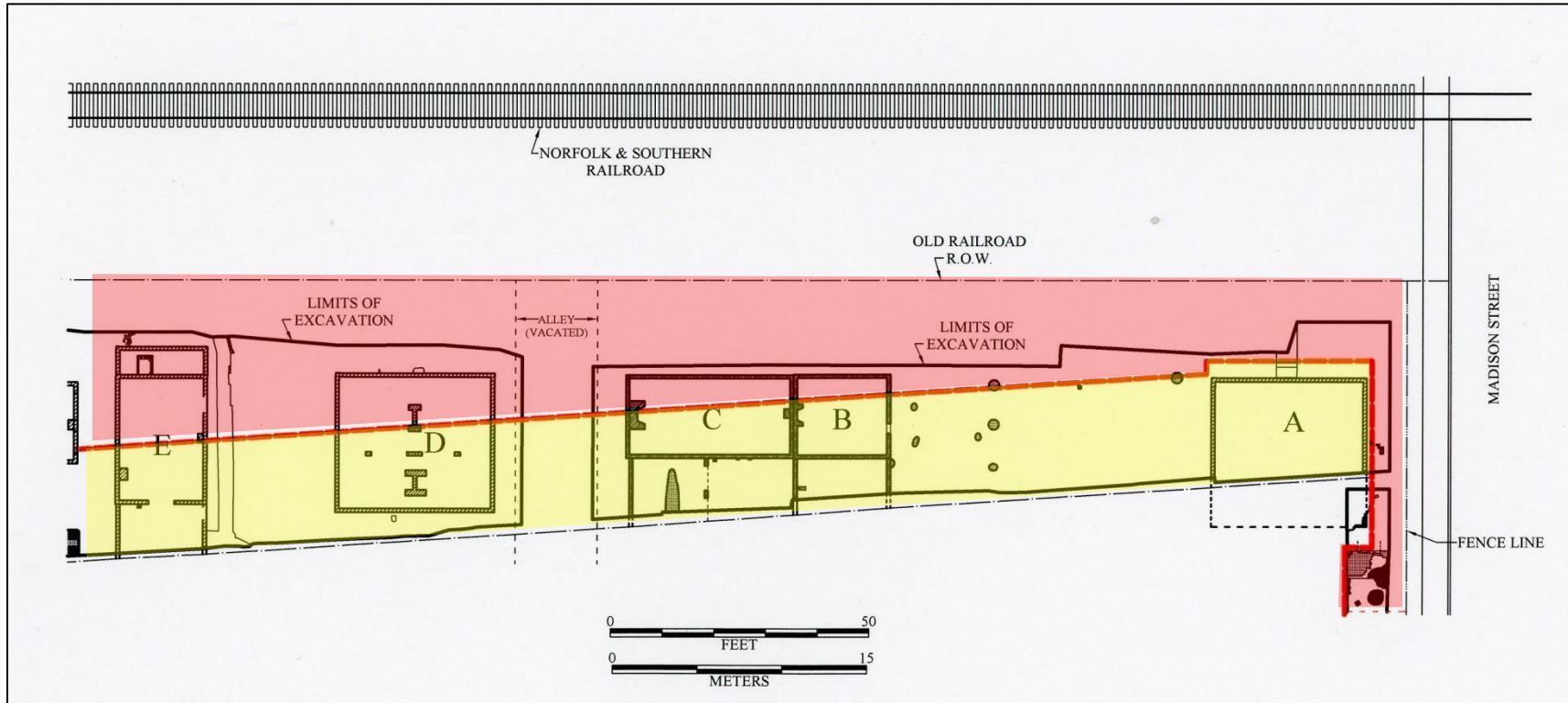


Figure 15. The area highlighted in red is the focus of the archaeological data recovery because it will be directly impacted by the rail project (Area A). The area highlighted in yellow will be preserved in-place on City-owned property (Area B).

Table 4
Correlation of Artifact Functional Categories (Left)
with Corresponding Ceramic and Glass Vessel Categories

Functional Category		Vessel Function	
I. Foodways Service	1.1	Tablewares (Eating)	
	1.2	Teawares (Drinking)	
II. Foodways Storage and Preparation	2.1	Kitchenware	
	2.2	Food Storage	
	2.21	Home	
	2.22	Commercial	
	2.23	Indeterminate	
III. Foodways Remains			
IV. Personal	4.1	Indulgences	
	4.11	Drink –Alcohol	
	4.12	Drink –Non-Alcohol	
	4.13	Smoking	
	4.14	Drugs	
	4.2	Medicine	
	4.21	Prescription	
	4.22	Proprietary	
	4.23	Non-proprietary	
	4.24	Indeterminate	
	4.3	Personal Care/Hygiene	
	4.31	Hair Products	
	4.32	Perfumes/Scents	
	4.33	Skin Products	
4.34	Miscellaneous		
V. Clothing			
VI. Household	6.1	Household Furnishings	
	6.2	Chemical	
	6.3	Infant/Dependent Care	
VII. Labor/Activities	7.0	Labor/Activities	
VIII. Architecture	8.0	Architecture	
IX. Indeterminate	9.0	Indeterminate	

Historical Context: Growth and Development of Springfield

Early Development of Springfield (1819-1837)

Historically, Springfield was part of a vast, environmentally diverse and agriculturally rich region of central Illinois known variously as the San-gam-ma, Sangamo or, most recently, Sangamon Country. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, much of the upper reaches of the Sangamon River valley were occupied by the Kickapoo Indians. Although early traders and trappers no doubt temporarily camped within the Sangamo County at an early date, the first Euro-American awareness of the splendor of the Sangamo Country was developed during the War of 1812, when several military expeditions launched against the Kickapoo passed through the valley. The route followed by the American troops became known as the Edwards Trace,¹⁷ in honor of Ninian Edwards, then Territorial Governor of Illinois. The Trace passed directly through the future site of Springfield.

The earliest known Euro-American settlement in the vicinity of Springfield occurred in 1819, when the Kelly family arrived from North Carolina. The Kellys constituted a large extended family and, by the end of 1819, they had erected at least four cabins within the present limits of Springfield. Over the next two years, several other families settled in the vicinity of the Kellys. In 1821, Elijah Iles arrived and opened the first mercantile in the area. The Kelly settlement, although loose and unorganized, represented the largest population center in Sangamon County upon its organization in 1821, and it was selected to serve as the temporary county seat (Wallace 1904:5-6; Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:563).

In November 1823, a government land office was established in Springfield. Pascal P. Enos, a native of Connecticut, was appointed by President Monroe to serve as receiver at the land office, and Thomas Cox was appointed register. Enos and Cox purchased two of the four quarter sections of land on which the original town of Springfield would be platted out. The other two quarter sections were purchased by John Taylor and merchant Elijah Iles. Before the end of the year (1823), Enos, Cox, Taylor, and Iles platted a town and arranged to have it surveyed. The base line for the survey was the rough line of cabins that extended east and west of Elijah Iles' store. The trail passing between these structures eventually became Jefferson Street. The plat of the town called for twenty-three blocks (each with eight city lots) and a public square. Madison Street, one block north of Jefferson, marked the northern edge of the town, while Monroe Street was the southernmost street. The north/south streets were numbered, beginning with First Street on the west and ending with Seventh Street on the east (Figure 16). Disliking the name of Springfield, the proprietors of the town decided to name it Calhoun. Calhoun, however, never really was accepted (partially due to the fact that a Springfield post office had been established before the town's formal platting), and the name was officially dropped in 1833 (Wallace 1904:7; Enos 1909:198-9).

¹⁷ The Edwards Trace ran from the American Bottom (opposite St. Louis) to Peoria on the Illinois River. Although gaining fame from its use as a military route during the War of 1812, it had deep prehistoric roots.

In December 1824, the State Legislature passed legislation requiring the selection of a permanent seat of government in Sangamon County. Springfield, which had served as the temporary county seat since 1821, had considerable support, but it also faced several rivals. The most significant rival was Sangamo Town, which was located on a bluff overlooking the Sangamon River, eight miles northwest of Springfield. Platted in June 1824, Sangamo Town was little more than a cluster of cabins when it was considered for the county seat, but its riverine setting seemed more advantageous than Springfield's location on the prairie—especially given the importance of water-borne commerce during the period. Nonetheless, Springfield prevailed, and in March 1825 it was designated as the permanent county seat. Soon after, a two-story, frame courthouse was erected on the public square (Wallace 1904:7-8). In April 1825, the *Edwardsville Spectator* ran an advertisement for the Town of Springfield noting that the Sangamon County Clerk, Charles Matheny, was offering for sale, thirty lots in an area “delightfully situated on the border of a handsome prairie,” with plenty of timber nearby. In describing Springfield, Matheny wrote:

Springfield is now the permanent seat of justice of Sangamo county, situated within 4½ miles of the Sangamo river, in the heart of perhaps the most beautiful and flourishing county in the state of Illinois. The number of lots are supposed to exceed one thousand. The town site is delightfully situated on the border of a handsome prairie, and in the immediate vicinity of a large quantity of good timber. The population exceeding two hundred souls, furnishes an opportunity of testing its health, which has never yet been denied by the candid mind or the intelligent physician (*Edwardsville Spectator*, 12 April 1825, p. 3).

Springfield’s population stood at about 500 in 1827. The major east/west thoroughfare through the community at that time was Jefferson Street, which was the site of Elijah Iles' store, the government land office, and many other early businesses. Jefferson Street continued west of town and eventually forked, with one road leading to Beardstown on the Illinois River, and the other to Jacksonville in Morgan County. The other major road servicing Springfield corresponded to the old Edwards Trace and ran north from Edwardsville, in Madison County. South of Springfield, this road intersected with a road from Vandalia, which was then the state capital. The Edwardsville Road entered Springfield via First Street, turned east on Jefferson, and then headed north again on Fourth Street. Beyond Springfield, the road continued northward to Peoria and the lead mining district around Galena (Wallace 1904:9). The terrain immediately surrounding the Original Town of Springfield was fairly flat, aside from a shallow valley that wrapped along the southern and western edge of the community through which a stream called the “Town Branch” flowed. Some of the wealthier families in the nascent community built their homes on the opposite side of the Town Branch from the Original Town, leading to this area being referred to as “Aristocracy Hill.”¹⁸

Springfield was incorporated in April 1832 and was governed thereafter by a board of trustees (Power 1876:44). The manufacturing concerns in Springfield during this period were relatively

¹⁸ The original Aristocracy Hill was located due west of the Original Town of Springfield, on the elevation now occupied the State Capitol Complex. By the 1850s, the locus of this upper-class neighborhood had shifted slightly southeast of its original locale (though still on the opposite bank of the Town Branch from the Original Town), with some of the more prominent homes being arrayed along South Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth streets (see Mansberger and Stratton 2003).

limited and were designed to meet a local need. This was due in part to Springfield's inland location and difficulty of transporting goods long distances by wagon. Prior to 1831, this transport would have primarily been conducted along the Edwards Trace. After that date, regular steamboat service was available at Beardstown, forty-six miles west of Springfield, and this town quickly developed into a port of entry for supplies and people into the Sangamo Country. Although the Beardstown route was certainly an improvement over the Edwards' Trace, it still presented the inconvenience of hauling goods overland, over poorly developed roads, for forty-six miles. For a time, it was hoped that the Sangamon River would be navigable for steamboats as far as Portland Landing, which was located four miles north of Springfield. This route was successfully negotiated in March 1832 by the steamboat *Talisman*, but was never attempted again due to the Sangamon's inconsistent water level and twisting course. Another proposal put forward to solve the transportation problem involved the construction of a canal between Beardstown and Springfield and the improvement of the Sangamon River's channel as far as Macon County. Canals had proven to be an economic success in New York, Ohio, and other states further east, and this proposal was received enthusiastically in Springfield. In 1836, the state legislature chartered the Beardstown and Springfield Canal Company, but the project was dropped when it was discovered that it would take an estimated \$811,082 to construct the canal (Howard 1974:25).

New State Capital and Early Railroad Era (1837-1865)

In 1837, the State Legislature voted to move the capital from Vandalia to Springfield. For many years, this move commonly was attributed to the political "logrolling" done by Sangamon County's large legislative delegation of seven representatives and two senators. The delegation, which included a young Abraham Lincoln, was referred to as the "Long Nine" due to their above average height. More recent research, however, has raised doubts as to any mastery strategy being employed by Lincoln and his colleagues in getting the capital moved (Howard 1972:198-199). Regardless, the move of the capital from Vandalia to Springfield simply made a great deal of sense. Settlement in Illinois was rapidly moving northward, and given the difficulty of travel during the period (especially in a state the size of Illinois), it was more convenient to have the capital near the geographic center of the state. Springfield agreed to pay the State \$50,000 to cover the costs of the move, the money being raised through subscriptions from its residents. As an added inducement, Springfield offered up its public square for the site of a new capitol building. Sangamon County had constructed a brick courthouse on the square only six earlier (replacing the earlier frame one), but this proved no obstacle to the project; the building was demolished and, the county offices were moved to temporary quarters until such time that a new courthouse could be erected (Power 1876:37-38; Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:568-9).

The Capitol, or State House, was an imposing Greek-Revival-style structure built of stone and crowned with a cupola.¹⁹ When a new county courthouse finally was built in 1845, it emulated

¹⁹ Although the cornerstone for the State House was laid on July 4, 1837, work was hampered by the State's financial problems following the Panic of 1837 and residual opposition to the relocation of the seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield. When the state government did finally transfer to Springfield in July 1839, the State House was far from completed, and the General Assembly had to gather at the Second Presbyterian Church for their first session in the city. The General Assembly was able to occupy parts of the Capitol by 1840, but it was not until 1853 that the building was considered complete (Angle 1950:74-75).

the Capitol in respect to its architectural style and featured a two-story columned portico. The courthouse was located on the southeast corner of Sixth and Washington streets, facing the public square. A nearly identical building, initially occupied by the State Bank of Illinois and later by the Springfield Marine Bank, stood alongside the courthouse (Figure 17). These public buildings provided signal evidence of Springfield's new status as the state capital and considerably enhanced the appearance of its central business district. Being the state capital also insulated Springfield to some extent from the difficult economic conditions following the Panic of 1837, which was the worst financial crisis the country had seen up to that point in time and ushered in a nearly decade-long depression. By the summer of 1840, Springfield's population was estimated to be above 3,000, a nearly six-fold increase from a decade earlier. The following year, approximately 100 new buildings were constructed in the community (Angle 1971:88). In February 1840, the General Assembly granted Springfield a city charter, subject to approval by the town's voters. An election was held in April of that same year, and a majority supported adopting a city form of government (Power 1871:88).

Another legacy of the 1836-7 legislative session in Illinois was the ill-starred Internal Improvements Act of 1837. This bill provided for the construction of a network of railroads throughout the state and several river improvements, all of which was to be state funded. One railroad, called the Northern Cross, was to run across the central part of the state (from the Illinois/Indiana border near Danville to Quincy on the Mississippi) and go through Springfield. While this bill was visionary in its recognition of the future importance of railroads, it proved to be a financial fiasco. The State proposed to construct the entire network all at once, when it had neither the proper funding nor expertise to do so. Whatever chance of success there may have been was erased by the Panic of 1837. Even so, the State of Illinois continued to move forward on its expansive internal improvements program for several years before financial realities finally set in. Contracts for grading and other preparatory work for the North Cross Railroad east and west of Springfield were issued in 1837-8. The abutments for a bridge across the Sangamon River also were completed during this period (*Sangamo Journal*, 7 October 1837; 5 May 1838, p. 2; 9 June 1838, p.1). These efforts were well in advance of tracks actually being laid down, however. Within Springfield, the railroad was to run along Tenth Street, and a number of landowners with lots along Tenth "repackaged" these properties by subdividing and reorienting them from north/south to east/west in order to front the railroad, thus maximizing on their potential commercial value. One of those who did so was Jonas Whitney, who reoriented the lots on several blocks in his addition to Springfield (including Block 3, where the Race Riot Site is located).

By 1839, Illinois was deeply in debt, and work on the various improvements projects was at a virtual standstill. Final abandonment of the state's internal improvement system occurred during the 1840-1 legislative session (Howard 1972:200-2). The only portion of the proposed railroad network actually put in operation at the time was a section of the Northern Cross between Springfield and the town of Meredosia, located on the Illinois River. Work on this fifty-nine-mile line began in the spring of 1838 and continued over the next four years. The first train arrived in Springfield on February 15, 1842. Rail service continued over the next five years, but it was erratic at best. The one locomotive operating on the line often broke down, and in 1844 it was retired altogether. At that point, the railroad started using mules to pull the rail cars. The

State had put the railroad up for lease as early as 1842,²⁰ and in 1847 it sold the Northern Cross to private interests for a mere \$21,100, which represented only a fraction of what it had cost to build the railroad. The businessmen who purchased the Northern Cross, renamed it the Sangamon and Morgan Railroad. They also rebuilt the entire line and re-routed its western terminus from Meredosia to the town of Naples. The Sangamon and Morgan Railroad opened for traffic in 1849 and initially offered two trains daily (Howard 1972:200-2; Bateman and Selby 1912:773-4; Interstate Publishing Company 1881:145-146; Power 1876:44).²¹

The State legislation that allowed the sale of the Northern Cross to private interests in 1847 specifically mentioned a “depot, engine house, shop, and lots on which they are situated in Springfield” (*Sangamo Journal*, 18 March 1847, p. 2). The exact locations of these early railroad buildings are not known at present, though they are suspected to have been situated in proximity to Springfield’s central business district (several blocks south of the Race Riot Site).²² Following the railroad line’s reorganization as the Sangamon and Morgan, the new owners set about improving it. Better-quality track was laid down, and new maintenance and operational facilities were constructed. In January 1849, the railroad company put out a request for bids by contractors for the construction of an “engine house and a carpenter’s and smith’s shops” in Springfield. These buildings were to be located on a 1.12-acre tract of land lying between Ninth and Tenth streets, south of Cook Street.²³ A new depot also was constructed on the southwest corner of Monroe and Tenth streets in 1849. This building, which was of frame construction, caught fire and was destroyed on the night of January 28, 1852. It was replaced by a combined passenger and freight depot, built of brick, at the same location (Russo 2014).²⁴ A variety of

²⁰ In April 1842, John D. Whiteside, the Fund Commission for Illinois, advertised the leasing of the railroad between Springfield and Meredosia, “together with all the locomotives, passenger and burthen cars; and all the shops, tools, depots and other buildings connected with the rail road, except the warehouse at Meredosia, for two years from the said 9th day of May next” (*Sangamo Journal*, 22 April 1842, p. 2). J. B. Watson and J. M. Morse were the initial lessees and agreed to pay \$10,300 for a two-year contract (*Sangamo Journal*, 13 May 1842, p. 3). By May 1844, William Baxter and Company was leasing the railroad (*Illinois State Register*, 10 May 1844). Outright sale of the Northern Cross was offered by the State as early as 1843, but, as noted above, this did not come to pass until 1847 (*Sangamo Journal*, 7 September 1843, p. 2; and 27 February 1845, p. 2).

²¹ Some of the other proposed railroads, such as the Illinois Central, would eventually be constructed, but this work did not occur until the 1850s.

²² Historical sources are frustratingly vague about the locations of the original depot, engine house, and shop for the Northern Cross Railroad in Springfield. Newspaper advertisements from 1842-1848 occasionally refer to the Northern Cross depot, using it as a point of reference for certain businesses but without providing a specific location for it. Several articles from the period 1849-1850 mention an “old depot” to distinguish it from the “new depot” built by the Sangamon and Morgan Railroad at the southwest corner of Monroe and Tenth Streets in 1849 (*Illinois Journal*, 23 April 1849, p. 2; 14 August 1849, p. 3; 8 July 1850, p. 2).

²³ The Sangamon and Morgan Railroad Company purchased this tract from Elijah Iles for the nominal sum of \$1 through a deed dated April 9, 1851 (SCDR FF:602). Considering that the railroad was requesting bids from contractors in January 1849, construction on the railroad shops may actually have preceded official transfer of title to the land.

²⁴ Part of this facility is still extant and commonly known as the “Lincoln Depot,” as it was from here that Abraham Lincoln departed for Washington, D.C. in 1861 (see Russo 2014).

business enterprises were constructed in the immediate vicinity of the depot, including warehouses, meat-packing plants, and lumber yards.²⁵

In 1853, the Sangamon and Morgan was rechartered as the Great Western Railroad Company began extending their line eastward from Springfield to Decatur where it intersected with Illinois Central Railroad (running between Chicago and Cairo). It eventually would be extended to Danville, on the state line, where it connected with the Toledo and Illinois Railroad. The Great Western also acquired rights to complete the surveyed—but never built—western section of the Northern Cross running between the Illinois River and the Mississippi River at Quincy (*Illinois Journal*, 19 February 1853, p. 2; 26 March 1853, p. 2; *Illinois State Register* 21 March 1853, p. 2). With these extensions, the Great Western connected Springfield to a rapidly expanding national rail network. No longer a minor road isolated in the center of the state, as the Northern Cross was, the Great Western could now ship an increasing volume of goods to and from Springfield via the Tenth Street corridor. The Great Western became one of the largest employers in the city during this period. By June 1858, around 120 men were employed at its Springfield shops alone (*Illinois State Journal*, 21 June 1858, p. 2).²⁶ Additional Springfield men worked on the company's trains in various capacities (as engineers, conductors, brakeman, etc.).

Springfield received a second railroad connection in 1852, when the Alton and Sangamon Railroad reached Springfield and established direct rail service to St. Louis, via Alton in Madison County. Over the next couple of years, the line was extended northward, reaching Bloomington in 1854 and Joliet in 1856. At Joliet, it linked with the Joliet and Chicago Railroad, which had been completed in 1855. The Alton and Sangamon was renamed the Chicago, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad in 1855. It operated under this name until 1857, when it was reorganized as the St. Louis, Alton and Chicago Railroad. The line was renamed once again, in 1861, as the Chicago and Alton Railroad (Bateman and Selby 1912:775). For clarity, the railroad will be referred to as the Chicago and Alton when discussed in this report. For most of its route through Springfield, the Chicago and Alton Railroad ran along Third Street, but on the city's north side it turned to the northeast, following Peoria Road. South of town it intersected the Great Western at Springfield (later Iles) Juncture, where a depot was built. This railroad junction was the first of its kind in Illinois and has been touted as “one of the pioneer intersections in the Mid-West” (Buford and Smith 1942:26, 28) (Figure 18).

²⁵ One of these commercial properties, located on the northwest corner of Adams and Tenth, initially was used as a pork packing plant by the Lamb brothers, but in 1866 was purchased by Jacob Bunn and Company, a wholesale grocery firm (Russo et al. 1995:114).

²⁶ The Great Western Railroad's shop complex in Springfield is referenced in a “Review of the Trade and Improvements of Springfield for 1856,” published by the *Illinois State Journal*, which mentions: “Four brick buildings, intended for Machine and repair shops for Great Western Railroad, not completed. Two of them will be 100 by 50 feet, two stories; one 60 by 50 feet, and an engine house 60 feet deep with a 72 feet front and 168 rear; the whole to cost \$40,000. E. Jameson, builder” (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 January 1857, p. 2). A June 1858 newspaper article on the “Great Western Railroad Car Shops” described the engine house as a “a large semi-circular structure, ranged around with stalls for the locomotives and opening out upon one of the most convenient and easily handled turn-tables imaginable...” (*Illinois State Journal*, 21 June 1858, p. 2).

Corresponding with the improvement in rail service was an expansion of Springfield's industrial base. Several brick yards, such as John Nolin's brickyard located at the southeast corner of Madison and Tenth Streets, were established in the community (Springfield City Directory [SCD] 1855). Flour and grist milling—an industry that dated to the earliest years of the community—boomed between 1845 and 1865 (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:577). One such mill established during these years was the Francis and Sanford mill located at the intersection of Tenth and Madison Streets (adjacent to the existing project area). Later known as the Phoenix Mill, it was purchased by William Grimsley in early 1845 (*Illinois State Journal*, February 27, 1845).²⁷ The Springfield Woolen Mills also blossomed during this period. The woolen mill was an outgrowth of a humble, two-man wool carding operation established in 1834. The business started cloth production in 1848, and by 1857 it was producing "one hundred yards of flannel, fifty yards of jeans, and fifty pounds of stocking yard per day." In 1860, the woolen mill erected a large, three-story, brick factory building on the corner of Fourth and Jackson Streets. There were also several "heavy" industries established during this period. The Ætna Iron Works was founded sometime prior to 1848 on the corner of Second and Adam Streets, and the Excelsior Foundry and Machine Works was established by John Rippon in 1854 (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:575, 578).

Springfield received its first institution of higher learning in 1852, when Illinois State University moved to the community. This school had been founded by the Lutheran Church in 1848, and was originally named Hillsboro College due to its location in Hillsboro, Montgomery County, Illinois. The inducements offered to the school to make the move from Hillsboro to Springfield included a ten-acre tract of land located north of the city (donated by the children of Pascal P. Enos) and \$37,000 that was to be used for the construction of a university building and for scholarships. The land donated by the Enos family was located between Twelfth and Fifteenth Streets and Moffat and Matheny Streets. Classes were held in temporary quarters until the university building was completed in 1854. Despite its ties to the Lutheran Church, the university tried to be non-sectarian in its teaching, and its arrival was warmly welcomed by Springfield residents, most of whom were not Lutheran. Members of some of Springfield's most prominent families attended the university, including Abraham Lincoln's oldest son, Robert. Another prominent student was future Secretary of State John Hay, who came from Pittsfield, in Brown County, to attend school. The student body also included members of Springfield's growing Scandinavian population (Evjen 1931:56-71; Campbell 1976:83). Unfortunately, many of the American students held nativist beliefs, and this proved to be a decisive factor in causing the Scandinavian students to withdraw from the school en masse in 1860. Dropping enrollment

²⁷ The William Grimsley Estate apparently sold the property in circa 1863. Amelia Grimsley advertised "Mill Property For Sale" beginning April 28th, 1863 (cf. *Illinois State Register*, August 28, 1863 for a copy of the advertisement). At that time, the mill was described as "one of the best in the city... [with] attached a large warehouse, stable, and three good wells. The ground on which the mill and other buildings is situated embraces some four lots, and is enclosed by a strong board fence." This mill was an anchor adjacent to the south end of the Carpenter Street (USI) project area. In 1867, Jacob Tigar offered the steam mill and associated improvements for sale (*Illinois State Journal*, February 6, 1867). The mill was demolished in 1885. For a history of this mill, see "The Phoenix Mill: Industrial Anchor to the Tenth Street Project Area," Appendix VIII, Mansberger and Stratton (2024, Volume IV).

exacerbated the university's persistent financial woes, and the institution was forced to close its doors in 1868. The university buildings were occupied in 1874 by Concordia College.²⁸

Aside from the Scandinavians, several other immigrant groups made their appearance in Springfield during the period 1840-1860. Germans began arriving in large number in Illinois during the early 1830s, and they played a prominent role in Springfield's business community. Not surprisingly, the Germans dominated Springfield's brewery industry. The earliest brewery in the city was erected by Franz Reisch in 1848. Over the next thirty years, at least seven other breweries are known to have operated in, or immediately adjacent to, Springfield. The Reisch Brewery proved to be the most successful of the lot and stayed in business until 1966. Three breweries (Kun; Ackermann and Nolte; and Reisch) were situated relatively close to one another on the city's northwest side, and the area around them developed into a distinctively, working-class, German neighborhood. This neighborhood, which was centered on west Carpenter Street, was also home to several other German-dominated trades, including sausage manufacturing and soda bottling, and eventually became known as Old Goose Town (Mansberger 1993:57).²⁹ Springfield's earliest Jewish residents arrived in the 1840s and were mostly German as well (Campbell 1976:68). Another early ethnic group who settled in Springfield around this time was the Portuguese from the Madeira Island, about whom more is said below. Free Blacks also began arriving in Springfield during the 1840s (Campbell 1976:58-59, 68).

Between 1850 and 1860, the population of Springfield nearly doubled from 4,533 to 9,320, and the city was destined to experience a comparable increase over the course of the following decade (Campbell 1976:352; Schneider 1915:7). Unfortunately, this population growth outpaced the developments in infrastructure, and the community was desperately lacking in city improvements prior to 1855. Visitors to the state capital were often surprised at its filthy, unorganized appearance. Describing the city's muddy streets in 1848, Norwegian immigrant Frithjof Meidell wrote:

It would be very beautiful here if the streets were paved. But picture to yourself a town laid out on the blackest mold without pavement, and add to this that swine, Irishmen, cows, and Germans walk around loose in this slush and you have a pretty good idea how the streets look (Campbell 1976:63).

In 1853, the editor of the *Rockford Forum* was equally critical. He lambasted the city on its backwardness, observing:

Springfield presents neither a pleasant nor cheerful appearance, nor does it give any demonstrations of great enterprise, either public or private. There does not appear to be much taste in the arrangement of things, either of a private or public character, especially of a public, judging from the streets, alleys, sidewalks,

²⁸ Concordia College, originally established as Concordia Theological Seminary, was maintained by the Lutheran Church for the training of its ministry. Established in 1846 in Fort Wayne, Indiana, it moved to St. Louis ca. 1861 prior to moving to Springfield, Illinois. It is one of two seminaries in the United States that is maintained by the Missouri Synod. In 1976, the college closed its doors in Springfield (Sangamon Valley Collection, Vertical Files, Concordia College).

²⁹ *Illinois State Journal*, 8 November 1931, p. 60.

etc....As to city improvements, it is horrible to think of a city containing seven or eight thousand inhabitants, with all the boasted wealth of this city, and so favorably patronized too, without a single good sidewalk in it, or even a public lamp to light a street (Campbell 1976:76).

Similar criticism was no doubt delivered by Springfield citizens as well, and the city council eventually responded to the complaints. Starting in 1855, board sidewalks were laid out in the downtown commercial district. Around the same time, a contract was let for the installation of gaslights in the city (Power 1871:52, Campbell 1976:76). The city's first fire company was organized in 1857 and was followed within months by two others. The first attempts at establishing a reliable public water supply (albeit unsuccessful) were also made in 1857 (Campbell 1976:87; see also Mansberger and Stratton 2012).³⁰ Efforts also were made to improve Springfield's sewage system during this period. A key component of this program was converting the Town Branch into the city's primary sewer main by channelizing and enclosing the stream within a brick culvert that was to be buried. By this date, the stream had become severely polluted from residential and commercial waste, and was regarded as an eye-sore and public health hazard (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 December 1857, p. 3). Lateral sewer lines, aligned to the street grid and feeding into the Town Branch, also would be constructed. Work began on the lateral lines in 1859 and the Town Branch Sewer in 1861, with construction continuing through the Civil War (*Illinois State Register*, 29 March 1859, p. 3; *Illinois State Journal*, 21 August 1865, p. 3; 27 May 1859, p. 2; 19 November 1861, p. 3; 4 June 1862, p. 3; 21 August 1865, p. 3).³¹

The city council also showed further willingness to engage in urban planning in 1859, when it expanded the corporate boundaries one mile in each direction from the city center, providing generous room for future growth. The limits of the city were defined by four Grand Avenues (North, South, East, and West Grand) (Russo et al 1995:12). Although many of Springfield's streets would remain unpaved for years to come, starting in 1860 the city began to surface portions of those streets adjoining the Public Square and running through the central business district. Wood planking initially was used as a surface, but this proved to have drawbacks and in 1870 was replaced by wood blocks (*Illinois State Register*, 28 June 1936, Industrial Section, p. 6).³²

Similarly, efforts were made during this period in the way of cemetery design. In 1855, the city council purchased a tract of land north of town that was to be used for a new cemetery named Oak Ridge. Two older burying grounds were located within the city limits, but these were nearly

³⁰ Mansberger and Stratton (2012) provide a detail discussion of the development of Springfield's public water supply from the 1850s through the 1930s.

³¹ The eastern, or upper, end of the Town Branch Sewer was 3 feet in diameter, but its size increased along its course through Springfield, eventually reaching upwards of 10 feet in diameter at its western end. The sewer remains in use to this day, though that section passing beneath the Tenth Street rail corridor recently was replaced during the construction of Usable Segment V of the Project.

³² The wood blocks later were replaced by more durable materials, such as asphalt and paving brick. Springfield's street paving program continued in stages through the remainder of the nineteenth century (see Stratton 1999).

full and couldn't meet future needs. Existing burials in these cemeteries were to be exhumed and reinterred at Oak Ridge. Unlike its predecessors, Oak Ridge Cemetery was architect designed, and it represented a premier example of a rural landscape cemetery. It was dedicated in May 1861. Four years later, Oak Ridge became the final resting place for Abraham Lincoln (Campbell 1976:77; Russo and Mann 2009:9, 51).

During the Civil War, Springfield functioned as an important military center, largely due to its recently expanded rail facilities and political connections to Lincoln. In August 1861, Camp Butler was opened at Clear Lake, east of Springfield. Over the course of the war, thirty regiments of infantry, four regiments of cavalry, and five batteries of artillery were mustered into service at Camp Butler, making the camp second only to Camp Douglas, in Chicago, as a mobilization center. Camp Butler also functioned as a prisoner-of-war camp between February 1862 and May 1863 (Campbell 1976:96-8). Another military facility, named Camp Yates, was located on the western edge of the city.³³ Springfield received its fair share of military contracts during the war, one example being the Springfield Woolen Mills, which produced uniforms and blankets for the troops. The booming war-time economy attracted new residents to the city. It also led to the development of an entertainment/vice district known as the "Levee" on the east side of the central business district, which was heavily patronized by the soldiers passing through the city. The Levee persisted long after the war ended; and depending on one's perspective, the district added either color to or shame upon the capital city.³⁴

Springfield's Post-Civil War Development

In 1870, Springfield's population stood at 17,364, nearly double what it had been in 1860 (Schneider 1915:7). By this date, the beginnings of a public transportation system had been made in the capital city, with the establishment of two horse-drawn trolley lines. One of these lines ran north-south down Fifth Street, while the other ran east-west along Monroe Street. These two lines were operated by separate, privately owned companies. The trolley system would be expanded greatly in later years and eventually be electrified. Work also was progressing on a new Capitol building in Springfield. The state government had outgrown the old Capitol, and in 1867 the General Assembly approved the construction of a replacement just west of the central business district, on the site of the former Mather estate (on old "Aristocracy Hill"). The cornerstone for the new Capitol was laid in 1868. Construction on the massive edifice would continue for another twenty years but was sufficiently complete by 1876 for the

³³ Camp Yates was located on a tract of land previously used as Sangamon County Fairgrounds and had been established in April 1861 in response to President Lincoln's initial call for 75,000 volunteers following the attack on Fort Sumter. After the Union defeat at the First Battle of Bull Run (July 24, 1861), Lincoln and Congress recognized that the war was not going to be short, and a call for an additional 500,000 volunteers for up to three years of service was made. Camp Butler was established in response to this second call for troops and quickly surpassed Camp Yates in size and importance, due to it offering more space as a training ground, having an abundant water supply (Clear Lake), and direct rail access. Camp Butler also had the added advantage of being farther removed from Springfield than Camp Yates, which made it harder for soldiers to stray into the city and reduced friction with local residents. Camp Yates, however, still remained in use as military facility for the remainder of the war (cf., *Illinois State Journal*, 28 April, 1864, p. 3; *Illinois State Register*, 7 June 1865, p. 4).

³⁴ Appendix I details the development of the Levee District and the vice activity associated with it from the Civil War era into the early twentieth century. For a detailed discussion of Springfield during the Civil War see Quinn (1991).

General Assembly to occupy the building. The old Capitol on Springfield's public square was sold to Sangamon County for use as a courthouse (Bateman and Selby 1912:655-657).

Although impacted by the national economic downturns that followed the end of Civil War and the later Panics of 1873 and 1893, Springfield's industrial growth largely continued unabated during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This growth was spurred in part by the exploitation of Sangamon County's immense coal reserves, and also by the expansion of the rail network servicing Springfield. Both were intimately connected to one another, with railroads needing coal to fuel their locomotives and the mines dependent on the rail lines for shipping their product to market.

In 1865, the Great Western was integrated into a much larger rail network when it was consolidated with the Toledo and Wabash, the Quincy and Toledo, and the Illinois and Southern Iowa railroads (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 July 1865, p.2).³⁵ The consolidated line, which was incorporated as the Toledo, Wabash, and Western Railroad, commonly referred to simply as the "Wabash," reached from the western shore of Lake Erie into Iowa.³⁶ In 1869, the railroad's shops along Tenth Street were expanded, with new buildings erected at the cost of \$75,000 (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:146). The main shop building measured 234x110-ft in size and was equipped to handle ten locomotives over pits at one time (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 June 1934, p. 10). The Wabash also constructed a new, larger passenger depot in 1870; this new depot was located at Tenth and Washington streets, several blocks north of the old depot (Figures 19-20). Post-1881, the Wabash significantly expanded the rail yard adjacent to its Springfield shop complex.³⁷

A third railroad servicing Springfield was planned shortly before the end of the Civil War. This was the Pana, Springfield, and Northwestern Railroad, whose incorporation was approved by the General Assembly in February 1865 (*Illinois State Journal*, 3 February 1865, p. 2). This railroad was to run between Pana, in southeastern Christian County, and the Illinois River town of Beardstown, in Cass County, passing through Springfield along the way.³⁸ The contract for constructing the eastern division of the line (covering the 42 miles between Pana and Springfield) was awarded in September 1865. Although the contractor estimated that this section

³⁵ Earlier archaeological reports produced for the Project reference 1859 as the date for the Great Western's consolidation into the Wabash system, relying on Bateman and Selby (1912:774) as a source. However, more recent research by the authors shows that the consolidation actually occurred in 1865. The authors acknowledge this error and apologize for the incorrect date provided for in the previous reports.

³⁶ This railroad went through several name changes after the 1865 consolidation, but the one constant component was "Wabash." The company officially adopted the name "Wabash Railroad" in 1889.

³⁷ The expansion of the rail yard entailed the removal of six pre-existing houses located between Tenth and Barrett streets. These house sites were subject to Phase II testing prior to the construction of Usable Segment V of the Project (see Mansberger and Stratton 2022b).

³⁸ At Pana, the proposed line would intersect with the Illinois Central Railroad and the Indiana, Terra Haute, and St. Louis Railroad. The Pana, Springfield, and Northwestern Railroad received enthusiastic support from Springfield's City Council, which authorized a ballot measure on subscribing \$100,000 towards the railroad's construction—a measure ultimately approved by the voters (*Illinois State Journal*, 8 March 1865, p. 2; 12 April 1865, p. 2).

of the railroad would be in working order by January 1, 1867, no rails had been put down as of April 1868—though grading, trestles, and culverts had been completed (*Illinois State Journal*, 7 September 1865, p. 2; 11 April 1868, p. 2). In January 1870, the Pana, Springfield, and Northwestern Railroad was consolidated with the Illinois and Southeastern Railroad, which ran between Pana and Shawneetown (Gallatin County) on the Ohio River. The consolidated line was named the Springfield and Illinois Southeastern Railroad and extended for a distance of 215 miles. Trains began running between Springfield and Pana in April 1870; and by July 1871 the full length of the line was in service (*Illinois State Journal*, 31 January 1870, p. 3; 15 July 1871, p. 19; *Illinois State Register*, April 1870, p. 5). The Illinois Southeastern Railroad ran down Madison Street in Springfield.

Additional railroads that came to Springfield from 1870 onwards included: the Gilman, Clinton, and Springfield Railroad (1871); the Springfield and Northwestern (1874); the St. Louis and Chicago Railroad, known as the "Wing Road" (1886); and the Indianapolis, Decatur, and Western Railroad (1902).³⁹ Nearly all of these railroads were intra-state lines as built, but eventually were bought out and integrated into larger systems. The Springfield and Illinois Southeastern, for instance, was acquired by the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad in 1875. Similarly, the Gilman, Clinton, and Springfield was purchased by the Illinois Central Railroad in 1877 (Bateman and Selby 1912:776-7; *Illinois State Journal*, 16 September 1871, p. 4; *Illinois State Register*, 4 December 1874, p. 4). The Springfield and Northwestern later was reorganized as the Chicago, Peoria, and St. Louis Railroad and later yet as the Chicago, Springfield, and St. Louis (*Illinois State Register*, 28 June 1936, p. 95). These railroads made Springfield one of the most significant railroad hubs in downstate Illinois and provided vital transportation services for the city's industries (Figures 21-22). They also were large employers locally. The 1910 population census of Springfield listed 553 residents who had railroad-related occupations, including 150 locomotive engineers, 261 railroad laborers, and 142 men who were employed as switchmen, flagmen, and yardmen. This represented approximately 3% of Springfield's working population (Senechal 1990:202).

Although local coal resources were exploited commercially as early as circa 1850, these efforts typically were small-scale affairs and involved the use of shallow drift mines, as opposed to shafts, until after the Civil War.⁴⁰ The first effort at sinking a deep coal shaft within Sangamon

³⁹ Bateman and Selby (1912:776-7) indicate that the Gilman, Clinton, and Springfield Railroad arrived in Springfield in 1870. Although the survey work for the railroad did begin in 1870, the railroad did not actually reach Springfield until 1871—the last spike being driven in on September 15 of that year (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 September 1871, p. 4). Bateman and Selby also indicate that the Springfield and Northwestern Railroad came to the city in 1877, but this too appears to be an error. Local newspapers indicate that the railroad was completed to Springfield in the fall of 1874 and formally opened that December (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 November 1874, p. 4; *Illinois State Register*, 4 December 1874, p. 4).

⁴⁰ Drift mines employed horizontal, or slightly sloped, entry shafts excavated into a hillside where a coal seam often already was exposed. This type of mine usually required less expense and technical expertise than shaft mines. The coal seams they exploited also tended to be thinner, and of poorer quality, than those found at deeper depths. In 1850, George and James Langfield reportedly were working a "coal bank" on German Prairie, four to five miles east of Springfield (*Illinois State Register*, 25 April 1850, p. 2). The Langfields likely were digging into the face of an exposed coal seam and "drifting" into it horizontally, as with a "drift mine." Mansberger and Stratton (2005) contains a detailed historical context of coal mining in Illinois, with details of Sangamon County.

County was made by P. L. Howlett in April 1866, after he drilled an exploratory hole at Jamestown (present-day Riverton), seven miles north east of Springfield, and discovered a thick coal seam.⁴¹ By September 1867, Howlett had sunk a shaft to the coal seam and was supplying the local market. After being purchased by Jacob Bunn in September 1869, the mine was leased to C. O. Godfrey of Hannibal, Missouri who operated it for a short while prior to its sale to the Western Coal and Mining Company in the spring of 1870. The Western Coal Company had several other mines and began the large scale, commercial production of coal in the region (Power 1871:46-47; cf., *Illinois State Register*, 18 April 1870, p. 4).

Although Howlett was responsible for starting the first shaft coal mine in Sangamon County, Jacob G. Loose is credited with being the first operator to actually hoist coal from one. Loose, upon learning of Howlett's discovery, proceeded to sink a shaft a short distance south of Springfield, just west of Iles Junction. Working through the winter of 1866-7, Loose was able to supply local markets with coal by April 1867. He equipped his mine with a steam engine, hoisting equipment and pumps at a cost of \$80,000, and generally employed 50 to 100 miners at a time, taking out about 200 tons per day. Loose's coal mine was serviced by the Wabash Railroad. Although formally operated as the Junction Coal Company, the mine also was variously referred to as the "Loose Mine", "Junction Colliery", and "South Shaft" in its early years of operation (Power 1871:47-48; Power 1876:466-147; SCD 1872:47-48; Russo et al. 1995:62-63). Many of the men employed at this mine lived in and adjacent to Iles Junction, which was formally platted in 1867.⁴² In 1887, another coal mine was opened one-half mile north of Iles Junction by the Central Coal Company; and it too was located along the Wabash Railroad (*Illinois State Register* 23 October 1887, p. 7).⁴³

The excavation of the first coal mine shaft along the north edge of Springfield was commenced by William Saunderson and William Beard in February 1867, a location about 1.5 miles north of the State Capital Building at the east side of the Chicago and Alton Railroad. After hitting a vein of quicksand, they began a second shaft on the west side of the tracks. By September 1867, the shaft had been completed and the necessary buildings and machinery were in place for commercial production. The total investment was \$40,000. During the winter months, the firm employed about 60 miners, laying off approximately half during the summer months. The average daily output was 100 tons per day. Being situated adjacent to the railroad, the firm was "finely situated to attract manufactories around them [and were] prepared to offer special inducement in the way of land grants, and the cheapest and best fuel, to parties desiring to

⁴¹ The coal seam Howlett encountered is referred to as Springfield No. 5 in Illinois and averages 5-6 feet thick in Sangamon County (Chenoweth et al. 2009).

⁴² Iles Junction was platted by Washington Iles, who was Jacob Loose's father-in-law. The opening of Loose's coal mine possible served as the impetus for Iles plating the small town. A portion of Iles Junction was subjected to Phase II archaeological testing as part of Usable Segment IV of the Springfield Rail Improvements Project. The site in question (Site 18; IAS No. 11SG1457) was the location of a hotel that was destroyed by fire in 1891. A history of this hotel and Iles Junction is covered by Stratton and Mansberger (2019).

⁴³ This mine was located on the east side of the railroad, north of present-day Princeton Avenue. It had a relatively long history and was operated in succession by the Central Coal Company (1887-1891), the Woodside Coal Company (1891-1915), the Springfield District Coal Company (1915-1925), and the Peabody Coal Company (1924-1944). Nearly 14 million tons of coal was extracted from the mine over its lifetime (Chenowith et al. 2009:11).

engage in any branch of manufacturing” (Power 1871:48-49). This mine was known as the “North Shaft” during its early years of operation (Warner, Beers, and Company 1871). Another early mine on the northern end of Springfield was that of the Co-Operative Coal Mining Company, which was opened in 1875 near the intersection of Eleventh and Ridgely Streets. The company had been organized in late 1874 by Frank Godley and others.⁴⁴ It too was serviced by the Chicago and Alton Railroad (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 December 1874, p. 6; 22 July 1875, p. 4; *Illinois State Register*, 17 July 1875, p. 4). In July 1869, Alexander Starne and George W. Shutt began sinking a coal shaft 1.25 miles northwest of the Capital Building, along the projected route of the Springfield and Southeastern Railroad.⁴⁵ Known as the “West End Shaft,” this mine started hoisting coal in the late summer of 1870. Its tipple was equipped with two chutes: one for wagons, for the local trade, and the other for trains (*Illinois State Register*, 27 August 1870, p. 4; Warner, Beers, and Company 1871).

The coal mines highlighted above were but a selection of the many that ultimately would be opened in and near Springfield during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figures 23-24). Between 1900 and 1905, Sangamon County ranked as the top coal producing county in Illinois; and even after that period, it remained in the upper tier of coal counties for years to come.⁴⁶ Senechal (1909:56) notes that in 1908 there were thirty-seven mines in operation in Sangamon County, employing over 6,500 men. Nearly half of these mines were located within four miles of Springfield, which was home to approximately 3,000 miners circa 1915 (Senechal 1909:56).

One industry that developed side-by-side with the coal mines and the railroads was the Springfield Iron Company (commonly known as “the Rolling Mills”), which was situated on approximately 50 acres located north of the city, bordering the Chicago and Alton Railroad (Figure 25). Organized in 1871 by Colonel H. B. Hayes of Boston and Charles Ridgely of Springfield, the firm first produced iron in the fall of 1872. The Springfield Iron Company was established for the production of iron rails for the railroad trade and were “at once taking rank as one of the most important rail mills in the country” (*Illinois State Journal* 1892:83). Beginning in 1882, the firm ceased production of rails to manufacture “merchant iron and steel,” specializing in railroad splice bars and bar iron for car building. The firm also maintained a large machine and blacksmith shop. This firm supplied their furnaces with gas generated from coal mined on their own property—an innovative process for which they became fairly well known. This firm employed from 800 to 1200 men continuously and “have probably added not less than 5,000 people to the population of the city and suburbs” (*Illinois State Journal* 1892:83-84). The

⁴⁴ One of the original stockholders in the Co-Operative Coal Mining Company was Robert Solomon, who eventually became a “prominent mine operator of Sangamon County” (Sangamon Valley Collection, Vertical Files).

⁴⁵ Alexander Starne had formerly served as President of the Pana, Springfield, and Northwestern Railroad and later was one of the original board members of that line’s successor, the Springfield and Illinois and Southeastern Railroad. He was involved in coal mining in Springfield for many years and eventually opened another coal mine northeast of the city, near the intersection of the Wabash and the Illinois Central railroads.

⁴⁶ In terms of total coal production during the period 1882-1930, Sangamon County ranked third overall in Illinois, with over 185.5 million tons of coal having been extracted from its mines. Only Franklin and Williamson counties in southern Illinois had produced more than Sangamon during this period (Millhouse [1931]:16-17).

Springfield Iron Company was far enough removed from Springfield at the time of its founding that a separate community, named Ridgely, was developed around it. The Springfield Iron Company was sold to the Republic Iron and Steel Company of Chicago in 1900. Shortly thereafter, the company shut down, and the plant was dismantled in 1905 (Inter-State Publishing 1881:573-74; Russo et al. 1995:66).

Another major industrial concern founded on the north side of Springfield in the early 1870s was the Springfield Watch Company. In August 1870, the company broke ground on a factory located on the north side of North Grand Avenue, between Ninth and Eleventh streets, which in operation by May of the following year (Figure 26). Later reorganized as the Illinois Watch Company in 1877, this firm prospered under the successive presidencies of Jacob Bunn, Sr. (1877-1896) and Jacob Bunn, Jr. (1896-1926). In 1881, it had 400 employees. Large additions were made to the original building in 1880 and 1888. The watch factory remained in business until 1932 (Russo et al. 1995:42-43; Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:574).⁴⁷ In 1897, the Illinois Watch Company subsidized the foundation of the Sangamo Electric Company, a manufacturer of electric meters. Initially operating as a subsidiary of the Illinois Watch Company, the Sangamo Electric Company was incorporated as a separate entity in 1899. Even so, the histories of the two companies remained intertwined: Sangamo's plant was located directly adjacent to the Illinois Watch Company, and Jacob Bunn, Jr. served as president of both firms. After Illinois Watch Company closed, the old factory was purchased by Sangamo Electric and integrated into its own facility. Sangamo expanded dramatically during World War II, and the company remained a large employer in Springfield into the 1970s (Russo et al. 1995:43, 46-48; SangamonLink: Sangamo Electric Co.).⁴⁸

In 1890, the Springfield Furniture Company built a factory on the northeast corner of Enos Avenue and Tenth Street (one-half mile south of the Illinois Watch Company), adjacent to the Wabash Railroad (cf., *Illinois State Register*, 17 September 1890, p. 6). This factory complex later was acquired by the Desnoyer Shoe Company, which operated from 1901 to 1910 (Figure 27). After Desnoyer declared bankruptcy, the facility was purchased by the International Shoe

⁴⁷ In 1927, the Bunn family sold the Illinois Watch Company to Hamilton Watch of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Financial constraints during the Great Depression ultimately forced Hamilton to close its Springfield factory in November 1932.

⁴⁸ Other founding members of Sangamo Electric were Henry Bunn (Jacob Bunn's brother) and Ludwig Gutman, who owned a patent for an alternating-current watt meter. Engineer Robert C. Lanphier helped perfect Gutman's meter and later developed a direct-current meter of his own. Lanphier assumed the presidency of Sangamo Electric following Jacob Bunn, Jr.'s death in 1926. During World War II, Sangamo branched out into the production of anti-submarine sonar and mica and paper capacitors, in addition to the watt-hour meters that were the company's hallmark and mainstay. Employment more than doubled during the war, rising to 3,000 by 1943. The post-war years saw Sangamo further diversify and expand. By 1966, the company employed a workforce of 4,800, divided between multiple facilities. Besides its main Springfield plant, the company also ultimately had plants in South Carolina, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Canada, and Great Britain. In 1975, Sangamo Electric was acquired by the French firm Schlumberger. Three years later (1978), Schlumberger closed down the Springfield plant, bringing to close a century of manufacturing at the site (Russo et al. 1995:43, 46-48; SangamonLink: Sangamo Electric Co.). By the time of its closure, the Sangamo Electric Company plant extended over the greater part of the large city block bound by Converse, North Grand, Ninth, and Eleventh. The new alignment for the consolidated Tenth Street rail corridor runs through the former Sangamo Electric complex.

Company.⁴⁹ By 1930, International Shoe employed 650 workers at their Springfield plant. The shoe factory remained in operation until 1964. During its later years of operation, around 300 people were employed at the factory (Russo et al. 1995:68).

Another prominent industrial concern established along the Wabash Railroad during late nineteenth century was the Sattley Manufacturing Company. A producer of farm machinery, Sattley relocated from Taylorville to Springfield in late 1889 and erected a plant on a four-block long strip of land bordering the west side of the Wabash between South Grand Avenue and Laurel Street (*Illinois State Register*, 18 February 1890, p. 8) (Figure 28). After merging with the Racine Wagon and Carriage Company of Racine, Wisconsin in 1900, the firm operated as Racine-Sattley Manufacturing. In 1916, Montgomery Ward and Company purchased the Springfield plant and renamed it the Hummer Plow Works. The plant remained in operation until 1958 (Russo et al. 1995:69).

By 1900, Springfield's population had risen to 34,159, making it the fourth largest city in Illinois after Chicago, Peoria, and Quincy (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 September 1900, p. 1). The city's corporate limits also had expanded beyond the four Grand Avenues by this date. Some of the expansion came through the annexation of formerly independent villages adjoining the city. West Springfield, for example, was annexed in late December 1897, and this was followed by the annexation of South Springfield and Laurel in April 1898 (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 December 1897, p. 4; 22 April 1898, p. 2). The Village of Ridgely was annexed to Springfield in June 1907, roughly five years after the closure of the Rolling Mills around which the community was developed (*Illinois State Register*, 17 May 1907, p. 2; 10 June 1907, p. 4).

Although Springfield's industrial base would remain strong into the middle twentieth century, signs of weakening appeared earlier. The number of railroad employees in the city, for instance, dropped significantly after the Wabash relocated its primary construction and repair shops to Decatur in late 1913. Although some repair capacity was retained at the Springfield, the workforce there was cut in half.⁵⁰ In 1922, the Wabash eliminated Springfield as a division headquarters after the railroad expanded its network into Missouri (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 December 1922, p. 6). The Wabash Railroad further reduced its operations in Springfield in 1930 when it relocated its freight terminal to Decatur.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The International Shoe Company was created in 1911 through the merger of the Roberts, Johnson & Rand Shoe Company with the Peters Shoe Company. It was based on St. Louis, Missouri.

⁵⁰ The railroad offered their Springfield shop employees similar positions in Decatur if they were willing to move, which many did (*Illinois State Register*, 30 September 1913, p. 2; *Illinois State Journal*, 3 October 1913, p. 8; *Illinois State Register*, 21 October 1913, p. 7; *Illinois State Register*, 30 October 1913, p. 6).

⁵¹ Freight crew members, who had previously used Springfield as their hub, were ordered to relocate, and passenger crew members were added to this order. In total, 148 employees were impacted by this decision. This was a severe economic blow for Springfield, which lost an estimated \$400,000 in annual payroll and perhaps as much as 500 in population (including families). The Wabash's workforce in Springfield, which once numbered over 600, was now cut down to twenty-three men working in the roundhouse and ten men in the car department. The move engendered a good deal of bitterness in the city, and the *Illinois State Journal* opined that, "The Wabash has thrown away the golden rule and substituted a rusty railroad spike" (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 May 1930, p. 1; 20 May 1930, p. 6; 23 May 1930, p. 6).

The local coal industry, which had reached a peak during World War I, started a slow decline from the 1920s onward. This was part of a broader trend in the Illinois coal industry. War-time demand had led to the opening of new mines and improvement of existing ones, but this scale of production was no longer needed in peacetime. Many mines were closed; and even those that remained open (or were reopened) now needed fewer miners due to the drop in demand for coal and the increasing use of mechanized mining techniques. The onset of the Great Depression caused further economic woes to the industry. This situation led to tensions between the operators and miners. Fissures also developed within the ranks of organized labor over the leadership of John L. Lewis, longtime president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW).⁵² Lewis' dictatorial rule over the UMW ultimately led dissident miners to leave the union and form two splinter organizations: the Reorganized United Mine Workers of America, active 1930-1932; and later, the Progressive Miners of America (PMA), founded in 1932. Competition between the UMW and PMA was fierce and led to violence, with the coal fields of Sangamon and neighboring Christian County becoming a particularly contested battleground. Mines and coal trains were targeted in bomb attacks, based on which union they were affiliated with. Multiple union-related shootings and house bombings occurred in and around Springfield during the early-to-middle 1930s (Krohe 1975:36-39; Adamic 1976:152-156; Cook 2019:55-61, 93-97). This same period, however, also marked a time of great Progressivism in respect to municipal governance in Springfield, most notably with the development of Lake Springfield and construction of the city-owned water treatment and power plants (cf., Mansberger and Stratton 2012).

As in the First World War, Springfield industry made significant contributions to the national effort in World War II. Three large plants in the city—Sangamo Electric, Pillsbury Mills, and Allis Chalmers—were awarded the Army-Navy “Excellence in Production (E) Award” during the conflict (Russo et al. 1995:60).⁵³ Local coal production also played its part and enjoyed a brief resurgence but met its eventual end as the railroads shifted to diesel locomotives and consumers adopted alternative heating fuels after the war. The last major coal mine in Sangamon County closed in 1952. Further hollowing out of Springfield's industrial/manufacturing base occurred in the post-war era with the closure of Hummer Plow in 1958, Springfield Boiler in 1962, and International Shoe in 1964. Large employers Sangamo Electric and Allis Chalmers (later Fiat-Allis) maintained their Springfield plants longer, but these too eventually closed—Sangamo in 1978, and Allis Chalmers in 1985 (Russo et al. 1995:61, 67-69). The loss of manufacturing jobs in the city was counterbalanced by an increase in employment related to State government, insurance, and various service industries during this period. In recent decades, the health industry in the Springfield had grown in importance, with St. Johns and Memorial hospitals, the Springfield Clinic, and the Southern Illinois School of Medicine being key linchpins.

⁵² John L. Lewis maintained a residence in Springfield from 1917 to 1960. His former home still stands and is located at 1132 West Lawrence Avenue. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1979.

⁵³ Pillsbury Mills was located at Fifteenth Street and Fifteenth Street in Springfield. It started operations in 1930, underwent several expansions, and by 1955 employed 1,500 people. Allis Chalmers' Springfield plant was located on the south end of the city and opened in 1928. At its peak, it employed over 3,000 (Russo et al. 1995:60, 70-71).

Springfield's Near North Side

The Usable Segment I (US-I) project area is located on the eastern end of Springfield's Near North Side. As discussed here, the Near North Side is delineated by Madison and Carpenter streets on the south and north and more roughly by First and Twelfth streets on the west and east. The Near North Side lies just outside the Original Town Plat for Springfield (Madison Street being the northern boundary of the plat) but was one of the earliest areas incorporated into the community in the 1830s. The area developed as a residential neighborhood initially, but its proximity to the central business district eventually encouraged the development of commercial and institutional buildings here as well. The presence of several railroad lines from the 1850s onward also encouraged light industrial development there. The mixed character of the Near North Side made it distinct from the predominately residential (and more upper income) Enos Park Neighborhood to the north of it (Figure 29).

Multiple additions to Springfield were platted on the Near North Side during the early and middle 1830s. Two of these directly that relate to the current project area are: 1) Wells and Peck's Addition, and 2) Jonas Whitney's Addition. The former was laid out by Thomas N. Wells and Stiles C. Peck late in 1836, with the plat being officially recorded on December 2 of that year (Sangamon County Deed Record [SCDR] K:107). It consisted of twenty blocks lying north of Jefferson Street, between Eighth and Twelfth streets. Some of the numbered blocks in the addition were partial rather than full city blocks (Figure 30). When Wells and Peck's Addition was platted, present-day Carpenter and Miller streets had astrological-orientated names, being named Gemini and Cancer streets, respectively. An ordinance changing the names of Gemini and Cancer Streets to Carpenter and Miller Streets respectively was passed on July 23, 1860.

Jonas Whitney's Addition was laid out directly east of Wells and Peck's Addition, the plat being recorded on April 17, 1837. It comprised nine blocks (three being partials) extending north of Jefferson Street, west of Twelfth Street, south of Mason Street, and east of Ninth Street (SCDR K:553) (Figure 30). Both of the additions in question were platted out at the end of the land speculation boom preceding the Panic of 1837 (Figure 30). The Panic, which began with a suspension of specie payments by banks in New York City on May 10, ushered in a nationwide recession that would last for seven years. It is little surprise, then, to find no sales recorded for lots within immediate project area until 1839. And in the case of the former, the earliest transactions involved Wells and Peck dividing the lots in their addition between themselves, as opposed to selling them to other parties. Land sales within the two additions would increase as the economy recovered in the early-to-middle 1840s (Sangamon County Tract Books [SCTB]).

The earliest picture we have of the structural developments on the Near North Side is provided by two maps of the city published in 1854 and 1858 (Figures 31-32). Both of these sources illustrate principal buildings as well as some outbuildings. The maps depict the blocks located within the project area as being lightly developed, with the notable exception of Block 3 of Whitney's Addition. The latter block was unique within the project area in that its lots, as sold and developed, were reoriented to face Tenth Street rather than the east-west streets adjoining it, as platted. Railroad lines are shown running down Third and Tenth streets on both the 1854 and 1858 maps. These lines attracted shipping-dependent industries to their environs, particularly

flour and/or grist mills. The Phoenix Mill, for instance, was located adjacent to the Sangamon and Morgan (later Great Western) Railroad on the southwest corner of Madison and Tenth Streets, immediately south of the project area. Mills were built adjacent to the Chicago and Alton Railroad on Third Street as well. The Chicago and Alton also had a maintenance yard and shops on the Near North Side, which covered a three-block area between Madison and Carpenter Streets (Potter 1854; Sides 1858).

Although far-less prestigious than “Aristocracy Hill,” on the south side of Springfield, the Near North Side nonetheless attracted a number of prominent figures who had residences here by circa 1850. One such person was James H. Matheny,⁵⁴ a lawyer and long-term public servant, who built a home on the northeast corner of Mason and Ninth streets. Another was merchant Thomas Lewis, who resided on Mason at Eighth Street. Lewis’ house lot actually bisected Eighth (between Mason and Reynolds), which provided a commanding view down that street. The neighborhood in which these men lived was remarkably diverse socio-economically during this period. The 1850 U. S. Census and 1855-6 Springfield city directory present the eastern end of the Near North Side as being comprised of households headed by professionals, merchants, tradesman, craftsmen, and laborers, all living in close proximity to one another⁵⁵ (United States Bureau of the Census [USBC] 1850:75-79; SCD 1855). Springfield was still very much a rather circumscribed “walking city” during this era, and it was only later in the nineteenth century, after the community had expanded physically and in population (coupled with the development of a public-transit system), that the socio-economic lines between its neighborhoods began to harden.

Immigrants comprised a significant segment of the population on the Near North Side by the 1850s. This is attested to by the array of ethnic/racial-specific churches established in the neighborhood during this period. The Nast Memorial German Methodist Evangelical Church, which was organized as a mission in 1849, had a church on the northeast corner of Eighth and Miller. SS. Peter and Paul’s, Springfield’s first German Catholic congregation, was organized in 1858; it originally occupied a building on the 800 block of East Adams Street but in 1866 erected a new church and parochial school) on the southeast corner of Sixth and Reynolds Streets. The Westenbergers, a family of cabinet makers who resided on Block 3 of Whitney’s Addition, were members of SS. Peter and Paul’s.⁵⁶ Two Portuguese Presbyterian congregations also had churches in the neighborhood. The First Portuguese Presbyterian Church, which was organized in 1849, eventually occupied a building at Seventh and Reynolds. The Second Portuguese Presbyterian Church was organized in 1858 and worshipped in a church at the corner of Eighth and Miller until 1896, when it consolidated with the First Portuguese (Koch 1873; Bateman and Selby 1912:858, 863, 869).

⁵⁴ James H. Matheny was the son of early Springfield resident Charles R. Matheny. The father came to Springfield in 1821 at served concurrently as county clerk, auditor, and circuit clerk when Sangamon County was first organized. James H. Matheny was appointed deputy clerk to the Illinois Supreme Court in 1839 and 1840, became deputy to the Circuit Clerk of Sangamon County in 1841, and then served as Circuit Clerk himself for four years, beginning in 1852. He was elected Judge of Sangamon County for a four-year term in 1873 (Power 1876:479-480).

⁵⁵ Mixed socio-economic neighborhoods such as this were not at all unusual in ante-bellum Springfield, as attested to by the diversity seen among Abraham Lincoln’s own neighbors along South Eighth Street circa 1860.

⁵⁶ The Westenbergers occupied House A at Site 1432 (see Mansberger and Stratton 2024b).

The two Portuguese churches mentioned were founded by immigrants from the Madeira Islands who were converts to the Presbyterian faith and had immigrated to the United States after being persecuted by the Catholic authorities in their homeland. The first Portuguese arrived in Springfield in 1849,⁵⁷ and by 1855 some 350 were living in the city. The majority settled as a group along Miller and Carpenter Streets, between Ninth and Tenth (Garvert et al. 1997:27). As will be discussed below, however, by the middle 1850s several Portuguese families—Gomez, Mendonsa, Rodrigues, and Ferriera—had purchased lots on Block 14 of Wells and Peck’s Addition, on the north side of Mason Street between Ninth and Tenth. The Mendonsa family would establish a neighborhood grocery store on the northwest corner of Mason and Tenth streets in the middle 1860s. Springfield’s Portuguese community was one of the first to be established in the Midwest and stood out in respect to its deep inland location.⁵⁸

The first known Jewish residents of Springfield arrived in the 1840s. A large segment of this population also appears to have been centered on the Near North Side at different times, with separate waves of Jewish immigrants from Western and Eastern European countries occurring. Three synagogues ultimately came to be built within a few blocks of one another on the Near North Side. The earliest of these was located at 426 North Fifth Street and was built by a Reformed congregation that was the ancestor of present-day Temple B’Rith Shalom. This was in place by 1876 and likely was founded by Jews from Western Europe. Eastern European Jews, primarily from the Russian Empire, formed the orthodox B’Nai Abraham Congregation in the 1880s, and in 1895 this group purchased a former Methodist church at Seventh and Mason for use as their synagogue. The Isadore Kanner Memorial Synagogue, located at Mason and Eighth Streets was completed in 1915 (Russo et al. 1998:118).⁵⁹

A number of Black families also had established homes on the Near North Side by the 1850s. Blacks had been residing in Springfield from the earliest days of settlement, but their community remained comparatively small prior to the Civil War due to restrictive laws aimed at limiting, if not outright preventing, Free Blacks from settling in the state. Illinois had a sizable enslaved Black population when it achieved statehood, and even though it was admitted to the Union as a free state, its first constitution (active 1818-1848) allowed de-facto slavery under the guise of indentured servitude. Children born to indentured parents were entitled to emancipation, but only after reaching age 18 if female and age 21 for males. William Florville, a Haitian-born barber who came to Springfield in 1831, has traditionally been cited as the city’s first African

⁵⁷ A related group of Portuguese from Madeira arrived in nearby Jacksonville at this same time. The north side neighborhood the Portuguese settled in became known as “Madeira.” Another rural enclave developed outside of Jacksonville and was known as Portuguese Hill (Doyle 1983:128-31).

⁵⁸ The Portuguese population in United States was relatively small at this time, and the majority was concentrated in coastal areas, where the group was prominent in the fishing industry and other seafaring occupations. A more detailed context for the Portuguese community in Springfield is presented in the archaeological mitigation report for the Portuguese Site (11SG1433) (Mansberger and Stratton, In Progress).

⁵⁹ This synagogue was built by Sarah Kanner as a memorial to her husband Isadore (Russo et al. 1998:118). Isadore Kanner owned numerous rental properties on the Near North Side at the time of the 1908 Race Riot, a number of which were destroyed and/or damaged during that event. Appendix IV contains a short historical context of Jewish settlement in Springfield.

American resident.⁶⁰ Research by Springfield historian Richard Hart, however, has documented the presence of free, indentured, as well as actual enslaved Blacks in the community well before Florville’s arrival (Hart 2008:9-42).⁶¹ The 1830 U.S. Census of Population recorded forty-seven African Americans residing in Sangamon County in 1830, some of whom most certainly were living in Springfield. Hart (1999:35) states that, “At the time of Abraham Lincoln’s arrival in 1837, Springfield had an African American population of approximately twenty-six—1.7 percent of the total population of 1,500. Six of those twenty-six were slaves.” The 1840 U.S. Census of Population suggests that four Springfield families still owned enslaved Blacks at that time,⁶² and at least twenty-three families had at least one live-in “Free Colored” servant (some of which were no doubt indentured servants). The 1840 U.S. Census of Population suggests that four Springfield families still owned enslaved Blacks at that time, and at least twenty-three families had at least one live-in “Free Colored” servant (some of which were no doubt indentured servants). This census also documented twelve free Black families as having independent residences in Springfield (USCB 1840; Hart 2008:225-226). By 1850, the number of Black residents in Springfield had increased to approximately 171 individuals, which represented approximately 3.8% of the total population 4,533 (Schneider 1915:7)(Table 5). An analysis of the 1850 Census suggests that there were approximately thirty independent Black households in the city at this time.⁶³

The earliest source available for mapping the locations of the Black residences in Springfield is the 1857 *Springfield City Directory*, which provides listings for thirty “colored” residents.⁶⁴ Although the spatial analysis of this data indicates that Black residences were widely disbursed throughout the city at this time, it also documents several clusters (or enclaves) of them. The densest of these was along the north side of West Washington Street, between First and Pasfield

⁶⁰ His surname was spelled “Fleureville” originally but eventually was Americanized to “Florville,” which is the form most commonly cited in historical sources. See also “The Early Black Occupants of the Tenth Street Neighborhood: Racial Diversity and a New Hope for Equality in Early Springfield,” Appendix IX, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume IV].

⁶¹ Hart argues that an enslaved man referred to as “Negro Jack” was probably Springfield’s first African American resident. Jack was held in bondage by Henry and Mary Kelly, who settled in Springfield in 1819 (as part of the “Kelly Settlement”). The Kellys sold Jack to Joseph Reavis in March 1822 (Hart 2008:10).

⁶² These included the James Bell (one female), J. R. Betts (two males), Ninian Wirt Edwards (one male), and William Lewis May (one female) families. At that time, all of the enslaved individuals were young (10-24 years of age) (Hart 2008:225).

⁶³ Based on the 1850 U.S. Census of Population, Hart identified sixty-six Black families having independent residences in Springfield at that time (Hart 2008:227-230). The authors’ own analysis on that census, however, suggests that the number of *independent* Black households at that time was lower, with approximately thirty individual households (identified by the “Head of Household”) present in the city. Many of these households included secondary families, and individuals who may represent extended family members and/or simply boarders—groups Hart possibly included in his tally of independent residences.

⁶⁴ These individuals represented only a portion of the adult Black population in Springfield, as most women—particularly married homemakers and unemployed single women—were not included in the 1857 directory. Earlier city directories available also are less comprehensive than later ones, and some adult males possibly were omitted as well.

streets, where ten Black homes were located in 1857.⁶⁵ This enclave lay immediately west of the original “Aristocracy Hill,” near what was then the western edge of the city. The Black enclave was centered around the Colored Baptist Church, Springfield’s first Black congregation which had been founded in 1838. A cluster of seven Black residences was located along East Jefferson and Washington streets, between Sixth and Ninth, on the northeast side of the central business district; these homes were less concentrated than those along West Washington Street. A third cluster of Black residences that can be delineated from the 1857 city directory was smaller, consisting of only four residences located north of the Cook and Ninth Street intersection, within close proximity to the home of noted Springfield attorney Abraham Lincoln.⁶⁶

The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* documents four Black residences scattered around the city’s Near North Side. One of these homes, located on the east side of the 400 block of North Fourth Street, was occupied by Reverend Spencer Donnegan, who had organized an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in Springfield in 1843, a church that Donnegan had organized in Springfield. By the late 1840s, the AME congregation was conducting its services in an old log cabin located adjacent to Donnegan’s home on Fourth Street.⁶⁷ The congregation built a new brick church, with a seating capacity of 400, at the same location in 1859-1860 (Hart 2008:167; *Illinois State Journal*, 6 September 1859, p. 3; 21 April 1860, p. 3). By 1860, a small enclave of Black families (including members of the Donnegan, Sappington, and Coleman families) were living adjacent to the church. The AME congregation, which later was named St. Paul’s, would occupy two other church buildings on Springfield’s Near North Side in later years.⁶⁸

Another Black resident of note documented on the Near North Side by the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* was the Reverend Henry Brown, an African Methodist Episcopal minister, who the directory lists as residing at the north side Madison, between Tenth and Eleventh streets. More specifically, Brown’s home was located on the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Streets, within a small development named Wright and Brown’s Subdivision that was platted in 1856.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ A uniform system of a numbered addresses had not yet been adopted in Springfield at this point in time (and wouldn’t be for several decades), so the listings the 1857 city directory typically indicate which side of a what street an individual was living on, with references to the nearest cross street(s) or corner (i.e., north side Mason, between Ninth and Tenth; or Madison, NE corner of Ninth).

⁶⁶ See “The Early Black Occupants of the Tenth Street Neighborhood: Racial Diversity and a New Hope for Equality in Early Springfield,” Appendix IX, in Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume IV].

⁶⁷ The 1854 *City of Springfield* map illustrates the “African Church” (the AME Church) on Fourth Street north of Madison (Potter 1854). The church was located on the S40-ft. of Lot 3, Block 4 of Ninian Edwards Addition to Springfield.

⁶⁸ In summer 1883, the congregation had begun to demolish the old brick church in anticipation of moving the frame North Baptist Church at the corner of Sixth and Madison Streets to their Fourth Street location. Controversy developed regarding the move, and the congregation purchased two lots on the east side of Sixth Street, between Madison and Mason and located the frame church at that location (cf. “New A.M.E. Church,” *Illinois State Register*, 6 July 1883, p. 4; “Appeal in Behalf of St. Paul’s A.M.E. Church,” *Illinois State Journal*, 26 October 1883, p. 7). This church was later to be known as St. Paul’s AME Church, later relocated to Sixteenth and Stuart Streets (Hart 2008:114; *Illinois State Journal*, 1 July 1934, p. 2).

⁶⁹ This subdivision was platted by Wright and Henry H. Brown (no relation to Reverend Brown) and created eight narrow lots out of Lots 9-11 of Block 2 of Whitney’s Addition. The lots within the subdivision fronted Tenth

Reverend Brown’s social status in the early Black community eventually attracted other African American families to the neighborhood, a number of whom would build houses adjacent to his (in a pattern reminiscent of the enclave that developed around Reverend Donnegan’s home on Fourth Street).⁷⁰

Although the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* did not reference other Black residents on the eastern end of the Near North Side, aside from Reverend Brown, it is clear that other Black families not documented in this early city directory were living in the area by circa 1860. Farm laborer Thomas Wright and his family were living at the northeast corner of Mason and Thirteenth Streets by 1856 (Hart 2008:155). Living adjacent to Wright in 1860 was the young Thomas Killion family. Thomas Killion was a barber; and living with the family was Narcissus Donnegan (USCB 1860). In November 1856, Nancy Collier purchased what most likely was an improved lot (with house) at the northwest corner of Twelfth and Mason Streets for \$850. Nancy was an older washer woman from Virginia (Hart 2008:152).⁷¹ Living adjacent to the Collier residence in 1860 was the Nathan Smallwell family. Smallwood was a cook, as was his 18-year-old son (USCB 1860). The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* notes Mrs. Henrietta Fry living on the west side of Tenth Street between Mason and Reynolds Street by 1860 (cf. SCD 1860:89). Mrs. Fry was one of the earlier Black residents of Springfield, having arrived in circa 1838 (Hart 2008:89, 166).

Table 5
Population by Color and Nativity, Springfield, Illinois 1850-1910
(Schneider 1915)

Year	Total population	Negroes		Foreign-born whites	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1850	4,533	171	3.77	.. ^a	.. ^a
1860	9,320	203	2.18	.. ^a	.. ^a
1870	17,364	808	4.65	4,456	25.7
1880	19,743	1,328	6.73	4,284	21.7
1890	24,963	1,806	7.24	4,796	19.2
1900	34,159	2,227	6.52	4,654	13.6
1910	51,678	2,961	5.73	6,900	13.4

Street, like those located opposite them on Block 3 of Whitney’s Addition. See “Wright and Brown’s Subdivision of Lots 9, 10, and 11, Block 2, J. Whitney’s Addition to Springfield: A Free-Black Enclave in Civil War Era Springfield,” Appendix XI, Mansberger and Stratton (2024, Volume IV).

⁷⁰ See also “Springfield’s Reverend Henry Brown: Pastor, Friend of Lincoln, Social Activist,” Appendix X in Mansberger and Stratton (2004, Volume IV).

⁷¹ The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* lists an Albert Colyer (sic, Collier) as residing on the north side of Mason Street, west of Klein Street. It is unclear whether this was Nancy’s husband.

The 1860 U. S. Census of Population recorded 203 Black residents in Springfield. This was a slight increase from the number reported in 1850, but it represented a significant decrease in respect to Springfield’s population as whole, since the city had doubled in size during this same period. Blacks represented only 2.2% of the city’s population in 1860 (Schneider 1915:7). That the local African American community did not experience a proportional expansion over the course of the decade may have been due in part to an 1853 state law that outlawed the settlement of free Blacks in Illinois. This law (sometimes referred to as the “Logan Law,” after its sponsor State Representative John A. Logan) built upon the Black Codes previously enforced in the state and was considered one of the most restrictive ever implemented in the North.

Illinois’ 1853 Black Law would remain in effect until January 1865, but it was not as tightly enforced during the tumultuous Civil War years.⁷² Large numbers of formerly enslaved African Americans, who had been freed by the Union army or had self-emancipated themselves, came into the state during the war. Many initially passed through Cairo, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, where a large camp for Black refugees (“contrabands”) was set up, and then moved to other points in search of jobs and new homes.⁷³ As discussed previously, Springfield enjoyed a flourishing economy during the war and years following. This fact, coupled with Springfield status as the hometown of the “Great Emancipator” Abraham Lincoln attracted new Black residents to the city. Local censuses indicate modest, if uneven, growth in Springfield’s African American population during war years, with 274 Blacks being reported in the city in July 1862 and 230 in 1864. The 1864 tally showed a strong majority of these residents (n=164) living in the First and Second Wards on the north side of the city at that point in time (*Illinois State Register* 14 July 1862, p. 3; SCD 1864).⁷⁴ Springfield’s African American population increased markedly in the immediate post-war era, and by 1870 it had risen to 808—nearly quadruple what it had been ten years before—and now represented 4.7% of the city’s total population (Schneider 1915:7).

⁷² This is not to say that enforcement of the 1853 Black Law was abandoned during the war. A prime example is the case of *Nelson v. Illinois* which involved six Black men who were arrested in Hancock County and charged with violating the law in 1864. The men were prosecuted, convicted, and subsequently sold at public auction—as allowed under the terms of the law. The men appealed to the Illinois Supreme Court, but the court upheld the law as constitutional (Masur 2021:299). Ironically, the sponsor of the 1853 law, John A. Logan, would become a leading figure in the Republican party and a vocal advocate for African American rights following his service in the Civil War.

⁷³ Under the Confiscation Act of 1861, enslaved Blacks held by individuals fighting for, or otherwise actively supporting, the Confederacy could be seized as “contraband of war.” They commonly were referred to as “contrabands,” and this term remained in common use even after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued on January 1, 1863. The contraband camp at Cairo housed several thousand former slaves. Cairo also was a major base for Union army and naval forces during the Civil War.

⁷⁴ In 1864, Springfield was divided into four wards, with the First Ward covering that portion of the city lying north of Washington Street and west of Fifth Street, the Second Ward extending north of Washington and east of Fifth, the Third Ward lying south of Washington and west of Sixth, and the Fourth Ward extending south of Washington and east of Sixth. A city directory published that year presented census figures for the city, separated by race and ward. It indicated that Second Ward had the largest number of Black residents (n=96), followed in order by the First Ward (n=68), the Fourth Ward (n=45), and the Third Ward (n=21) (SCD 1864:7).

As in earlier years, Black homes were scattered at disparate locations around Springfield circa 1870. However, an increasing number of Black residents were choosing to settle on the city's Near North Side, particularly on its eastern end. Wright and Brown's Subdivision, where Reverend Henry Brown resided, was prominent node of Black settlement in the neighborhood during this period. Six adjoining dwellings, all built for and owned by Blacks, ultimately were constructed in Wright and Brown's Subdivision before the end of the Civil War. This subdivision and its residents will be discussed further below.

Indicative of this gradual shift in African American settlement in the city, the Colored Baptist Church relocated from Washington Street to the northwest corner of Carpenter and Ninth streets in 1857. The congregation, which later was renamed Zion Baptist, moved into a frame building previously used as meeting house by the Portuguese Presbyterians.⁷⁵ They built a new brick church building at the same site in the 1870s (Russo et al. 1998:101).⁷⁶ A third Black congregation eventually would locate on the Near North Side as well. This was Union Baptist, which was organized in December 1871 and erected a church building on the northwest corner of Mason and Twelfth streets in 1875 (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 December 1871, p. 4; 17 August 1875, p. 4).⁷⁷

When the City of Springfield finally organized a public school for Black children in 1859, this too was located on the Near North Side.⁷⁸ Initially, the school was housed in a rented room at the rear of the AME church on Fourth Street, but by 1865, this space had proven altogether inadequate for the number of students who were enrolled, not to mention being in a dilapidated condition (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 December 1858, p. 3; 20 June 1860, p. 3; 27 July 1865, p. 3). In 1866, the city council approved construction of a "Colored School" on Fifteenth Street, north of Madison Street, on the northeast edge of the city. This school building apparently was in place by the following year (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 July 1866, p. 4; 11 April 1867, p. 4).

Bird's eye views of Springfield published in 1867 and 1873 indicate an extensive build-up of the Near North Side since the late 1850s (Ruger 1867; Koch 1876). An 1876 city map provides a similar impression (Bird 1876) (Figures 33-35). The neighborhood was serviced by a trolley

⁷⁵ The Colored Baptist Church building on Washington Street was offered up for sale at an auction to be held on August 1, 1857 (*Illinois State Journal*, 20 July 1857, p. 3). The "Portuguese Frame Meeting House" on the northwest corner of Ninth and Gemini (Carpenter) streets was advertised for sale in March of the same year (*Illinois State Journal*, 17 March 1857, p. 2). The 1860 city directory indicates that the Colored Baptist Church had relocated to Ninth and Carpenter by that date (SCD 1860:21).

⁷⁶ Zion Baptist remained at the Carpenter and Ninth Street location into the 1970s (Russo et al. 1998:101).

⁷⁷ Union Baptist initially held its services in Cook's Hall, on the east side of the Public Square. Reverend L. C. Coleman was its first pastor (SCD 1873:247). The cornerstone for their church building on the corner of Mason and Twelfth streets was laid in August 1875. The building was to be "a neat brick edifice 50x36 feet, and capable of accommodating a congregation of two hundred and fifty. The estimated cost is \$3,000 (*Illinois State Journal* 17 August 1875, p. 4).

⁷⁸ The local Black community had attempted to organize a school for their children as early as 1850, but it wasn't until 1857 that the Springfield School Board appointed a committee to study the establishment of a free public school for Black students (*Illinois State Journal*, 14 June 1850, p. 3; 18 June 1857, p. 3; 23 December 1858, p. 3).

line, which ran down Fifth Street and continued north to Oak Ridge Cemetery and Lincoln's Tomb. Gas lines, for lighting, also were being installed in the area.⁷⁹ Much of the new construction that had been done since the late 1850s was residential in nature, though new houses of worship had been added and groceries were interspersed throughout the neighborhood. The Near North Side also received a significant institutional addition during this period, in the form of St. John's Hospital. St. John's was founded by a group of German nuns belonging to the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis, who arrived in Springfield in 1875. The Sisters initially opened a hospital (Springfield's first) in a home on South Seventh Street, but by 1878 were able to move to a more commodious structure built expressly for them on Mason Street at Eighth street, at the former site of Thomas Lewis' residence—a short distance west of the Usable Segment I project area (Russo et al. 1998:124-5) (Figure 36).

The construction of the Illinois and Southwestern (later Ohio and Mississippi) and the Gilman, Clinton, and Springfield (later Illinois Central) railroads down Madison Street in the early 1870s dramatically changed the character of the southern end of the Near North Side. The stretch of Madison Street between First and Eleventh previously had been mostly residential in character, but it developed into an industrial/commercial corridor after rail traffic was introduced. One of the more notable businesses here was the Ide Machine Works (later Ide Engine Company), which was established by Albert L. Ide in 1870 and located on the northwest corner of Madison and Fifth streets (Figure 37). Initially specializing in the manufacture of steam radiators and other heating apparatus, Ide later focused on steam engines for electrical generation. The engines were creatively marketed under the brand name "Ideal" (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:575; Russo et al. 1995:52). Another business concern of note located along the north side of Madison Street during this period was the Culver Construction Company, which had relocated to Springfield in 1883 and set up their stone works at Madison and Fifth (Figure 38). In 1890, the Fitzgerald Plaster Company built a plant on the northeast corner of Madison and Tenth streets (directly opposite Site 11SG1432) (Figure 39). The old Phoenix Mill (also referred to as the Wackerle Mill) at the southwest corner of Tenth and Madison Street, was demolished in the late summer of 1885 after more than forty years of service (*Illinois State Journal*, August 12, 1885, p. 8). The demolition of the mill opened up a large tract of land that quickly was repurposed for the expansion of J. H. Schuck and Son's lumber yard, which occupied the adjoining property to the south.⁸⁰ Railroad freight houses, serviced by multiple spur lines, eventually were built on opposite sides of Madison between Sixth and Ninth streets. In 1898, the Illinois Central Railroad replaced their previous depot at Fifth and Madison with the much larger and ornate Union Depot, which stretched the full width of the same block (Figure 40). The depot attracted a range of new commercial developments around it (i.e., hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, saloons, retail), effectively extending the northern edge of the central business district to Madison Street (Figure 41). In 1895, an electric power plant was constructed on the northeast corner of Tenth and Reynolds streets, one block north of Site 11SG1432. The plant was located adjacent to the Wabash railroad, allowing easy delivery of the coal used to fuel its

⁷⁹ Gas lines were laid along Mason Street, between Sixth and Tenth streets, in late 1870 and early 1871 (*Illinois State Journal*, December 1, 1870, p.4).

⁸⁰ For more information on the Phoenix Mill see "The Phoenix Mill: Industrial Anchor to the Tenth Street Project Area," Appendix VIII, Mansberger and Stratton (2024, Volume IV).

boilers. It initially was operated by the Capital Electric Company, a private entity operating under a franchise granted by the City of Springfield, but in 1906 it became a municipal facility (Russo, Garvert, and Mann 1998:31).⁸¹

Another factor that played into the changing character of the southern end of the Near North Side in the later nineteenth century was the gradual expansion of the vice activity associated with Springfield's notorious Levee District (centered in Washington Street, between Seventh and Ninth) beyond its traditional confines, specifically its movement north and northeast of the Levee. This began in the early 1870s, when two brothels were established within one block of one another, at 915 East Madison Street and 1016 East Mason Street. Both of these enterprises were founded, and long operated, by white women.⁸² Due to their longevity, they served as anchors around which prostitution and other vice eventually took root in the surrounding neighborhood. This process was abetted by the locale's close proximity to the Levee and to the railroad depots and hotels along Tenth and Madison streets. Several of the homes documented at Site 11SG1432 functioned as so-called "resorts," where various illicit activity was conducted, at different points in time between circa-1880 to 1908 (discussed further below). Well-known "resorts" active in this area during the 1890s included: Malinda Reed's "house on Tenth Street" (*Illinois State Register*, May 1, 1896, p. 6); Mabel Baxter's "house of ill repute on Madison street, between Ninth and Tenth streets" (*Illinois State Register*, December 21 1892, p. 5); Lizzie Cousin's "house of ill fame at Tenth and Madison streets" (*Illinois State Register*, October 5, 1895, p. 6); and Lou Barnes "house" at 1016 East Mason Street (*Illinois State Journal*, December 19, 1889, p. 5).

In time, the southeastern quarter of the Near North Side came to be referred to by the local press as the "Badlands." The earliest newspaper reference found to the Badlands date to the late summer of 1894 and specify an area centered at Eighth and Madison Streets (cf. *Illinois State Register*; August 13, 1894, p. 5).⁸³ However, the designation quickly became associated with a much larger area extending farther to the east. The number of news briefs referencing the Badlands increased exponentially during the latter 1890s and early years of the twentieth century. In 1895 alone, no less than thirty-five stories were published in the local newspapers relating to criminal activity in the Badlands. These articles detailed fights, beatings, thefts, illegal gambling, and prostitution. One location regularly referenced by the newspapers in their crime reporting on the Badlands was the intersection of "Tenth and Madison" (see Appendix II). In August 1905, the *Illinois State Register* indicated Springfield's "red-light district" as being

⁸¹ The Capital Electric Company was incorporated in October 1894. Their electric plant at Tenth and Reynolds was completed in the spring of the following year (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 October 1894, p. 4; *Illinois State Register*, 23 April 1895, p. 7).

⁸² The brothel at 915 East Madison Street was established circa 1872 by Emma Nash (the former Emma Gladden and Emma Taylor), who had been a prominent figure in Springfield's sex industry since the early 1860s. The brothel at 1016 East Mason Street appears to have been in operation by 1874, with Jessie Brownie as the original proprietor. Brownie was succeeded by Eva Montague. For a detailed context of prostitution in Springfield, see "'Springfield A Wicked Old City': The Rise of Vice in Illinois' Capital City," Appendix I, this volume.

⁸³ These early articles use the term "bad lands," but the term later was formalized to "Badlands." See discussion in "'Springfield A Wicked Old City': The Rise of Vice in Illinois' Capital City," Appendix I, this volume.

located on Madison and Mason Streets, between Ninth and Twelfth Streets (*Illinois State Register*, August 12, 1905, p. 4). In her seminal work on the 1908 Springfield Race Riot, Senechal (1990:16) delineated slightly wider boundaries for the Badlands, describing it as extending “northeast of the Levee (between Reynolds and Jefferson streets on the north and south, and east of Ninth Street for several blocks)” (Figure 42).⁸⁴ She described the area as containing “a large settlement of poor blacks” and observed that, “This neighborhood, like others of its kind in American cities, was vulnerable to invasion by gambling dens, brothels, and other assorted ‘dives’” (Senechal 1990:16).

Although the prevalence of vice certainly attributed to the east end of the Near North Side being referred to as the Badlands, equally important in the derivation of this name was the fact that a large number of poor Black families resided there (Senechal 1990:16). The label “Badlands” was a product of white racism, with the composition of the neighborhood’s population factoring into its unsavory reputation as much as the character of the businesses located there. Contemporary newspaper accounts also referred to the area as the “Black Belt” and describe it in overtly racist terms.⁸⁵ Springfield’s African American population had enjoyed steady growth in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and by 1900 stood at 2,227 (representing 6.7% of the total population). As in earlier years, there were a number of Black enclaves scattered around Springfield at this time, but over 40% of the Black population lived in and adjacent to the Badlands (as then defined) (Senechal 1990:60-61, 66). Senechal (1990:69-70) documents a sharp increase in Black-occupied residences and businesses in the Badlands and vicinity between 1892 and 1907. A number of these residences were located within the project area, with a particularly heavy concentration being located on Block 3 of J. Whitney’s Addition (Figure 42).

Race also factored into the public’s perception of the type of crime occurring in the Badlands. Initially, the business of prostitution in the Badlands (and adjoining areas) was dominated by whites.⁸⁶ But this changed in the 1890s, by which time the industry had greatly expanded, and many of the less formal and/or expedient “houses” were being operated and/or staffed by African American women. Even though most of the more-established “houses” in Springfield were still operated by whites at this date, public scrutiny and anger was directed primarily at the so-called “negro dives.” White crime in the area wasn’t ignored by the local press, but it was reported on more matter-of-factly than events involving Blacks, which commonly were detailed using racist terms and undertones. Black crime was presented as more menacing than that committed by whites (whether it be prostitution, drugs, theft, or gambling), and as Blacks became more prominent in the illicit activity taking place in the Badlands, there was a corresponding rise in the belief that the district posed a threat to the community at large. Fear of mixing between the races

⁸⁴ Senechal’s delineation of the Badlands does not include the area around Eighth and Madison streets to which the local papers had first applied the name.

⁸⁵ The term “black belt” had been in use for many years, particularly in describing the population of the South. The first use of this term in reference to Springfield in local papers dates to circa 1906, in describing voter fraud in the city (cf. *Illinois State Register*, November 7, 1906).

⁸⁶ In 1880, all of the “resorts” documented in the Badlands were operated by white women utilizing white prostitutes (USBC 1880).

(miscegenation) was also stoked by the white press. The following article, published in 1902 by the *Illinois State Journal*, is representative of the local news reporting on the Badlands:

Vice has taken such a strong hold on the disorderly districts of Springfield that the conditions are alarming. Chief of Police Herring realizes the danger and yesterday he commenced a crusade on the negro dives. Nearly forty keepers and inmates of these places were taken into custody. They include men and women of the most depraved character and among them are a score of white persons. 'Matters have become serious in the disorderly district. The keepers and inmates of negro dives are swelling in number so that it will be necessary to drive them out of town. Heavy fines will be imposed on them and if they cannot pay they must either go to prison or leave town. In this way I hope to free Springfield of a majority of these people' (*Illinois State Journal*, April 9, 1902).

Such descriptions created the impression that the neighborhood was filled with “dives,” and that a large number of people living there were either criminals or otherwise behaving outside community norms. This was an exaggerated representation of the area. To begin with, the neighborhood was not occupied solely by Blacks, but was a mixed-race community. Crime certainly was present, but it was not as widespread as suggested; and most of the residents were living the daily routine typical of other working-class individuals/families in Springfield. Moreover, the public perception crafted by the press overlooked the extensive white involvement in criminal activity in the same area. Nonetheless, the reputation of the Badlands, coupled with its high percentage of Black residents and proximity to the Central business district, made it a natural target for a white mob when the Springfield Race Riot broke out on August 14, 1908.

Springfield and the Race Riot of August 1908

The Springfield Race Riot of August 14-16, 1908 had a dramatic impact on the Near North Side and particularly Site 11SG132. The two incidents primarily cited as igniting the riot both occurring in the Enos Park neighborhood (lying immediately north of the Near North Side) and involved situations where Black men allegedly had assaulted whites. The first of the incidents involved the stabbing death of Clergy Ballard in the front yard of his house at 1135 North Ninth Street. On the night of July 4, 1908, Ballard's young daughter awoke in her bedroom to find an intruder at the foot of her bed. Upon pursuing the intruder out of the house, Clergy Ballard was stabbed. Prior to his death, Ballard stated that his assailant was Black, and early the next morning, a Black man by the name of Joe James was arrested in the neighborhood. Ballard was a long-time resident of the north end of the city and had been employed at various times on the railroad, coal mines, and at the Illinois Watch Factory (Senechal 1990:19-20). The second incident that precipitated the riot involved Mabell Hallam, the wife of a city streetcar driver, who claimed she had been attacked by a Black man in her home along north Fifth Street on the night of August 13, 1908. Although Hallam initially identified George Richardson, a Black hod carrier, as her attacker, she later recanted her statement and admitted that it was her white lover who had assaulted her (Senechal 1990:25-6, 158-9). Her initial charge, however—coupled with Ballard's murder the previous month—was enough to stir a mob of angry whites to gather at the

county jail on August 14 to demand that James and Richardson be lynched.⁸⁷ Fearing such an outcome, the sheriff had arranged for the prisoners to be secretly spirited out of town in the automobile of Harry Loper, a local restaurateur. Once this was discovered, the enraged mob descended upon Loper's restaurant, destroyed it, and set his automobile ablaze. The mob then moved on to systematically attack Black businesses and residences in the Levee and nearby Badlands (Figure 43). Within the Levee, the white mob encountered Black resistance from armed Black men from rooftops and upper stories of the commercial buildings in the Levee. Several white "onlookers" were wounded and killed as a result of this engagement (Landis 2002). The *Illinois State Register* described the course of the rioting on August 14 as follows:

The mob then deserted the jail and wreaked vengeance on the negro [?] along Washington Street. Every piece of plate glass window in a negro establishment was smashed to bits. Then the matter of shooting into the second stories of buildings along the street was taken up. Thousands of shots were fired.

It required only mention from one of the leaders of the mob to take the thousands of men running to the corner of Ninth and Jefferson streets, where the barber shop of Burton Scott was doomed to fall prey to the firebrands of the mob. The shop was completely destroyed together with its contents. This morning the bare walls, and not much of the walls at that, are left standing to tell of the revenge of the riotous feelings of the motley gang. Not content with the destruction of this place, but determined to wipe out every negro residence and dwelling in the city, the mob started out with revenge aiding their firebrands.

Going to Madison street, the house occupied by negroes on the corner of Ninth and Madison was burned. That was but the beginning. Twenty-six houses and one negro church were destroyed before the flames had been brought to a stop. The mob was at fever heat. Nothing would stop them. With the determination fired by mob spirit, they wrecked and burned right and left. The houses burned were as follows:

- Three at Tenth and Madison streets.
- Two at Eleventh and Madison streets, Nos. 815 and 817 East Jefferson streets, occupied by whites—Mary Smith at 815 and Ira Smith at 817.
- One at Twelfth and Madison streets.
- Four on Tenth street between Madison and Mason streets.
- One at Twelfth and Mason streets.
- Four at Eleventh and Madison streets.
- Union Baptist (colored) church
- One on Eleventh street, between Madison and Mason streets.

The firemen were helpless to do anything with the flames. The fires were burning in half a dozen places at one and the same time. The members of the mob would

⁸⁷ In a 1973 interview, Ross Wright described the crowd at the county jail (Alexander 1973:2): "...the group was packed in solid on Seventh Street from Madison to Washington and half-way between Sixth and Seventh clear to Eighth Street. You could have walked over their heads and never fell down..."

cut the hose when the firemen seemed to be getting control of a fire. On Madison street between Ninth and Tenth streets, a house was burned which was occupied by a family of white people... (*Illinois State Register* 15 August 1908, p. 2, col. 7).

In its account of the rioting, the *Illinois State Journal* stated that, "The entire district between Mason and Jefferson streets and Ninth and Eleventh streets, covering four square blocks, was wiped out. From one point eighteen fires were counted at one time (*Illinois State Journal* 15 August 1908, p. 1, col. 3). Continuing, the *Journal* reported:

The first fire in this district was started at a negro residence at Ninth and Jefferson streets. This was followed with another on the north side of Jefferson in a house formerly owned by Bob Oakley.

While the firemen responded to this call the rioters marched on to Madison and Ninth streets. A few minutes later the entire block consisting entirely of negro huts was a mass of flames.

Many negroes who had heard of the evening's excitement left their homes and fled from the city. In one house, however, two negro men were found and one boy. The mob immediately went after them. Sergeant Robert Lawley appeared on the scene. He asked the men if they would turn their captives over to him, and content themselves with destroying the remainder of the huts. The mob accepted the sergeant's proposition and did not harm the trio of negroes.

Along the north side of Madison street from the middle of the block south [east?] of Ninth street four houses in a row were totally destroyed. At Tenth and Madison streets the flames were at their highest. On both sides of Tenth street north of Madison street, there were a row of huts, which were destroyed by the torch of the mob.

On the west side of this street, however, there are some white people, and members of the mob secured all the available buckets in the neighborhood and assisted firemen in keeping the flames from reaching these residences.

On the southeast corner of Tenth and Madison street, a family of white people live, and their home and a saloon owned by William Smith at the corner of Eleventh and Madison streets, were not set ablaze.

Immediately across the street from Smith's saloon a negro lunch room, which was formerly a saloon, met the fate of the other negro holdings (*Illinois State Journal* 15 August 1908, p. 1, col. 3).

The *Journal* continued the reporting the following day:

The ‘bad lands,’ a territory east of Eighth street between Jefferson and Mason streets, once the scene of activity and infested with negroes, is now spread with ruin and desolation. The majority of huts that were occupied by negroes are now smouldering [sic] ashes, while those still standing are occupied by colored men who are guarded from any outbreak by members of the Fifth regiment.

The old fashioned brick chimneys are in many places the only evidence that homes once existed.

Here and there in a negro home which had been overlooked by Friday night’s mob were clustered aged negroes, cooped up together, with despair and moroseness written upon their countenances. They were surrounded by the troops, and many of them were practically prisoners in their own homes (*Illinois State Journal* 16 August 1908, p. 3, col. 6).

The Black-occupied properties on the city block encompassed by Site 11SG1432 were located at the beginning of the mob’s route through the Badlands and clearly were targeted. Eight homes and one commercial building were burned on this one block alone on the night of August 14. Only one property known to have been occupied by Blacks on the block would survive.

State militia were summoned to Springfield by Governor Charles Deneen at the request of city authorities after they realized, all too late, that the situation was beyond the capacity of the local law enforcement to control.⁸⁸ Deneen had issued the summons prior to the mob’s attack on the Levee, but it took time for the troops to assemble and be transported to Springfield. The first of the non-local militia to make to the city was a company from Decatur, which arrived around 2:30 a.m. on August 15—six hours after the whites’ rampage had begun. Shortly before this, the mob had lynched a barber named Scott Burton at the corner of Twelfth and Madison Streets after he had attempted to defend his nearby home. Burton’s barbershop had been torched earlier in the evening, as the rioters made their way from the Levee to the Badlands.⁸⁹ The mass of the mob was still milling around the site of Burton’s lynching when it was confronted by the Decatur militia company moving east along Madison Street. Ordered to disperse, the crowd refused, at which point the militia fired multiple volleys into the crowd, resulting in several injuries (Adjutant General of Illinois 1909). The volleys had the intended effect and largely brought the night’s mayhem to an end.

⁸⁸ Anticipating trouble, Colonel Richard J. Shand of the Third Illinois Infantry (and Springfield resident) had persuaded County Sheriff Charles Werner in the late afternoon of August 14 to put in a request for local militia to be used for crowd control if needed. Shand was able to assemble a contingent of twenty-six men at the State Arsenal. These troops were deployed at the county jail around 8:00 p.m., but they were grossly outnumbered by the mob, who attacked them with brickbats when they attempted to push the crowd away from the jail. A separate, smaller contingent of militiamen was attacked and overwhelmed on their way to protect Loper’s restaurant (Senechal 1990:27-29).

⁸⁹ Scott Burton’s barbershop was located on the northeast corner of Jefferson and Ninth streets. See “The Scott Burton and William Donnegan Murders: The Lynching of Two Innocent Black Men in Illinois’ Capital City, August 14-15, 1908 [Part II: Scott Burton]”, Appendix V, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume I]).

Mob violence continued into a second day (Saturday, August 15), even after additional militia units had arrived in Springfield, with more yet on their way. Many of the city's Black residents had taken refuge at the State Arsenal, located immediately north of the Capitol Building, just west of the Central business district. Early in the evening of August 15, a crowd of whites, estimated at around a thousand strong, marched to the Arsenal with the intent of attacking the Black refugees inside, but they were stopped and scattered by the armed militiamen guarding the building. Elements of the dispersed mob then headed south of the Capitol to the residence of William Donnegan, a prominent and long-time Black resident of Springfield. Donnegan was dragged from his home, beaten, had his throat cut, and then was lynched (strung by rope from a tree) in an adjacent schoolyard.⁹⁰ Scattered mob action continued on Sunday, but further bloodshed was prevented by the militia force, which was now large enough to effectively patrol the city (It would number around 3,700 by August 17). In addition to Burton and Donnegan, four whites were killed during the riot, and scores of other individuals were injured. Dozens of Black homes and businesses had been destroyed or severely damaged (Senechal 1990:39-46). Figures 44-47 illustrate several views of houses and streetscapes in Springfield immediately after the rioting (see also Appendices VII, VIII, and IX).

In the aftermath of the 1908 race riot, George Richardson was exonerated and set free after Mabel Hallem recanted her story of him attacking her. Joe James, however, was found guilty of the murder Clergy Ballard and was executed on October 23, 1908. James' attorney, Octavius Royall, had fought to get a change of venue for his client, but his request had been rejected. Royall was an African American attorney who had recently relocated to Springfield and had represented Joe James pro bono. In respect to the white rioters, State's Attorney Frank Hatch issued more than 100 indictments, but he found it impossible to convince jurors to hold the accused accountable. The prime example of this was Abraham Raymer, who faced multiple riot-related charges—the most serious being the murder of William Donnegan—but in end was only convicted of petty larceny, for which he received a small fine and thirty days in jail (Senechal 1990:149-173)..

The Springfield Race Riot of August 1908 was one of the catalysts that resulted in the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. An article written in the immediate aftermath of the riot by William English Walling, entitled "The Race War in the North", served as a wake-up call that white mob violence was not just a Southern phenomenon. The fact that it had occurred in the hometown of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, was even more shocking. Walling wrote,

Either the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln and of Lovejoy must be revived and we must come treat the negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality, or Vardaman and Tillman⁹¹ will soon have transferred the race war to the north (Walling 1908:534).

⁹⁰ See "The Scott Burton and William Donnegan Murders: The Lynching of Two Innocent Black Men in Illinois' Capital City, August 14-15, 1908 [Part III: William Donnegan]", Appendix VI, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume I]).

⁹¹ Walling refers to Governors James Kimble Vardaman of Mississippi and Benjamin ("Pitchfork Ben") Tillman of South Carolina, who were notorious for their white supremacist views.

On February 12th, 1909, in conjunction with the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's birth, the NAACP was organized in New York City. Walling was one of the founding members, along with W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary White Ovington, and others.

In Springfield, unfortunately, the African American community became even more marginalized after the 1908 riot than it had been before. Public policy played a major role in this. In 1911, the City of Springfield abandoned its previous Aldermanic system and adopted a Commission form of government, whereby members of the City Council were elected at large, versus by ward. This diluted the African American vote in the city, and resulted in no Black citizen being elected to the City Council for another seventy-five years. Black employment on the city's police force also was curtailed in the decade following the 1908 riot (Senechal 1990:184). Restrictive housing covenants against Blacks (both written and unwritten) also began to be adopted in Springfield during this period. In 1916, the City attempted to deny the use of its public swimming pool to blacks—an incident that was reported in the “Along the Color Line” column of *The Crisis*, the NAACP's monthly journal (*The Crisis*, October 1916). In response to such discrimination, a local chapter of the NAACP was organized in Springfield in 1915. A separate Civil Rights League was organized in Springfield in March 1917, with attorney A. Morris Williams acting as president (*Illinois State Journal*, 17 March 1923, p.12). After the riots of 1908, the city's Black population dropped slightly between 1910 and 1920 (from 2,961 to 2,769).

As in times before, Springfield's African American community survived this difficult period and emerged stronger. Shortly after the riots, a local Springfield businessman published a photographic directory of Black-owned businesses in central Illinois, with primary interest in Springfield. T. R. Thompson was a prominent Black businessman in Springfield,⁹² and “one of the best photographers in the city...: who published his *Pictorial Souvenir* at a critical time, not too long after the eventful events of August 1908. For Thompson, “the purpose of this book is to bring before the people, in a brief way, the colored professional and business men and women, who are striving onward, and whose lives and endeavors are worthy of emulation. These people are making history...” Although Thompson's *Pictorial Souvenir* is not a detailed directory of the City's Black population, it does give insights into the character of the burgeoning middle and professional class of Black citizens living and working in Springfield just prior to World War I. Besides himself, Thompson gives details of 23 individuals with ties to Springfield. The individuals profiled by Thompson included attorneys (A. Morris Williams, Charles Gibbs), grocers (James Edward Thompson, L. W. Hubbard), doctors (Dr. A. H. Kenniebriew; Dr. N. B. Ford, Henry Donaldson), a real estate agent (James B. Osby), a teacher (Professor G. H. L. Nelson), a newspaper man (Col. W. T. Scott), a shoe dealer (J. P. Roberts), a painter and paper hanger (Thornton Coleman), an undertaker (Henry Rhoden), and a blacksmith (Frank Rudolph). Although mostly men, Thompson profiled three prominent women businesses as well. The women and their businesses profiled by Thompson included Miss Florville's New and Second Hand Furniture Store (802 E. Washington Street), Mary Francis Penn Clark's Millinery Parlor

⁹² Thompson apparently came to Springfield as a young man, with his parents, in circa 1882. For a short time, he was in business with his brother (James Edward Thompson) in the Thompson Brothers Grocery. He left the grocery business and worked for a short time as the head employee of the Golf Club, but soon became the Springfield Agent for the Federal Casualty Company (Thompson 1912).

(1103 E. Washington Street),⁹³ and the multiple businesses operated by Mrs. M. A. Tucker. Mrs. Tucker established a restaurant and boarding house, as well as an ice cream parlor and millinery business (at, or near 109 S. Eleventh Street, south of the Enterprise Bank). What is apparent with Thompson's *Pictorial Souvenir* is the inclusion of several new businesses that were previously absent from the earlier 1876 directory. Most prominent is the establishment of a new class of professional black employees—the civil servant. Thompson profiled several prominent black civil servants working within state government at the time. These included Captain W. D. Hodge (messenger, State House), Clarence Leggins (Secretary of State), J. M. Mosby (Secretary of State), Robert P. Taylor (Illinois State Museum), T. W. Warrick (Insurance Department), and Captain R. A. Byrd (Insurance Department). Captain Byrd was noted as being “the first colored man to hold a clerical position in the State House.”

Entrepreneurial spirit was clearly alive and well among the Black inhabitants of Springfield, during that pre-World War I era. The July 21, 1918 issue of the *Illinois State Journal* announced the formation of the Centennial Co-Operative Educational Congress, which was held in conjunction with the State of Illinois' Centennial Celebration in Springfield on September 22-24, 1918, ten years after the 1908 race riot. The Congress exposition was to begin on *September 22nd* of that year, and the newspaper included three pages highlighting the achievements of Springfield's African American community. The *Springfield Sunday Journal* (21 July 1918) carried a three-page spread entitled “Fitting Celebration of Historical Event in Illinois History—of Interest to Both Races” that highlighted many of the prominent African American citizens of Springfield. Unfortunately, whatever positive mood the Centennial Co-Operative Educational Congress may have engendered in Springfield in respect to interracial relations would soon be overshadowed by the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, which had a active presence in Springfield between 1921 and 1926 (Mansberger and Stratton 2018:125-130). Although the city's Black population had dropped slightly between 1910 and 1920, it rebounded in the 1920s increasing to 3,324 individuals by 1930, at which time it represented 4.6% of the city's total population.

By 1920, the African American commercial/entertainment district centered on the Levee had expanded eastward of Eleventh Street. The eastern end of this district was anchored by the Hotel Dudley (formerly Hotel Brown), a large commercial hotel located on the northeast corner of Eleventh and Adams Streets which had been constructed in 1914 by A. Morris Williams and Firman Brown. It was the largest Black-owned hotel in the city, and also provided meeting rooms and commercial space (SangamonLink, “Dudley Hotel”). The stretch of Washington Street between Tenth and Eleventh Street developed into a Black hotel district during the first half of the twentieth century. In 1926, the Springfield Urban League was organized. The Urban league was an inter-racial organization whose aim was to improve conditions of minorities in Springfield, and it played a significant role in the advancement of the African American community in the decades following its organization.

⁹³ Madame Clark had come from Cincinnati, Ohio to be the Superintendent of the Dress-Making Department of the Ambidexter Institute. With the closing of the Institute, she left Springfield for a short time, only to return and open her own millinery business (Thompson 1912).

Also in 1926, W. T. Casey published the *Directory of Sangamon County's Colored Citizen's*.⁹⁴ This directory was not the first of its kind in Springfield, but it clearly was the largest and most thorough effort of its kind at the time, and it reflected the desire of the African American community to have a sense of place and identity and promote their progress. The directory also included *A History of the Negro in Sangamon County*, which observed that, “In the 87 years that have elapsed since the first colored settler came to the county, the race has made substantial progress in all the varied walks of life.... Each succeeding generation may justly be expected to show a fuller approximation to ideal American character so that the colored man will be essentially American rather than colored American” (Casey [1926]).

In 1940, a large portion of the area previously referred to as the Badlands was cleared, and the federally funded public housing project known as the John Hay Homes was constructed there. The Hay Homes occupied an eight-plus-block area bound by Eleventh, Fifteenth, Madison, and Reynolds Streets. It was Springfield's first urban renewal project and aimed to replace older “blighted” housing with 900-some modern residential units similar to townhouses. The Hay Homes were interracial, but their initial occupancy ratio was skewed heavily in favor of whites (by a ratio of 8:1), despite the fact that the previous population in the area impacted had been predominately African American. Many of the residents displaced by the construction of the Hay Homes relocated south of Madison Street into the Central East Neighborhood, which already had a sizable pre-existing Black population.⁹⁵ Construction of the Hay Homes also displaced Black businesses, as well as two churches—Union Baptist and St. John's A.M.E., whose congregations constructed new houses of worship in the Central East Neighborhood in 1940. In the decades that followed, the population of the neighborhood gradually transitioned from majority-white to majority-black (Mansberger and Stratton 2018:60-61, 138-139).

In recent decades, the neighborhood around the Usable Segment I project area has been most noticeably impacted by the growth of St. John's Hospital. The hospital expanded dramatically the years following its 1878 relocation to Mason and Eighth streets, and by 1912 it was ranked as the largest in Illinois outside of Chicago. Multiple additions were made to the original hospital building, including a massive twelve-story wing built in 1938 (Russo et al. 1998:124-5). St. John's eventually came to occupy the two-block area bounded by Seventh, Ninth, Mason, and Carpenter Streets. Subsequent expansions have since been undertaken. The result has been the transformation of the Near North Side from a predominately residential neighborhood to one large hospital district, centered on St. John's and Memorial Medical Center to the west of it.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Although the date of publication of this significant resource is unknown, it is believed to have been published by the Springfield Directory Company sometime in very early, pre-April, 1926. Both Charles Dill and Oscar Becker carried advertisements within the directory as Republican candidates for County Clerk. Dill's advertisement, and select others in the directory, referenced the upcoming Republican Primary election to be held on April 13, 1926. Apparently, Oscar Becker won the primary election, and was later won the general election for County Clerk.

⁹⁵ The Central East Neighborhood, as referenced here, is delineated by Madison Street and Clear Lake Avenue on the north, South Grand Avenue and Brown Street on the south, Tenth Street on the west, and Nineteenth Street and Wirt Avenue on the east. This neighborhood was the subject a National Register of Historic Places thematic survey of Springfield's African American community in 2018 (see Mansberger and Stratton 2018).

⁹⁶ Fever River Research documented some of properties on the Near North Side in 1992, prior to the proposed expansions of St. John's Hospital and Memorial Medical Center (see Mansberger et al. 1992).

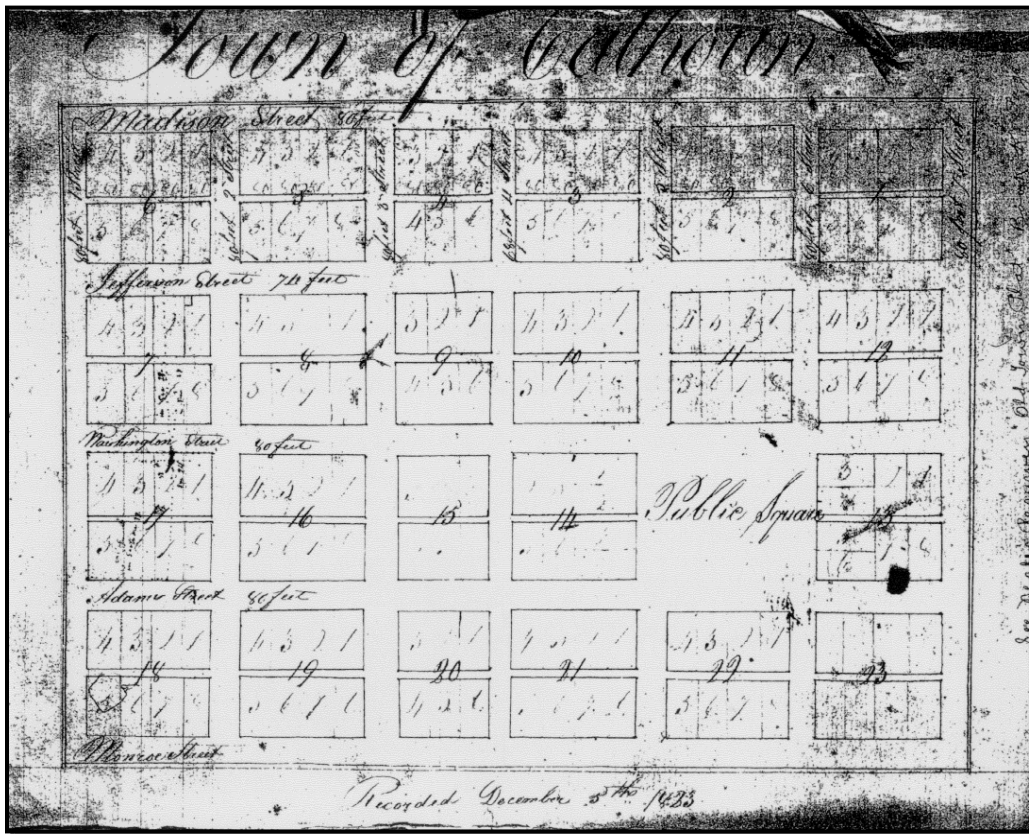
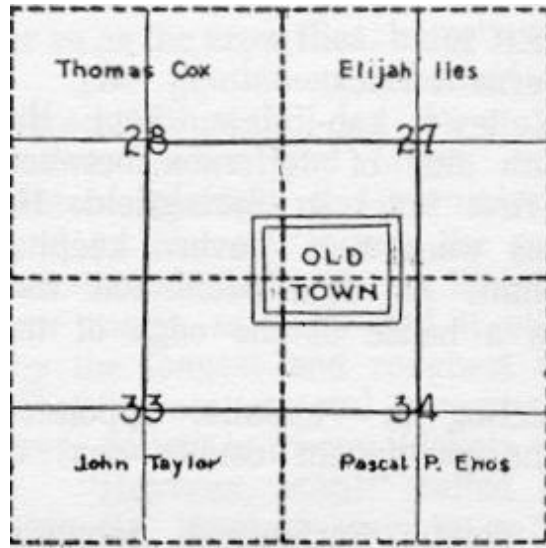


Figure 16. Original plat of “Town of Calhoun” as filed with the County Clerk, Sangamon County in December 1823 (Sangamon County Deed Record [SCDR] AB:3). The Public Square shown on the map initially was occupied by the Sangamon County Courthouse, and after 1837 by the State Capitol building.



Figure 17. The State Capitol Building in Springfield in 1858, looking east across the Public Square. The two buildings with columned porticoes seen in the background to the left of the Capitol are the Sangamon County Courthouse and the Springfield Marine Bank. The American House, a large hotel built by prominent early settler and businessman Elijah Iles also appears in the background, to the right of the Capitol (Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service).

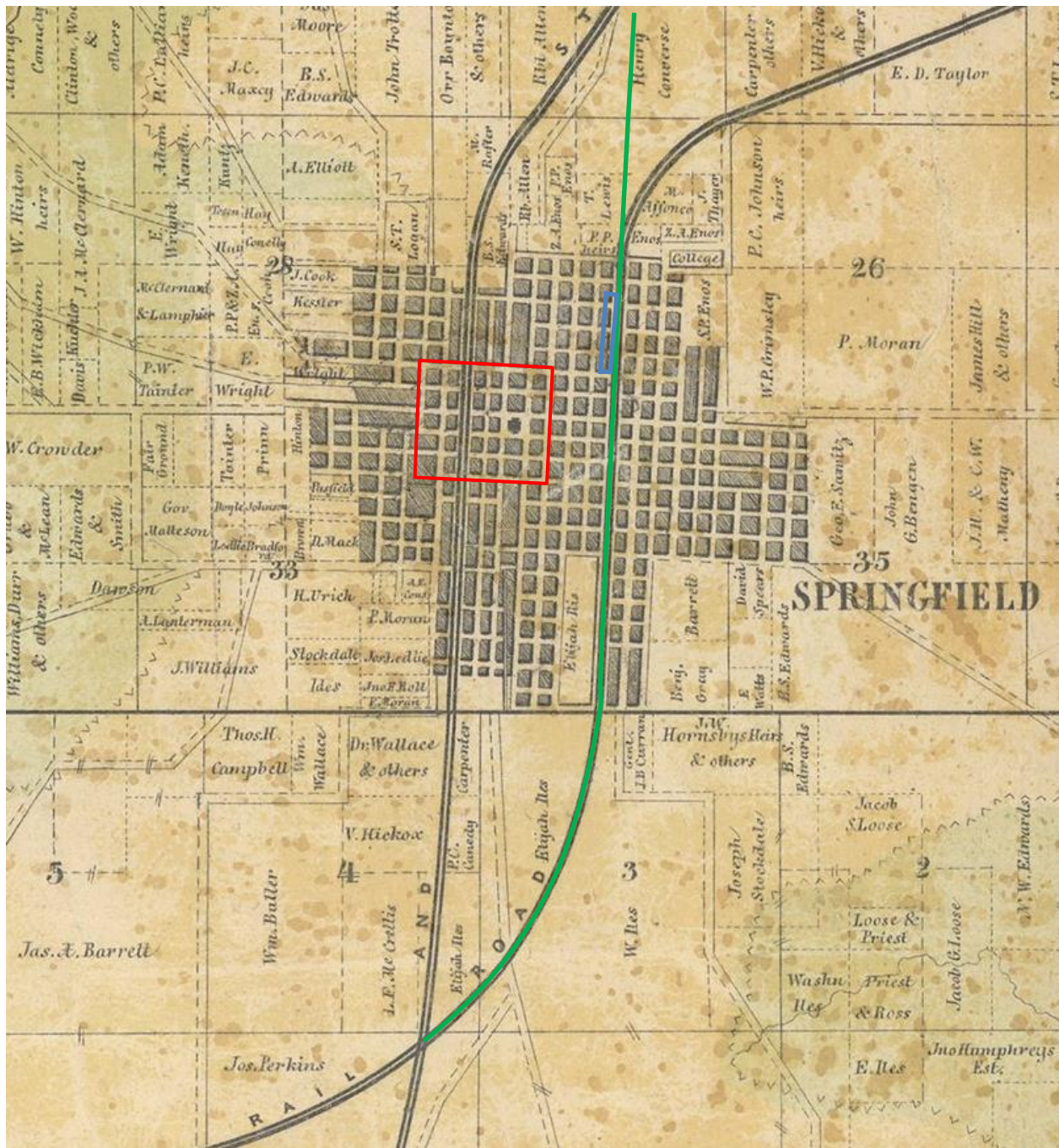


Figure 18. Detail of an 1858 map of Sangamon County, showing Springfield and surrounding vicinity (Ledlie 1858). The city had grown considerably by this date, expanding well beyond the borders of the Original Town plat (outlined in red). The heavy double lines shown indicate the routes of the two railroads then servicing the community, with the Chicago and Alton running along Third Street and the Great Western on Tenth Street. The two lines intersected south of the city at Springfield (later Iles) Junction. The approximate limits of the Carpenter Street Underpass Project is outlined in blue. The route of the SRIP is indicated in green.



Figure 19. Detail of 1867 *Bird's-Eye View of Springfield*, showing the Wabash Railroad's shop complex along Tenth Street, south of Cook. The semi-circular structure is the roundhouse (Ruger 1867).



Figure 20. Wabash Passenger Depot at Tenth and Washington streets. Constructed in 1869, this depot was abandoned in 1938 and demolished three years later (Russo et al. 1995:19).

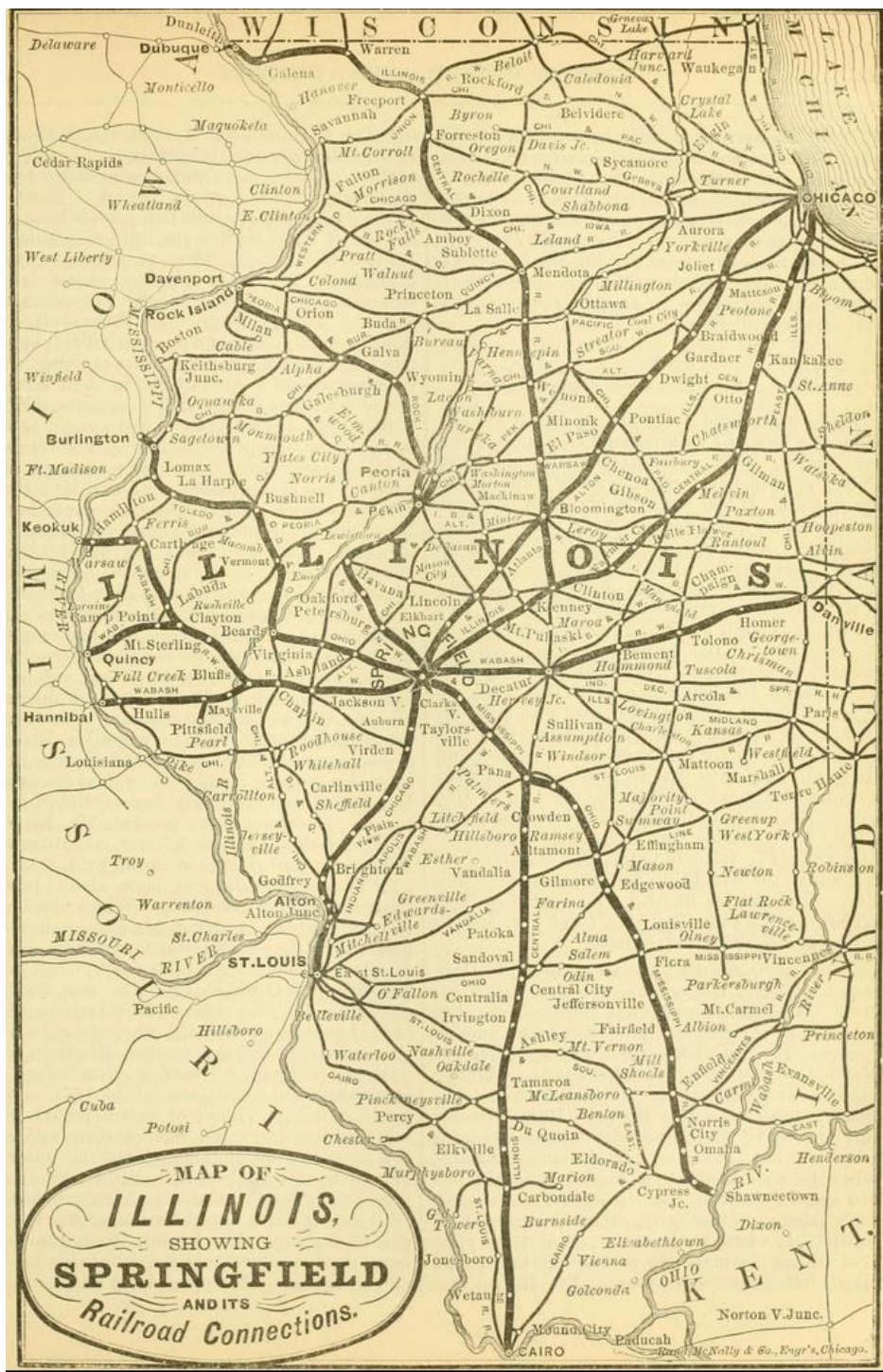
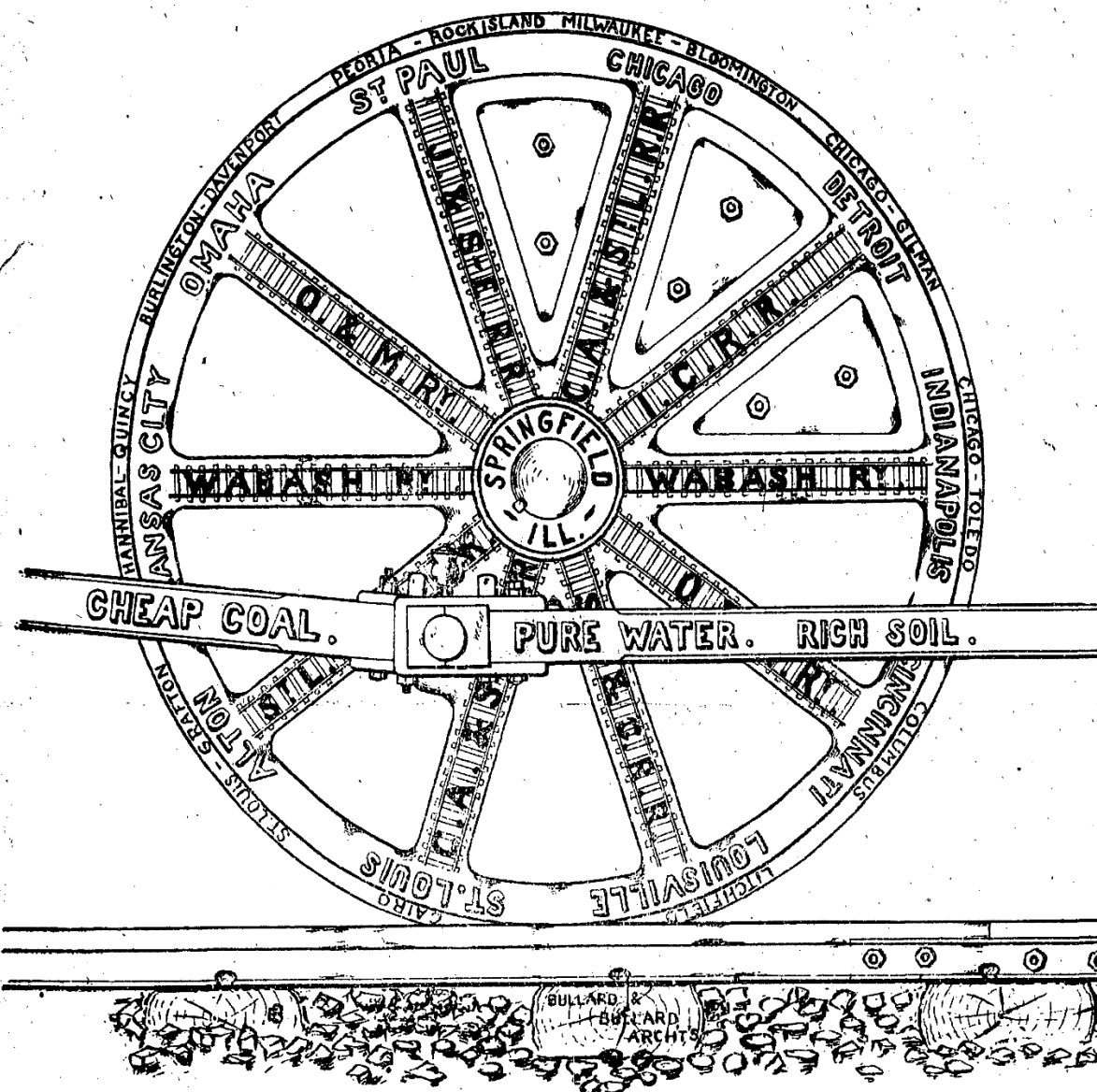


Figure 21. *Map of Illinois Showing Springfield and it Railroad Connections* from 1881 illustrating Springfield as the major rail hub in central Illinois at this time (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:735).



SPRINGFIELD AS A RAILROAD CENTRE.

Figure 22. An 1890 newspaper illustration emphasizing Springfield's importance as a railroad center (*Illinois State Register*, 18 February 1890, p. 1).

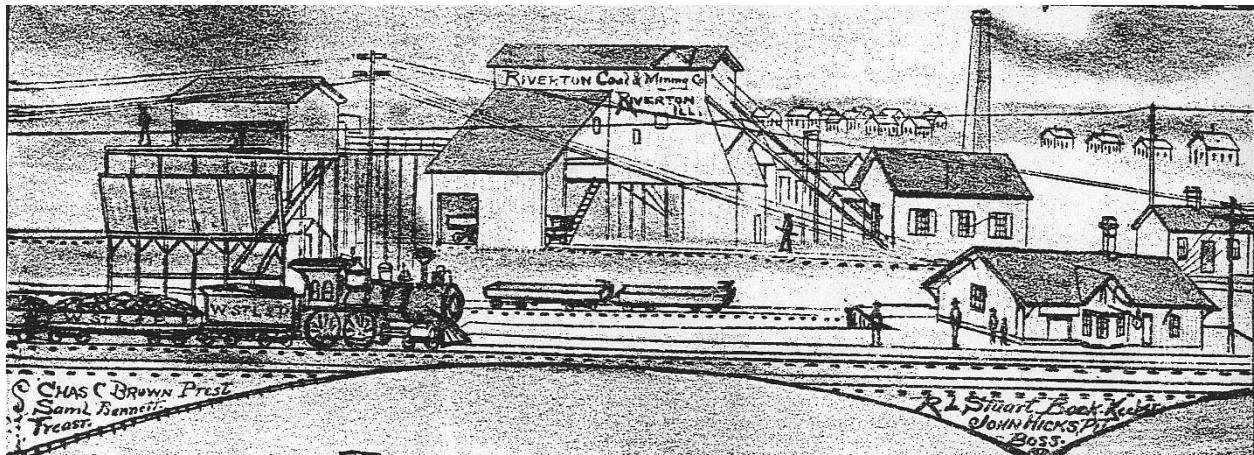


Figure 23. An 1886 lithograph of the Riverton Coal and Mining Company's mine in Riverton, northeast of Springfield (Howess 1886). Riverton is where P. L. Howett sunk the first shaft mine in Sangamon County, in 1866. The mine illustrated above was located adjacent to the Wabash Railroad. Note the proximity of the mine to the railroad depot and the large enclosed tipple attached via a trestle to the ore bins located along the railroad tracks.

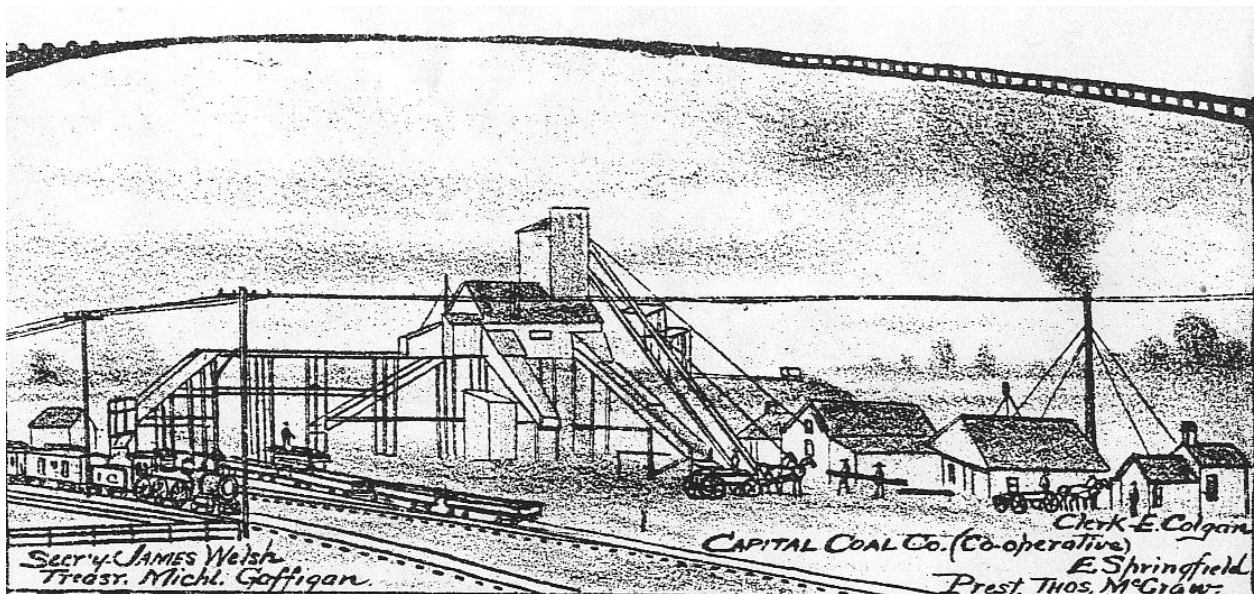


Figure 24. An 1886 lithograph of the Capitol Coal Company mine, on the northeast side of Springfield (Howess 1886). This shaft was opened in 1875 adjacent to the Gilman, Clinton, and Springfield (later Illinois Central) Railroad and operated as a “co-operative” mine, owned by the miners working it. The local coal industry employed a large number of men in Springfield during this period.

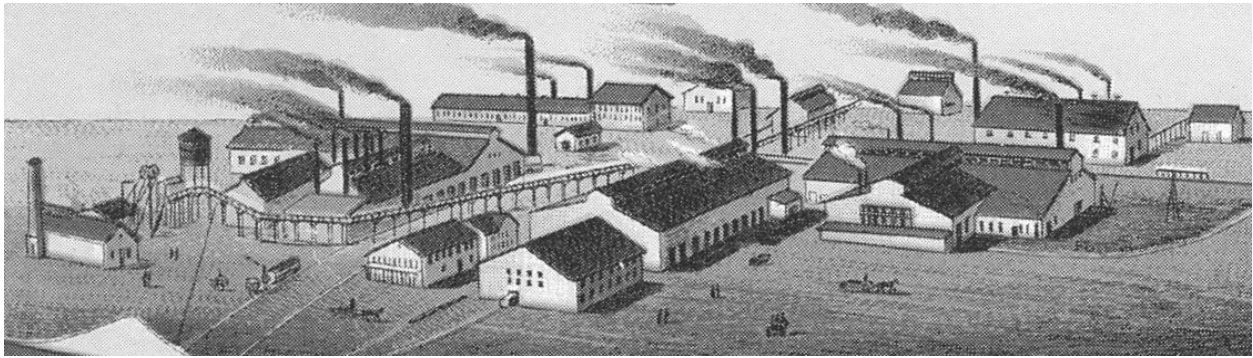


Figure 25. Springfield Iron Company (or Rolling Mills) as illustrated in a souvenir book of Springfield published in the 1890s (Barker 1890). This complex was located adjacent to the Chicago and Alton Railroad, a short distance north of the city limits. A community named Ridgely developed around the Rolling Mills. Ridgely was incorporated into Springfield in 1907.

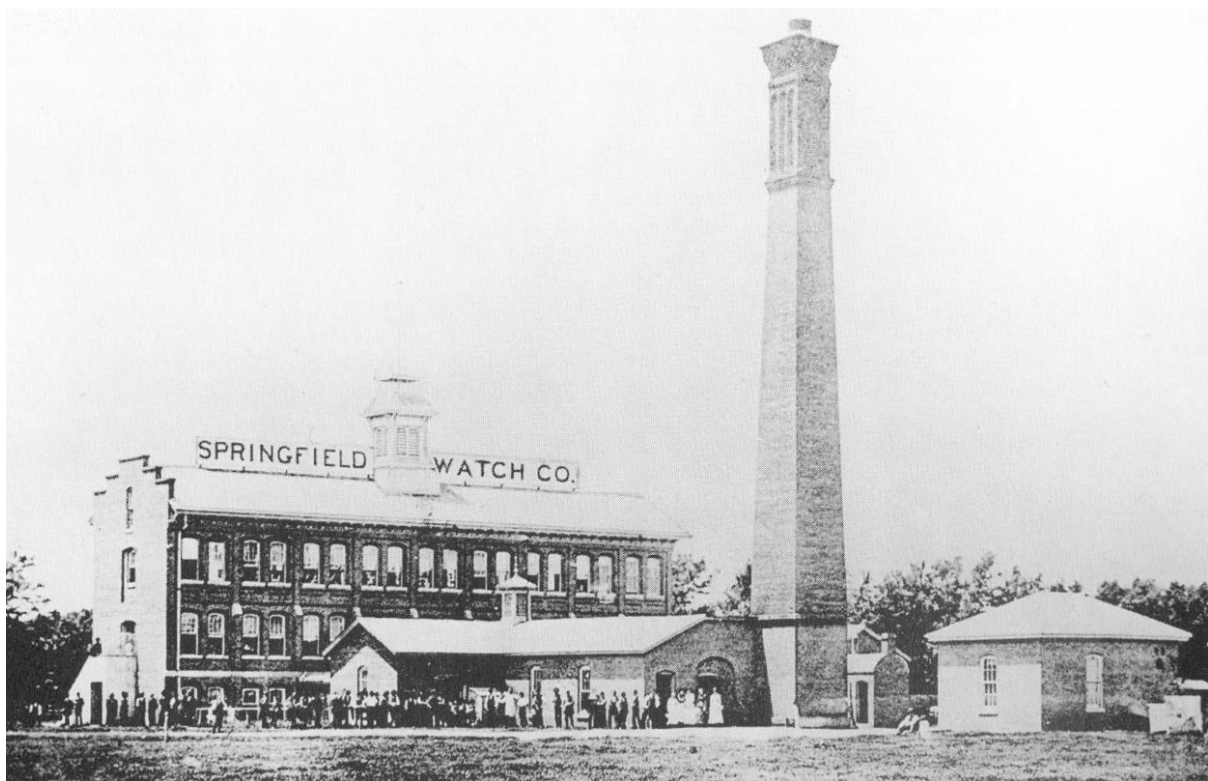


Figure 26. Early view of the Springfield Watch Factory taken in the mid-1870s, not long after its opening. The business would reorganize as the Illinois Watch Factory in 1877 (Russo et al. 1995:42).

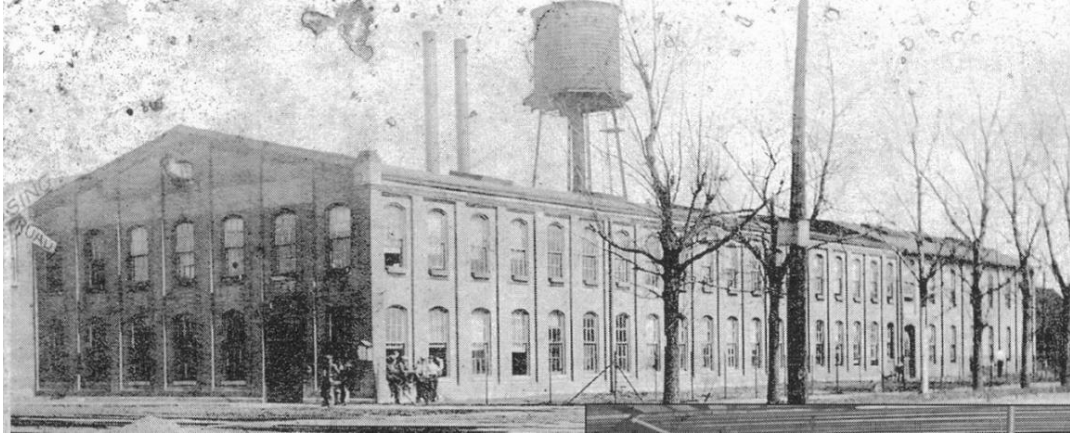


Figure 27. Early-twentieth-century photograph of the former Springfield Furniture Factory, which by this date (post-1911) had been converted into a shoe factory. This view looks northeast from the Enos Avenue crossing of the Wabash Railroad (Russo et al. 1995:68). The factory was one of several industrial properties located adjacent to the Tenth Street railroad corridor at the Enos Avenue crossing. Last occupied by Goodwill Industries, the portion of the complex shown here was completely destroyed in a fire in December 2022.

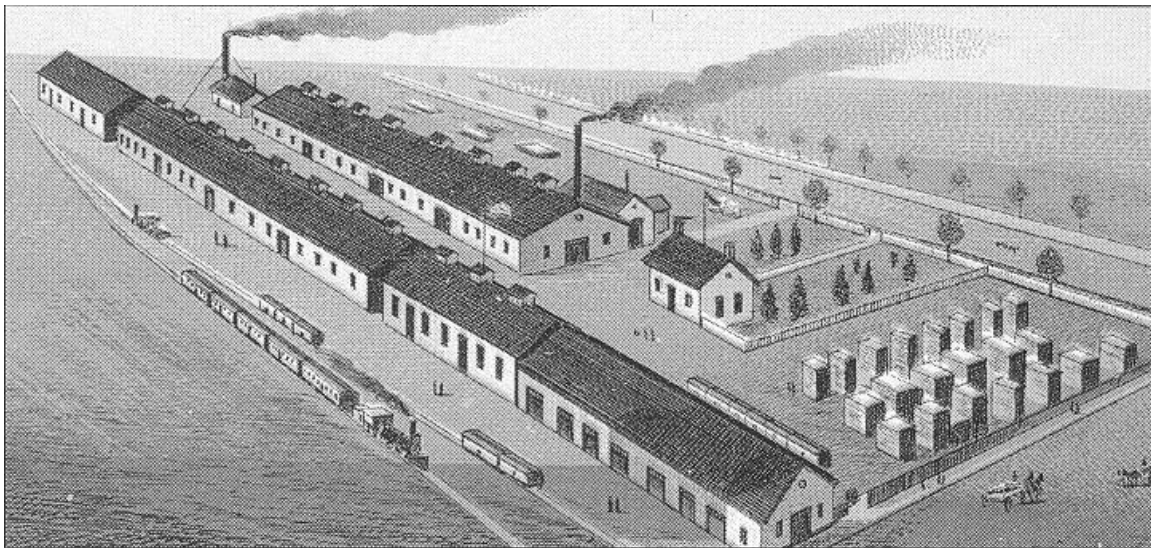


Figure 28. An 1890s-era illustration of the Sattley Manufacturing Company plow plant located on the southeast corner of South Grand Avenue and Ninth Street. The Wabash Railroad is located to the left (east) of the plant (Garvert et al. 1997:33). After merging with Racine Buggy in 1900, this company operated as Racine-Sattley Manufacturing. In 1916, the facility was purchased by Montgomery Ward and Company. The plant finally closed in 1958. This complex is representative of the numerous small and large-scale industries built along the Tenth Street rail corridor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

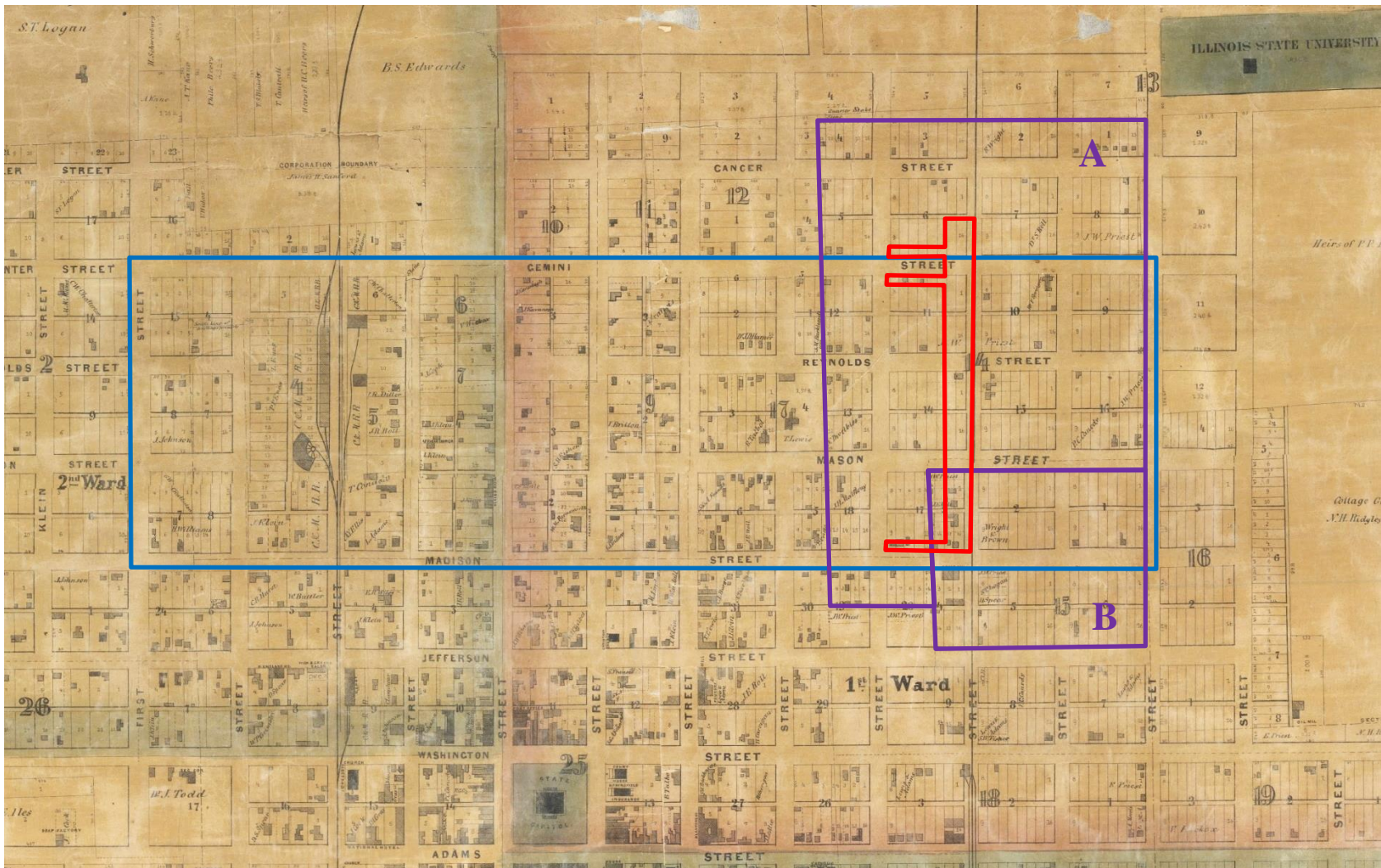


Figure 29. Detail of the 1854 *City of Springfield* map showing the north side of the city (Potter 1854). The area discussed in the report as the “Near North Side” is outlined in blue. Wells and Peck’s Addition (A) and J. Whitney’s Addition (B) are outlined and labeled in purple. The Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) project area is outlined in red. The State House can be seen at lower center, and Illinois State University at upper right.

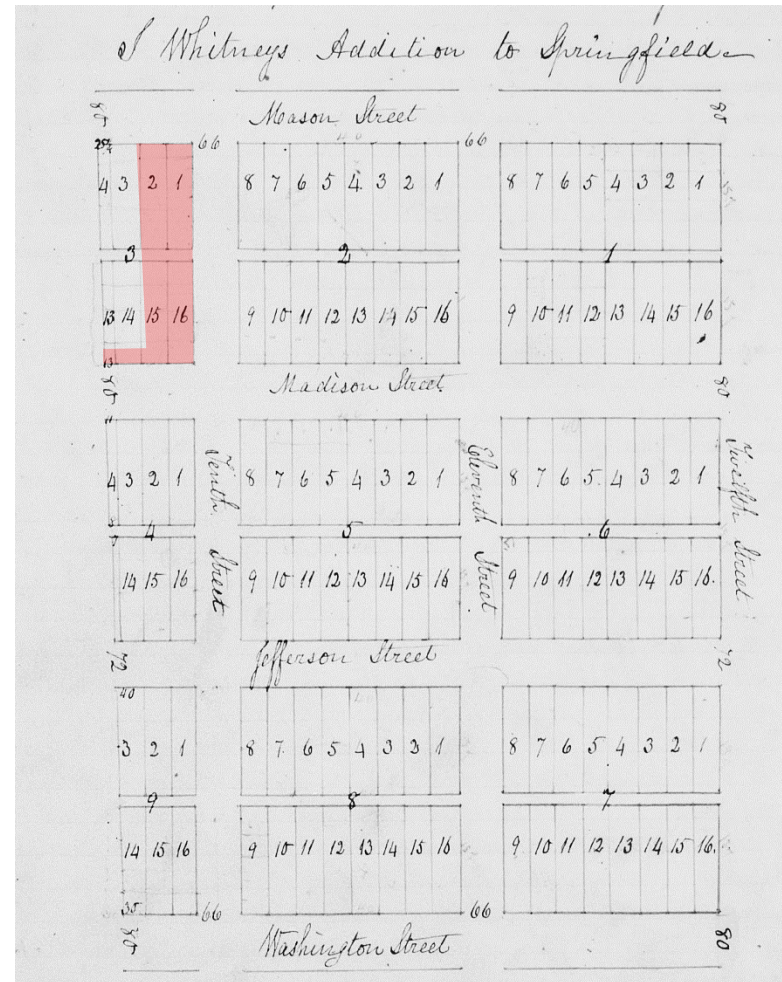
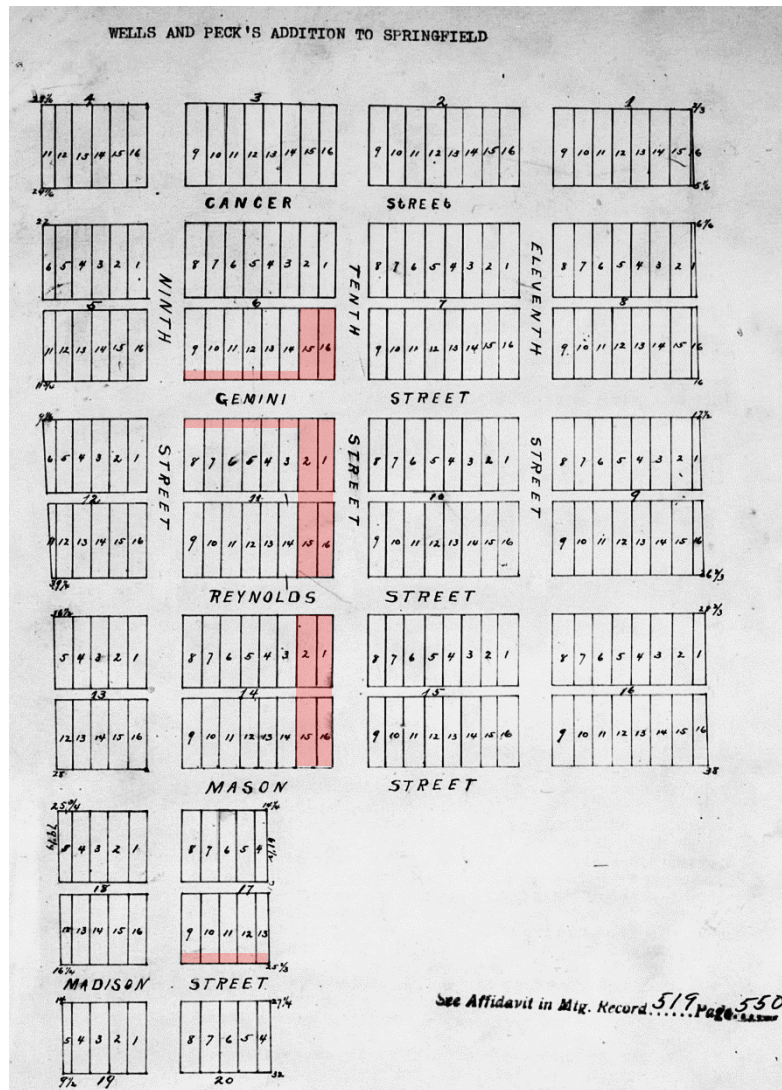


Figure 30. Left: Plat of Wells and Peck's Addition to Springfield, recorded in November 1836 (SCDR K:107). Right: Plat of Jonas Whitney's Addition to Springfield, recorded in April 1837 (SCDR K:553). Those portions of the lots located within the APE of the Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) project area are highlighted in red.

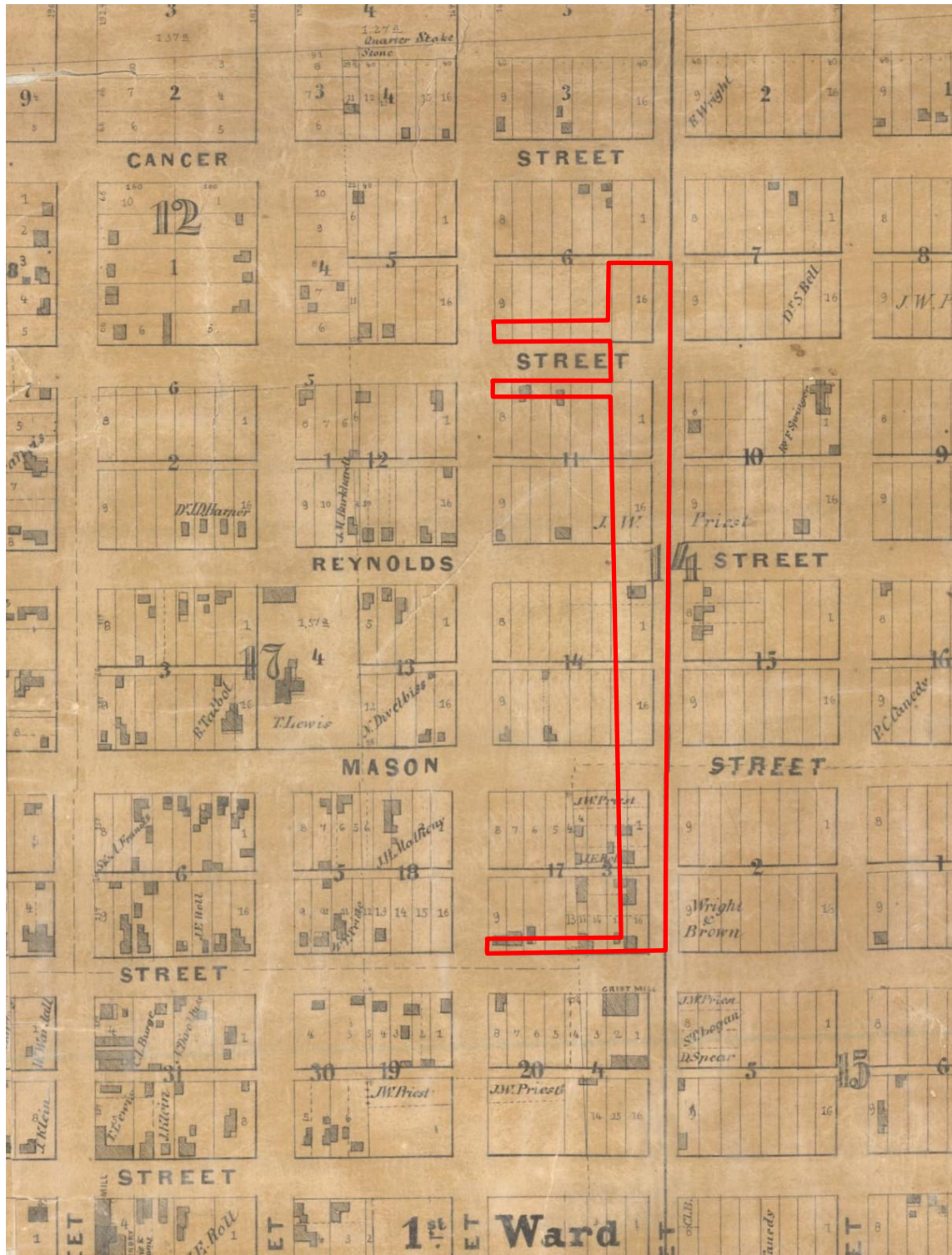


Figure 31. View of the Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) project area as illustrated on the 1854 *City of Springfield* map (Potter 1854). The project area (as originally defined) is outlined in red. Although the block on the southern end of the project area was fairly built-up by this point in time, the blocks to the north of it remained lightly developed.

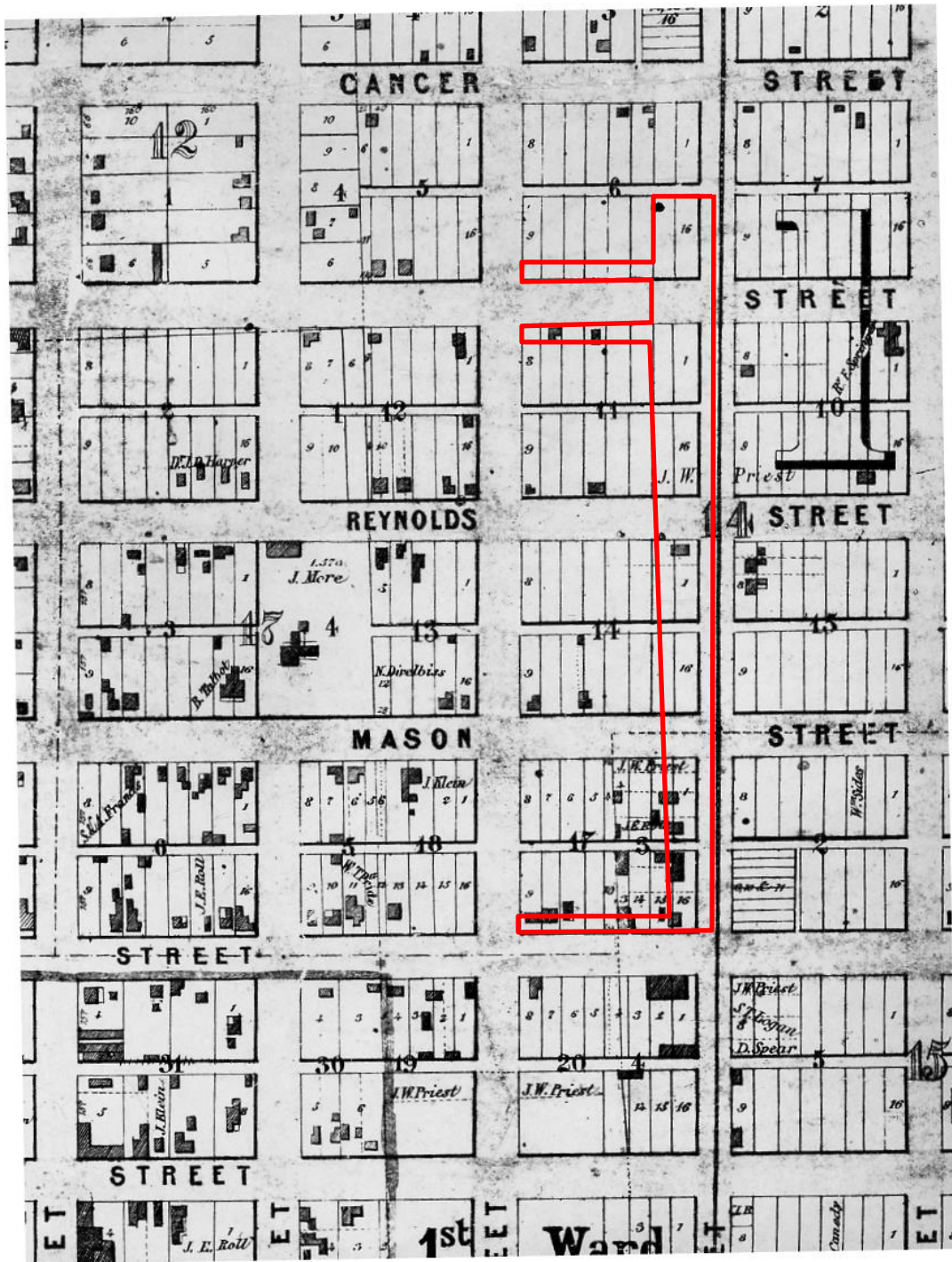


Figure 32. View of the Carpenter Street Underpass project area as illustrated on the 1858 *City of Springfield* map (Sides 1858). The approximate project area is outlined in red. The 1854 *City of Springfield* map is very similar—with individual blocks illustrated below.

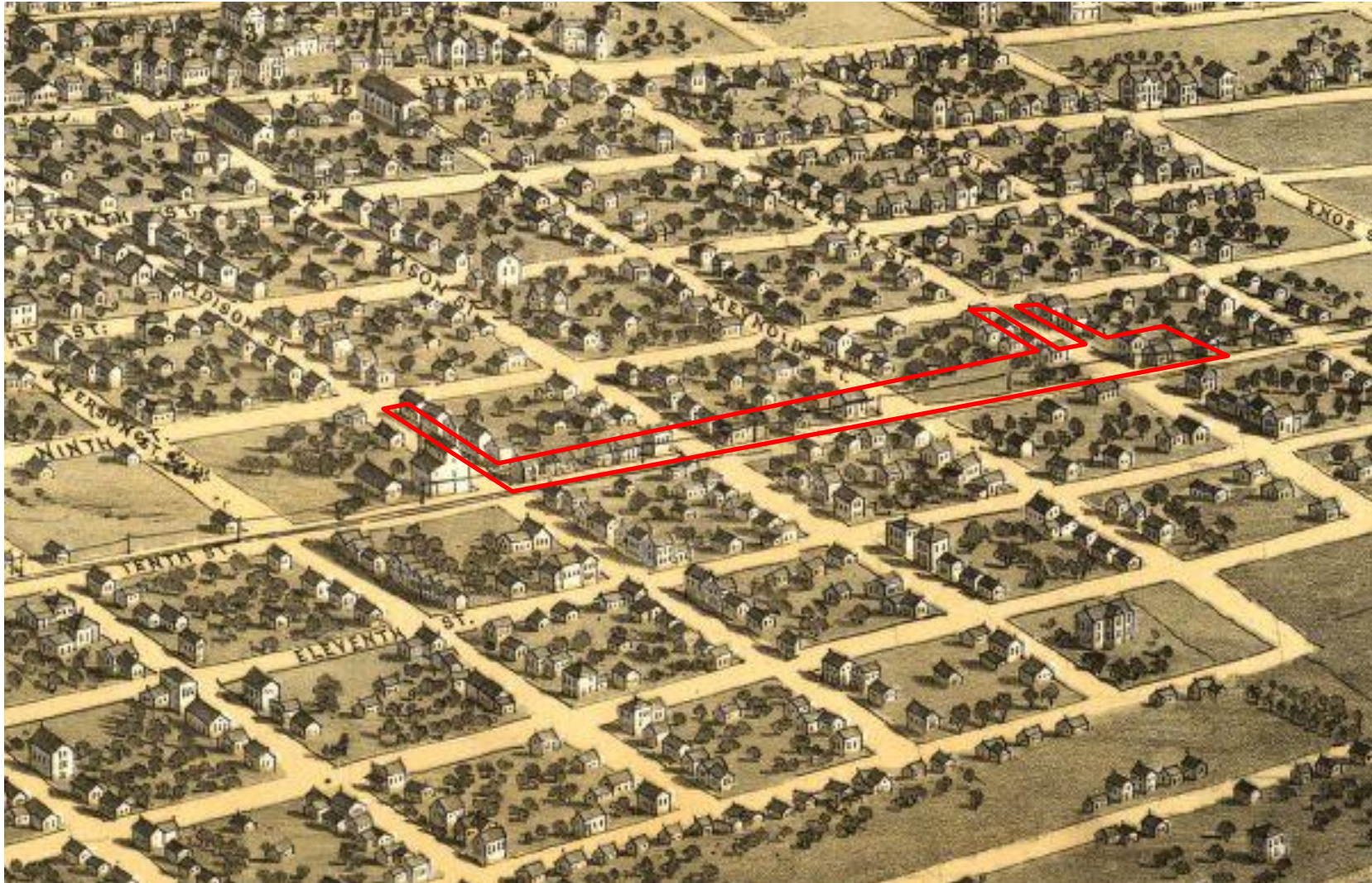


Figure 33. General view of Springfield's Near North Side and the Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) project area, as illustrated by an 1867 bird's eye view. The approximate project area is outlined in red (Ruger 1867). Note the large undeveloped plot of ground south of Jefferson Street—soon to become the location of the new railroad depot, only one block south of the project area.

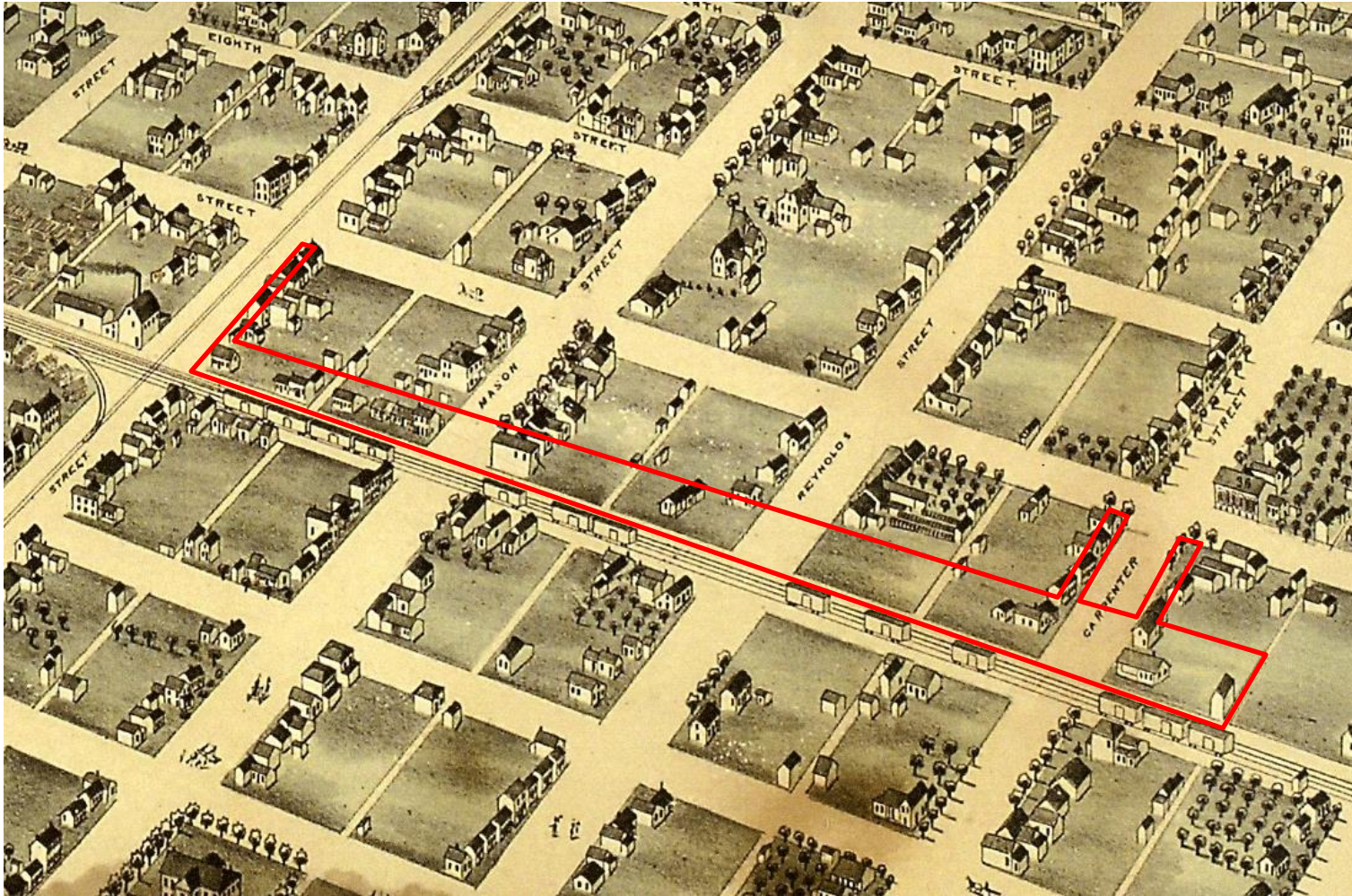


Figure 34. Location of the Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) project area (outlined in red) as illustrated by the *Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois* (Koch 1873).

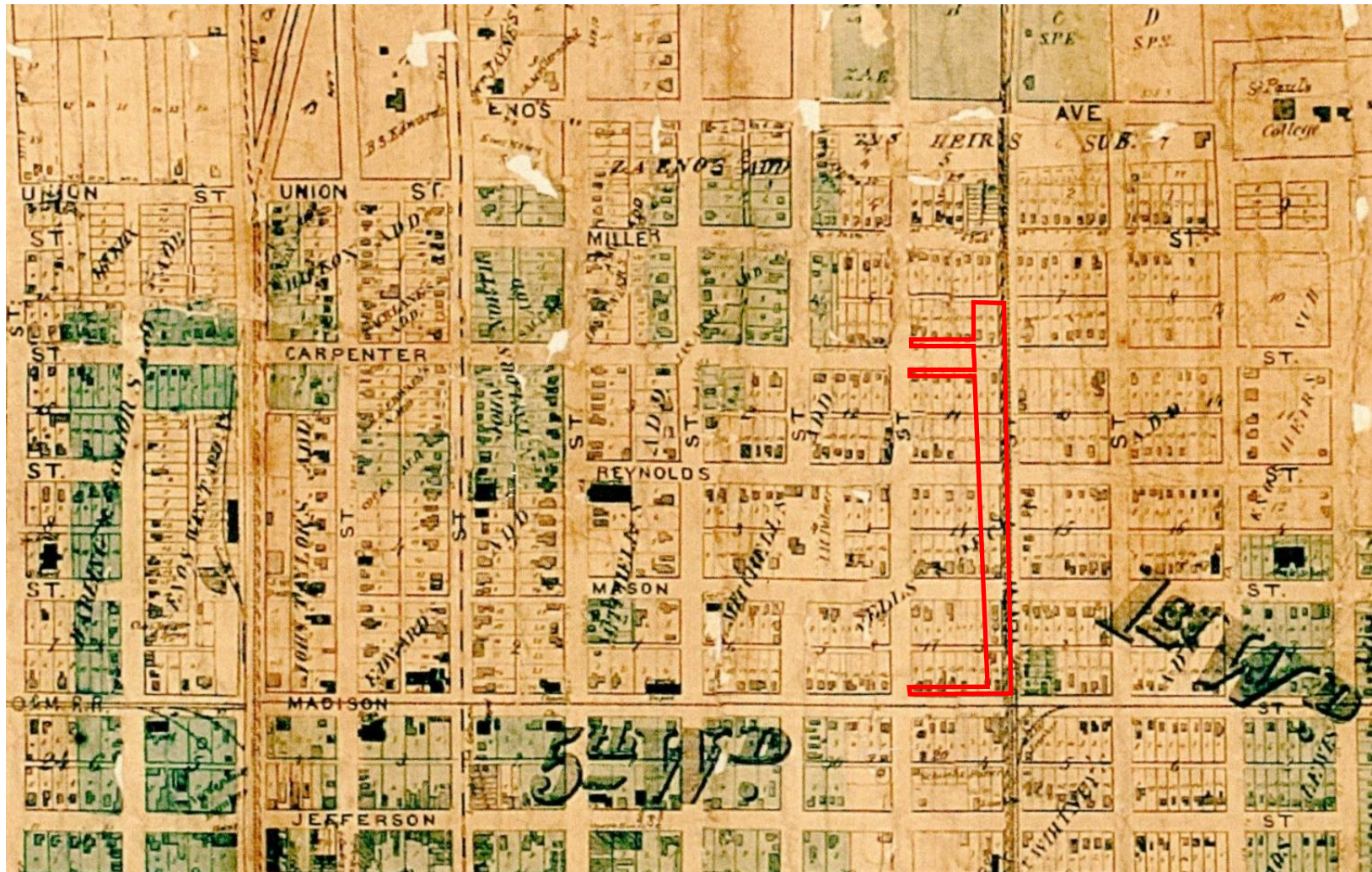


Figure 35. Detail of the 1876 *Map of Springfield*, showing the Near North Side and the approximate location of the Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) project area (outlined in red) (Bird 1876). Although the Near North Side was heavily built-up by this point in time, development dropped off precipitately only a few blocks north of it.



Figure 36. St. John's Hospital on the 800 block of East Mason Street, as pictured in 1887. Dedicated on June 1879, this institution was a major landmark on the Near North Side and would undergo several expansions in the late nineteenth century (Russo et al. 1998:124).

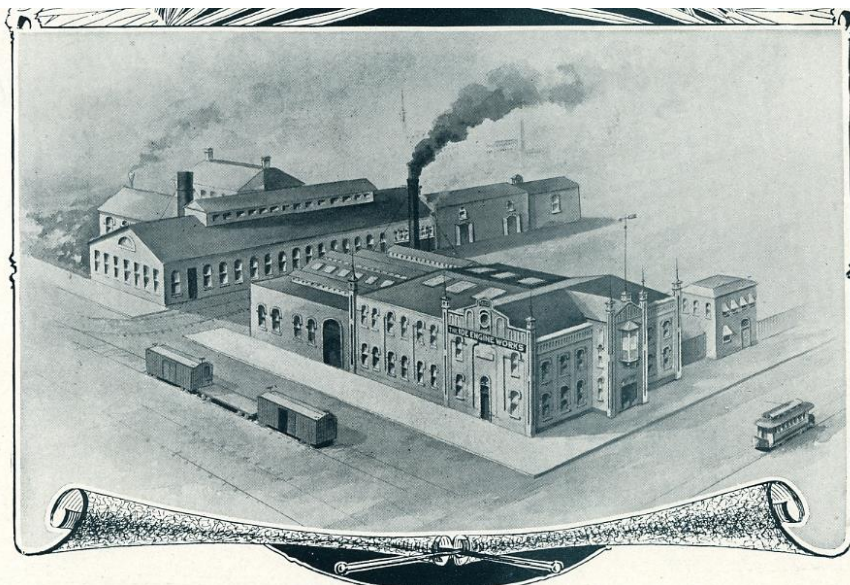


Figure 37. One of the industrial enterprises established on the southern end of the Near North Side, in the later nineteenth century was the Ide Engine Works. This business was founded in 1870 and was located the northwest corner of Madison and Fifth streets. The image above is from 1898 and shows railroad tracks along Madison Street and a streetcar on Fifth Street (*Illinois State Journal* 1898:185).

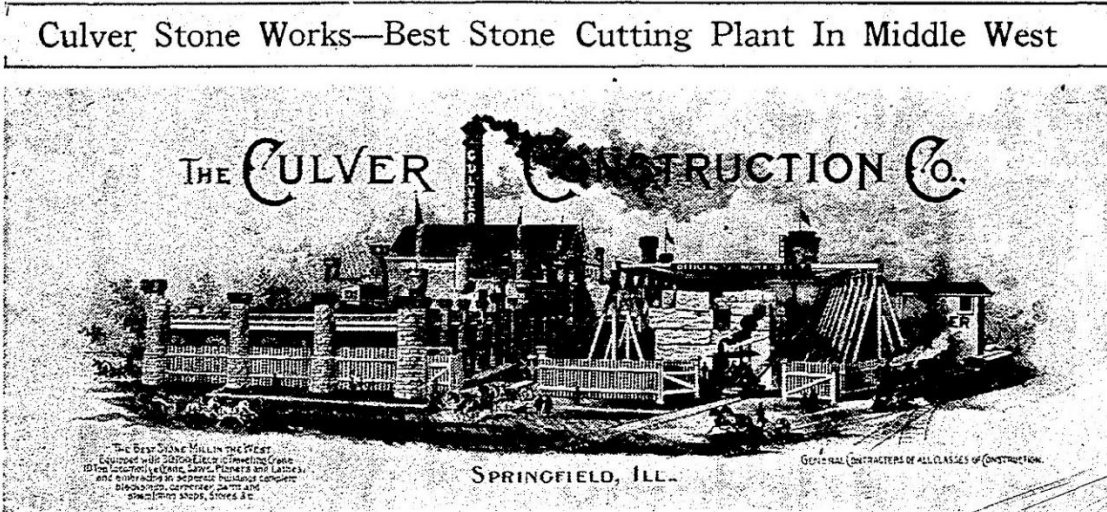


Figure 38. Lithograph of the stone yard of the Culver Construction Company, which relocated to Springfield in 1883 and built its stone cutting plant on the north side of the 800 block of East Madison Street. Note the train and railroad tracks on the right-hand side of the image (*Illinois State Journal-Register*, 7 October 1956, sec. 3, p. 8).

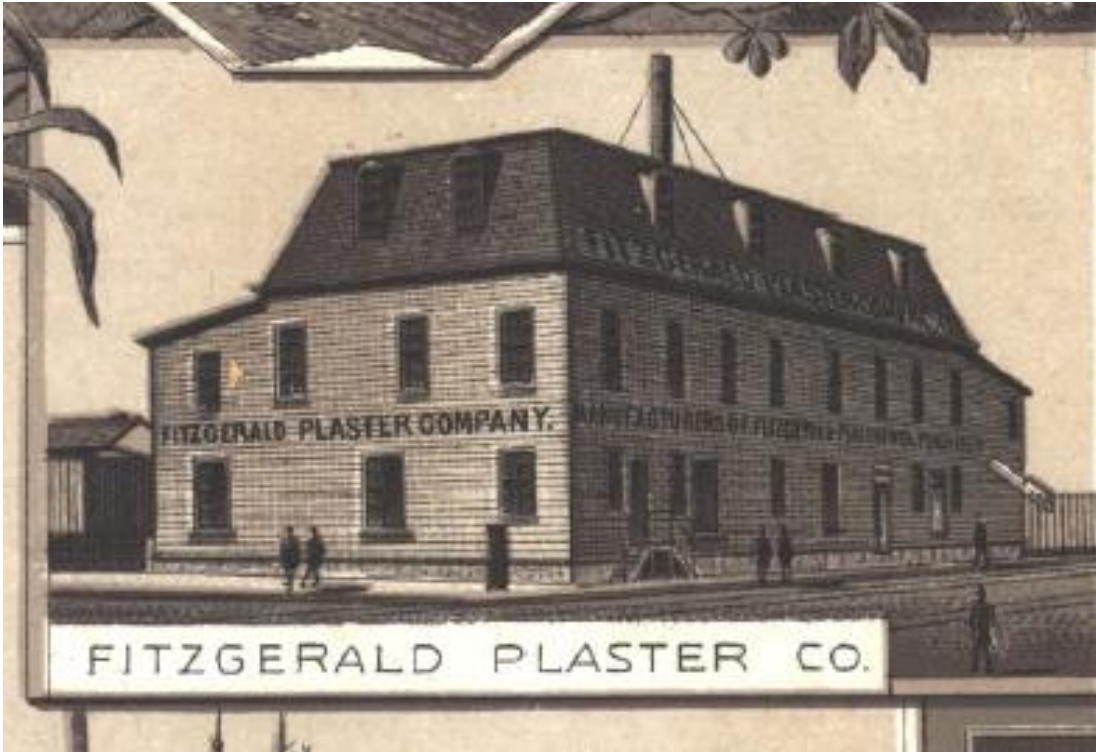


Figure 39. Early view of the Fitzgerald Plaster Company, built in 1890 at the northeast corner of Madison and Tenth (Barker 1890). This plaster factory was located immediately east of the Carpenter Street Underpass project area and had railroads running along two sides of it.



Figure 40. Early view of Union Station, constructed by the Illinois Central Railroad in 1898. Located on the 500 block of East Madison Street, Union Station was the largest and most impressive of Springfield's rail depots and is illustrative of the importance of Madison Street as a rail corridor at the turn of the twentieth century (Russo et al. 1995:19).

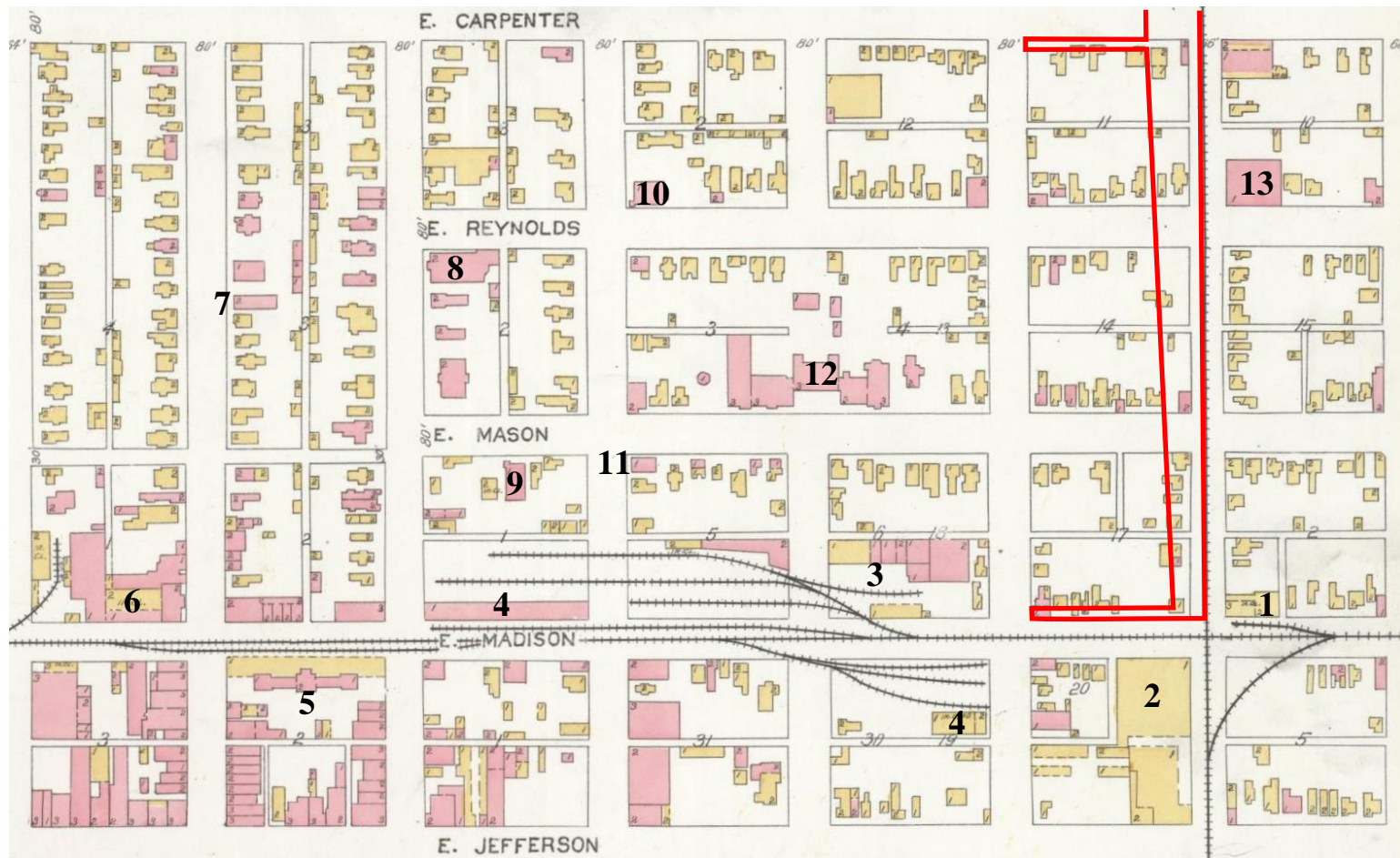


Figure 41. Detail of the 1906 *Block Map of Springfield's Central Business District*, showing the southern end of the Near North Side (Sanborn 1906). By this date, the central business district had expanded north towards Madison Street and the railroads running down it. The Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) project area is outlined in red (extreme north end not shown). Key commercial and institutional properties referenced in the report also have been numbered: 1) Fitzgerald Plaster Company; 2) J. H. Schuck and Son Lumber Yard; 3) Culver Construction Company; 4) railroad freight depots; 5) Union Station; 6) Ide Engine Works; 7) B'Rith Sholem (Reformed) Synagogue; 8) SS. Peter and Paul (German) Catholic Church; 9) St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church; 10) First Portuguese Presbyterian Church; 11) B'Nai Abraham (Orthodox) Synagogue; 12) St. John's Hospital; and 13) Capital Electric Company plant.

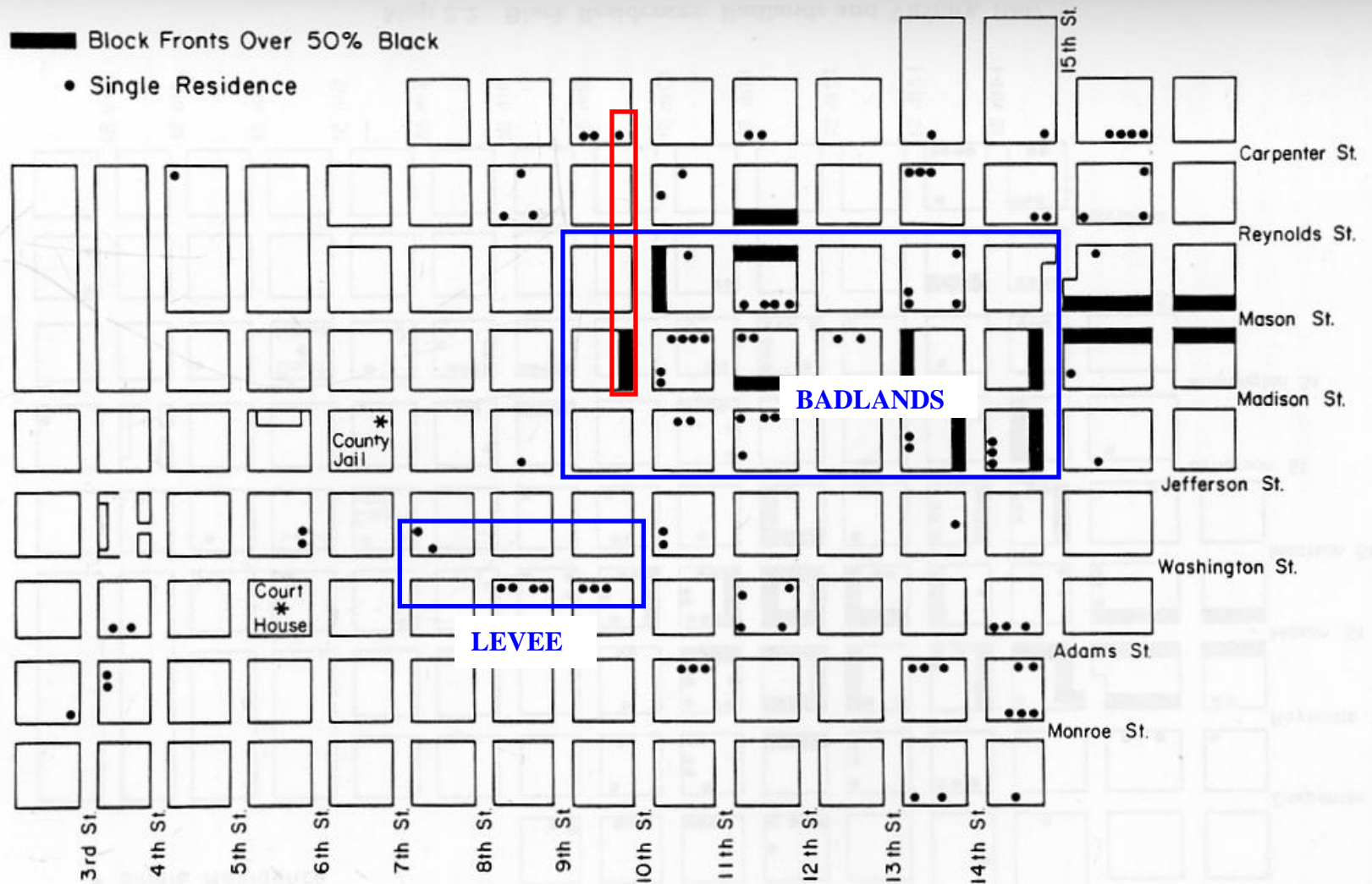


Figure 42. Black residences and businesses in the Badlands and vicinity in 1892 (Senechal 1990:Map 2.1). The Levee District and Badlands are outlined blue. The Carpenter Street Underpass (Usable Segment I) project area is outlined in red.

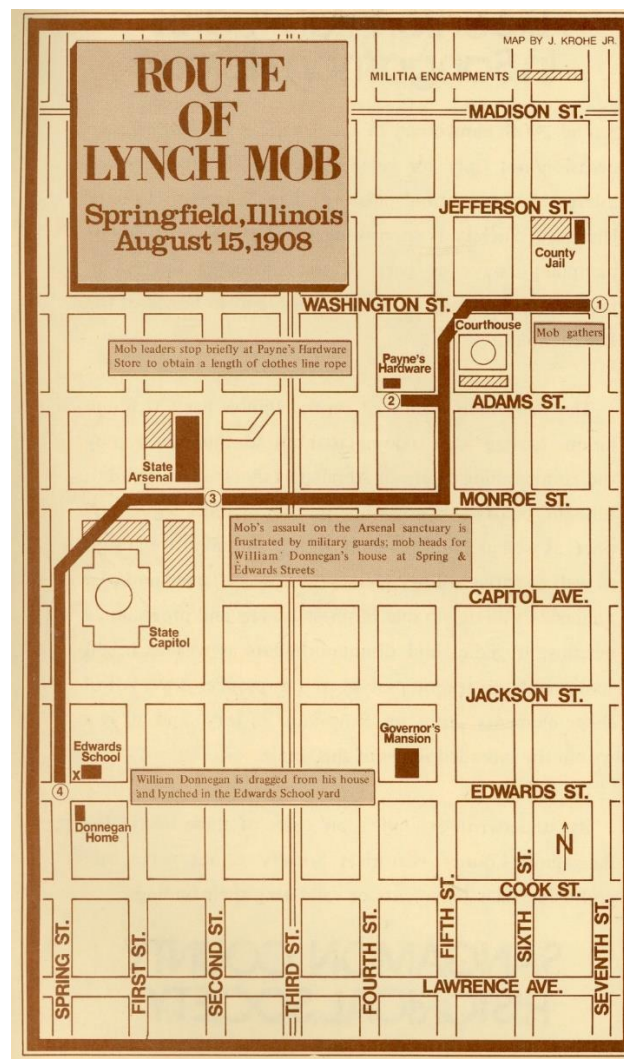
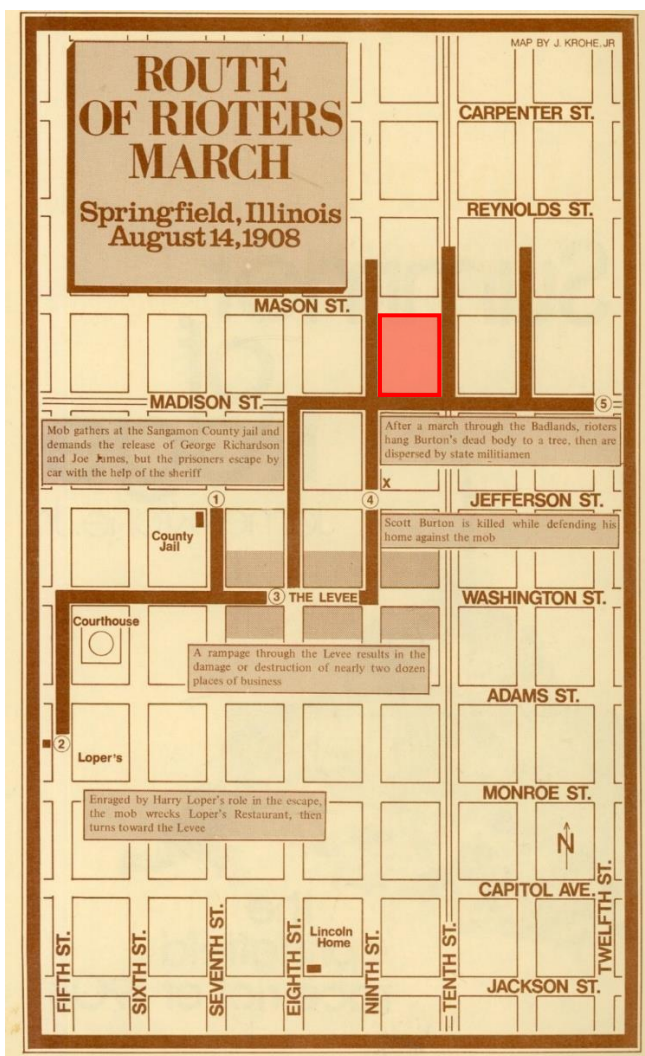


Figure 43. (Left) Route taken by white mob during the first night of rioting, August 14, 1908. Site 11SG1432 is outlined in red. (Right) Path taken by mob during the second night of rioting, August 15, 1908, during which William Donnegan was murdered (Krohe 1973 (Krohe 1973)).



Figure 44. Photograph taken in the immediate aftermath of the 1908 Springfield Race Riot, entitled: “Scene on East Madison Street: In the Heart of the Black Belt.” The gutted houses shown in the background appear to be of brick construction and are 1-1/2 to two-stories in height. They belie the impression conveyed by contemporary newspaper accounts that the black housing destroyed in the riot was “huts” or “shacks”. The image depicts the south side of the 1000 block of East Madison Street, looking southwest. The gutted two-story, brick house at 1022 East Madison appears in background. This image was published in the *Illinois State Register* (August 16, 1908).



Figure 45. Three views of the devastation suffered by black residences in the Badlands during the 1908 Springfield Race Riot. Top: Black firemen hosing off the remains of homes located at the southwest corner of Mason and Twelfth Streets. South side of the 1100 block of East Mason Street, looking west and showing ruins of houses at numbers 1128 and 1130 in foreground and damaged house at 1126 in background (ALPLM Ide Collection, NG5793). Middle: South side of 1000 block of East Madison Street, looking south and showing house numbers 1018, 1020 and 1022 (ALPLM Ide Collection, NG5804). Bottom: North side of 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking north and showing ruins of house numbers 1113 through 1129. The building shown at far right is the saloon where Scott Burton was lynched (ALPLM Ide Collection, NG5797). Similar scenes of destruction occurred on the southern end of the project area (see also Appendices VII, VIII, and IX).



Figure 46. View of “Negro Residence” identified as being located at Ninth and Madison Street. Research indicates that this “house” was located mid-block at 915 East Madison Street. A dwelling of similar size and footprint (two-story I-house with rear ell) is illustrated on the 1896 Sanborn map at this address but is absent from the 1917 Sanborn. The house in question was once located on Lot 12, Block 17 of Wells and Pecks’ Addition. Current research indicates that this was the location of Emma Nash Taylor’s, and later Mabel Baxter’s “House of ill fame”—one of the more infamous landmarks in the Badlands. In 1908, the house was occupied by Daniel Neal (an African-American) who operated a saloon from the adjacent building to the east (which was completely destroyed by the fire) (Sangamon Valley Collection, Lincoln Library).



Figure 47. Top: Burned-out houses at 312 and 314 North Ninth Street, looking east (ALPLM Ide Collection PC11a). Bottom: Burned homes at 313 North Ninth Street (at left), looking east (ALPLM Ide Collection NG5795). These dwellings were similar to the “negro shanties” burned on Tenth Street.

Historical Context:
Development and Evolution of the Race Riot Site (11SG1432)

Early Pre-Subdivision Settlement History

The land on which the Race Riot Site (11SG1432) is situated lies within the W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27, Capital Township (Township 16 North, Range 5 West). In November 1823, only a couple of years after the first permanent settlers began arriving in the area, a government land office had been established in Springfield to oversee the sale of public lands. At that time, the equivalent of at least eight quarter-sections of land had already been settled upon and improved. These lands, identified on the Government Land Office survey plats with a hand written "AP," were located adjacent to the prairie/timber border in Sections 27, 28, 29, and 34 (Figure 48). The 160 acres comprising the SW1/4, Section 27 was purchased from the federal government by Elijah Iles on November 7, 1823. The W1/2, NW1/2, Section 27, located immediately to the north, was purchased that same day by William Kelly, and the E1/2, NW1/4 was purchased ten days later by James Stephenson (on November 17, 1823). Less than one month later, on December 5, 1823, Pascal Enos, Thomas Cox, John Taylor, and Elijah Iles had pooled their lands, and platted a town overlapping the adjoining corners of the Sections 27, 28, 33, and 34. Although originally named Calhoun, this town was the beginnings of Springfield. The base line for the town survey was the rough line of cabins that extended east and west of Elijah Iles' store fronting an old trail that proceeded west towards the Illinois River (later to become Jefferson Street).

The SE1/4, Section 27—lying immediately to the east of the Old Town Plat—was not purchased from the federal government until early 1825, slightly over a year later. On March 17 of that year [1825], Williams Porter purchased the 80 acres comprising the E1/2, SE1/4 Section 27, and Archer G. Herndon purchased the adjoining 80 acres in the W1/2, SE1/4 Section 27. Archer Gray Herndon (1795-1867) arrived in Sangamon County in the spring of 1821 and initially settled on German Prairie (Clear Lake Township), five miles northwest of Springfield (Power 1876:372-73). Although primarily known in history as the father of William H. Herndon, Abraham Lincoln's law partner and biographer, Archer also would figure prominently in local business and political circles in the decades following his arrival in the county.⁹⁷

By the mid-1820s, Archer Herndon apparently was fairly well established financially, in part due to his role as a "prominent merchant" in Springfield. Besides his mercantile endeavors, Power (1876:372) noted that Herndon was also known for "erecting the first tavern in Springfield," and

⁹⁷ Abraham Lincoln's law partner. Archer Herndon was an early pioneer settler in Sangamon County, and was a native of Culpeper County, Virginia. He arrived in Sangamon County (from Troy, Madison County), "arriving in the spring of 1821, settling on what is now German Prairie, five miles northeast of Springfield" (Power 1876:372). German Prairie was located in Clear Lake Township, near present-day Riverton. Power (1876:373) further noted that Archer Herndon "was engaged in mercantile pursuits, from 1825 to 1836, and during that time erected the first regular tavern in town." He also was "was one of the 'Long Nine', who were instrumental in having the capital removed from Vandalia to Springfield in 1836. He was receiver of public moneys, from 1842 to 1849, in the Land Office, in Springfield. " Herndon, a strong Jacksonian Democrat, was State Senator from Sangamon County and died in Springfield, January 3, 1867, his wife, Rebecca Herndon, surviving until August 19, 1875 (Power 1876:373; Woodruff 1987).

anecdotal reminiscences suggest he may have owned a hotel named the “Indian Queen” (Power 1876:566).⁹⁸ Beginning in March 1825, Herndon began investing his earning by purchasing land from the Government Land Office. Over the subsequent fifteen years, Herndon made approximately 33 purchases of public lands scattered around central Illinois.⁹⁹ Interestingly, the first of these purchases was the W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27 of Capital Township—the very parcel where the Race Riot Site is located. It wasn’t until August 21, 1827 that Herndon made a purchase of public land in Clear Lake Township, where he reportedly had settled in 1821 and apparently was still living at the time.¹⁰⁰ The sequence of these purchases suggests that Herndon was prioritizing the acquisition of land adjacent to the nascent community of Springfield, where his early businesses were located.

One year later, on April 25, 1826, Archer Herndon (and his wife Rebecca) partitioned off a 5-acre parcel of ground located at the southwestern corner of the W1/2, Section 27 (Figure 49; Tract 1). This parcel was purchased by Ebenezer Capps for \$100 (SCDR B:141) and would have more-or-less fronted Washington Street on the south at that time. Washington Street was to become one of the early thoroughfares leading east out of the village of Springfield. The future Jefferson Street extension eastward, and the platting of north Ninth Street would soon bisect the Capps property.¹⁰¹ A few months later, on August 1, 1826, Herndon sold another tract of land immediately to the north of the Capps lot (Figure 49; Tract 2). At that time, Larkin Bryant purchased the 6-acre lot for \$30 (SCDR B:249). At a future date, both Madison Street, and Ninth Street would bisect this parcel of land.¹⁰² It is unclear as to how these two parcels, located immediately to the east of the platted village, were used prior to the platting of this area in 1836. If improved, these two small parcels may have contained a residence (and functioning as a small suburban house lot).¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Power (1876:566) extols the skill employed by Francis Phillips in painting the sign for the “Indian Queen.” The location of this early hotel/tavern in Springfield is not known.

⁹⁹ These purchases occurred in Cass County (n=1; 1827), Christian County (n=16; 1836-37), Logan County (n=9; 1836-1840), Menard County (n=2; 1836), Sangamon County (n=5; 1825, 1827, and three in 1836), and Tazewell County (n=1; 1829).

¹⁰⁰ The assumption that Archer G. Herndon was still living on German Prairie in 1827 is based on Power (1876:372) stating that two of his children were born there—presumably referencing Archer G. Herndon, Jr. (b. 1825) and Nathaniel F. Herdon (b. 1827). The tract purchased by Herdon in Clear Lake Township on August 21, 1827 was the E1/2, NE1/2, Section 24, T16N, R4W. This was the second of his known purchases of federal lands in central Illinois.

¹⁰¹ Capps sold this 5-acre lot to James Pickett on July 1, 1829 for \$120 (SCDR D:8). Pickett, in turn, sold the parcel to William Carpenter for \$100 on June 19, 1830 (SCDR D:258).

¹⁰² No information was found regarding Larkin Bryant. Bryant (and his wife Harriet) later sold this 6-acre lot to Miles Peck on October 27, 1836 for \$1,000 (SCDR J:704-05). This high price probably was due to the speculative land rush then underway, and the commercial interest in Peck to subdivide this property—and not to any improvements on the land at that time.

¹⁰³ This parcel of ground most likely fronted the north/south route through town known as the Peoria Road, located along the eastern edge of the community in close proximity to current Ninth Street.

Immediately to the east of these two relatively small lots was a much larger 22-acre parcel of ground (Figure 49; Tract 3) that Herndon sold to Zachariah Peter on April 7, 1827 for \$50 (SCDR B:281).¹⁰⁴ This low price suggests that this land was not improved (other than potentially as agricultural land) at that time. Zahariah and his wife Elizabeth sold this 22-acre parcel to Gershom Jayne on October 18, 1827 for the sum of \$80 (SCDR A:63). Again, the low price would suggest that this property was unimproved at that time. Jayne and his wife owned the property through May 16, 1836, at which time they sold it to Francis Bristow, Ninian W. Edwards, and Peter Van Bergen for \$1,100 (SCDR J:316-317).

Gershom Jayne (1791-1867) was born in Orange County, New York. He immigrated to Illinois in 1819, settling in Springfield the following year (1820). Jayne was a trained medical professional, serving as a surgeon during the War of 1812. Upon his arrival in Springfield in 1820, he was the only doctor in the region, and continued in that profession for the remainder of his life. His office, and house, was located along Jefferson Street, in the heart of the nascent village (Figure 50). Jayne was appointed by Governor Edwards in 1830 as one of the original three Illinois and Michigan Canal Commissioners. He also assisted with the organization of the Illinois State Medical Society. Jayne's eldest daughter, Julia, married Lyman Trumball, a prominent attorney and later United States Senator (Power 1876:406-07; Wallace 1904).¹⁰⁵

Other than placing the land in agricultural production, it is unclear as to what improvements, if any, Jayne had made to Tract 3. It is doubtful that Jayne lived on the property, or even improved the property to any degree. Although the increase in price from the time he purchased it to the time he sold it suggests the potential improvement of the property, this increase in price may simply reflect the rampant land speculation craze then ongoing (leading up to the economic crisis of the Panic of 1837), and the interest in the buyers to subdivide the land for residential development. Jayne owned Tract 3 for just under a decade, and its proximity to the early community would have made it potentially attractive for a variety of trade and/or industrial activities not well suited for the nearby "downtown" district, and it is reasonable to speculate that he may have rented it to unknown tenants for such activity during these years.¹⁰⁶ It is of note

¹⁰⁴ This, and the subsequent deed, both incorrectly note that this parcel of ground was only 20-acres in size. Zachariah Peters was one of the earliest settlers in Sangamon County, arriving in 1818 and settling initially in Ball Township taking up residence in the abandoned Pulliam cabin. Peter was instrumental in Springfield being selected as the county seat for the newly established Sangamon County in 1821 (Power 1876:32, 564), and was listed as a farmer residing in the southeast part of Springfield in 1849 (*Illinois Journal*, August 27, 1849, p. 2).

¹⁰⁵ Lyman Trumbell served in succession as Illinois Secretary of State (1841-1843), an Illinois Supreme Court Justice (1848-1858), and United States Senator (1855-1873). As a senator, he played a major role in the Thirteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

¹⁰⁶ Gershom Jayne also apparently operated an early hotel in Springfield. In discussing the early organization of Sangamon County, Power (1876:35) noted that in early December 1821 Robert Pulliam "was allowed to keep a tavern, or public house of entertainment, upon his executing a bond and paying to the county the sum of three dollars." This appears to be the first reference to a tavern in early Springfield, but its location is unknown—just like Archer Herndon's. The next mention of a tavern is from March 1822, when Elijah Slater filed a bond (with Gershom Jayne acting "as security," was granted a license to keep a tavern, or public house of entertainment in Springfield. The location of Slater's tavern also is unknown. In describing early Springfield, Thomas Smith (who settled in Curran Township, north of Lick Creek) related that "the first time he saw Springfield was in February 1822. Elijah Iles was keeping store in a very small cabin build of round logs and covered with clapboards held on by weight poles. These was not a nail used in the building. Mr. Iles had sold out nearly all his goods and gone to St.

that the archaeological investigations at Site 11SG1432 did find a component that pre-dated the construction of Houses B and C, which may date to Jayne's period of ownership (see Mansberger and Stratton 2024c, 2024d).

Gershom Jayne, and his wife Sibyl, sold interest in this parcel of ground to Francis Bristow, Ninan Edwards, and Peter Van Bergen on May 16, 1836 for \$1,100 (SCDR J:316-317) [TRACT 3?]. At that time, Jayne sold a 1/3 interest each to Bristow and Van Bergen, and 1/6 interest to Edwards, and kept a 1/6 interest for himself. This high price for this parcel was due either to 1) the improvements present on the land at the time of the sale, 2) the future development potential of the land during this inflationary period, or 3) a combination of the two. Peter Van Bergen and Francis Bristow each sold their interest in this parcel of land to Jonas Whitney in late 1836 (SCDR J:673; K:226). Together, the two investors owned a combined two-thirds share of this land, which they sold for a combined sale price of \$1,173. Whitney purchased the remaining one-third interest in this parcel of ground from Jayne and Ninian Edwards on March 24, 1837 for the sum of \$3,666 (SCDR K:486).

The remaining north 47 acres of the W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27 (Tract 4) remained in Herndon's ownership through late September 1833, at which time he (and his wife) sold the property to Nathaniel Ware for the sum of \$7,300 (SCDR F:523). At that time, Ware was a resident of St. Louis County, Missouri. Ware sold these 47-acres to Jonas Whitney and Thomas Wells, future residential developers, on July 22, 1836 for the sum of \$2,350 (SCDR J:406). The sale price of \$2,350 was a significant decrease in price from what Ware had paid for the property when he purchased it. Erastus Wright was the attorney representing Ware for this transaction (see Table 8).

Post-Subdivision Settlement History

In 1836-7, the greater 80-acre parcel of ground purchased by Archer Herndon in 1825 was subdivided and integrated into the fabric of the City of Springfield—albeit located on the far northeastern corner of the platted community (Figure 51). The Race Riot Site (11SG1432) is defined as the city block bounded by Madison Street on the south, Mason Street on the north, Ninth Street on the west, and the Tenth Street rail corridor on the east. This block straddles two adjacent subdivisions within the City of Springfield. The west portion of this block consists of partial Block 17, Wells and Peck's Addition to Springfield. The eastern third of this block consists of partial Block 3, Jonas Whitney's Addition (Figure 52). Although Block 3 and Block 17 were platted separately, approximately four months apart, their lot numbering was complimentary in order to provide a consistency between them—sixteen lots being the norm in the full blocks within the respective additions, with each lot measuring 40-ft by 157-ft in size. Lots 1-4 of Block 3 and Lots 4-8 of Block 17 faced onto Mason Street, while Lots 9-13 of Block 17 and Lots 13-16 of Block 3 faced onto Madison Street (the two Lot 4s and two Lot 13s being partial lots adjoining one another) and collectively comprising a normal sized lot (Figure 53).

Louis for more. The hotel consisted of a double log cabin, and was kept by Dr. Gershom Jayne and his wife. The store, hotel and blacksmith shop constituted the town" (Power 1876:671).

Thomas N. Wells and Stiles C. Peck platted Wells and Pecks Addition to the City of Springfield on 2 December 1836 (SCDR K:107). This new plat divided the earlier Tracts 2 and 4 into twenty blocks (nine whole and eleven partial), the majority of which were lying north of Madison Street, between Eighth and Twelfth streets. Two partial blocks, representing the south half of Tract 2, were located south of Madison Street (ref. Figure 30).

Jonas Whitney's Addition, which consisted of the platting of the earlier Tract 3, was laid out directly east of Wells and Peck's Addition. This plat, which was recorded on April 10, 1837, consisted of nine blocks (six whole and three partial) extending from Washington Street north to Mason Street, and from the eastern edge of Wells and Pecks Addition (and Tract 2) east to Twelfth Street (SCDR K:553) (ref. Figure 30).

At the time these two additions were platted, the lots in both additions were oriented with their long axis north/south. In the combined Block 17 of Wells and Pecks Addition, and Block 3 of Whitney's Addition, these original lots fronted either Mason or Madison Streets. As originally platted, Lots 9-16 were initially oriented towards Madison Street to the south and Lots 1-8 towards Mason Street to the north. Sometime prior to late 1839, Whitney "re-packaged" the lots in his Block 3, reorienting Lots 1-4 and 13-16 so as to front Tenth Street to the east. With this reorientation of the lots towards Tenth Street, the west portion of Lots 4 and 13, which were located in Wells and Pecks Addition, remained oriented towards Mason and Madison Streets, respectively. Whitney also did this on two other blocks in his addition that fronted the proposed route of the Northern Cross Railroad through Springfield, presumably in order to maximize on the potential commercial value of those lots. As noted previously, contracts for grading and other preparatory work for the railroad line east of Springfield were issued in 1837-8. Some of this grading work would have been carried out directly adjacent to the project area. Although the grading between Springfield and the Sangamon River apparently was completed in the late 1830s, the State's financial crisis prevented any tracks being laid in this section of the line at that time. When the railroad finally reached Springfield in 1842, the tracks terminated several blocks south the project area. It would be nearly decade before the trackage actually was extended through the project area and eastward of Springfield.

As part of the re-packaging of Block 3, Lots 1-4 (on the north side of the alley) were partitioned into four parcels described as the N1/2, N1/2, the S1/2, N1/2, the N1/2, S1/2, and the S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 1-4. The resulting parcels had frontages that were slightly narrower and shallower than the originally platted lots. This process began in November 1839 with the sale of N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 1-4 by Thomas N. Wells to Stiles C. Peck (House G).¹⁰⁷ Two years later (November 1841), Jonas Whitney sold the entire S1/2 of Lots 1-4 (Houses D and E) to Thomas Lewis. Then in May 1842, Whitney sold the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 1-4 (House F) to William W. Hall. The S1/2 of Lots 1-4 came to be divided into two halves in December 1849, when John E. Roll (who had acquired the parcel from Thomas Lewis in May 1842) sold the N1/2, S1/2 of Lots 1-4 (House E) to Isaac H. Smith (SCTB 1:302-303; SCDR DD:120).

¹⁰⁷ The house designations assigned to each legal description refer to the dwellings later constructed on these parcels of land and are given here as a reference to the following discussions of the seven parcels of land and their associated improvements. None of the seven houses had as yet been constructed at the time of these transactions.

Similarly, Lots 13-16 of Block 3 were subdivided with four parcels of equal frontage facing Tenth Street. This process, as with Lots 1-4 on the north half of the block, began sometime prior to mid-1842. Tract Book listings generally describe the parcels as the North 38½-ft, the S1/2, N1/2, the North 40-ft of the South 80-ft, and the South 40-ft of the South 80-ft of Lots 13-16. Several of these parcel descriptions are cumbersome, and for convenience, the following designations are used in the discussion below: the North 38½-ft of Lots 13-16 is referenced as the N1/2, N1/2; the North 40-ft of the South 80-ft as the N1/2, S1/2; and the South 40-ft of the South 80-ft as the S1/2, S1/2—all in reference to the “re-packaged” Lots 13-16.¹⁰⁸ Jonas Whitney sold off these tracts in a series of transactions conducted in 1841-1842. The first of these involved the sale of the N1/2, S1/2 (the vacant parcel north of House A) to Michael Mergenthaler, which occurred on July 23, 1841. It was followed by the sales of the N1/2, N1/2 (House C) to William Barnett on January 10, 1842, the S1/2, N1/2 (House B) to Francis B. Aldridge on April 8, 1842, and the S1/2, S1/2 (House A) to John Meyers on November 3, 1842 (SCTB 1:302-303).

The sudden interest in the lots on Block 3 of Whitney’s Addition, four to five years after they were platted, suggests that Springfield’s economy was beginning to recover from the Panic of 1837. This impression is supported by a June 1842 newspaper article entitled “Prospects of our City,” which claimed that about 100 new buildings had been constructed in Springfield the previous year (*Sangamo Journal*, 3 June 1842, p. 3). The five residences discussed as Houses A-E at Site 1432 would all be constructed in the 1840s. At this time, the project area effectively represented the eastern edge of the developed city (Figure 54).

The 1850 United States Census of Population provides the first opportunity to see who was residing at Site 11SG1432 during this early period. Residents within the immediate project area in 1850 included: Peter Westenberger, a German cabinetmaker (in House A); Gerhardt Wilkenberg, a German blacksmith (also in House A); B. F. Aldridge, a drayman from Ohio (in House B); Charles Dunham, a carpenter from Ohio; Jacob Tiger, a miller from Ohio (in House C); Phillip Gysenger, a German laborer (in House D); and Isaac Smith, a plasterer from the Carolinas (in House E) (USBC 1850).

The 1854 map of Springfield confirms that five of the eight parcels on Block 3 had been built upon by this time (Figure 55). Buildings are shown on the N1/2, S1/2 of Lots 1-4 (House E), the S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 1-4 (House D), the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House C), the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House B), and the S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House A). The latter parcel was the most developed of the five, having a total of four structures upon it; the western of these may have fronted Madison Street, while those on the east appear oriented to Tenth Street. This map also indicates that the railroad along Tenth Street had been extended through the project area—work that may have been completed only the year before (Potter 1854; Figure 55). Census records and city directories suggest that the improvements shown on the 1854 map were residential in character. Besides those structures fronting Tenth Street, the only other buildings

¹⁰⁸ The revised lot descriptions used in this report refer to the North 38-ft of Lots 13-16 as the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16; the North 40-ft of the South 80-ft as the N1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16; and the South 40-ft of the South 80-ft as the S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16 [In each case, the 40-ft metric equivalent is 12.19m, and the 80-ft metric equivalent to 24.38m—which is too cumbersome to include in the legal descriptions throughout the remainder of the report.]

on this block were three houses located at the northeast corner of the Madison and Ninth street intersection (straddling Lots 9, 10, and 11 of Block 17 in Wells and Peck's Addition). The Phoenix Mill also is illustrated at the southwest corner of Madison and Tenth streets, immediately south of the project area. The 1858 map of Springfield shows the same suite of buildings on Block 3 as were illustrated on the earlier 1854 map (Sides 1858; Figure 56).

The 1860 U.S. Census indicates the project area as being occupied by predominately white working-class tradesmen and their families. These individuals included: Peter Westenberger, the German-born cabinetmaker (in House A); E. B. Brewer, wood turner from Ohio (in House B?); Lewis Apgar, a New-Jersey-born fireman employed at a (living in House C and possibly working at the Phoenix Mill); and Ralph Jackson, a hatter from Kentucky (in House D); and the widowed Elizabeth W. Smith (in House E) (USBC 1860).

The 1867 birds' eye view of Springfield shows six dwellings on the west side of Tenth Street on Block 3, two of which are located on Lots 13-16 (south of the alley dividing the block) while the other three are on Lots 1-4 (Ruger 1867; Figure 57). They are depicted as side-gabled structures, mostly one or 1-1/2-stories in height, one exception being a two-story building located on the southwest corner of Tenth and Mason Streets. The latter building (House G) is not illustrated on the 1858 map and hence would appear to have been built during the intervening period (sometime between 1858 and 1867). This house (House G) was located on the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 1-4—a tract owned by John W. Priest in 1858 but not ever occupied by him personally.¹⁰⁹ Outbuildings on Block 3 are poorly represented on the 1867 bird's eye. However, this source does show what appears to be a front-gabled building on the west end of the Westenberger tract on Lots 13-16 (and fronting Madison Street). The use/function of this building remains unclear, but one possibility is that it represents Peter Westenberger's cabinetry shop and/or barn.

Although the 1867 bird's eye view illustrates only six houses on the west side of Tenth Street, the 1866 Board of Fire Underwriter's *Minimum Tariff of Rates* for Springfield indicates that there actually were seven houses present at that time (Figure 58). This is also corroborated by chain-of-title research, which suggests that the dwelling not depicted on the bird's eye—House F—was constructed in 1864-5. Although the *Minimum Tariff of Rates* classifies all seven residences as frame, the original section of House B actually was brick (Board of Fire Underwriters 1866:91).¹¹⁰

By circa 1870, the resident population within and adjacent to the project area had become more racially mixed. The trend had begun with the development of Wright and Brown's Subdivision, which was located on the opposite site side of Tenth Street from Houses A-C. Wright and Brown's Subdivision, which was platted in 1856, partitioned Lots 9, 10, and 11 of Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition and created eight narrow lots (averaging 20-ft in width) fronting Tenth Street and the Great Western Railroad. It thus mirrored what Jonas Whitney had done on Block

¹⁰⁹ John W. Priest resided elsewhere in Springfield (Power 1876:581).

¹¹⁰ The *Minimum Tariff of Rates* were intended to provide a basis for calculating insurance risks. Building material (frame vs. masonry), roofing material, and distance from other buildings were factored into determining the minimum insurance rate. A brick residence with a metal or slate roof would be given a more advantageous rate than a frame one with wood shingles.

3 but with much narrower lots. Ultimately, six houses—all built by and owned by African Americans—would be constructed within Wright and Brown’s Subdivision between the late 1850s and middle 1860s. As previously noted, the first of these homes was built by Reverend Brown, who appears to have located here by 1857. In addition to Brown, other early residents in the subdivision were George Price (barber), David Sappington (carpenter), William Riddle (carpenter), John Clay (cook and laborer), and Leanna Donnegan Knox (widow). The skilled occupations held by these individuals are of note, considering that most Black men in Springfield were employed as general laborers at this point in time (as many white men were as well). Ministers like Henry Brown were socially prominent and particularly respected within the Black community. Similarly, barber George Price practiced a niche trade Blacks had been conspicuous in locally since the early 1830s and had enjoyed great success (William Florville being the preeminent example).¹¹¹ The widowed Leanna Donnegan Knox was the matriarch of a well-respected family that had lived in Springfield since the 1840s, members of which were civically engaged and employed in shoemaking, barbering, and farming. Her son William Donnegan was one of the men lynched in the 1908 race riot. Wright and Brown’s Subdivision represented a distinct Black enclave within Springfield during this period, and it expanded in adjoining areas over time (Figure 59).¹¹²

A number of other Black families had established residences in the immediate vicinity of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision by circa 1870, including with the Race Riot Site. One of the first individuals of color documented as living in the project area was Coleman Hill, a laborer who appears in the 1868 *Springfield City Directory* as living on the west side of Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison Streets; his exact location is unknown, however. Judge Hayward, a Black laborer from South Carolina, rented House D during the period 1870-1876. Bell Watkins, a Black livery owner, moved into House B around 1874 and remained there until 1883. Another African American family, the Faros, occupied House C around the same time (1874-5). Joseph Faro was a laborer and had lived in Wright and Brown’s Subdivision before purchasing House C. Houses A and E, by contrast, remained occupied by the same white families who had been there since the 1840s (i.e., the Westenbergers and the Smiths) during this period.¹¹³

The 1873 bird’s eye view provides a more detailed illustration of the structural developments on Block 3 than that depicted on the 1867 view (Figure 60). This 1873 view not only depicts

¹¹¹ William (“Billy the Barber”) Florville operated a successful barbershop in Springfield for many years and included among his customers Abraham Lincoln, with whom he was long friends. Florville also acquired considerable real estate throughout his career. When he died in 1868, his family was the wealthiest in Springfield’s Black community.

¹¹² Lots 1-3 of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision were subject to Phase II testing, and later mitigation, as part of the Springfield Rail Improvements Project. The mitigation work on the portion of the three lots included within the revised railroad ROW was done during the summer of 2022, the results of which are discussed in Volume VII of this report. Lots 1-2 has been designated as the Price-Edwards Site (11SG1532) and Lot 3 as the Sappington Site (11SG1533). See “Wright and Brown’s Subdivision of Lots 9, 10, and 11, Block 2, J. Whitney’s Addition to Springfield: A Free-Black Enclave in Civil War Era Springfield,” Appendix XI, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume IV]).

¹¹³ See “The Early Black Occupants of the Tenth Street Neighborhood: Racial Diversity and a New Hope for Equality in Early Springfield,” Appendix IX, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume IV]).

...

principal structures with greater clarity but also shows outbuildings. Seven principal buildings—all dwellings apparently—are shown fronting Tenth Street. Discussing the individual parcels on Block 3 in order (from north to south), the 1873 bird's eye illustrates a two-story, side-gabled, three-bay residence on the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 1-4 (House G), with a small shed-roofed outbuilding (privy?) to the rear. On the adjoining parcel (i.e. the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 1-4) a one-story, side-gabled, five-bay house is shown (House F), with a modest-sized outbuilding (possibly a small carriage barn) to the rear. This residence was not illustrated on the 1858 city map, nor was it clearly indicated on the 1867 bird's eye view, suggesting a construction date of 1867-1873. On the N1/2, S1/2 of Lots 1-4, a one-story, side-gabled, three-bay (?) dwelling is depicted, along with an outbuilding comparable in size to that shown on the tract to the north of it (House E). On the S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 1-4, the bird's eye view shows a one-story, side-gabled, five-bay, single pile residence with a shed-roofed rear wing or extension (House D). A fairly substantial gable-roofed outbuilding (possibly a carriage barn?) is shown to the rear of this residence, fronting the east/west alley dividing the block. The orientation of this outbuilding is opposite that shown here on the 1858 city map. Moving to the south side of the alley, a one-story, side-gabled, single pile dwelling with an extended rear wing is depicted on the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House C). A sizable outbuilding is shown on the rear of this parcel. Another single-story, side-gabled, single pile dwelling, with three-bay façade, is shown on the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House B). The latter dwelling appears to be attached (or immediately adjacent to) to that on the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16—an articulation also suggested by the 1854 and 1858 city maps. The dwelling on the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House B) is not clearly indicated on the 1867 bird's eye view, but this may be due its close proximity to that on the North 38-ft of these lots (House C). Indeed, the 1854 and 1858 city maps suggest these two residences were attached. No outbuildings are shown to the rear of the dwelling on the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House B). The seventh residence fronting Tenth Street on Block 3 illustrated by the 1873 bird's eye view occupies the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison streets and is located on the South 80-ft of Lots 13-16 (House A). It is a 1-1/2-story, side-gabled, five-bay, single pile structure. A separate building (or cluster of small outbuildings) is depicted on the west end of this tract and appears to correspond to that shown in various forms on the 1854 and 1858 maps and 1867 bird's eye views. The 1873 bird's eye view depicts this second building as having three distinct parts: a principal section with a gable-end fronting Madison Street; a shed-roofed, rear extension on the north; and a shed-roofed wing on the east, along Madison (Koch 1873). The project area also is depicted by an 1876 map of Springfield (Bird 1876) and by 1878 Bird's Eye View (Beck and Pauli 1878). Unfortunately, both of these sources are rather simplistic in their depictions of the housing there (Figures 61-62).

The character of the neighborhood changed in the latter years of the nineteenth century, both in respect to the composition of resident population and the condition of the housing. A number of factors were involved in this, one of which was increased rail traffic. Railroad traffic had been a constant feature in the daily lives of the residents along Tenth Street since the early 1850s, but with the completion of the Gilman, Clinton, and Springfield (later Illinois Central) Railroad and the Illinois and Southwestern (later Ohio and Mississippi) Railroad down Madison Street in the early 1870s, the project area was now bracketed on two sides by busy rail corridors. A switch line was laid in at the southeast corner of the Madison and Tenth Street intersection to provide connecting service between the intersecting rail lines. By the 1890s, the Wabash Railroad would have three sets of tracks running down Tenth Street; and extending off these were short spur

lines servicing adjacent industrial/commercial properties.¹¹⁴ The increased volume of rail traffic added to the noise, soot, and potential danger faced on a daily basis by those living on and adjacent to Block 3.¹¹⁵ It naturally would have diminished the appeal of the housing there over time.

Vice also played a critical role in the changing character of the project area during this period. Several factors contributed to proliferation of the vice in this section of the city in the years following the Civil War. One of these was the construction of the new, larger Wabash passenger depot in 1869. The presence of the depot encouraged additional commercial development along Washington Street, some of which was of a decidedly different character than that found within the central business district to the west. The several blocks of Washington Street extending west of Tenth Street quickly became known for its saloons, pawn shops, gambling dens, and “houses of ill fame,” resulting in its being nicknamed the “Levee.”¹¹⁶ As discussed previously, two prominent “houses of ill fame” had been established within the immediate project vicinity by circa 1872. These were Emma Nash (a.k.a. Emma Taylor’s) house at 915 East Madison Street immediately behind House A, and Jessie Brownie’s (later Eva Montague’s and Lou Barnes’) house at 1016 East Mason Street, a half block west of the project area, which later on was known as “Old Point Comfort.” Both were long-lived operations, run by white madams, and they ultimately attracted other prostitution to the area. This process was abetted by the locale’s proximity to the Levee District, located two blocks south. It also was short walk from the Wabash Railroad’s passenger depot at Tenth and Washington Street (Figure 63).¹¹⁷

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population enumerated the occupants along Tenth Street in Ward 5 (Springfield’s Enumeration District 227), and with the assistance of contemporary *Springfield City Directories* (particularly the 1879 and 1880 directories) it was possible to assign occupants to all seven houses located within the project area (Table 6). In 1880, there apparently were eleven families (thirty individuals) living within these seven houses—with both Houses D and G apparently each subdivided into three units by that time.¹¹⁸ Of the eleven families living within the neighborhood at this time, only three of the eleven (or approximately 27% of the households)

¹¹⁴ The Fitzgerald Plaster Company, built on the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison in 1890, was serviced by spurs extending of both the Wabash Railroad and Illinois Central Railroad.

¹¹⁵ A number of residents in the project area are known to have been killed or injured by trains over the years. One example was young John Smith, who was crushed to death by a rail freight car in 1857 after he attempted to climb aboard it and fell on the tracks. The accident occurred on the Great Western Railroad, which ran in front of the family’s home (House E) (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 March 1857, p. 3; Power 1876:628). In 1893, George Lewis (resident of House A) lost a hand after falling under a train (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 September 1893, p. 6).

¹¹⁶ Although Tenth Street typically is considered the eastern edge of the Levee, a number of saloons were established on the east side of the Tenth Street tracks, directly opposite the Wabash Depot. A small hotel and boarding house district also eventually developed on the 1000 block of East Washington Street, presumably due to its proximity to the depot.

¹¹⁷ See detailed context, “‘Springfield A Wicked Old City’: The Rise of Vice in Illinois’ Capital City,” Appendix I, this volume.

¹¹⁸ Potentially House D may have been subdivided only into two units with an additional apartment located in a rear dwelling located behind the main house and facing the alley.

had a male “Head of Household.” These traditional families included a livery stable operator (Belleville Watkins) living in House B with his wife and a servant, and those of two laborers (John Bell living in House E with his wife, and John Cantrall living in one of the apartments in House G with his wife and young child). The other eight household “Heads” (comprising nearly 73% of the households in the project neighborhood) were all females with occupations listed as “Keeping House.” This preponderance of female “heads of household” is striking for this early date. Of the eleven families, all but one were listed as white. The exception was House C, which was occupied by the Faros, who were Black. It should be noted, however, that even though the 1880 census lists the Watkins family in House B as “white,” they actually were mixed race, as Bell was Black and his wife Lyda was white.¹¹⁹ Additionally, a Black servant was reported as living within the Watkins house. Besides the eleven occupations listed as “Keeping House,” five were listed as “laborer,” three listed as “servant,” one listed as “At Home,” one listed as “Livery Stable,” and two listed as “Prostitute.” The two females listed with occupations of “Prostitute” were boarders, with one each living in Houses D and F. Subsequent research suggests that at least one of these houses was operating as a “house of ill fame” by this date.

Unfortunately, the Sanborn fire insurance maps published for Springfield in 1884 do not illustrate the buildings on Block 3. However, the index map for these maps does note that the block consisting of the joint Block 3 of Jonas Whitney’s Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck’s Addition contained fifteen frame dwellings, two brick houses, and ten frame barns at that point in time (Sanborn 1884; Figure 64). One of the brick houses was located within the project area (House B).¹²⁰ The vast majority of these seventeen houses appear to have been constructed by the time of the 1873 bird’s eye view, with the majority of them having been in place by the time of the 1867 bird’s eye view (one exception being House G in the project area, which was constructed sometime between 1867 and 1873).

The earliest set of Sanborn maps to illustrate Block 3 in detail was published in 1890. This map documents the continued presence of seven frame houses fronting the west side of Tenth Street between Madison and Mason streets (now numbered as the 300 North block). As in 1873, four of these homes were located on Lots 1-4, while the other three were situated on Lots 13-16. One change indicated by the Sanborn map, however, is the presence of a second dwelling on the S1/2, S1/2 Lots 1-4, facing onto the alley. It’s not entirely clear whether this dwelling was constructed after 1873 or represents a conversion of the carriage barn illustrated on the 1873 bird’s eye view of Springfield (which was located immediately west of, and outside of, the current project area). The 1890 Sanborn map also indicates the removal of the building(s) shown by earlier views on the western end of the South 80-ft of Lots 13-16 (that property occupied by the Westenberger family and used as a cabinetry shop; House A) (Sanborn-Perris 1890:12; Figure 65).

The 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map depicts a landscape not too dissimilar from that depicted by the 1873 bird’s eye view. Predominately, the block was dominated by smaller, one-story,

¹¹⁹ Although the 1880 census lists Bell Watkins as “white,” he is known to have been a member of a free Black family in Springfield and was listed in the 1850 census as “mulatto.” City directories also are inconsistent with his race, presumably due to his lighter skin complexion (see Volume III; Mansberger and Stratton 2024c).

¹²⁰ The second brick house was located at the northeast corner of Ninth and Madison Streets. By 1906, an addition was constructed on the front of the house, which was converted into a saloon.

traditional frame housing presumably occupied by working-class families. Three larger two-story dwellings were located on the block—one in the center of the block facing Madison Street, one in the center of the block facing Mason Street, and the third at the intersection of Mason and Tenth (House G). What is of great significance at this time, is the appearance of a one-story addition onto the front of the frame house fronting Madison Street (and located three buildings east of the Ninth Street intersection, immediately west of the house occupied by Mabel Baxter and her “house of ill fame”).¹²¹ This new addition onto this dwelling was marked “Sal.,” and represents the introduction of a commercial saloon into this domestic neighborhood—coupled with the earlier introduction of the “houses of ill fame”—document the dramatic change in the dynamics of this neighborhood ongoing during these years. This change coincides with the demolition of the old Phoenix Mill in 1885, further changing the character of the neighborhood. Although 1890 was a federal census year, the census returns for Illinois for that year were destroyed by fire and are not available for the project area. By the middle 1880s, the Springfield newspapers began carrying a variety of news stories of events that occurred at the “Corner, Tenth and Madison Streets” (See Appendix II). Of particular note is the appearance of both “Dan Sutton’s Ranch,” and the “Lynch Resort” at this intersection location in the 1885 newspapers—both of which were probably being run from House A.

By this date, none of the houses in the project area were owner occupied. Non-resident owners became the norm from the mid-1880s onward (see Appendix III). Once the homes became rental properties, their occupancy level generally increased. The dwellings were subdivided into multiple living units, which in some instances may have consisted of just a single room. City directories indicate a high rate of turnover in tenancy and great fluidity in respect to the resident population during this period. Some individuals moved in and out of the project area multiple times and ended up residing in several houses there at different points in time.

The 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map is the first map resource for the existing project area that assigns house numbers to specific buildings. From south to north, the house numbers assigned to the seven houses on the west side of Tenth Street on the 1890 Sanborn map were “S.I.,” 311, 313, “L.I.,” 323, 325, and “K.I.” Although it is unclear what the Sanborn map is referring to, in respect to the three houses being identified by the paired letters, it appears that the letters were used in absence of clear posting of house numbers. Other buildings with similar designations are scattered throughout the neighborhood, and appear to represent the entire alphabet (A-Z), followed by an “I.” Unfortunately, the house numbers are not consistent from year to year—which makes the site-specific research for each of the houses identified in the project area difficult. Table 7 details the various designations for the seven houses on the 1890, 1896, and 1917 Sanborn maps.

The 1896 Sanborn map suggests that relatively few structural changes had occurred on this block over the previous six years. Continuing in the tradition noted earlier on the 1890 Sanborn map, another commercial structure (labeled “S.,” for “Store” and/or “Saloon”) was constructed at 917 East Madison Street immediately to the east of Mabel Baxter’s “house of ill fame,” and in close

¹²¹ Although identified as “V.I.” on the 1890 map, this building was identified as 909 East Madison Street, on the 1896 Sanborn map.

proximity to the rear of the Westenberger property (House A).¹²² The earlier commercial structure located immediately to the west of Madame Baxter's resort (which previously had been labeled "Sal." for "saloon") was similarly labeled "S." at this time, suggesting that both structures were occupied by saloons by 1896. Additionally, a small frame house located at 911 East Madison Street was apparently moved from the mid-yard to a position with a similar setback to the surrounding houses. Significantly, however, the map labels the six northern dwellings within the project area fronting Tenth Street (extending from the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 1-4 northward) as "Negro Shanties"—a label not used on the Sanborn map issued six years before, nor applied on other properties in the adjoining neighborhood (Sanborn-Perris 1896:4; see Figure 66). The labeling used on the map is even more curious when one considers that the 1896 city directory reported only half of the eight addresses¹²³ on the west side of the 300 block of North Tenth Street (i.e. Block 3) as having Black residents, though this obviously could have varied by month or year.¹²⁴ One thing that can be said about the residents on the block at this time—both white and Black—is that they appeared to be lower income and working class. All of the males reported on the block in the directory (consisting of four Blacks and three whites) were employed as laborers. Females, with no reported occupations occupied three of the residences (SCD 1896:120).¹²⁵ Only two years earlier, in 1894, the local newspapers used the term "Bad Lands" to describe the general project area for one of the first times.¹²⁶ Heavily integrated racially, the neighborhood consisted of working class and poor families.

By the 1890s, this neighborhood had declined considerably, and it was not a very safe place for the naïve and faint-of-heart—whether during the day or the night. By this time, the Tenth and Madison Street intersection had become the center of a wide range of illicit, late-night activity. The existing project area represented the western edge of the so-called Badlands. St. John's Hospital (at Eighth and Mason Streets) effectively separated the western edge of the district from the more affluent Enos Park neighborhood to the northwest. Located to the southwest was the older "vice district" located along Jefferson and Madison Streets (between Seventh and Ninth Streets), which was effectively segregated from the project area by the Madison Street rail corridor (with its multiple side-tracks and freight warehouses).

¹²² This small frame building was probably constructed in circa 1895 as a small restaurant/lunch room. It was unsuccessful, and soon taken over by Charles Baxter who operated a saloon in this building for nearly a decade. His wife, Mabel, operated a well-known "resort" from the adjacent building located at 915 East Madison Street. Both buildings were burned by rioters during the 1908 race riot.

¹²³ The number of addresses listed on the block is one greater than number of residences (n=7) known to have fronted Tenth Street, though the directory may have included the secondary house on the rear of the S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 1-4, which fronted the alley (and previously discussed in respect to the 1890 Sanborn map).

¹²⁴ Senechal (1990:69, fig. 2.1) suggests that Block 3 was entirely composed of black residents in 1892.

¹²⁵ The 1896 directory of Springfield, and others of its era, made a point of distinguishing black residents in the city from their White counterparts, with the former having a "C" in parentheses after their names (indicating "Colored").

¹²⁶ At that time, the newspapers note that the "Bad Lands" were located along Madison Street, *between Seventh and Eighth Streets* (*Illinois State Register*, August 13, 1894). One of the more notorious dives at this location was Lou Grant's "house of ill fame."

By the early 1890s, the alley running through the project area (running from Ninth to Tenth Streets, between Madison and Mason Street) was known as “Shinbone Alley.” The first reference to this location occurs in an early 1893 news account reporting on the attempted rape of a 9-year-old girl “who resided with Rose Reed in her hut in ‘Shinbone alley,’ between Madison and Mason streets, near Tenth street”—presumably to the rear of House D (*Illinois State Register*, March 8, 1893). Although often confused with nearby Cocaine Alley, Shinbone Alley appears to represent a distinctive locale centered on the existing project area.¹²⁷ The local newspapers contain numerous accounts of the nefarious activities conducted at this location throughout the middle to late 1890s. In one 1898 account, the newspaper reported on the presence of a “robber’s roost” located mid-block across the tracks from the immediate project area.

Trouble has broken out among the cocaine fiends in Shinbone alley. Fannie Wilson and Carrie Scott are sisters and are the white wives of two colored fiends. Fannie went into the warrant business on a wholesale scale yesterday and with a suddenness that caused her sister and brother-in-law to plead guilty, the former to keeping a house of ill fame and the later to being an inmate, before they hardly had time to realize what they were doing.... Mrs. Wilson charges that Scott and his wife run a robber’s roost at No. 322 North Tenth Street. She lived with them awhile, but left, she alleges, when they sought to compel her to administer ‘knockout drops’ to a victim that Scott lured into their den of iniquity. Mrs. Wilson charges that when Scott enticed his victim into his lair he purchased cocaine and instructed her to put it in his beer. This would render him unconscious and she was to go through his clothes. Mrs. Wilson alleges that she revolted at this villainous suggestion and put the intended victim on his guard, and then sought other quarters, but that Scott and her sister followed and beat and abused her (*Illinois State Register* May 25, 1898).

In mid-summer 1899, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on a ruckus that occurred at the Tenth and Madison Street locations. The story reports on the arrest of one William Smith (occupant of House A, and potentially the same individual who received a severe beating at this location during the 1908 riots):

William Smith says he is a greatly injured individual. He is under arrest on a charge of disorderly conduct, a charge which he declares to be without warrant and wholly beyond the bounds of reason, especially when it is considered that the arrest followed close upon a robbery by which he lost \$2.60. William was arrested in the unplatted court near Tenth and Madison streets which, for want of better designation, is popularly known as ‘Shinbone alley.’ The police allege that

¹²⁷ One account in early 1894 reports on a fire “in a one room house in ‘Shinbone’ alley, between Eighth and Ninth and Adams and Washington streets” (*Illinois State Register*, March 13, 1894). This would more appropriately have been referred to as Cocaine Alley. Another account, details the arrest of one “May Overton, who was found in the retail cocaine joint in Shin Bone alley, conducted in a woodshed” (*Illinois State Register*, October 12, 1906). It is unclear as to whether the latter example was in reference to Cocaine Alley or to Shinbone Alley. To further complicate the issue, the *Illinois State Register* in late 1909 reported on the robbery of Claud Hansy “while talking with Lizzie Jones, colored, in ‘Cocaine alley,’ between Madison and Mason streets and Tenth and Twelfth streets”—clearly that area known as Shinbone Alley (*Illinois State Register*, December 3, 1909).

William was raising a disturbance in the neighborhood and was threatening to ‘clean out’ the shanty of one of the residents of the alley. William, on the other hand, avers that he was only protesting, in a mild and gentle voice, against the robbery which had deprived him of his \$2.60.

Just what Maggie Howey had to do with the affair is not quite plain. She was on the scene when the police arrived, and as she had the appearance of a woman who would be as well satisfied in the city prison as anywhere else, they took her along. Yesterday they told Justice Early they thought the woman had been “bittin’ the cocaine,” but she wearily and dreamily replied that “it was no such thing.” The couple declined to plead guilty to the charges of disorderly conduct which were booked against them and their cases were continued a week (*Illinois State Journal*, July 23, 1899).¹²⁸

The above-quoted news story is of great interest due to its reference to “*the unplatted court* near Tenth and Madison streets which, for want of better designation, is popularly known as ‘Shinbone alley.’” By the middle 1890s, the Westenberger House (House A), located at the northwest corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection, was no longer owner-occupied (and presumably was being operated as a house of ill fame”). Located immediately to the west of the corner house (House A), fronting Madison Street to the south, was Mabel Baxter’s infamous “house of ill fame” flanked each side by a saloon. Located along Tenth Street to the north of the corner house (House A) was a very small brick dwelling followed by a row of “negro shanties” pierced by the east/west running alley (as depicted on the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map). Located behind one of these “shanties”—on the north side of the alley behind House D—was another small dwelling (occupied by Rosa Reed during the 1880s and also operated as a “house of ill fame”). By this time, all of the outbuildings once located behind the Westerberger house (House A) had been demolished, and the family had constructed a large billboard along the much of the Madison Street frontage, which would have shielded the large open area located to the north of Madison Streets and behind the Tenth Street dwellings (many of which were being operated as “houses of ill fame” by this time). As such, this large open area located behind the south half of the project area and within the heart of the city’s red-light district would have been surrounded by saloons and “houses of ill fame,” and well-shielded from view from Madison Street—creating an ideal “sporting” environment at the turn-of-the-century (Figure 66). By 1906, another saloon had been constructed onto the front of the house located at the northeast corner of Ninth and Madison Streets, further increasing the number of non-domestic establishments along this block (Figure 67).

Subsequent city directories indicate that the racial composition of Block 3 did become solidly Black with time. The 1907 city directory, for instance, lists five addresses on the west side of Tenth Street between Madison and Mason Streets: 301, occupied by William Smith; 311, occupied by Susie Newton; 313, with Lloyd Thomas and Warren Bernard as residents; 323, listed as vacant; and 325, with M. C. Jones as the occupant. All five of the residents identified in

¹²⁸ The news story was entitled “PLEAS OF NOT GUILTY. William Smith and Maggie Howey Refuse To Waive a Jury Trial.” William Smith is suspected as being the occupant of House A. The Maggie Howey may represent the Martha Howell that occupied House G in the later 1870s and 1880s.

the directory on this block were Black, and some of them—such as Lloyd Thomas—had extremely notorious reputations (SCD 1907).

The block's racial composition, coupled with its proximity to the Levee District, would expose it to great damage and violence during the 1908 Springfield Race Riot. Newspaper accounts of the riot indicate that the white mob, after attacking Black businesses in the Levee, proceeded north on Ninth to Madison Street and from there moved eastward, systematically looting and burning homes occupied by Black families on Madison Street and adjoining side streets. Block 3 was one of the first residential areas hit by the mob and suffered accordingly. The *Illinois State Journal* reported that:

Along the north side of Madison street from the middle of the block south [east?] of Ninth street four houses in a row were totally destroyed. At Tenth and Madison streets the flames were at their highest. On both sides of Tenth street north of Madison street, there were a row of huts, which were destroyed by the torch of the mob (*Illinois State Journal* 15 August 1908, p. 1, col. 3).

Taking a tally of homes destroyed in the riot, the *Illinois State Register* counted multiple ones on or adjacent to Block 3, including “three at Tenth and Madison” and “four on Tenth street between Madison and Mason streets” (*Illinois State Register* 15 August 1908, p. 2, col. 7). Based on these accounts, the so-called “Negro Shanties” on Block 3 had to have been targeted by the mob. William Smith, an elderly Black man who was an invalid, was dragged from his home at 301 North Tenth Street (House A, once occupied by the Westenberger family) and savagely beaten. Eventually, a concerned bystander intervened and was able to remove Smith to safety. This event was featured in contemporary newspaper accounts and also is recounted in Roberta Senechal's *The Sociogenesis of a Race Riot: Springfield, Illinois, in 1908* (Senechal 1990:37-38; see also Landis 2002, Merritt 2008). The impact of the 1908 race riot on Block 3 is clearly evident on the 1917 Sanborn map (Figure 68). This map illustrates only one building on the entire block, this being a residence on the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 1-4 (House F). All of the other housing shown on previous maps was gone, cleared away, along with associated outbuildings (Sanborn 1917:33-34). The residence on the S1/2, N1/2 of Lots 1-4 (House F) eventually would be removed as well; it was demolished in circa 1924-25.¹²⁹

The 1950 Sanborn map depicts all of Block 3 as occupied by the Barker Lubin Company (supplier of lumber and building materials). This large firm had its main offices in a large masonry building located at 300 North Ninth Street. This firm was formed in early 1932 with the consolidation of two of Springfield's larger wrecking and building materials firms—Goldman and Lubin Company, and the Morton Barker Company. The Barker Manufacturing Company was the older of the two firms, having been established in circa 1910. The firm had their manufacturing plant and scrap yards at Eleventh and Madison Street. The wrecking firm of

¹²⁹ Shortly after the riots, the *Illinois State Register* (March 28, 1910) again report on the illicit activities occurring in Shinbone alley. In a story entitled “Negress Was on War Path. With a Big Gun Etta Denard is Charged With Terrorizing ‘Exclusive Shin Bone Alley’ District.” The story reports that “Etta Denard, a husky wench residing near Twelfth and Madison streets... was terrorizing the ‘shin bone alley’ district. Etta is said to have imbibed too freely and with a big gun in hand went in search of her better half, but the quest was fruitless. This seemed to anger Etta and the wrath she had stored up for the purpose of venting upon her husband, was poured forth upon her neighbors.” This was the last reference to Shinbone Alley in the local newspapers.

Goldman and Lubin Company was begun in 1922, by Sam Goldman and Adolph Lubin (*Illinois State Journal*, April 6, 1932). Advertisements placed as early as April 19, 1924 by the Goldman and Lubin firm note: “all kinds of junk bought, rags, magazines, iron, etc.—Tenth and Mason Streets” and suggests that they may have been established on the southwest corner of the Tenth and Mason Street intersection in 1922, and gradually expanded onto the adjacent properties (after demolition of House F in circa 1925) (cf. advertisement in *Illinois State Journal*, September 6, 1925). Upon merging in 1932, the firm became known as the Barker-Goldman-Lubin Company, with the new headquarters located near the northeast corner of the Ninth and Madison Street intersection. The new building contained a large showroom for building materials and a large building complex on the northern three-quarters of Lots 1-4, sections of which were used for material storage, a planning mill, carpentry shop, and lime and cement storage. The large storage building was one-story in height, had concrete floors, and wood support posts on the interior. The S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 1-4 and Lots 13-16 of Block 3 were used as a lumber yard by the company (Sanborn 1950:34; Figures 70-71). The 1972 Sanborn map of Springfield indicates that Barker Lubin still had their building complex and a lumber yard on Lots 1-4 of Block 3. The size of the lumber yard was significantly reduced from 1950, however. Lots 13-16 were being used as surface parking by this date (Sanborn 1972:34; Figure 72).

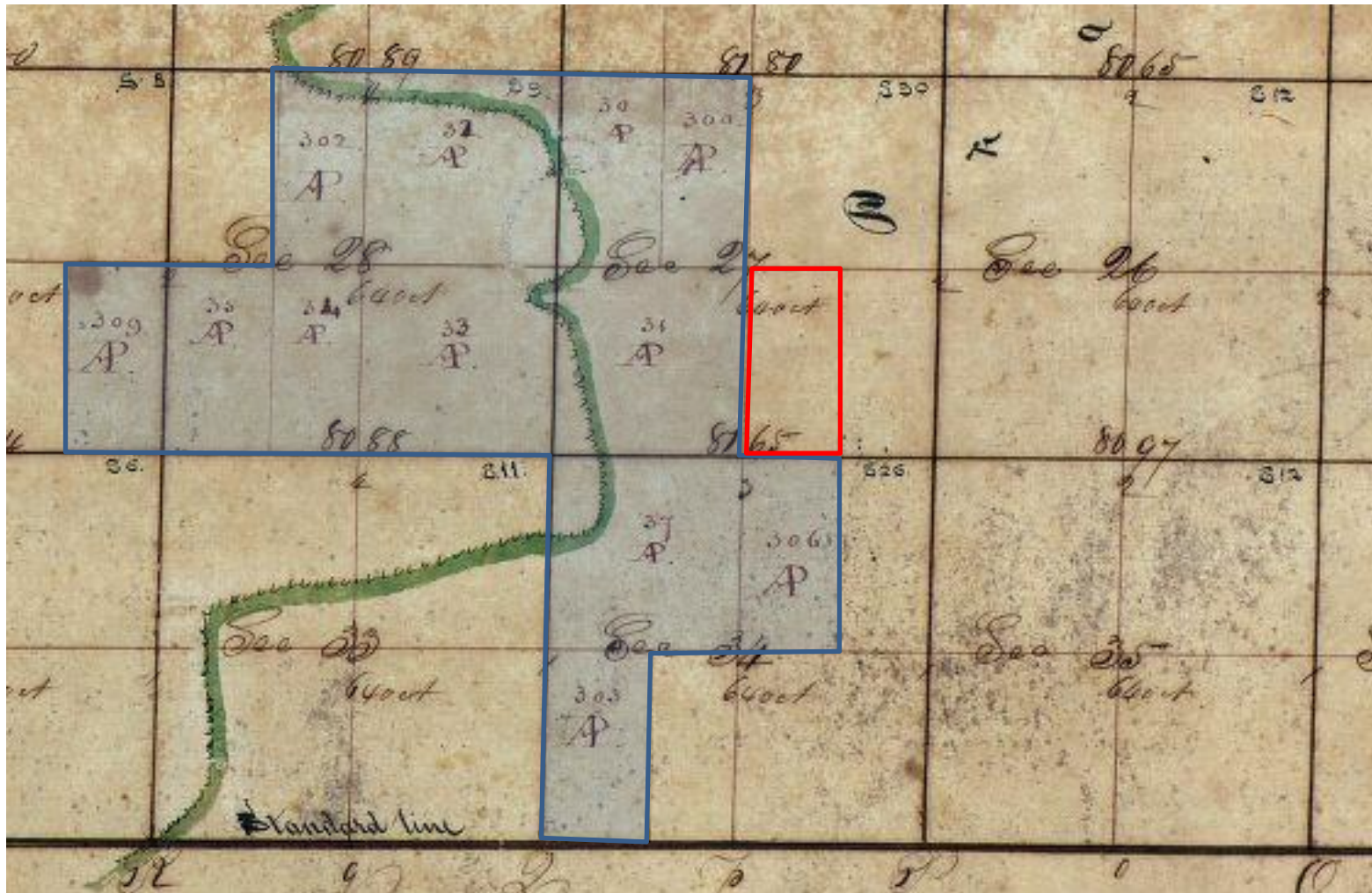


Figure 48. Partial detail of U.S. General Land Office (USGLO) survey plat of Township 16 North, Range 5 West illustrating lands improved (land claims) prior to the opening of the Federal land office sale of these lands (marked “AP” and highlighted in blue) (USGLO 1823). The W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27—the area associated with the current project area—is outlined in red. This tract was purchased from the government by Archer G. Herndon in 1825.

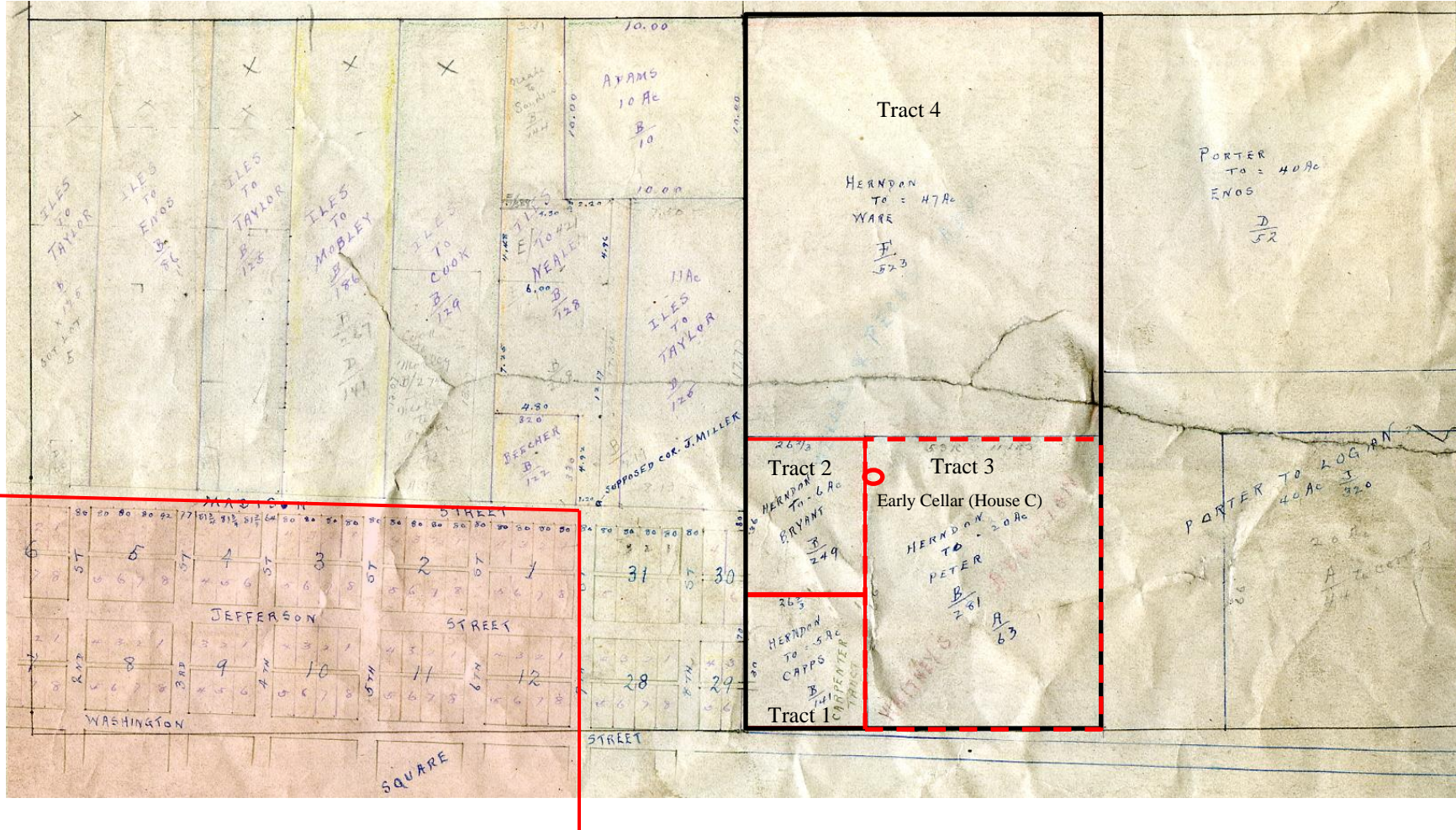


Figure 49. Undated plat of SE1/4 and SW1/4, Section 27, Township 16 North, Range 5 West (Sangamon Valley Collection n.d.). The W1/2, SE1/4 is outlined in black. This 80-acre parcel was partitioned into four smaller tracts by Archer Herndon beginning in early 1826. The first tract partitioned off was the 5-acre parcel (Tract 1) in the SW1/4, adjacent to the Washington Street frontage. This occurred in April 1826, followed a few months later in August with the partition of Tract 2. In April 1827, Tract 3 (outlined in red) was partitioned from the Herndon property. Tract 4 was not sold by Herndon until September 1833. The current project area is located on Tract 3 (dashed red line). Note that Washington Street—not Jefferson Street—was the thoroughfare heading east out of the early community.

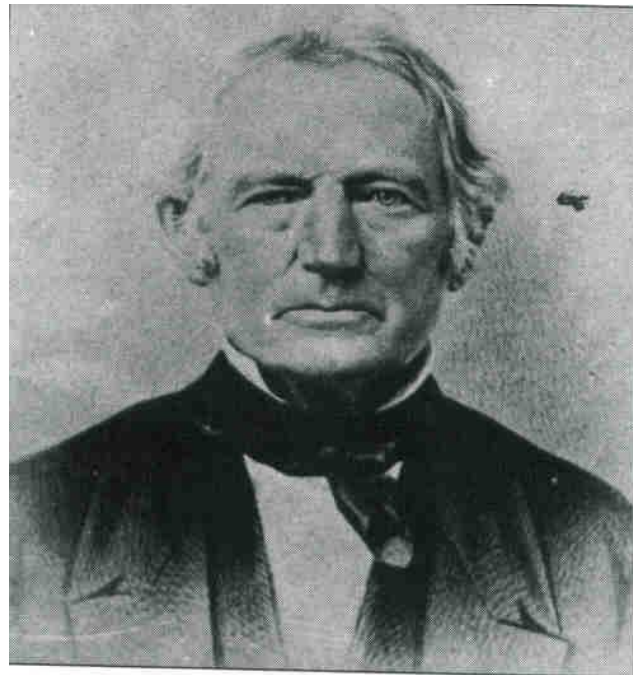
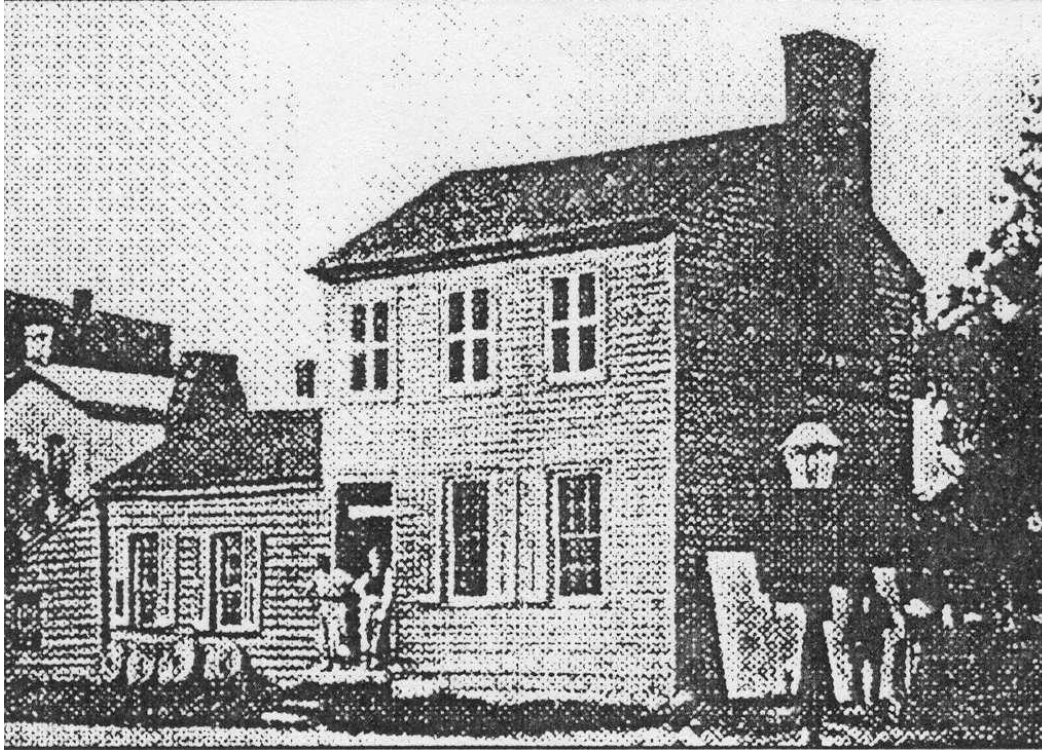


Figure 50. Dr. Jayne and his early residence in Springfield.

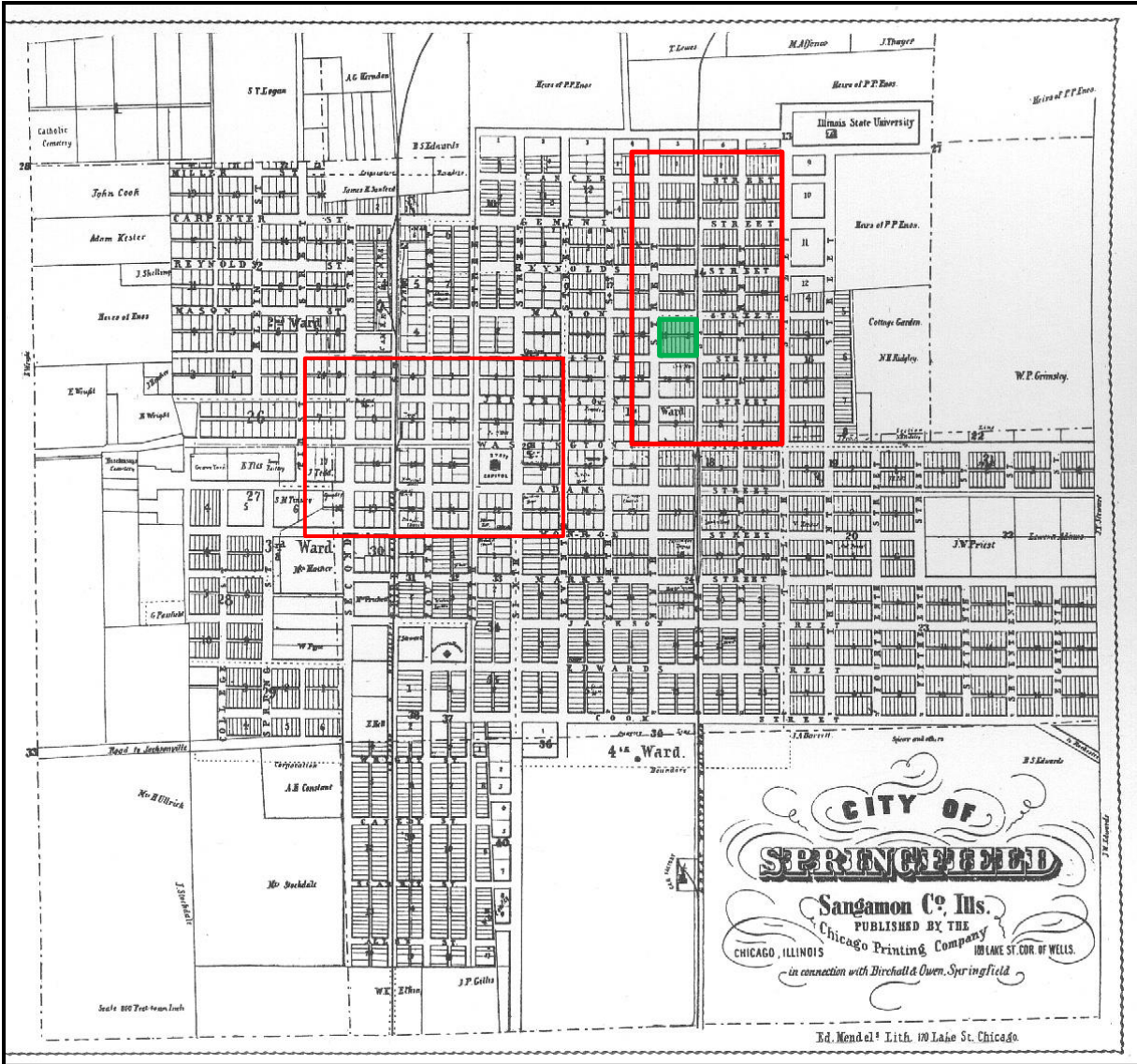


Figure 51. Early plat illustrating the City of Springfield as it appeared in the middle 1850s (Hall 1855). Outlined in red is the Original Town Plat (at left), and the 80-acre parcel purchased by Herndon from the Federal Government in 1825 (at right). The Race Riot Site (11SG1432) is outlined in green.

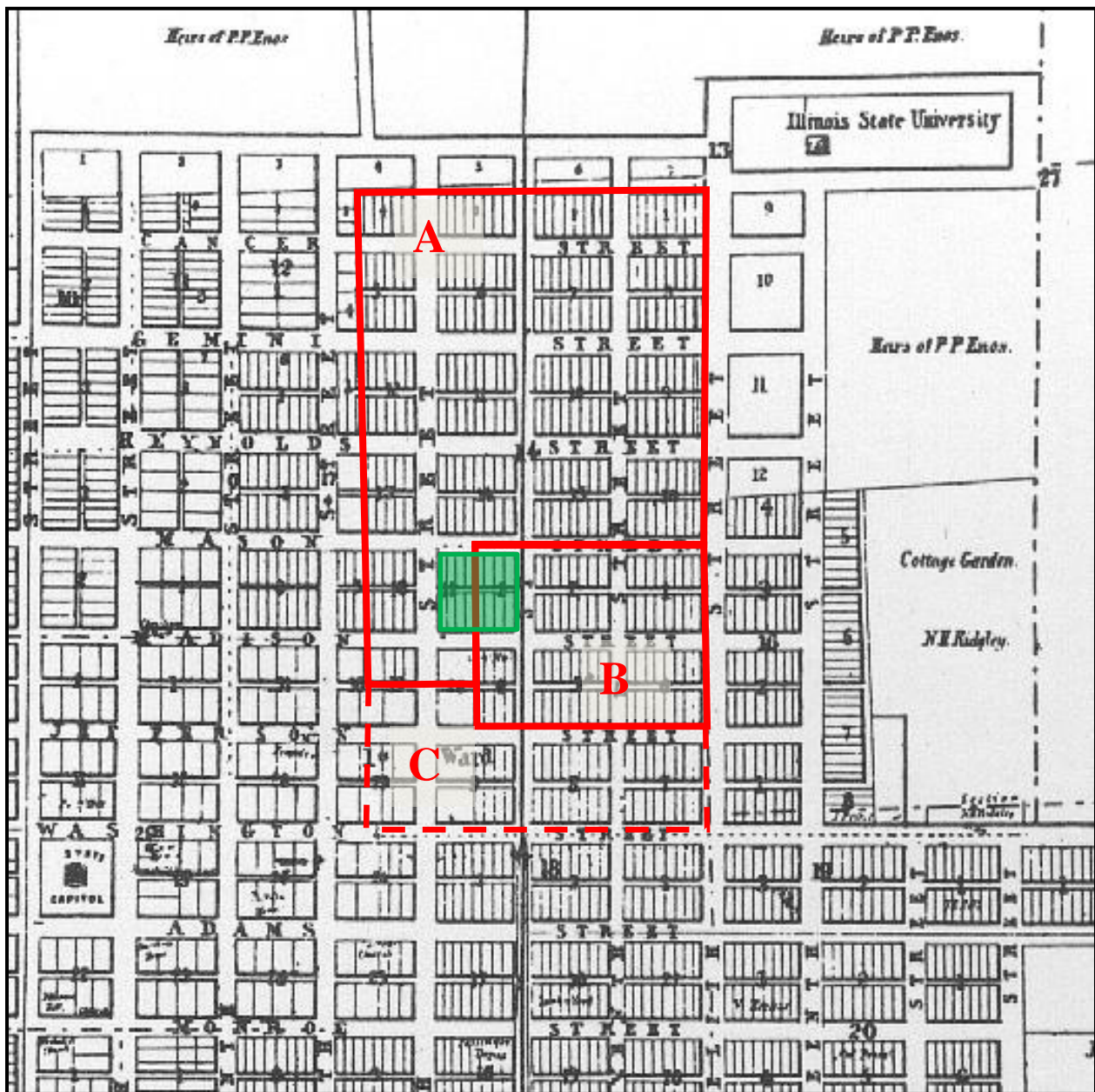


Figure 52. Detail of Hall's 1855 map of Springfield showing the location of Wells and Pecks Addition and Jonas Whitney's Addition in relation to the 80-acre parcel purchased by Archer G. Herndon in 1825. Wells and Pecks Addition (A) consumed all of Herndon's Tracts 2 and 4, whereas Whitney's Addition (B) consumed the greater portion of Tract 3. Herndon's Tract 1 and the southern portion of Tract 3 (C) were not included in these two additions. The heavy green square outlines the location of archaeological site 11SG1432

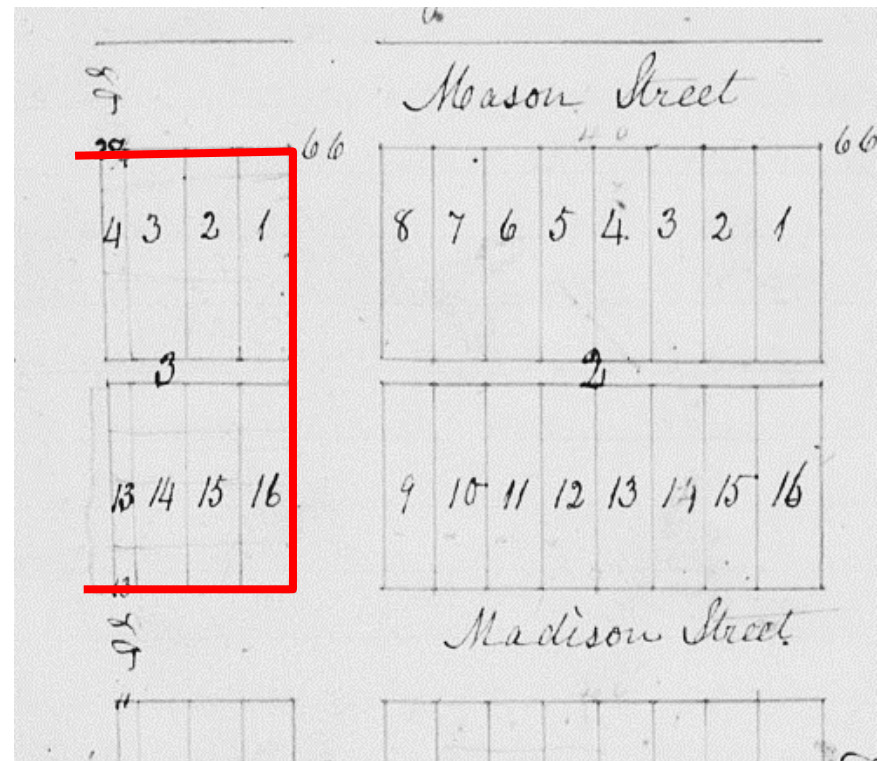
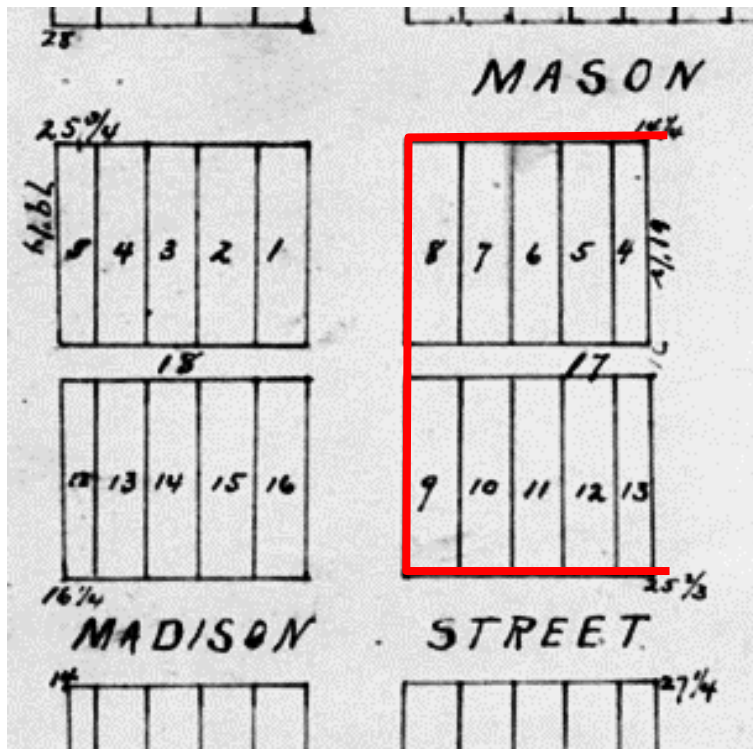


Figure 53. Details of the plats of Wells and Peck's Addition (left) and Jonas Whitney's Addition (right) showing the two partial blocks associated with the Race Riot Site. Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition and Block 3 of Whitney's Addition abutted one another and created a single city block bound by Ninth, Tenth, Madison, and Mason streets. Despite belonging to two different additions, the lot numbering between the two partial blocks was complimentary and the resulting sixteen lots were numbered consecutively. Lots 1-4 and 13-16 in Block 3 of Whitney's Addition originally were orientated north/south, as shown here. They later would be "re-packaged" to run east/west (SCDR K:107, 553).



Figure 54. Detail of an oil painting providing a panoramic view of Springfield, looking east from the roof of the Old State Capitol, with the vicinity of the Usable Segment I project area circled in red. This image is part of a set of four paintings illustrating the central business district circa mid-1850s, each looking in a cardinal direction from the Capitol's cupola. The east side of the city was lightly developed at this date. The artist responsible for the paintings has not been positively identified, but Mathureu Andrieu has been proposed as a possible candidate (SangamonLink, <https://sangamoncountyhistory.org/wp/1850s-springfield-in-four-mysterious-paintings/>).



Figure 55. Detail of the city block defined as Site 11SG1432, as illustrated on the 1854 map of Springfield (Potter 1854). Five dwellings (Houses A-E) had been constructed within the project area, fronting Tenth Street, by this date. Although the cross-hatching used on this map indicates that all of the houses were of frame construction, House B actually was brick. The dashed line indicates the dividing line between Block 3 of Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition (and also the rear lot line for Houses A-E).



Figure 56. Block 3 of Jonas Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition, as illustrated on the 1858 *Map of Springfield, Illinois* (Sides 1858). The frontage along Tenth Street in Block 3 was well developed by this date, with five residences present. Several buildings had been constructed along Madison Street by this time as well. The dark line running down the center of Tenth Street represents the Great Western Railroad (Potter 1854, Sides 1858). The project area is outlined in red.

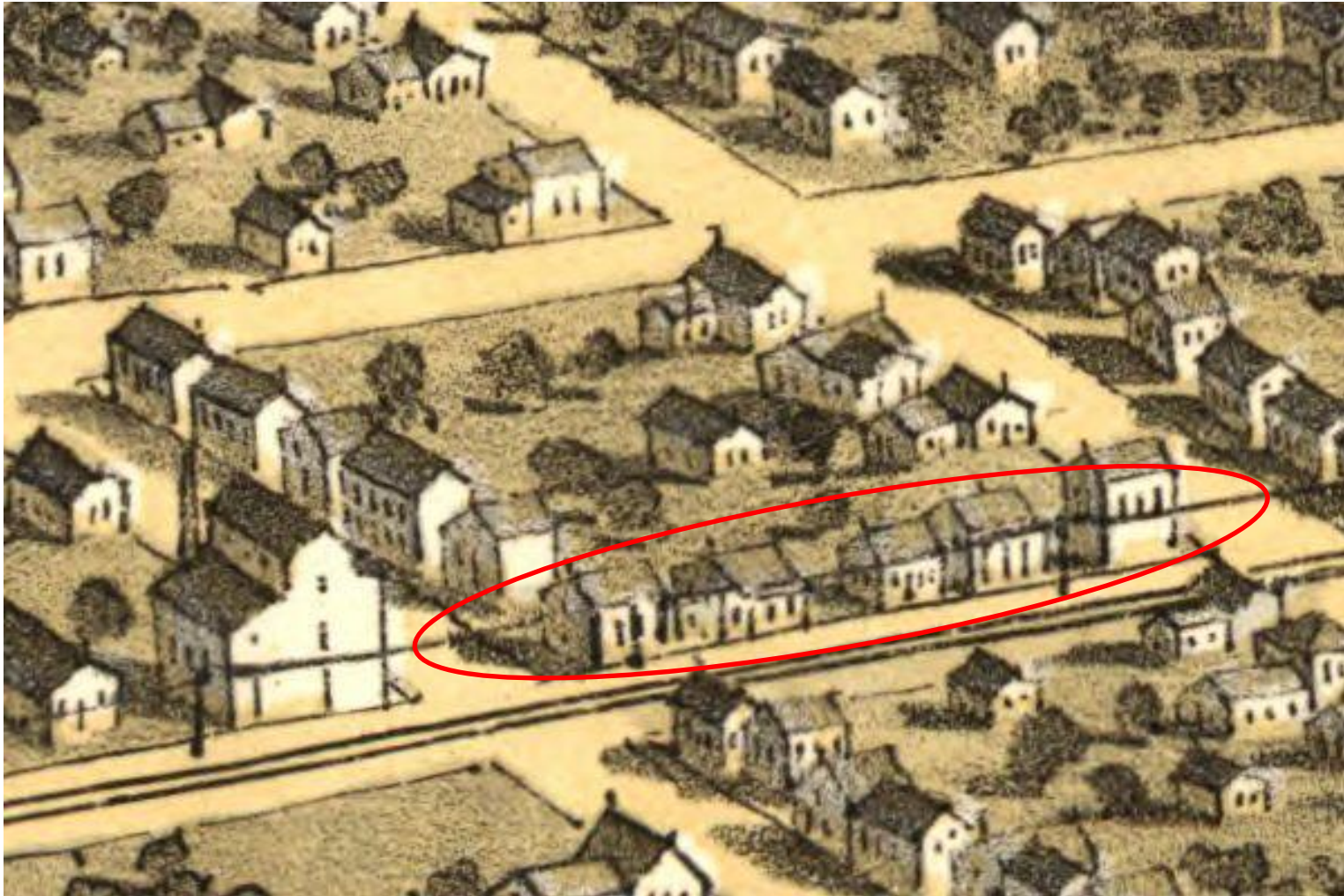


Figure 57. Detail of the 1867 bird's eye of Springfield showing Block 3 of Jonas Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition. Note the row of one to 1-1/2-story residences facing Tenth Street (circled in red). Larger two-story residences front Madison Street. The large structure in the lower left corner of this view (occupying the northwest corner of Madison and Tenth Streets) is the Phoenix Mills, a flouring mill (Ruger 1867). The project area is circled in red.

BLOCK No 3.			
1 to 4	...	Dwelling, front, 1	D. 1.00
"	" 2	" 1.25
"	rear, 3	" 1.25
"	" 4	" 1.25
14, 15 & 16.	"	front, 1	1.00
"	"	" 2	85
"	"	rear	1.25

Figure 58. Board of Fire Underwriter’s *Tariff of Rates* from 1866 for the seven houses within the project area. The lot designation this source employs does not match the legal description of the properties, but it is believed to list the dwellings in order, with House G at top and House A at the bottom (Board of Fire Underwriters 1866 1866:91).

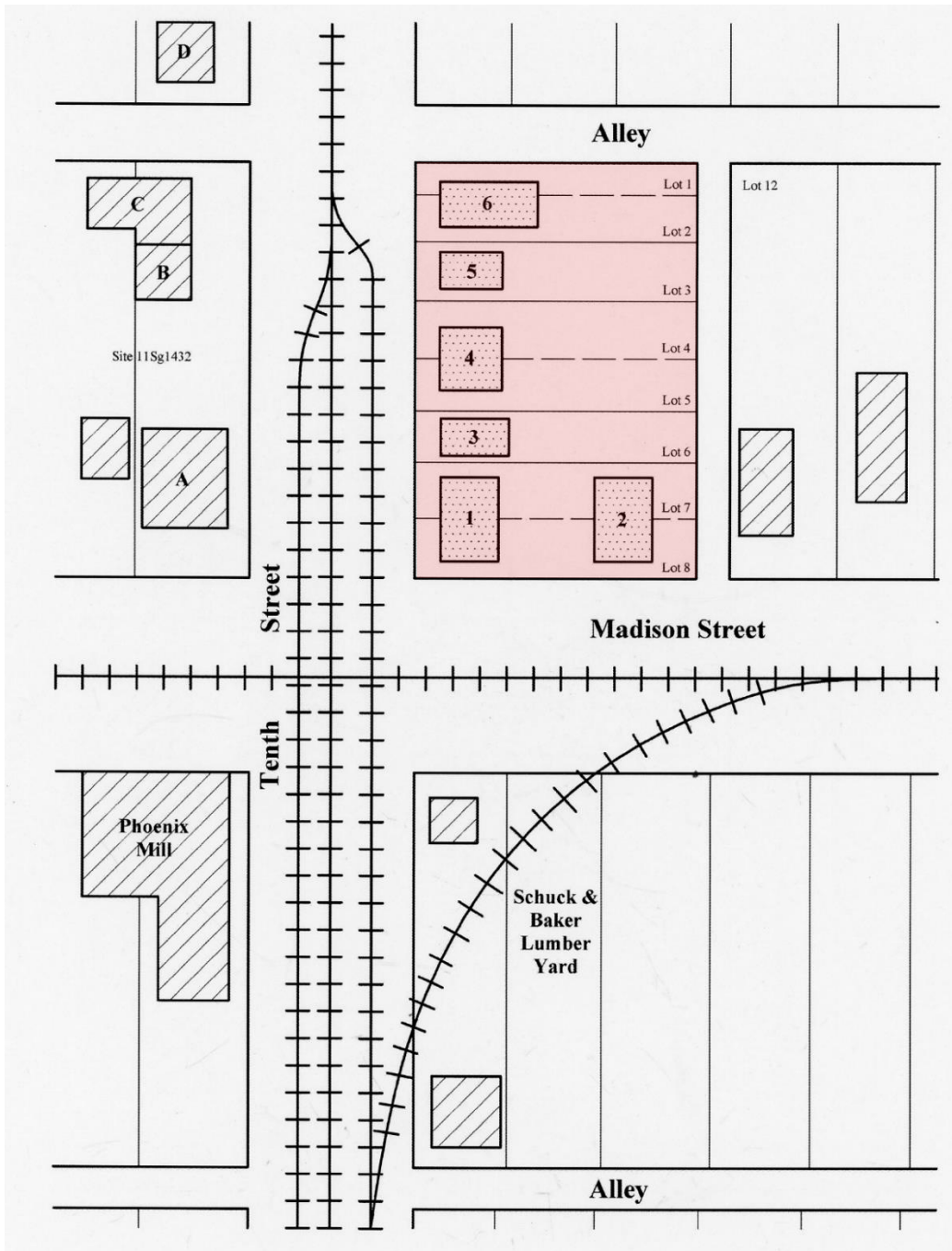


Figure 59. Circa 1871 landscape at the intersection of Tenth and Madison Streets, Springfield, Illinois. By this time, the Wright and Brown Subdivision (highlighted in red) included six houses constructed for, and occupied by, socially elite Black residents, which included: Reverend Henry Brown and his family (1), the widow Leanna Donnegan Knox and her daughter (2), the Clay and widow Sidney Donnegan families (3), the Joseph Faro family (4), the David Sappington family (5), and the recently widowed Cornelia Price and her family (6). Immediately across Tenth Street to the west are located Houses A-D (archaeological site 11SG1432).

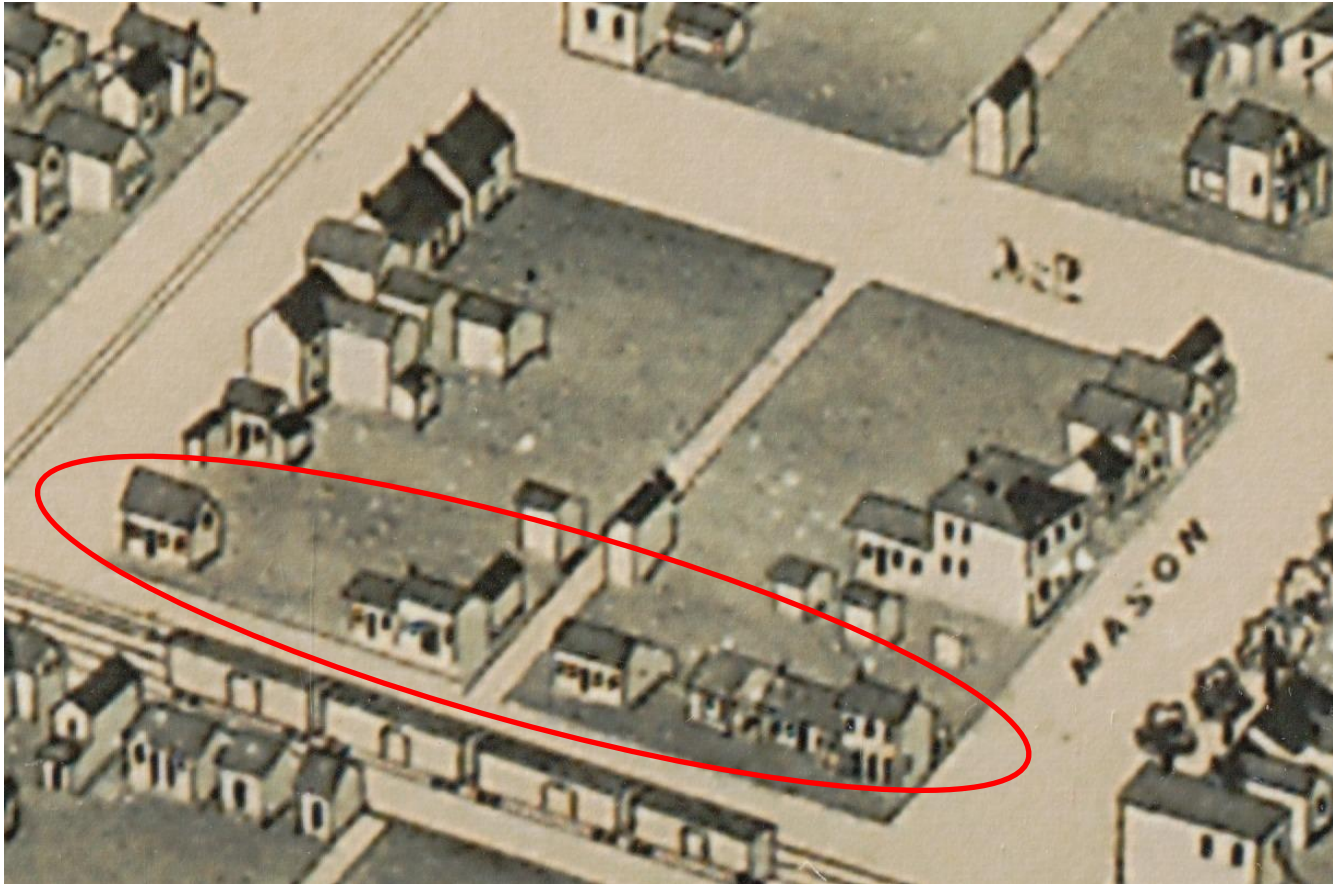


Figure 60. Block 3 of Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition as illustrated on the 1873 Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois (Koch 1873). Note the presence of the second rail line running down the center of Madison Street, which had been constructed only a couple of years earlier, in circa 1870. The project area is circled in red.

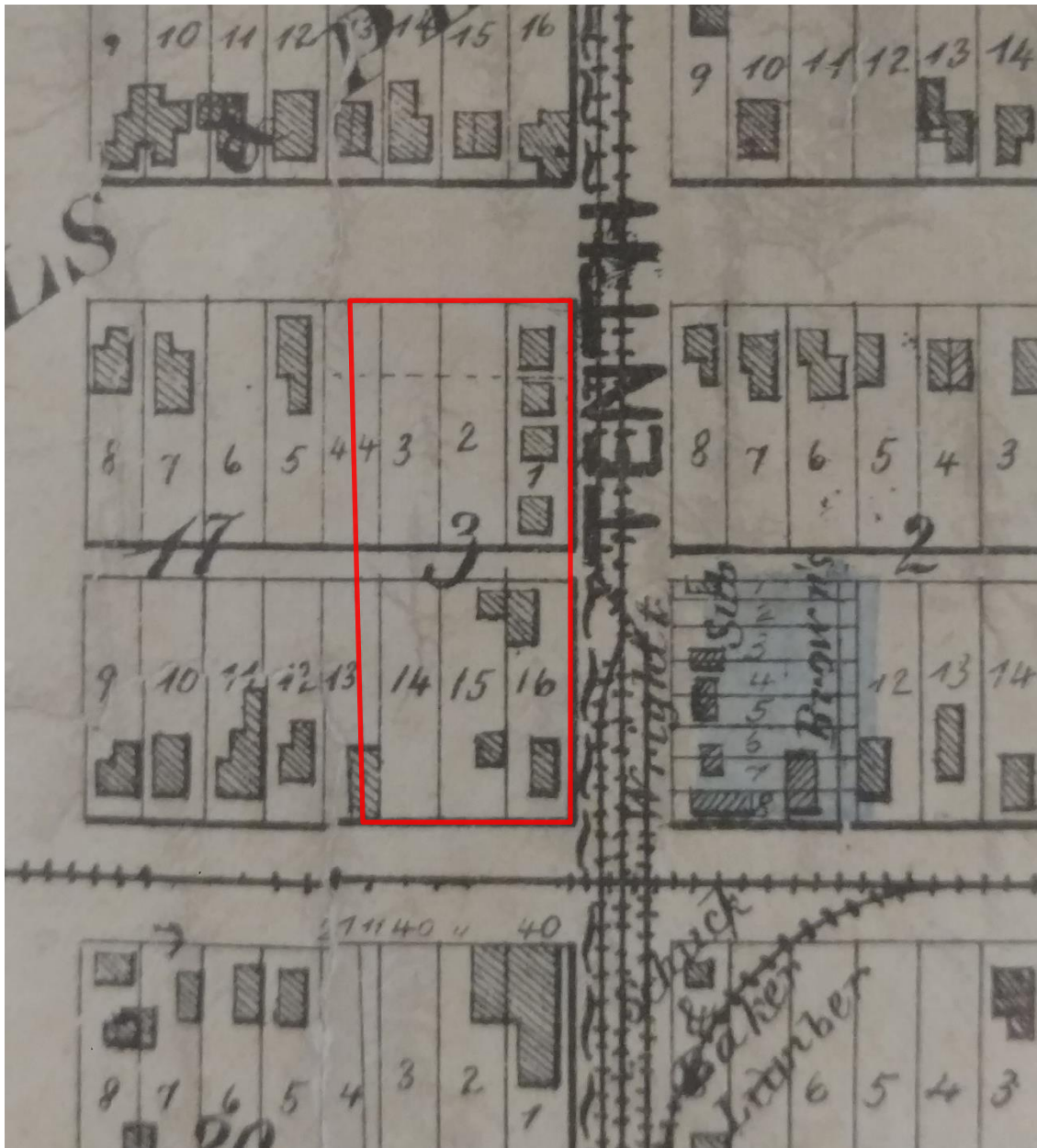


Figure 61. Detail of the Tenth Street project area as depicted on an 1876 map of Springfield (Bird 1876). This map does not appear to document the brick dwelling identified as House B, though it was in place at this time.

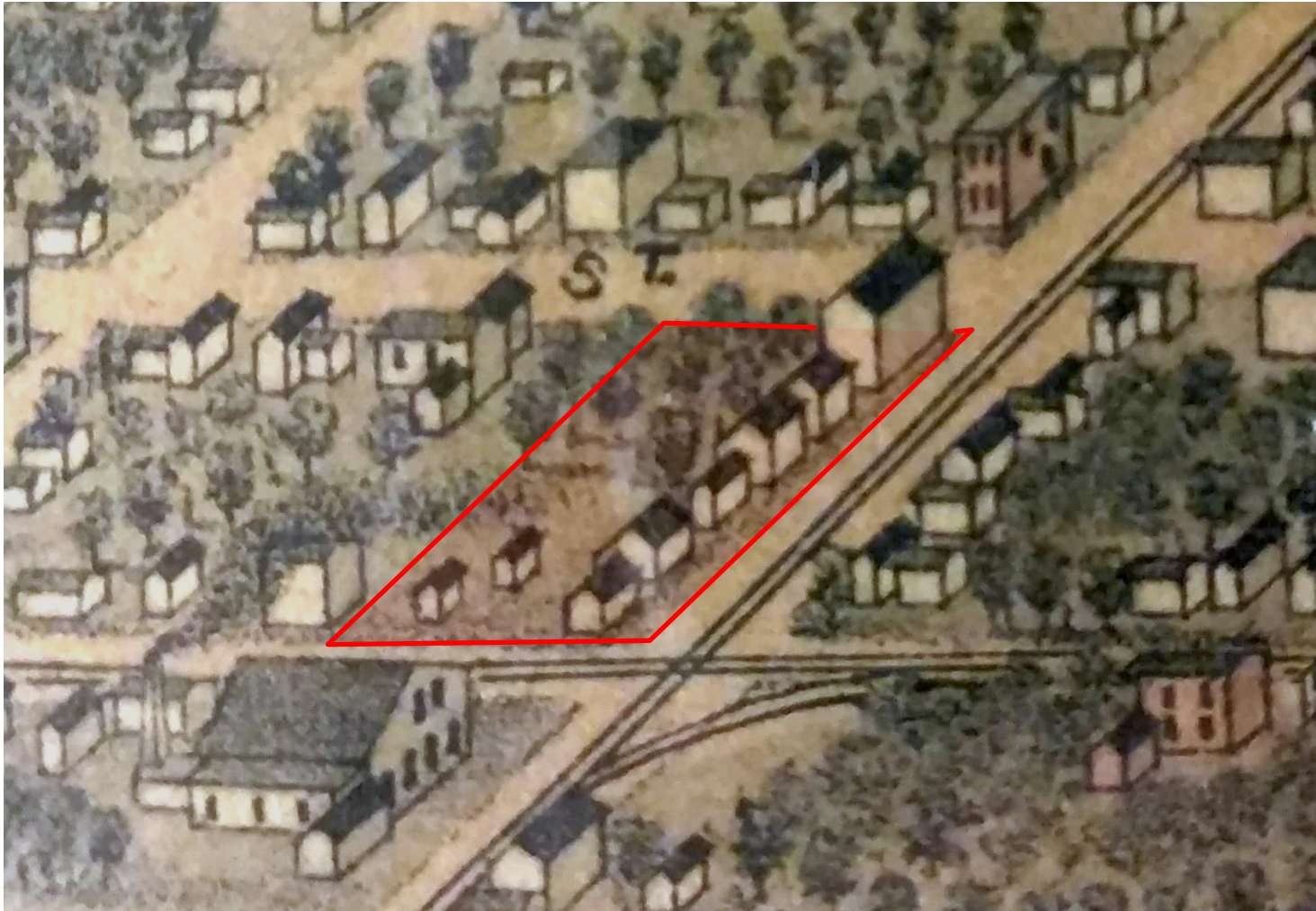


Figure 62. Detail of Beck and Pauli's 1878 bird'-eye illustrating project area, Houses A through G fronting Tenth Street. Located on the southwest corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection was the Phoenix Mill. Note the presence of the railroad tracks running down Madison Street by this date.

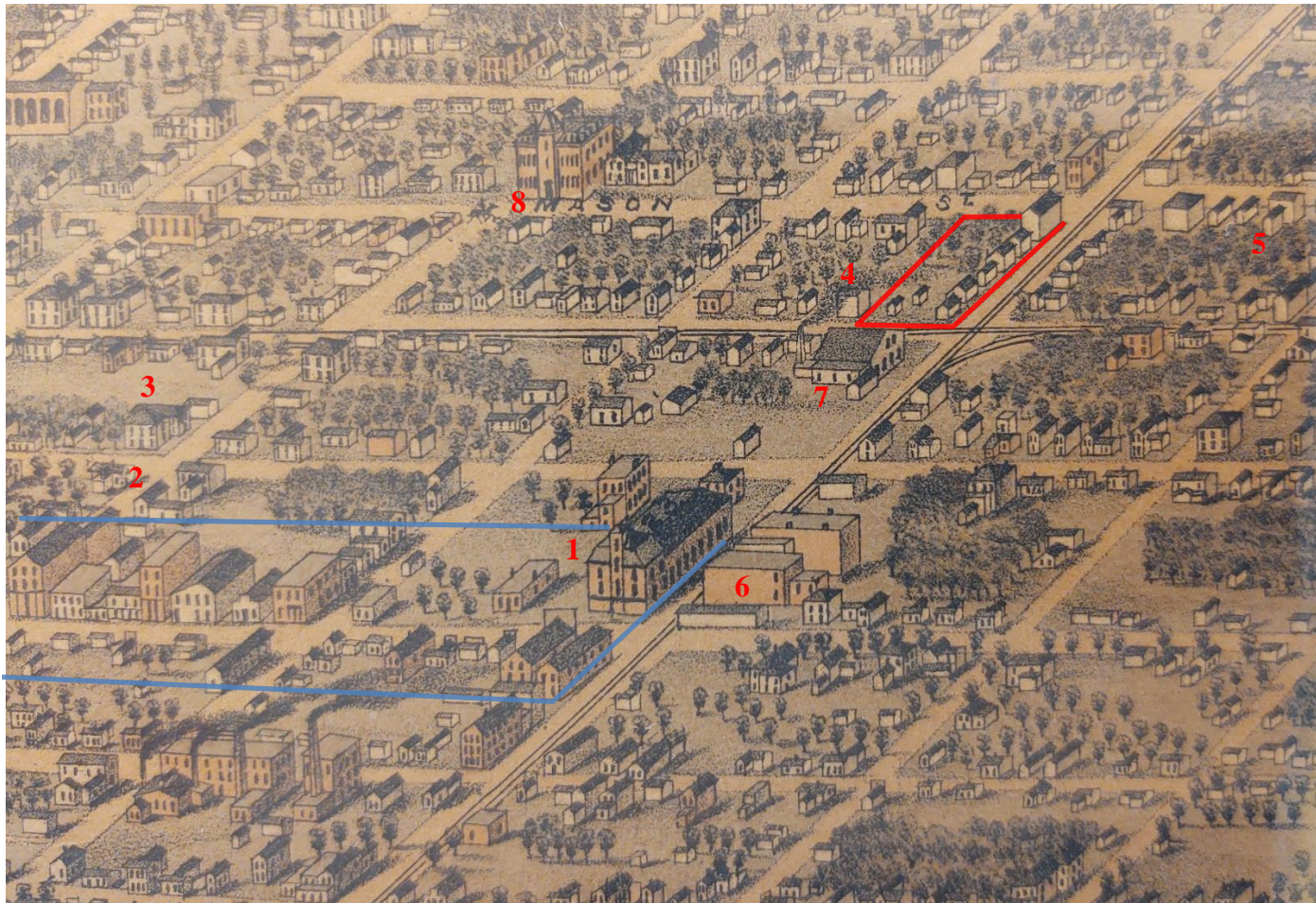


Figure 63. Detail of Beck and Pauli's 1878 bird's eye view of Springfield, showing the relationship of project area (outlined in red) to the Wabash Railroad passenger depot (1) and Levee district (outlined in blue). Two long-operating "houses of ill-fame" close to the Levee also are marked (2 and 3). The close proximity of the depot and a well-established vice district encouraged the development of illicit activities in the project area from circa 1880 onwards. Two brothels located closer to project area were operated by Emma Nash (4) and Eva Montague (5; "Old Point Comfort"). Other buildings of note in this view are the Wabash Hotel (6), the Phoenix Mill (7), and St. John's Hospital (8).

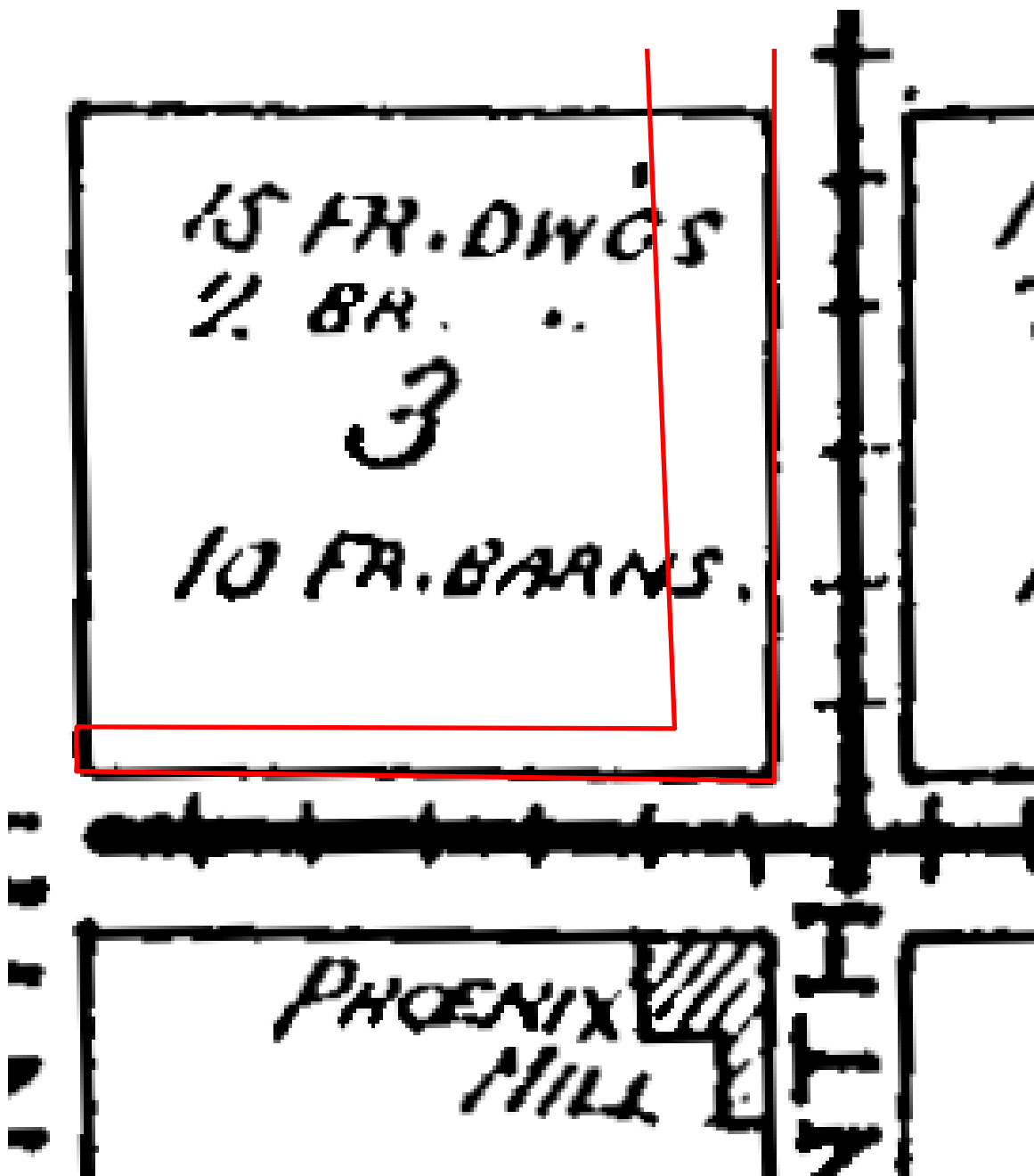


Figure 64. Index map for the 1884 Sanborn map of Springfield, showing Block 3 of Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition. The Sanborn maps published this year do not illustrate buildings within the project area. However, they do note that Blocks 3 and 17 contained fifteen frame dwellings, two brick dwellings, and ten frame barns. The Phoenix Mills, located immediately south of the project area, was still present at this date (Sanborn 1884). Note the presence of the second rail line running down the center of Madison Street, which had been constructed in circa 1870.

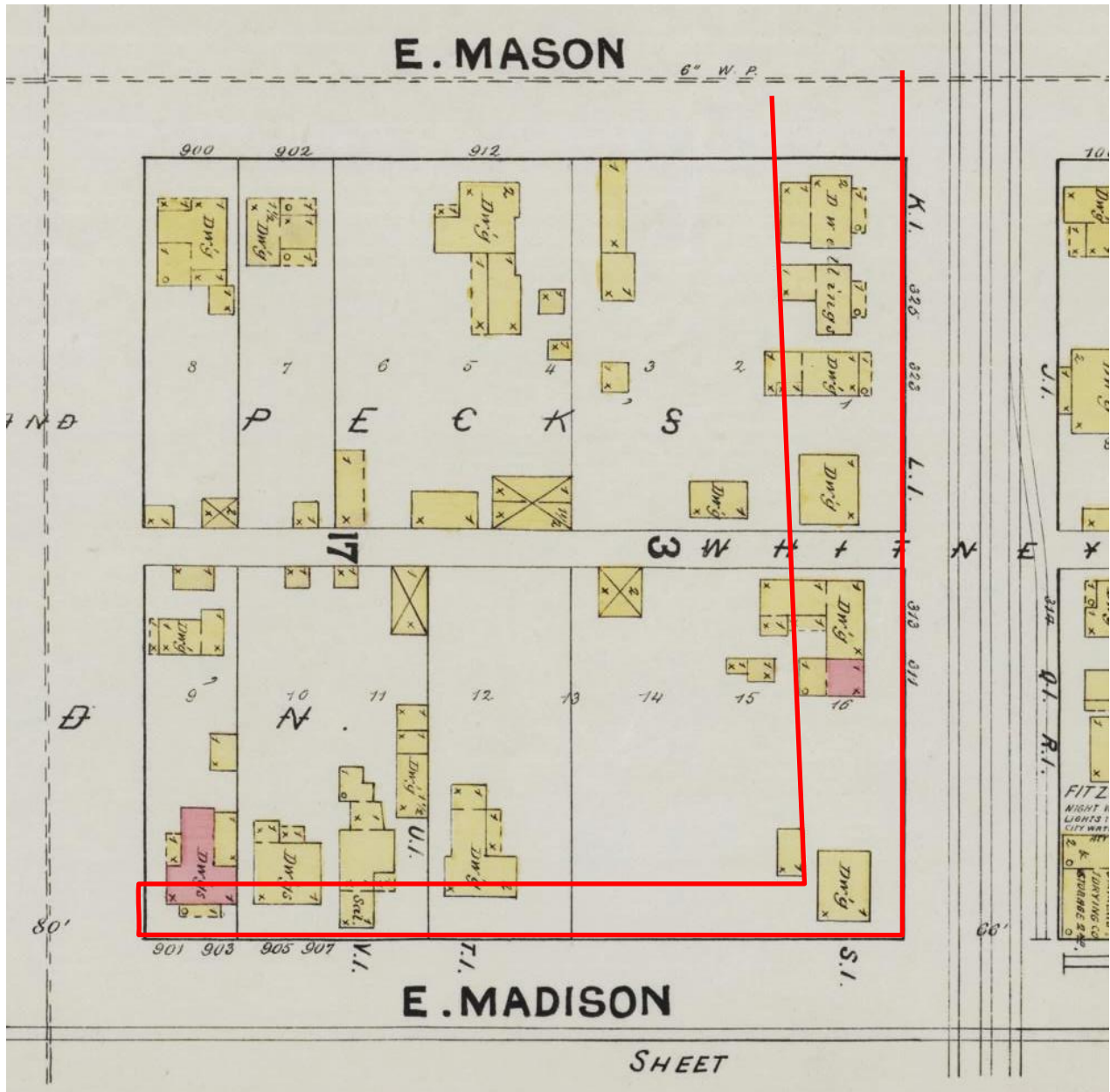


Figure 65. View of Block 3 of Whitney’s Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck’s Addition from the 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map of Springfield. The buildings predominately are residential in character, though a small saloon is depicted in the front of a residence facing Madison Street (Sanborn-Perris 1890:12). The red line indicates the edges of the current project area.

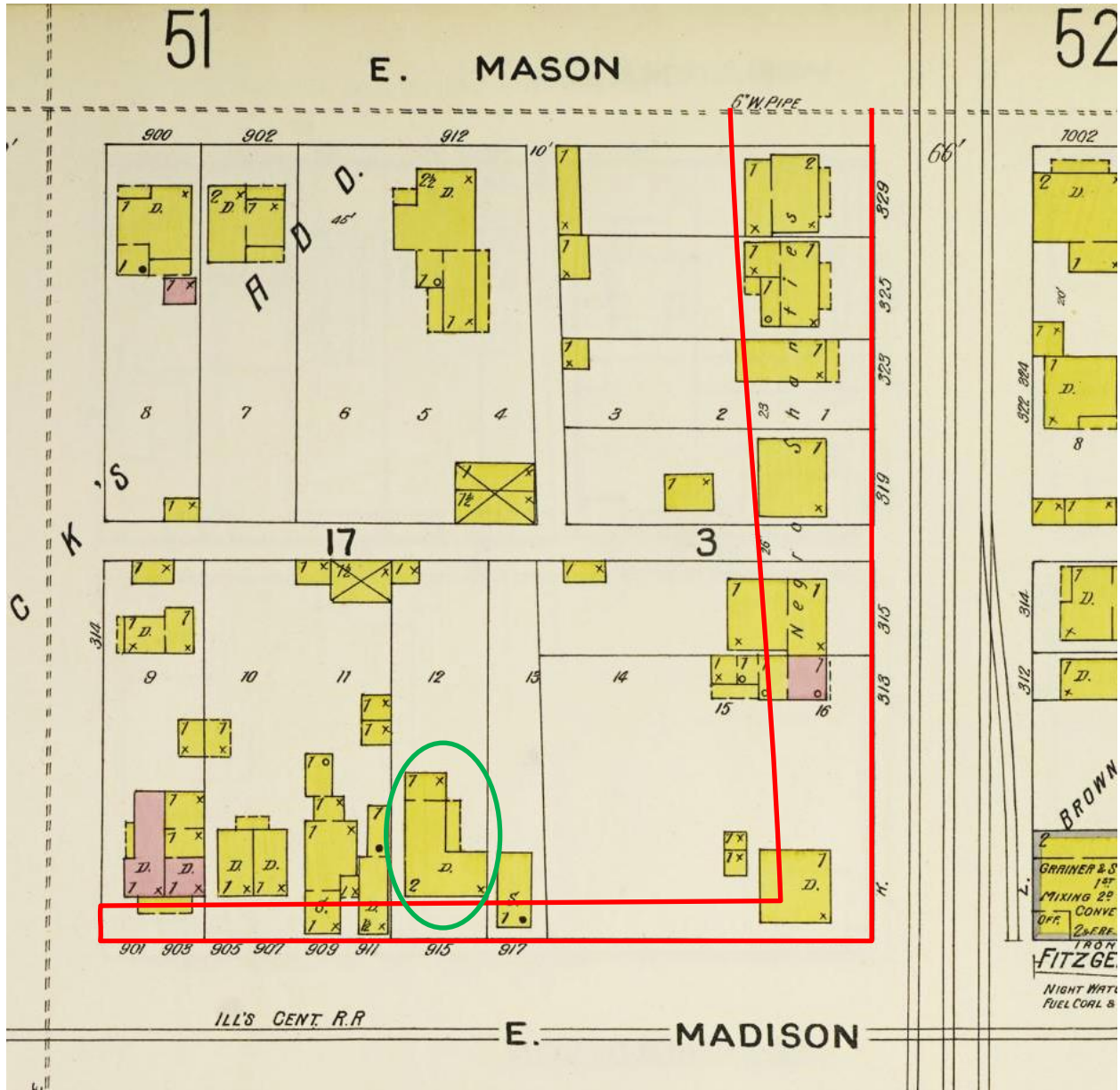


Figure 66. View of Block 3 of Whitney’s Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck’s Addition from the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map of Springfield (Sanborn-Perris 1896:4). The housing facing Tenth Street within the block is labeled “Negro Shanties.” The housing in question was forty to fifty years old by this date. The house circled in green represents Emma Nash (a.k.a. Emma Taylor’s and later Mabel Baxter’s) “house of ill fame” which was demolished during the riots of 1908 (see attached picture of fire remains, Figure 23). The red line indicates the edges of the current project area.

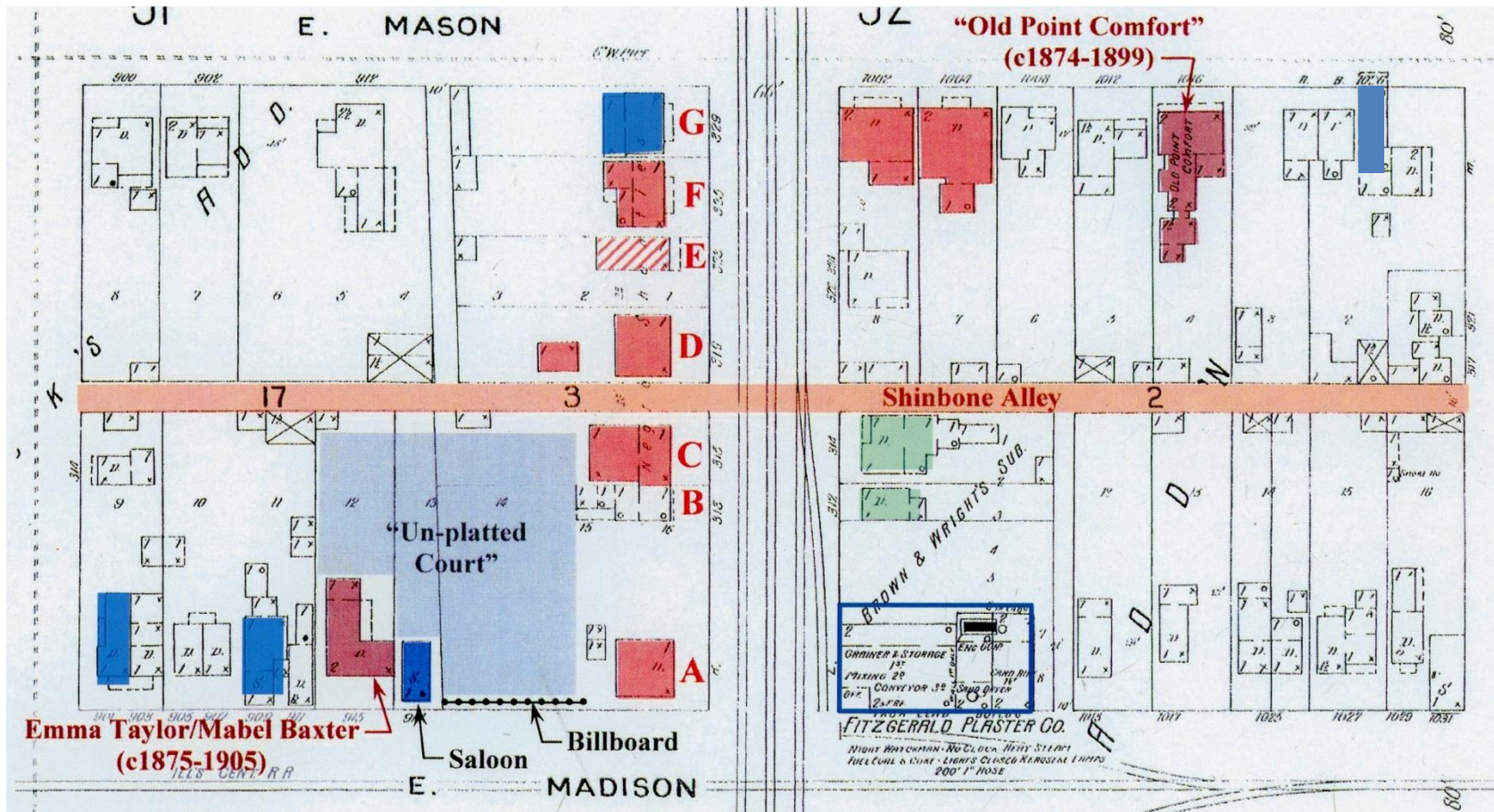


Figure 67. Tenth Street Project area in circa 1905-08. The two formal “resorts” (Mabel Baxter’s and Old Point Comfort) may have been closed by this date. The properties highlighted in red represent known houses from which prostitutes are known to have plied their trade. The properties highlighted in blue represent saloons. The two properties highlighted in green represent potential opium dens. Although Old Point Comfort was no longer operating as a formal house of ill fame, news-accounts of “can-rushing revelry” and raids of “hop joints” at this location were noted (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 November 1908, p. 5; *Illinois State Register*, 25 December 1908, p. 5). Also note the location of the Fitzgerald Plaster Company’s factory (outlined in blue), as well.



Figure 68. View of Block 3 of Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition from a Block Line Map of Springfield's central business district, published by the Sanborn Map Company in 1906 (Sanborn 1906). This map suggests that the blocks had changed very little since 1896, in respect to structural developments. Dramatic changes would soon occur here, however, as a result of the 1908 Springfield Race Riot. The red line indicates the edges of the current project area.

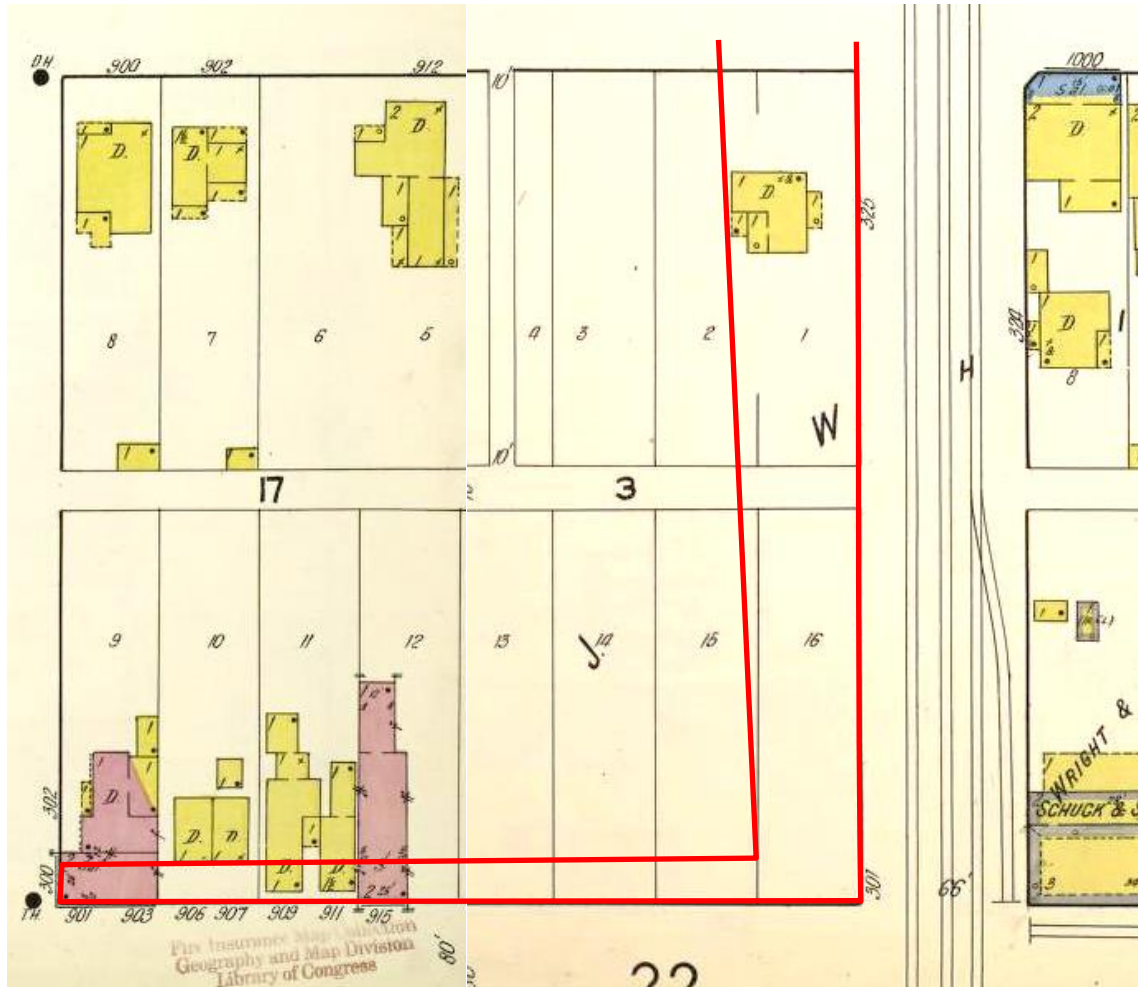


Figure 69. View of Block 3 of Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition from the 1917 Sanborn fire insurance map of Springfield (Sanborn 1917:33-34). Only one of the six houses shown facing Tenth Street in 1906 remained standing by this date, the others having been destroyed in the 1908 race riot. The red line indicates the edges of the current project area.

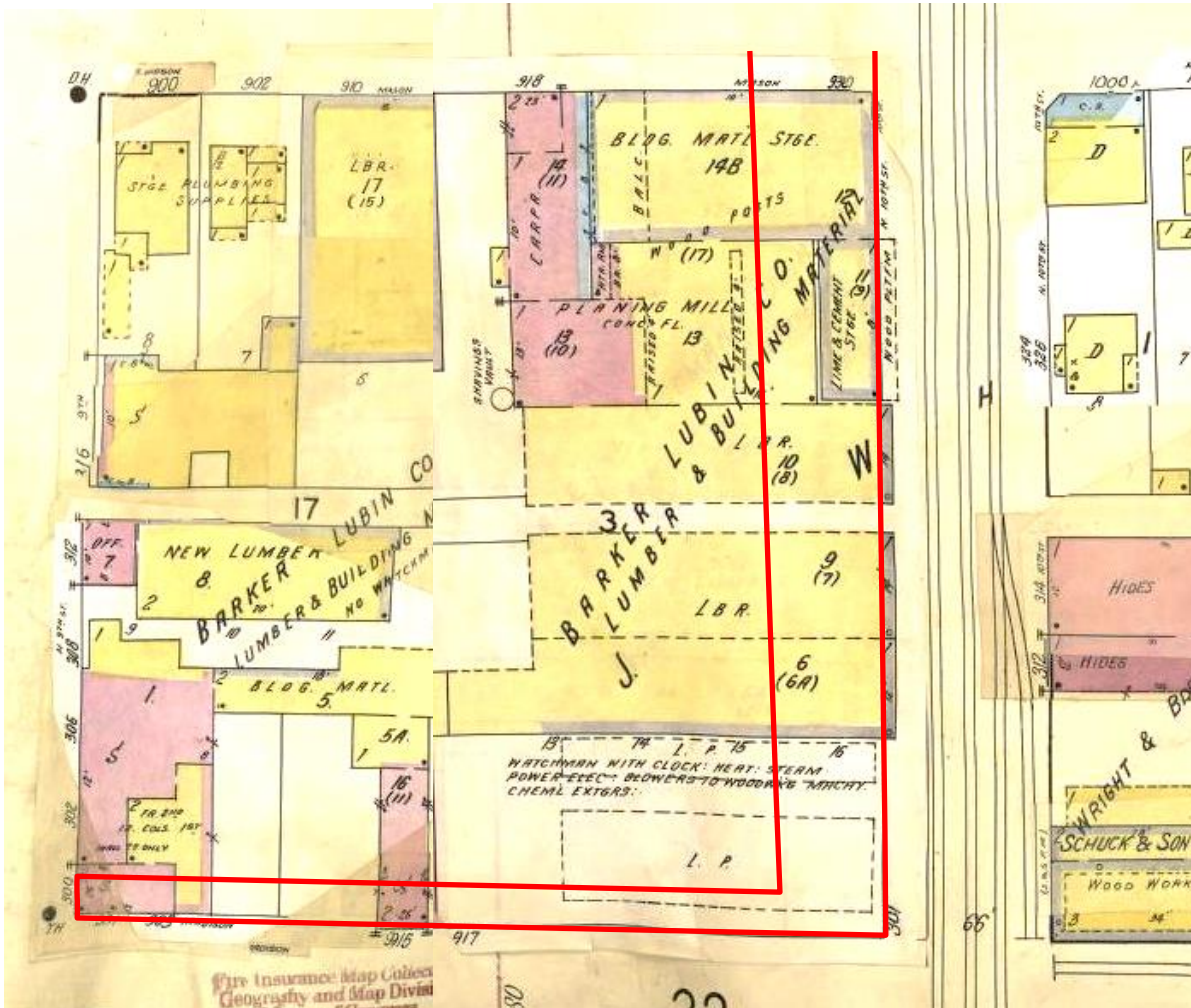


Figure 70. Block 3 of Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition from the 1950 Sanborn fire insurance map of Springfield (Sanborn 1950:33-34). By this date, the Barker-Lubin Company, a lumber and building materials supplier, occupied a large portion of this block. The red line indicates the edges of the current project area.



Figure 71. Barker-Lubin complex looking northeast in the 1960s... [add outlines of project area]

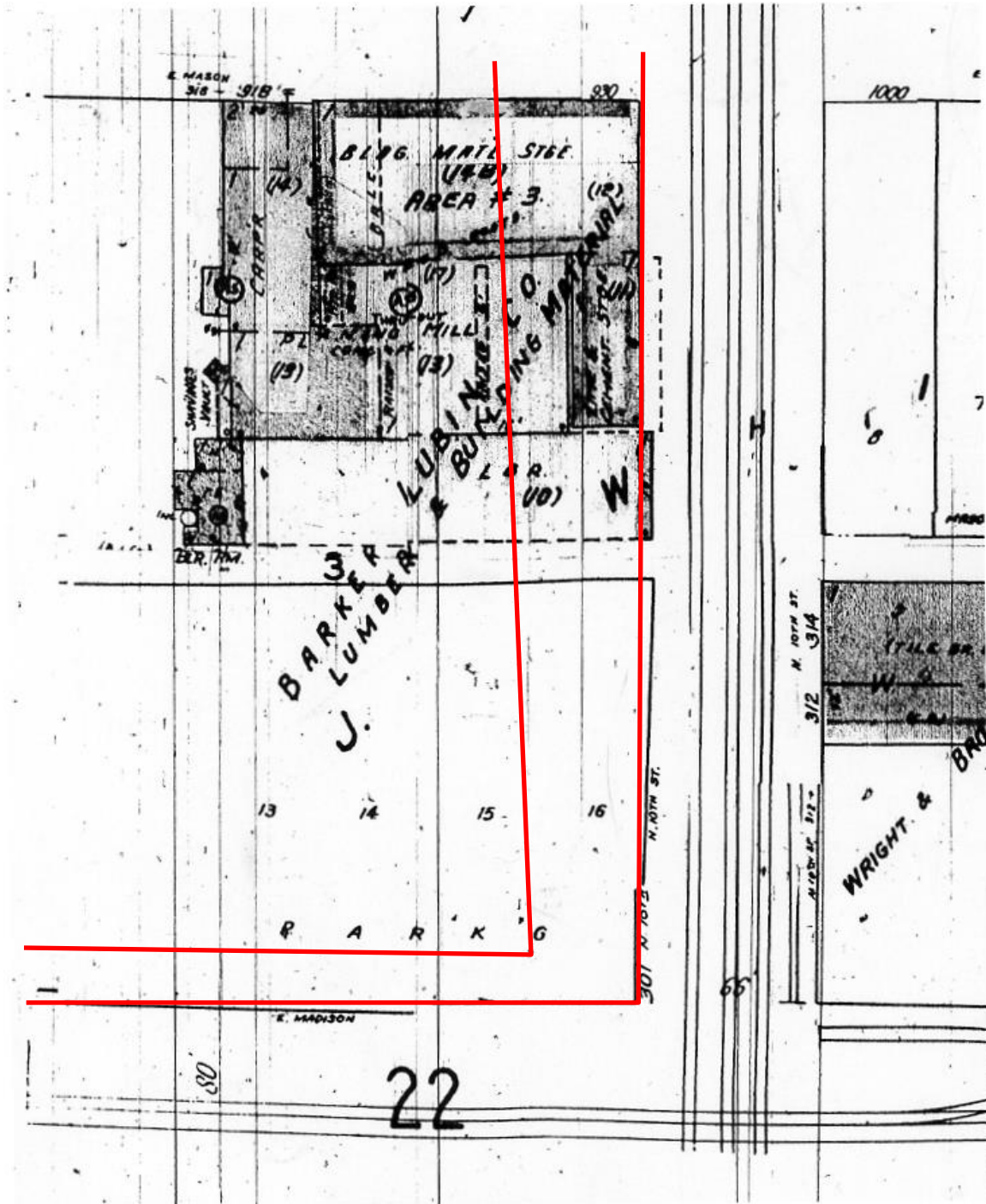


Figure 72. Block 3 of J. Whitney's Addition from the 1972 Sanborn fire insurance map of Springfield. At this time, the Barker-Lubin Company still had buildings on the northern half of the block, while the southern half was used for parking (Sanborn 1972:34). The red line indicates the edges of the current project area.

Table 6
Details of House Occupancy in Project Area,
1880 U.S. Census of Population

<u>House</u>	<u>Family</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
A		Eva Westenber[ger]	White	70	Keeping House
B		Bell Watkins	White	44	Livery Stable
		Lyda	White	41	Keeping House
		Allie Hall	Black	18	Servant
C		Mary Fero	Black	45	Keeping House
		Joseph	Black	30	Laborer
		Eva	Black	27	Servant
		Carrie	Black	23	Servant
		Laura	Black	21	
		Georgie [?] Allen	Black	27	
D	1	Sarah Williams	White	28	Keeping House
		Joseph Howard	White	26	Laborer
		Maude Lyddie	White	23	Prostitute
	2	Elizabeth May	White	29	Keeping House
		William	White	12	
	3	Lucy Roderick [?]	White	28	Keeping House
		Nellie	White	2	
		Hattie Smallwood [?]	White	24	
E		John Bell	White	20	Laborer
		Lizzie	White	30	Keeping House
F		Lizzie Kendal	White	22	Keeping House
		Orie	White	3	
		Julia Williams	White	24	Prostitute
G	1	Fanny Howell	White	50	Keeping House
		Fanny	White	18	At Home
		William	White	15	Laborer
	2	Nellie Luce	White	28	Keeping House
	3	John Cantrall	White	26	Laborer
		Carrie	White	23	Keeping House
		Ida	White	1	

Table 7
Changing House Numbers as Depicted
on the 1890, 1896, and 1917 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps

	<u>1890</u>	<u>1896</u>	<u>1917</u>
House A	SI	K	x
House B	311	313	x
House C	313	315	x
House D	LI	319	x
House E	323	323	x
House F	325	325	325
House G	KI	329	x

x = House not illustrated

Table 8
Pre-Subdivision Platting Chain-of-Title
(W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27, Township 16 North, Range 5 West)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
17 March 1825	U.S. Federal Government	Archer G. Herndon	W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27	\$100.00	FD	Note 1
<u>TRACT 1 (Note 2)</u>						
25 April 1826	Archer and Rebecca Herndon	Ebenezer Capps	Tract 1	\$100.00	WD	B:141
1 July 1829	Ebenezer Capps	James W. Pickett	Tract 1	\$120.00	WD	D:8
19 June 1830	James W. Pickett	William Carpenter	Tract 1	\$100.00	WD	D:258
<u>TRACT 2 (Note 3)</u>						
1 August 1826	Archer and Rebecca Herndon	Larkin Bryant	Tract 2	\$30.00	WD	B:249
27 October 1836	Larkin and Harriet Bryant	Miles Peck	Tract 2	\$1,000.00	WD	J:704-705
18 February 1839	Miles and Celina Peck	Homer Peck (Note 4)	Tract 2	\$6,000.00	WD	O:74
<u>TRACT 3 (Note 5)</u>						
07 April 1827	Archer and Rebecca Herndon	Zachariah Peter	Tract 3	\$50.00	WD	B:281
18 October 1827	Zachariah Peter	Gershom Jayne	Tract 3	\$80.00	WD	A:63
16 May 1836	Gershom and Sibyl Jayne	Francis Bristow, Ninian W. Edwards, and Peter Van Bergen (Note 6)	Tract 3	\$1,100.00	WD	J:316-317
___ September 1836	Peter and Clarissa Van Bergen	Jonas Whitney	1/3 interest Tract 3	\$440.00	WD	J:673
25 November 1836	Francis and Emily Bristow (Note 7)	Jonas Whitney	1/3 interest Tract 3	\$733.00	WD	K:226
24 March 1837	Gershom and Sibyl Jayne, Ninian and Elizabeth Edwards	Jonas Whitney	1/3 interest Tract 3	\$3,666.00	WD	K:486

Table 8 (con't)

TRACT 4 (Note 9)

28 September 1833	Archer and Rebecca Herndon	Nathaniel A. Ware (Note 8)	Tract 4	\$7,300.00	WD	F:523
22 July 1836	Nathaniel Ware (Note 10)	Jonas Whitney and Thomas N. Wells	Tract 4	\$2,350.00	WD	J:406
28 September 1836	Jonas and Louisa Whitney	Thomas N. Wells	1/6 interest Tract 4	\$500.00	WD	J:586
27 October 1836	Jonas and Louisa Whitney	Miles Peck	1/3 interest Tract 4	\$2,500.00	WD	J:703-704
8 October 1837	Miles and Celina Peck	Stiles C. Peck	1/3 interest Tract 4	\$6,000.00	WD	N:421
2 December 1836			Wells and Pecks Addition Platted			K:107
10 April 1837			J. Whitney's Addition Platted			K:553

Note 1: This information was obtained from the Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales Database maintained by the Illinois State Archives. The ISM database gives a reference of "Volume 68, page 13" for the location of this Federal Deed record.

Note 2: This 5-acre parcel of land was described as "starting at the southwest corner of the W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27, T16N, R5W, North 30 rods [495'], thence east 26 2/3 rods [440'], thence south 30 rods [495'], thence west 26 2/3 rods [440'] to beginning." A "rod" measures 16 1/2' in length.

Note 3: This six-acre parcel of land was described as "Begin at a stake on the west line of the W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27, 30 poles [495'] north of section corner, go north along section line 36 poles [594'] to a stake, thence east at right angle 26 2/3 poles [440'], thence south parallel to section line 36 poles [594'] to stake, thence at right angle 26 2/3 poles [440'] west to beginning." A "pole" is the same as a "rod," which measures 16 1/2' in length.

Note 4: Homer Peck was noted as a resident of Washington County, Missouri.

Note 5: This 22-acre parcel of land was described as "Begin at the southeast corner of the west half of the southeast quarter of section 27, T16N, R5W, running west 53 poles and 11 links [876 1/3'] to a stake, thence north 66 poles [1,089'] to a stake, thence east 53 poles and 11 links [876 1/3'] to a stake then south to beginning."

Note 6. Jayne sold one-third interest each to Bristow and Van Bergen, and one-sixth interest to Edwards. Jayne kept a one-sixth interest in the property for himself.

Note 7: The Bristows were residents of Todd County, Kentucky.

Note 8. Nathaniel Ware was noted as a resident of St. Louis County, Missouri.

Note 9. This parcel of land was described as "47 acres comprising the north end of W1/2, SE1/4, Section 27, T16N, R5W." Other parcels of land which were included in this sale were Lots 5 and 6, Block 5, Original Town Plat, South part Lots 3 and 4, Block 5, Original Town Plat, and Part Lot 1, Block 14, Original Town Plat.

Note 10: This transaction was made by Springfield attorney Erastus Wright for Mr. Ware.

Research Potential

Although much has been written about the early history and architecture of Springfield, much of this work is based on very limited primary source material and has failed to focus on detailed, site-specific research. For a community of its size and historic significance, comparatively little archaeology has been conducted in Springfield except for the investigations conducted over an extended period within the Lincoln Home neighborhood by the National Park Service (in an area initially settled during the middle 1830s and outside of the Original Town Plat). Another notable exception is the archaeological investigations conducted prior to the construction of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum. The latter project, conducted in several phases, involved the excavation of portions of three city blocks located within the Original Town Plat, in close proximity to the Public Square. These excavations revealed a wealth of information regarding the early formative years of the community and subsequent development. They also illustrated the high probability of early archaeological features surviving intact, with good integrity, in an urban mature environment, even after subsequent episodes of redevelopment.

As recognized early during this project, the identification of cultural deposits within the USI project area had the potential to contribute dramatically to our understanding of lifeways in Springfield during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The US-I Project is located within Springfield's Near North Side, an area that was platted in the middle 1830s and was well developed by the Civil War. Interposed as it was between the central business district and the fashionable Enos Park Neighborhood to the north of it, the Near North Side was a mixed area in respect to its structural composition and resident population during the nineteenth century. Though predominately residential in character initially, the Near North Side also featured scattered businesses, particularly on its southern edge close to the central business district. Commercial activity within the neighborhood would expand during the twentieth century. The resident population in the middle nineteenth century included native-born Americans, as well as immigrants from Germany, Ireland, and the Portuguese-controlled Madeira Islands. The latter group was especially noteworthy, as it represented one of the earliest and largest Portuguese settlements in the Midwest. A significant Jewish population resided in the neighborhood during this period as well.

The Near North Side, in a sense, served as a "gateway" neighborhood, where newcomers of divergent backgrounds and lower-to-middle-income status first laid down roots in Springfield. It offered affordable housing and was in close proximity to the central business district. These same features attracted the city's African American to the area in the middle-to-late nineteenth century. Blacks are documented as living in the vicinity of the project area as early as the late 1850s. Wright and Brown's Subdivision, located directly east of Site 11SG1432, represented a significant early enclave of Black settlement in Springfield. Six homes—all built, owned, and occupied by Black families—were constructed within this small subdivision by the mid-1860s. The enclave included several socially elite Blacks, including the Reverend Henry Wright and the extended Donnegan family. By the early twentieth century, the US-I project area represented the western extension of a neighborhood referred to historically, beginning in the latter 1880s, as the "Badlands," where a large number of Blacks resided. This neighborhood was the scene of widespread destruction and violence in August 1908, an event which came to be known as the Springfield Race Riot. The event was seminal in the history of Springfield, as well as that of the

neighborhood that once existed in the project area, as it was the point where the white assault on the residential neighborhood began, and multiple Black-occupied residences within it were destroyed.

The archaeological resources within the project area have the potential to provide significant information for the period 1840-1908, a timeframe during which Springfield developed from a raw frontier community of several thousand to a mature urban, industrial center. These resources provided important site-specific data, and also complimented data previously yielded from the investigation at the Lincoln Home neighborhood and the Abraham of the Presidential Library and Museum. Although several research questions can be addressed by the mitigation of the current project area, the data recovery plan implemented during the most recent archaeological investigations at Site 11SG1432 focused on the recovery of information relevant to four research issues, which are discussed below.

1) Changing Structure of the Urban Landscape. Little is known about the structure of the urban house lot during the initial years of settlement within Springfield. Spatial requirements (both within the dwelling as well as the surrounding yardscape) vary between ethnic, regional, and/or racial groups (German versus Irish; Southern versus Northern; white versus Black), and between socio-economic strata (the working class versus merchant class). Similarly, changing technologies and cultural values affect the layout of the urban house lot. Documentary research found great diversity among the residents within the Project area between 1840 and 1910.

- What are the domestic and commercial requirements of the early pioneer family during the nineteenth century?
- How did these conditions differ from that of their neighbors?
- How did changing technologies (particularly associated with new sanitary, food preparation, and heating improvements) affect the domestic needs of these families through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

The research will focus predominately on defining the structure of the house lot and how it changed through the years. The changing structure of the site as determined from the mapping of structural features, subsurface pits, and activity areas within the greater yard will be used to address the research questions. In addition to more traditional feature types (such as wells, cisterns, cellars, and structural foundations), the variation in midden content will be sought in an effort to characterize various activity areas associated with the early components.

The portion of Site 11SG1432 that will be the focus of this DRP corresponds with the front yards and front sections of the houses that once fronted Tenth Street. The rear of the houses and backyard activity areas are located outside of the limits of Minimization Option M2.¹³⁰ As such, the data sets associated with this research question are predominately structural features such as foundations, as well as landscape features (such as walkways, planting beds)

¹³⁰ The back portions of each house (and a portion of the mid yard activity area) is situated partially on City-owned property but outside of the limits of Minimization Option M2. The majority of the mid- and rear-yard activity areas are located west of the railroad ROW, on property owned by St. John's Hospital.

and utility line trenches associated with front-yard locations. Although the data from the archaeology associated with the Project will not address this research question in its entirety because information from the rear yard activity areas will not be included), it is complimentary to other data sets (such as that recovered from Site 11Sg1433 during the recent Phase II investigation conducted for the Project and expected to be further recovered during the upcoming Phase III work) in which the front-yard contexts are significantly disturbed.

2) Consumer Choices and/or Quality of Life Standards. Tied closely to the above discussion of the structure of the urban landscapes the discussion of the socio-economic well-being of the occupants of the site.

- What was the quality of life of the households that occupied this site?
- Do the divergent data sets (architectural remains, ceramic and glass tableware's, and dietary remains) from the site reflect similar quality of life assessments of the site occupants?
- If not, what does the divergent data sets tell us about the character of the early lifeways?
- Does the quantity and quality of material goods and dietary remains found at the site bespeak of a working class or merchant class family?
- Do the material goods consumed and dietary remains recovered from the site reflect various ethnic, racial, or socio-economic characteristics of the site's occupants?

Answers to these questions can be sought from the material culture remains from the subsurface features (such as filled cellars and cisterns) and middens at this site. The physical remains of the glass and ceramic tablewares, teawares, and crockery, as well as the faunal and floral remains recovered from the features, will lend themselves to addressing these questions.

Because the Project area encompasses predominately the front of these domestic lots, the data sets available to address this research question are limited. Nevertheless, this question is intricately tied to the previous research question, and several parameters are well-suited to the discussion—particularly the character of the houses once located on each of these lots, and their change through time. Additional data sets include various temporally discrete artifact assemblages that can be identified such as upper and lower middens, and cellar floor fills.

3) 1908 Springfield Race Riot: By circa 1900, the city block associated with Site 11SG1432 was occupied predominately by lower-income Black families, many of whom personally experienced the 1908 event. All five of the houses facing Tenth Street on this block were destroyed or damaged by fire during the event, with another two dwellings fronting Madison Street also destroyed. The archaeological resources located within the immediate USI Project area represent the physical remains of these houses—with the rear yard activity areas being located just outside of the Project area to the west. Nonetheless, the houses still have the potential to contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of urban life in Springfield

during the nineteenth and early twentieth century years. Following the 1908 event, early-twentieth-century improvements in the Project area were limited and not substantial enough to have significantly impacted the earlier archaeological resources. The fact that this block was cleared of housing in one devastating event and never reoccupied presents a unique opportunity to examine a group of Black residents at one pivotal point in time. The archaeological resources represent a significant alternative source of information on a community that often was neglected or painted in an unfavorable light in historical sources.

- What were the living standards of the occupants at the time of the August 1908 event?
- Do the houses deserve the negative characterization as ‘shanties’ or ‘huts,’ as referred to in historical sources?
- To what degree do the material remains challenge or support historical accounts of Black living standards in this neighborhood, which was often referred to in a negative manner as the ‘Badlands’ in historical sources?

Summary and Conclusions

Archaeological Site 11SG1432—as well as adjacent sites 11SG1433 (the Portuguese Site), 11SG1532 (The Price-Edwards Site), and 11SG1533 (the Sappington Site)—was determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Although the project redesign resulted in a portion of the site being avoided by the proposed construction of rail improvements at this location, portions of five houses identified by archaeological excavations at this site were impacted by the construction of the project. This document serves an introductory volume summarizing the results of the implementation of the DRP conducted for the City of Springfield at archaeological site 11SG1432. It is followed by five separate volumes, one for each of the five houses investigated. Each of these five volumes details the specifics of the history of the house occupants, the physical remains of the houses and other features uncovered, and the multitude of artifacts recovered from each house site. A seventh volume will summarize the results of the excavations, address the various research questions noted above, as well as discuss the significance of this project for Springfield, as well as the nation. Additional volumes will also summarize the results of the excavations at the Portuguese Site, the Price-Edwards Site, and the Sappington Site.

Figure 73 illustrate those portions of Site 1432 that have been tested, mitigated, and preserved in place. This figure illustrates the three areas of the site relating to the status of its long-term preservation. Area I is that area of the site which has been mitigated as part of the current project. Area II, consisting of the rear half of the houses and the immediate rear yard, is that area of the site that was subject to Phase II testing, is currently under the ownership and management of the City of Springfield, and will be preserved in place. Area III consists of the western, or rear, half of lot and is that portion of the site primarily in the possession of HSHS St. John’s Hospital (with a small portion abutting Area II, which also is owned by the City of Springfield). Area III comprises the rear yard activity areas (the suspected location of privy pits and other features). Although no archaeological testing has been conducted in this area, these suspected archaeological resources most likely retain similar integrity, and offer significant research

potential that would complement that of the current excavations. The back yard activity areas have the potential for the presence of a wide range of features such as privy pits, exterior cellars, cisterns, middens, and other archaeological features. The long-term preservation of the archaeological resources associated Site 11SG143 located on HSHS St. John’s Hospital grounds should be pursued. As Table 9 illustrates, 70-90% of the lots associated with Houses A-E still remain intact. The archaeological integrity in the previously tested and preserved area (Area II) is excellent, and there is every indication that the same is true for Area III. The land presently owned by HSHS St. John’s Hospital at Site 11SG1432 also includes the locations three other houses and one commercial building burned during the 1908 riot.

Table 9
Approximate Percentage of House Lots by Area (11SG1432)

	<u>House A</u>	<u>House B</u>	<u>House C</u>	<u>House D</u>	<u>House E</u>
Area I	10%	15%	15%	20%	25%
Area II	40%	35%	35%	30%	25%
Area III	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%

Archaeology is often envisioned by the popular press and the public as being all about *artifacts*. Although archaeologists do study artifacts, it is the *power* of the artifact (and its interpretation in its proper historical context) that allows archaeologist to understand *people* living in times past; and it is people who often get lost in the study of archaeology (at least within the public perception of the discipline). Although many of the individuals impacted by the events that hot August night remain more-or-less anonymous, with diligent sleuthing within the archival record, supplemented by the material culture remains (or artifacts) serendipitously preserved at these archaeological sites, the lives of a handful of the inhabitants of the neighborhood impacted by the mob action were fleshed out with some detail. The emphasis of this research has been to focus less on the artifacts themselves and more on the individuals impacted by the riot. In order to achieve this goal, the research has presented a series of short biographies (or “vignettes”) of these individuals using some of the more relevant artifacts recovered from the house sites to highlight various aspects of their lives. As the work progressed, the quality and quantity of the material available on some of the individuals (such as that associated with the elderly, ex-slave Cyrus Greenleaf) resulted in some rather lengthy “vignettes” that contribute remarkably well to our understanding of the individuals who occupied this neighborhood. Similarly, in an effort to characterize the development of the neighborhood through the nineteenth century, “vignettes” of the more relevant neighborhood occupants were similarly developed in an effort to bring a more human element to the bare-bone artifacts typical of archaeological research. Such in-depth understanding of the neighborhood occupants has been lacking from previous historical research, and it has been our hope that the archaeological investigations ultimately would speak—or give voice to—not the *artifacts* recovered from the aftermath of the riot, but of the *people* directly affected by the riot.

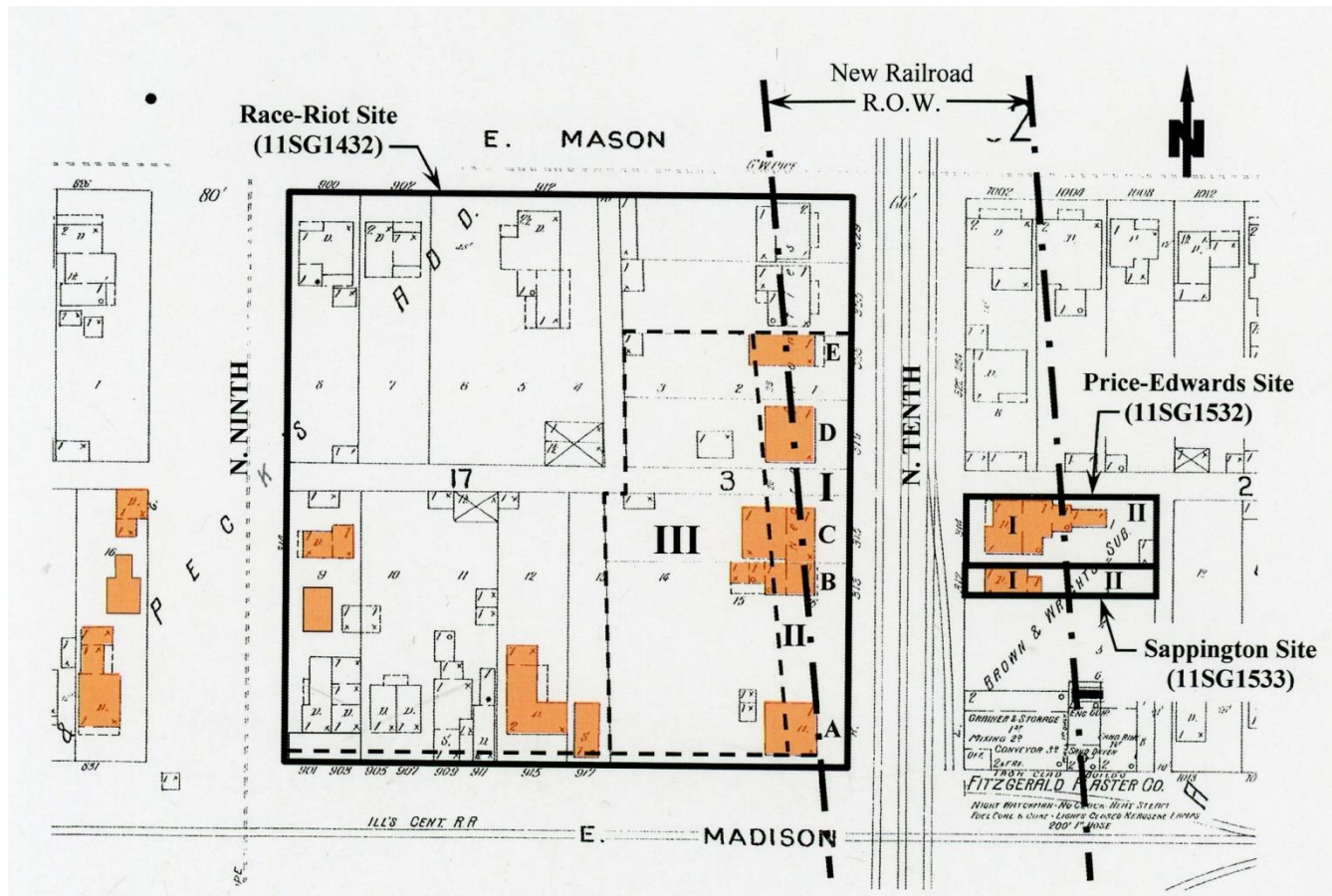


Figure 73. Detail of the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map illustrating the location, and various areas of, Sites 11SG1432, 11SG1532, and 11SG1533. Buildings highlighted in orange were destroyed during the 1908 Race Riot. Area I indicates that portion of the three sites that was impacted by the railroad project and the focus of the archaeological mitigation. Area II is that portion of the sites that has been subjected to Phase II archaeological testing and will be preserved in place under City of Springfield ownership. Area III represents the back-lot activity areas associated with each of the five houses (identified as Houses A-E) at Site 11SG1432. Area III represents an area of high archaeological potential that also warrants long-term preservation. In addition to Houses A-E, four additional buildings destroyed during the 1908 race also are located at Site 1432, on land presently owned by HSHS St. John's Hospital.

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Appendix I

“Springfield A Wicked Old City”: The Rise of Vice in Illinois’ Capital City

Floyd Mansberger
and
Christopher Stratton

Springfield is no stranger to vice.¹ Although the local newspapers of the period make mention of prostitutes and “houses of ill fame” in the 1830s and 1840s, no such reference has been found relating to these activities in Springfield during that time. When the Capitol City published its new ordinances in October 1844 (Andrew McCormick being the mayor at the time), the first item in the list of “Special Ordinances” pertained to “Houses of Ill Fame.” Specifically, this ordinance identified a “bawdy house” as “a house or any apartment of a house for prostitution” and banned such bawdy houses from within the city limits. This ordinance, which also set a fine of \$10 for any person who maintained a bawdy house within the city limits, addressed the operators of such facilities (and not the workers or clients) (*Sangamo Journal*, October 10, 1844).²

It is not until the later 1850s that specific reference to illicit sexual activity taking place in Springfield is found in the local newspapers.³ The first reference to prostitutes working in Springfield in the newspapers occurred in January 1859. At that time, Harvey Taylor was accused of “keeping a house of ill fame, contrary to the ordinance...” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 21, 1859). Besides Taylor, one Frances Warren [or Warner], an “inmate of Taylor’s house,” was also arrested.⁴ Again in April 1859, Taylor was in front of the Circuit Court for

¹ In early November 1908, in response to the City’s recent riots the previous August, the evangelist Reverend P. H. McIntosh delivered a sermon at the Fourth Presbyterian Church. In his sermon, under a byline that read “Springfield A Wicked Old City,” he preached the need for a revival “to clean up this wicked old city” (“TO EVERY MAN HIS OWN WORK,” *Illinois State Register*, 6 November 1908, p. 6).

² By 1851, the fine had been raised to \$50.

³ Similarly, published histories contain very little information on prostitution in the Capitol City, and when mentioned it is generally brief and in reference to Madame Taylor. Hickey (1965:24) contains a paragraph relating to Madame Taylor’s activities in 1865 Springfield. Angle (1971:196) contains a single sentence that simply states “Houses of ill fame were numerous.” Russo (1983:21, 48-49) has a short reference to “Fort Taylor” (and Madame Lucinda), and discusses efforts to clean up the vice district in the early years of the twentieth century. Quinn (1991:63-64) briefly discusses the Taylors (and the problem of prostitution) during the Civil War years. Mann, Russo and Garvert (1996:94-95) contains a short chapter entitled “Walk on the Wild Side.” One of the more-lengthy discussions of prostitution in Springfield is by Mann (2008a-d) who discusses Harvey and Lucinda Taylors’ exploits.

⁴ The “inmate” arrested was variously referred to as Francis Warner, and Frances Warren. The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Harvey Taylor was a saloon operator residing on the north side of Madison Street, between Second and Third Streets. Lucinda Taylor purchased a house from James Weiss on the west side of Fourth Street on February 8, 1860. Weiss, a carpenter, purchased the lot from Isaac Diller in 1856, and may have constructed the house at this location sometime shortly thereafter. In February 1861, Lucinda purchased from Weiss the adjacent house to the north for the sum of \$1,000 (Mann 2008b:3).

“keeping a house of bad character on Adams street” (*Illinois State Register*, April 26, 1859; April 30, 1859). It is suspected that the “house of bad character” being operated by Harvey Taylor was a euphuism for a “house of ill fame.”⁵

Harvey Taylor’s “house of ill fame” was not the only business of its kind in Springfield at the time. On May 3, 1859, “the case of Mrs. Nash for keeping a house of ill fame, was tried before Justice Francis on yesterday. Of course, a large crowd assembled to hear the disgusting details of the case” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 3, 1859).⁶ This same newspaper noted that “Eight negroes [were] arrested in a den of iniquity, on Jefferson street....” Again, on July 21, 1859, The *Illinois State Register* reported that “Susan Weisert, a prostitute, was arrested for drunkenness and vagrancy, and sent to the lock up. Kate O’Hara, a notorious and utterly depraved prostitute who has infested our streets so long, was fined \$50, and sent up to work it out.”

During the ten years from 1850 to 1860, Springfield’s population had more than doubled in size, and the community was experiencing problems typically associated with larger communities.⁷ In August 1859, in an effort to curb some of these illicit activities, the City of Springfield passed “*An Ordinance in Relation to the Sale of Liquors, Gambling and Other Misdemeanors*” which, among other things, made those individuals who “contribute to the support of any disorderly, gaming or bawdy house, house of ill fame, or of assignation, or any place used for the practice of

⁵ In 1859, according to the news story, Taylor’s place of business was on Adams Street, “opposite the *Register* office....” Taylor may have been operating a saloon at this address, in conjunction with his “house.” In early May 1859, after refusing to allow several men to enter his place of business for a drink, an altercation ensued that resulted in a rather nasty shooting affair which injured at least two men. “Much indignation was felt against Taylor, and he was speedily arrested by officer Elkin; but returning with the officer to the house, on the plea of getting his breakfast before going to jail, he escaped out of the back door, and up to dark last evening, had eluded the search of the police” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 4, 1859). After his escape “the inmates of his house moved out yesterday, bed and baggage, though the later, we understand has been attached at the suit of Taylor’s bondsmen” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 5, 1859). A couple of days later, Harvey was re-arrested while trying to flee to Pana (located along the Illinois Central Railroad’s main line in Christian County—approximately 40 miles southeast of Springfield) (*Illinois State Journal*, May 7, 1859; May 9, 1859). While being returned to Springfield, his unnamed wife, and a woman named Ada Johnson, attempted to free him by unsuccessfully slipping him a revolver. Harvey’s trial was well covered in the local newspapers (*Illinois State Register*, May 10, 1859).

The 16-year old Ida Johnson was enumerated by the 1860 U.S. census as living within the Christian County community of Pana in that year. At that time, Johnson was living in a household of four young white women—all of whom were labeled with the appellation of “Fancy House.” The presumed “head” of the household was a 28-year old English-born woman named Jenny Soar. Living with Soar was Mary Alle (?) (a 29-year-old Ohio-born woman), Jenny Young (a 15-year-old Kentucky born woman), and Ida Johnson (a 16-year-old New York-born woman). All of the girls were listed as white, and none of them had any real estate evaluation. Only Jenny Soar had a personal property evaluation, consisting of \$50. Presumably, Harvey and his wife Lucinda had some connection with this “Fancy House” located in Pana, and may have been expanding their illicit activities to the Capital City.

⁶ The news article continued by noting that “a jury was duly summoned and about fifteen witnesses were examined, but none of them knew anything about Mrs. Nash or her house, and so accordingly the Jury brought in a verdict of acquitting the woman. It is a little singular that persons who when out of Court know so much of the character of the premises in question, remember so little when under oath” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 3, 1859).

⁷ Between 1850 and 1860, the population of Springfield more than doubled, increasing from approximately 4,500 individuals in 1850 to slightly over 9,300 in 1860. By the end of the Civil War, in 1865, the City of Springfield had reached a population of approximately 16,000 individuals—nearly doubling again in the five years from 1860-65 (Gross 1865).

fornication” a misdemeanor “subject to a penalty of not less than fifty dollars” (City of Springfield 1861:43).⁸ By late 1859, although no further occurrences are noted in the newspapers regarding specific illicit sexual activities in the Capitol City for that year, the need had apparently crossed the minds of some city fathers for a new ordinance. In mid-January 1860, the city council passed a new ordinance entitled “*An Ordinance Supplemental to Chapter Nineteen (XIX) of the Revised Ordinances of the City, Entitled Misdemeanors*” which was printed throughout the local newspapers that same month (and signed by then mayor William Jayne on January 16, 1860). For reasons unknown, this ordinance does not ban individuals from participating in illicit sexual activity within the community—but on the contrary—seems to condone it. Specifically, this ordinance stipulated that

No person shall be subject to the penalty prescribed in said section, or any penalty whatever for frequenting or being an inmate of any disorderly, gaming or bawdy house; house of ill fame or of assignation, or any place used for the practice of fornication... (*Illinois State Journal*, January 20, 1860).

Apparently, Harvey Taylor was not deterred very long from his chosen profession. In July 1860, the U.S. census enumerated the Harvey Taylor residence in Springfield. Even though Taylor had made a splash in the community with his criminal exploits the previous spring, he apparently was back at it operating another resort by the summer of 1860. By this time, Harvey had apparently relocated his “house” to a Fourth Street location.⁹ The 1860 U.S. census suggests that he had re-established a “house of ill fame” in Springfield by this date. This census listed the 38-year old Harvey, his 35-year old wife, Louise (aka Lucinda), and their two-year old, Illinois-born son (Alfonzo) within the household. According to the census, both Harvey and Louise had been born in Ohio. Although Harvey’s occupation was listed simply as “Boarding House,” one must question whether this, too, was a euphuism for “house of ill fame” as living within this same dwelling—albeit in a separate “household” listing—were four young white women named Jenny Jackson (a 22-year old dress maker from Ohio), Rosa Smith (a 28-year old French-born woman), Martha Davis (a 19-year old domestic from Ireland), and Kate Holliday (a 16-year old domestic from Germany). The presence of the four young women in the house strongly suggests that Mr. Taylor and his wife were operating a “house of ill fame” at this location by that date.

As one might suspect, the ordinance passed in January 1860 condoning illicit behavior in the local bordellos did not persist for very long, as it was appealed in March 1861, slightly over one

⁸ The wording of this portion of the amendment appears to have first appeared in late 1856 (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, September 27, 1856). Specifically, it reads “*Be it enacted by the City Council of the city of Springfield: That whoever shall, within the city of Springfield, or within two miles of said city, keep, maintain, frequent, be an inmate of, or connected with, or contribute to the support of any disorderly, gaming or bawdy house, house of ill fame, or of assignation, or any place used for the practice of fornication, or shall knowingly suffer or permit any premises owned or occupied by him, or under his contrroll [sic], to be used for any such purposes shall be subject to a penalty of not less than fifty dollars.*”

⁹ The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that the H. Taylor residence was located on the west side of Fourth Street, between Madison and Gemini (Carpenter) Streets. The 1863 city directory simply states that the house was located on North Fourth Street. The 1866 city directory notes that the house was located on the west side of Fourth Street, seven houses north of Madison. It is odd that the 1866 city directory lists Harvey Taylor as a “farmer.” The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* indicates the Harvey residence as being located at 93 North Fourth Street.

year after its initial passage (Gross 1865).¹⁰ Just prior to its repeal, the exploits of one Jenny Gray appear in the local newspapers. In late January 1861, Jenny Gray was arrested for “keeping a disreputable house,” and soon was tried “for keeping a house of ill-fame.” Much to the dismay of the prosecutors, she apparently was acquitted of charges as “there was not sufficient testimony to establish the charge” (*Illinois State Register*, January 29, 1861; January 30, 1861). Again in February 1861, she was fined \$50 for “presiding over a disreputable establishment” (*Illinois State Register*, February 11, 1861). By early 1861, without a doubt, Harvey and Lucinda Taylor were clearly in the prostitution business in Springfield by that time. In March of that year, Harvey Taylor “and his amiable Lucinda [were] both arraigned for superintending the management of a bawdy house in this city” (*Illinois State Register*, March 20, 1861).

The repeal of the later referenced ordinance was none-too-soon. Only a couple of months after its appeal, on April 12, 1861, Confederate forces fired upon Fort Sumter in South Carolina, and on April 15th President Abraham Lincoln called for the recruitment of 75,000 soldiers for putting down the rebellion. The following day, April 16th, Governor Yates appealed to the citizens of Illinois for 6,000 volunteers to meet President Lincoln’s call for volunteers. Over the next four years, nearly 260,000 soldiers were recruited from Illinois—a large percentage of them passing through Springfield on their way to the front lines.¹¹

Though located far from the battlefields of the American Civil War, Springfield, Illinois made an important contribution to the Union’s successful war effort. For a variety reasons—including its role as State Capital, its rail connections, and the equally important political consideration of it being President Abraham Lincoln’s hometown—Springfield was selected by the U. S. Government to serve as a military training and supply center during the war. Camp Yates was established on the west side of the city in April 1861, and it was here that Ulysses S. Grant received his first commission during the war. This encampment shortly was succeeded as the primary military facility in the area by Camp Butler, which was located six miles east of Springfield and served as one of two primary training centers in Illinois (the other being Camp Douglas in Chicago). Ultimately, an estimated 200,000 Illinois troops would process through Camp Butler, which also was used as a Confederate prisoner-of-war camp for a time. Aside from this, several prominent Springfield industries were awarded government contracts to supply war materials, including uniforms and general commodities.

Springfield may have been on the home-front, yet the city still regularly was exposed to the war through its war-related facilities and industries, the steady stream of soldiers passing through it, and the volatile political climate created by the conflict. The war, for all of its destructive tendencies, was a decided boon to the local economy on multiple levels. Major industries were obvious benefactors, but the war also generated opportunities for more mundane, if not illicit, businesses. Concentrations of single young men in a community required outlets for leisure activity, and this need became more pronounced in a war-time setting. Bars, saloons, and houses

¹⁰ See published notice of proposed new ordinance at *Illinois State Register* (21 January 1860, p. 2).

¹¹ Springfield was one of the main debarkation points for Illinois soldiers during the Civil War, in part due to the presence of the state Capitol, as well as the Chicago and Alton Railroad line (see also Mansberger and Stratton 2014).

of prostitution were available for their use in Springfield. The number of such businesses present in the city prior to 1861 is poorly documented, but it undoubtedly increased during the war when Camp Butler barracked several thousand male troops at any one time and many other veterans were passing through Springfield on their way home on furlough or after mustering out.

Contemporary accounts of soldiers causing troubles at saloons or houses of prostitution are quite common in the Springfield newspapers during these years. Almost immediately after the initiation of the conflict and the arrival of troops in Springfield, the local newspapers began carrying news stories about the presence of “bawdy houses” in town. One of the first occurred only two weeks after Governor Yates’ call for volunteers. The *Illinois State Journal* (April 30, 1861) wrote that

Two soldiers from one of the Chicago companies visited the fancy house kept by Jennie Gray, on the Great Western Railroad, this morning, and signaled their entrance by a cruel and unprovoked attack upon a boy who was on the premises, beating him severely, and pursuing him, all over the yard maltreating him in various ways. They also attacked a colored man who made his appearance, and beat him considerably, when he drew a knife and stabbed one of the ruffianly assailants in the leg, inflicting a deep, but not dangerous, wound. The soldiers were brought to the calaboose, but released on the solicitation of the commanding officer, who promised to keep them in camp under strict guard for the future.

As noted earlier, Jennie Gray apparently had established a bawdy house in Springfield sometime earlier, perhaps in late 1860 or very early 1861. The location of her “house of ill fame” along the route of the Great Western Railroad (the current Tenth Street rail corridor) was no coincidence. A location adjacent to the depot would have been an opportune location for Madame Gray’s “house” given the numerous male travelers coming and going through the Great Western Depot (located at the southwest corner of Monroe and Tenth Streets)—a situation that increased dramatically after the influx of soldiers during the Civil War. Additionally, the great influx of young men to Springfield during these years resulted in the movement of young women from the surrounding communities into the Capitol City. The very same issue of the *Illinois State Journal* (April 30, 1861) also carried a story about a Mary Walter, which stated that she was

rather a good looking Dutch girl, somewhat stumpy, but on the whole prepossessing. She came from Chicago on Friday last, and was captured on the streets Saturday night, in company with several soldiers, and indulging in conduct very unbecoming in a lady. She claims to have a father and several brothers in the camp, but the Justice regarded this as a mere pleasant fiction of Mary’s, and accordingly remanded her back to the city prison for a short time, in the hope that she would resolve to discard the bad company and ways of living she has been indulging in. We certainly hope she will.

A couple of months later, a disastrous fire struck downtown Springfield “issuing from the rear of a livery stable on Washington street, between Seventh and Eighth, the property of Henry Carrigan...” (*Illinois State Journal*, April 22, 1861). Among the buildings destroyed by that fire was Withey’s new carriage manufactory, as well as “a brick building occupied by Aggie Preston

as a house of ill-fame. The furniture in the house was most removed, the occupants however, were obliged to complete their toilets in the street, so rapid was the progress of the fire” (*Illinois State Journal*, April 22, 1861).¹²

By the spring of 1861, Harvey and Lucinda Taylor were operating their “house” on the west side of Fourth Street, north of Madison (*Springfield City Directory* 1860, 1863).¹³ Apparently by this date, the young Miss Ida Johnson—who had earlier tried to slip a revolver to Harvey while in police custody—was operating a competing “house” within relatively close proximity—her “house” being located at the corner of First and Madison Streets (*Springfield City Directory* 1863).¹⁴ Both houses were located northwest of the central business district—probably located in this vicinity due to the proximity to the Chicago and Alton Depot. It appears that Ida and Lucinda were once friends and/or co-workers who had come to Springfield together, with Harvey, in circa 1859-60.¹⁵ Within a short time of their arrival in Springfield, the two women apparently had become fierce rivals of each other—with Harvey apparently taking “favours” from both his wife and the much younger Ida. By mid-June 1861, the rivalry had become violent, with “Mrs. Harvey Taylor, in a fit of jealous anger, fired upon Mrs. Ada Johnson with a shotgun. The load of buckshot killed Mrs. Johnson’s riding horse, and she was slightly wounded, but she procured a pistol and returned the fire. Mrs. Taylor was not injured. Officers disarmed both women” (*Illinois State Journal*, June 23, 1861, as reprinted in June 23, 1928). The following

¹² Although the 1860 *Springfield City Directory* does not list an Aggie Preston, it does note that the Withey carriage factory was located on the south side of Washington Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. As the fire spread west from the carriage factory, the Preston “house” appears to have been located along the south side of Washington Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets, approximately 1-1½-blocks east of the public square—not quite half way between the Great Western Depot and the Courthouse.

¹³ By this date, Lucinda owned two side-by-side houses, both of which may have been operating as resorts under her guidance at the time. In May 1861, several soldiers were arrested for throwing bricks at “Taylor’s institution.” At the court hearing, “Madame Taylor drove up to the magistrate’s office in one of the finest vehicles to be found in the city, and delivered her evidence with as much effrontery as if were one of the most orderly and respectable persons in the city. Will the time never come when this insufferable nuisance shall be abated, or at least not allowed to flaunt so barely in the eyes of decent people” (*Illinois State Journal* May 18, 1861).

North Fourth Street had more than one “bawdy houses” in operation in 1861. In October of that year, The *Illinois State Journal* reported that an Isaac Sisson, “the proprietor of a den of infamy on North Fourth street,” was fined \$50 and costs “for keeping a bawdy house” at that location (*Illinois State Journal* October 10, 1861). Mann (2008:4) indicates that “the stretch along north Fourth Street where Taylor’s house was located was considered the sinkhole of the city, being infested with ‘bawdy houses.’”

¹⁴ Unlike Harvey Taylor, Ida Johnson does not appear listed in the 1860 *Springfield City Directory* (apparently still residing in Pana at that date). Miss Ida Johnson first appears listed in the 1863 *Springfield City Directory*. Both the 1863 and 1864 city directories indicate that Miss Ida Johnson was residing at the corner of First and Madison Streets (*Springfield City Directory* 1864). In 1866, the city directory indicates that Ada Johnson was living at the southwest corner of Madison and First Streets. In 1868, the *Springfield City Directory* notes that the widow, Mrs. I. Johnson, was residing on Madison street, near Klein.

¹⁵ Harvey Taylor and Lucinda Johnson were married on August 1, 1852 in Clark County (Mann 2008:5). In 1850, Lucinda was living in Clark County within the Thomas and Sarah Johnson household. In that year, Lucinda was 22-years old and had a 3-year old son named Simpson. As Mann (2008) suggests, Lucinda may have been an unmarried daughter, or daughter-in-law of the Johnsons. The young Ida Johnson—who would have been about 6 years old in 1850, is not enumerated. It seems reasonable to suspect that, as Ida and Lucinda shared a common last name, they were probably related to one another in some form.

day, the *Illinois State Journal* noted, in a tongue-and-cheek manner, that “Madame Lucinda Taylor [who] has previously been immortalized in these columns... we record the humiliating fact that this distinguished and universally respected lady passed the weary hours of last night and the night before in the solitude of a cell in Sangamon county jail. Listen to the sad story of her disgrace, young men and maidens of Springfield, and take warning from her example. It is a current belief amongst certain malignant and evil-disposed people of this city that the establishment over which Mr. Harvey Taylor and Madame Lucinda preside is not of a character to warrant its being on the visiting list of fashionable people.” The reporter continued by writing that “there is another similar institution, conducted by Mademoiselle [sic] Ada Johnson, which Harvey occasionally visits, much to the annoyance of his loving spouse...” (*Illinois State Journal*, June 24, 1861).¹⁶ At this time, the two competing “houses of ill fame” were colloquially known as Forts Taylor and Johnson (cf. *Illinois State Register*, October 14, 1864; October 21, 1864; January 24, 1865).

It appears that Madame Taylor befriended another “prominent” Springfield woman fairly soon upon arriving in Springfield. That woman’s name was Emeline Gladden (alias Emma Nash) “who readily” put up bail for Mrs. Taylor in June 1861 (*Illinois State Journal* June 25, 1861).¹⁷ Earlier that same month, the local newspaper reported that Emeline Gladden, “better known as Emma Nash” was fined \$50 and costs “for keeping a house of ill-fame.” The newspaper continued by noting that “this is the first pull the police have had on Emma for some time,” suggesting that she may have been in the business for some time prior to this June 1861 date (*Illinois State Journal*, June 11, 1861). The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Mrs. Emma Nash resided on the east side of Eighth Street, between Washington and Jefferson Streets—which would have placed her within a block of the house operated by Aggie Preston on Washington Street. The 1860 U.S. census enumerated the Emma Gladden household, which in late July 1860 consisted of Emma Gladden (31 years of age and Illinois-born), Ada Smith (a 20-year old female seamstress from New York), Martha Stewart (a 22-year old Black servant from Alabama),¹⁸ and Dick Nash (a 3-year old Black child born in Illinois).¹⁹ Emma Gladden, who

¹⁶ This jealous feud between these two madames continued for some time. The September 24, 1861 issue of the *Illinois State Journal* reported on a riding accident that occurred and nearly resulted in the death of the “frail Ada.” Harvey Taylor had given the horse to Ada. The accident occurred while riding in a buggy under the care of a certain African-American servant, who was subsequently beaten severely by Harvey for his “negligence” (*Illinois State Journal*, September 24, 1861; September 25, 1861). Again in October 1863, Lucinda fired shots at Ada (*Illinois State Journal*, October 26, 1863; October 27, 1863), and in 1863, Emma Nash posted bail for Lucinda Taylor.

¹⁷ “Madame Taylor was brought yesterday [in front of the court] and was “held to bail in the sum of \$500. Her friend, Emeline Gladden, alias Emma Nash, readily went her security, and the madame [sic] was out taking the air in her buggy yesterday afternoon, in the delectable society of her loving spouse” (*Illinois State Journal*, June 25, 1861). In February 1863, Harvey and Lucinda Taylor deeded their two houses and associated lots to Emmaline Gladden for the sum of \$5,000—perhaps as collateral to secure bail paid by Emma. Two weeks later Emma deeded the property back to the Taylors for only \$500 (Mann 2008: Part III, 5).

¹⁸ The June 3, 1862 issue of the *Illinois State Journal* noted that “Martha Stewart became incensed against Mary Hall, and used language calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. [She was] Fined \$5 and costs.” Later, in September of that same year, the *Illinois State Journal* noted that a Maggie Stuart had been committed to jail on the charge of stealing \$25 from Harvey Taylor. Maggie was “an inmate of the house of Harvey Taylor.” One might question if the Martha Stewart enumerated in the 1860 census in the Gladden household may not be the same individual—and thus documents the character of the Gladden household at that 1860 date (*Illinois State Journal*, June 3, 1862; September 24, 1862).

was listed as the head of the household, was operating a boarding house with a real estate evaluation of \$2,500 and personal property value of \$1,400—both of which were exceptionally high for the time, suggesting that the Gladden/Nash “house of ill fame” may have been a fairly upscale resort well established by the mid-summer of 1860.²⁰ The 1860 census also enumerated the presence of a 34-year old “Fancy Girl” named Bridget Kyle as “residing” within the city calaboose at this time.

By the early months of the Civil War, it would appear that there were at least three prominent “houses of ill fame” in Springfield at that time. The competing “houses” operated by Harvey and Lucinda Taylor, and that operated by Ada (aka Ida) Johnson—known as Forts Taylor and Johnson, respectively—were located in the northwest corner of the city in close proximity to the Chicago and Alton Railroad depot. In February 1865, at least twenty-two women (also known as “W.E.V’s, or “Women of Easy Virtue”) were working between the two “houses” (*Illinois State Journal*, February 16, 1865). The other well-known establishment was that operated by Emma Gladden (aka Nash) on South Eighth Street (between Washington and Jefferson Streets). The *Illinois State Journal* noted the arrests and fines placed on Lady Ada Johnson, Gentleman Harvey Taylor, and Lady Emma Nash for “keeping a disreputable house” (*Illinois State Journal*, July 24, 1861).²¹ Other less prominent houses were, no doubt, also present in the community during these years. By the middle 1860s, two distinct areas of the community had developed into what might be called “red light districts”—one near the Chicago and Alton depot, the other

¹⁹ If this young boy was, indeed, Emma’s child it would suggest that she may have been living with an African-American man at one time. It would appear that Emma would be going by the Nash name within a short time after the 1860 census was taken. In the very late 1860s or early 1870s, she married a man named William Chatten [Chatten]. For a time during the middle 1870s, Emma appears to have taken the surname Taylor. Sometime circa 1872, Madam Nash vacated her Eighth Street location, and relocating her business to a new Madison Street location. Initial directory listings place her at 262 Madison (between Ninth and Tenth Streets), whereas later directories locate her at 915 East Madison Street. Both descriptions appear to document the same Madison Street location (SCD 1872, 1875, 1876). The 1876 Springfield City Directory is coded, indicating that the Emma Taylor at this Madison Street location was a prostitute.

²⁰ The three houses enumerated immediately ahead of the Gladden household was that of Rachel Clay (a 47-year old Black wash woman from Missouri), Harriet May (a 54-year old Black wash woman from Maryland), and Nancy Freeman (a 42-year old white wash woman from North Carolina). The Clay household included Mary (8 years old), Adaline (14-years old) and Sarah (19 years old)—all born in Missouri, and John Haywas (?) (20-year old Black man) and his one-month old daughter (Eveline)—both from Illinois. The May family included David (14-years old) and Eveline Haywas (?) (a 22-year old Black woman from Alabama). The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* notes that Harriet May resided on the west side of Eighth Street between Washington and Jefferson Streets. In total, approximately 13 Black individuals were living among these four families near this Eighth Street location—making it a relatively large enclave of Black individuals in 1860 Springfield. By early 1870, s this area along Eighth Street (south of Jefferson) was referred to as Greasy Row, and was the location of many altercations between the police and a variety of unruly visitors to the neighborhood (cf. “Police Matters,” *Illinois State Journal*, 21 June 1870, p. 3). The dilapidated frame tenements on Eighth Street that comprised Greasy Row were demolished in late 1875 (*Illinois State Register*, 26 October 1875, p. 4). Shortly thereafter, in 1876, the newspapers noted the presence of a “second Greasy Row,” located along north Ninth Street, between Madison and Jefferson Streets (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 April 1876, p. 4).

²¹ Although Ada Johnson and Harvey Taylor were both fined, a change of venue to Christian County for Lady Emma Nash was obtained “owing to imputations against her character for chastity in the *Journal* and *Register*...” (*Illinois State Journal*, July 24, 1861).

half-way between the Great Western depot and the central business district. These “houses” continued in operation throughout the duration of the war years.

The end of the Civil War brought a fairly abrupt end to the careers of Harvey and Lucinda Taylor, and Ada Johnson.²² Business quickly dropped off, and on August 22, 1865, the City of Springfield passed an ordinance declaring “certain houses in the Second Ward, owned by Ida J. Reynolds *alias* Ida Johnson, and Lucinda Taylor, and kept as houses of ill fame, be declared nuisances, and the city police be instructed to remove such nuisances and call on any citizen to aid them” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 22, 1865). Subsequent news stories suggest that the City of Springfield was not immediately successful in demolishing the Johnson and Taylor “houses of ill fame.” Nonetheless, the Taylor house was put up for sale at a sheriff’s sale in May 1866 (*Illinois State Register* April 26, 1866). Whether the sale ever went forward is not known. Similarly, whether it was a result of the city ordinance or not is also unknown. The Harvey-Lucinda relationship became further estranged in early 1867 with Harvey threatening the life of his wife in January of that year (*Illinois State Register*, January 4, 1867). Nonetheless, Lucinda was still practicing her trade with minimally five W.E.V. inmates in March 1867, suggesting that the Taylors may not have lost their house after all (*Illinois State Journal*, March 18, 1867). The last raid of the Taylor “house of ill fame” reported within the local newspapers occurred on May 13, 1867 (*Illinois State Journal*, May 13, 1867). The big downfall of the Taylors occurred shortly after that time, in September 1867, when the couple (with the assistance of Lucinda’s son) robbed the dry goods firm of W. H. Johnson and Company of over \$7,000 worth of silk, and the auction house of H. C. Meyers and Son of \$300-\$500 worth of jewelry, knives, and pistols (*Illinois State Journal*, January 18, 1868). Eventually, after escaping from jail and being recaptured, Harvey Taylor was convicted and sentenced to six years in jail, only to be pardoned by Governor Palmer in 1873 (*Illinois State Register*, January 13, 1869; *Illinois State Journal*, January 4, 1873). Lucinda Taylor was released from jail “on condition that she leave the State immediately”—a condition that she ignored (*Illinois State Journal*, January 14, 1869; *Illinois State Register*, March 8, 1869). By 1872, Lucinda Taylor was “pursuing her career of crime in Chicago where she “re-appeared among the criminal classes of Chicago. A day or two since she was arrested and convicted on a charge of enticing young girls to a life of crime, and appears to be pursuing her criminal career with energy, and in defiance of the law and its officers” (*Illinois State Register*, September 14, 1872).

Life for Ida Johnson was also in transition, albeit a bit less dramatic. In late December 1864, a serious altercation between Ida and a couple of soldiers in her “house” resulted in her shooting one of the soldiers who subsequently died from his wounds. Ida was arrested but soon acquitted with a determination that the shooting was in self-defense (*Illinois State Journal*, December 31, 1864; January 2, 1865). In early February 1864, the Register noted the community’s concern about the presence of the rampant prostitution in the community.²³ In the subsequent February

²² On April 9, 1865, the Army of North Virginia, under the command of General Robert E. Lee, surrendered to General U.S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia—thus initiating a series of events leading to the eventual cessation of the conflict. It was not until May 26, 1865 that the majority of the Confederate troops had surrendered. Naval troops aboard the *CSS Shenandoah* did not surrender until November 1865 (in Liverpool, England), and it was not until late August 1866 that President Andrew Johnson formally declared the war ended.

²³ The *Register* wrote that “there seems to be a very deep and decided feeling in this community at present in reference to the houses of ill fame that infest our city, and all good citizens are asking the question ‘What can be

of 1865, both Forts Taylor and Johnson were raided, with a total of 22 inmates being arrested collectively between the two “houses” (*Illinois State Journal*, February 16, 1865). Again, in early August 1865 Ida’s “house” was raided. At that time, she had only six working women present—potentially documenting the sharp decline in her business over the past few months. City raids were few in number in 1866 and subsequent years. A raid in late October of that year resulted in only seven W.E.V.’s (inmates) being arrested between both Lucinda’s and Ida’s “houses” (*Illinois State Journal*, October 27, 1866). Both houses were again raided in very early 1867, with seven inmates from the Taylor “house” and only 4 from the Johnson “house” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 8, 1867). Again in 1868, the police raided the Johnson establishment only twice. During the first of those raids (on February 4th), Ida had only two inmates present, and on the second raid (on September 3rd), she had only three inmates present (*Illinois State Journal*, February 4, 1868; September 3, 1868). No further notices were published regarding Ida Johnson’s infamous “house of ill fame.” On September 8, 1868, the newspapers reported on a fire that destroyed several buildings, including the barn on Ida’s property.²⁴

Whereas the sporting establishments located in the northwest quarter of the city seem to have been eliminated—or greatly curtailed—by circa 1869, those within the near east side of Springfield continued to flourish. Lady Emma Nash’s “house” was located along the east side of the 100-block of South Eighth Street (north of Washington Street), in an area that became known as Greasy Row by 1870. A resort persisted at this location well into the later nineteenth century.²⁵ Aggie Preston’s house, which was destroyed by fire in 1861, was also located in this immediate area (along Washington Street).

done to abate or extirpate this enormous evil?’ It is possible that it cannot be extirpated, but there can be not doubt that it may be very materially abated, and at least kept out of sight of the public eye” (*Illinois State Register*, 10 February 1864, p. 2). The article proceeded to argue that it was not the women occupying the resorts that warranted punishment, but the owners of the facilities which were raking in enormous profits. The *Register* further noted one of the owners (presumably Mr. Harvey Taylor) “has cleared over \$4,000 since the arrival of the first returned veteran regiment, and that his gains are now upwards of \$2,000 a week!” (

²⁴ Although the August 1865 city ordinance suggested that Ida Johnson had married a man named Reynolds by that date, she apparently continued to operate the business under her name. Although the 1866 *Springfield City Directory* had indicated that Ada Johnson was living at the southwest corner of Madison and First Streets, the 1868 city directory indicated that the widow Mrs. I. Johnson was residing on Madison Street, near Klein. The 1869 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that A. J. Johnson was residing at the southwest corner of Madison and First Streets. Ida was not listed within the 1872 *Springfield City Directory*. The December 23, 1869 issue of the *Illinois State Register* indicates that Ida Johnson Reynolds owed for taxes on Lot 1, Block 1 of J. Mason’s Addition to Springfield (*Illinois State Register*, December 23, 1869). After that date, no further news items have been located regarding Ida’s activities.

²⁵ The Nash “resort” appears to have been in operation at this address by July 1860, being operated at that time by Emma Gladden (aka Emma Nash). By 1872, Emma Nash had relocated her “house of ill fame” to the north side of Madison Street, mid-way between Ninth and Tenth Streets (what eventually became 915 E. Madison Street and later the location of Mabel Baxter’s infamous resort). Lady Nash’s original “house of ill fame” located within the 100 block of South Eighth Street appears to have continued under the management of Maggie Brown. “Big Maggie” Brown operated her resort from this location for nearly 40 years (from circa 1872 through circa 1910). As such, the house at this Eighth Street location was in operation as a “house of ill fame” from minimally July 1860 through at least early 1910 (every bit of 50 years duration). At what point after circa 1910 the building was no longer functioning as a resort is unknown. This house, which was variously described as a “mansion” and a “palace,” was destroyed by fire in 1915 (*Illinois State Register*, December 8, 1915, p. 5). At the time of the fire, the house (118 North Eighth Street) was listed as “a house formerly occupied by ‘Mag’ Brown, who conducted the place as a house

In 1868, a greatly enlarged new Wabash depot was constructed along the west side of the Tenth Street corridor, extending the length of the entire block from Jefferson to Washington Streets.²⁶ A new stretch of street, appropriately named Wabash Alley, was constructed along the west side of the depot allowing access to the building. The construction of this new depot gave impetus for the commercial development of Washington Street—a district that quickly became known for its saloons, pawn shops, gambling dens, and “houses of ill fame” (and nicknamed the *Levee*). Additionally, the laying of track down the center of Madison Street and the construction of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Depot (along the north side of the 200 block of East Madison Street) further helped to isolate this “Near East” neighborhood and to funnel new clientele into the district.

By 1875, the City’s fight with vice—which appears to have taken on a new vigor shortly after the end of the Civil War—was an on-going struggle that many of the city’s inhabitants thought they were probably losing. In August 1875, the *Illinois State Register* carried the following story.

LIVELY TIMES. The Police on Saturday and Sunday nights pulled the houses of prostitution presided over respectively by Mag. Brown, Fanny Peebles, Lavinia Girard, Cynthia Myers, Clara Lee, Jessie Brown, Eva Montague, Kate Robbins and Emma Taylor. Add to these the “inmates,” male and female, captured, and a very few “drunk and disorderlies” [sic] that were taken in, and you will have a total of seventy-five, which seem to indicate that the social evil is not yet quite extinct in the city (*Illinoi State Register*, August 23, 1875).

Seven of these nine “houses of ill fame” noted in this article were located within the two-block area soon to be referenced as the *Levee*.²⁷ These “houses of ill fame”—which were all operated

of prostitution.” It as was described as “an old building and the loss will not exceed \$1500. The place was owned by Jacob Goldstein.” Oh, what stories that house could have told! In 1909, the house across the street (at 121-123 North Eighth Street) was operated by Madam Helen Payne, who was described by Clark as an “old Jesebel” (see Clark 1910, Mann, Russo, and Garvert 1996:94). Payne appears to have been operating from this location through at least early 1912, after which she no longer appears within the pages of the local newspaper.

²⁶ The 1867 *Bird’s Eye of Springfield* illustrates this block with a limited number of structures—and oddly devoid of trees (Ruger 1867). The circa 1873 *Bird’s Eye View of Springfield* illustrates the recently completed depot.

²⁷ In circa 1872, Mag Brown took over Emma Nash’s resort on the east side of the 100-block of South Eighth Street. Fanny Peebles “house” was located along South Washington Street, two houses east of Eighth Street by 1875. In 1876, the “house” had an address of 814 East Washington Street. Lavinia Gerard had a “resort” at 818 East Washington Street by 1876. Cynthia Myers was variously located on the west side of Ninth Street, between Washington and Jefferson Streets in 1873, at the southeast corner of Eighth and Washington Streets in 1874, and at 103 North Ninth Street in 1876. Clara Lee—who most likely was Cora Lee—was residing at 114 South Ninth Street in 1876. An Annie Lee was listed that same year as residing at 103 North Ninth Street—the same address as the Myers resort. In 1876, a Minnie and Mattie Lee were noted as residing at 915 and 910 East Madison Street (one of which was the location of Emma Nash’s new house; see discussion below). A Kittie Robbins (perhaps the Kate Robbins mentioned in the article) was listed as residing at 898 East Jefferson Street in 1876. All of these addresses are located in what was to become known as the *Levee* in circa 1875-76. In 1874, Jessie Brownie was operating a “house” at 1016 East Mason Street, but by 1879, she had relocated to 729 East Jefferson Street—a location along the north edge of the *Levee* in which she remained for many years.

by white women, with white working girls—seem to have clustered near the Jefferson and Eighth Street intersection (and the location of the infamous Emma Nash’s and Maggie Brown’s resort). By the early 1870s, this area had become known as Greasy Row. Although many of the frame tenement buildings south of Jefferson Street along the west side of Eighth Street were demolished in 1875, the illicit activity continued at this location unabated for many years to come. By 1880, at least three “houses” were located in the 700 block of East Jefferson, one within the 800 block of East Jefferson, and others located along Eighth and Ninth Streets in close proximity to Washington or Jefferson Streets. By 1884, a large “Fancy House” with attached saloon had been constructed fronting Jefferson Street (806-808 Jefferson), and a large “Dancing Hall” extended from the rear of the “house” south to the alley, and immediately behind Maggie Brown’s resort.²⁸ The illicit commercial activity of this two-block area located north of Washington Street (much of which fronted Jefferson Street and operated by white entrepreneurs) developed hand-in-hand with the Washington Street Commercial District—otherwise known as the *Levee*. It would appear that this illicit “red-light” district had its beginnings in the Civil War era resorts established in this area, and pre-dated the development of the commercial establishments fronting Washington Street.

Springfield’s Levee: Post Civil War Development of the Black Commercial District

Washington Street, which fronted the northern edge of the Public Square (and the State Capitol building), extended east four blocks to the Tenth Street rail corridor. With the construction of the new Wabash Depot at the intersection of Washington and Tenth Streets, the commercial establishments along East Washington Street began expanding east from the Public Square. By the early 1870s, this “near east” neighborhood consisted of a mixed residential and industrial character. Located at the southeast corner of Seventh and Jefferson Streets was a large grist mill complex (the Exchange Mill). The Withey Brothers carriage manufactory, which had burned in 1861, was rebuilt near the southeast corner of Eighth and Washington Streets (along the south side of Washington Street). In the adjacent block, fronting the north side of Washington Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets were both the Booth and McCosker’s Wagon Works and Jonathan Foster’s Livery and Undertaking business. Across the street, at the southwest corner of Washington and Ninth Streets, was the street car stables and car house. Interspersed among these industrial establishments were several small frame dwellings (many labeled “tenements”) as well as small shops occupied by tradesmen (barbers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, undertakers) and an occasional merchant (grocer). Several large boarding houses and small hotels were located along Seventh Street. At the northeast corner of Seventh and Adams Streets was the large Everett House hotel, and at the southeast corner of Seventh and Washington Streets was the Jefferson House. Dispersed among these industrial properties was a mix of residential housing occupied by a variety of working class families. Over the next twenty years, this stretch of East Washington Street between Seventh and Ninth Streets was re-developed with a second generation of commercial buildings fronting both sides of the street. This secondary commercial

²⁸ The early resort operated by Emma Nash (and later Maggie Brown) fronted Eighth Street and by 1884 backed up against this large dance hall. The combination restaurant, saloon, and dance hall was constructed by W. D. Longnecker in 1880, who was frequently charged with operating a bawdy house, and house of prostitution in his establishment. Other owners of this establishment, and/or additional nearby saloons, may have included Peter Burns (1880), Thomas Sheedy (pre 1890), W. J. Ward (circa 1890), and Dan Smith (1890s).

district—known in the community as the *Levee*—housed the majority of the Black-owned and/or operated businesses in Springfield, perhaps in part due to the earlier presence of a small Black enclave living at this location by 1860.

One of the first mentions of the term “levee” in the local newspapers in reference to the East Washington Street commercial district occurred in March 1886.²⁹ In describing a fight at P. Quinn’s saloon on East Washington Street, the headline read, in part, “*Cutting Affray on the Levee.*” In concluding the story, the reporter felt that he needed to define his term, and wrote that “that portion of Washington Street upon which the affair occurred is called by the police ‘the levee’ and abounds in grogeries, at which the worst characters of the city congregate” (*Illinois State Journal*, March 28, 1886). Another occurrence of the term was in October 1888, when the *Illinois State Register* contained a minor reference to two men being arrested “last evening for fighting on the levee” (*Illinois State Register*, October 14, 1888). The term was little used during the later 1880s and early 1890s in the newspapers.³⁰ Beginning in the middle 1890s, the term is increasingly associated with the illicit activities of Springfield’s Washington Street commercial district. In March 1894, the newspaper noted that “May Smith and Lou Maxwell, two colored chippies on the levee, had a fight at Eighth and Washington streets...” (*Illinois State Journal*, March 20, 1894). Very quickly this “Near East” neighborhood became known for its violence.³¹

Senechal (1990:16) suggests that, by circa 1905, the Levee was thought of as a much larger area than noted above, and was “roughly bounded by Seventh and Tenth streets on the east and west,

²⁹ The term “levee” has its origins in archaic French meaning “to raise,” as with a lever. By the 1850s, the term had multiple meanings that included 1) “the concourse of persons who visit a prince or great personage in the morning,” (as in “raising” the King in the morning), and 2) “a bank or causeway, particularly along a river, to prevent inundation” (the “raising” of the bank along the river edge) (Webster 1854:660). In light of the second definition, the term came to designate the river landings in major river ports throughout the Midwest (such as the Levee at the St. Louis riverfront). In light of the first definition, and being a young democracy that bucked European aristocracy, the term “levee” had also become a term used to describe the event we might today refer to as a “reception,” a “party,” or a “soiree.” By the 1860s and 1870s, the term is found throughout the local newspaper in reference to such social events, as the levee at Hecht’s new store on Fifth street (*Illinois State Journal*, July 11, 1877), or the levee being held at the Leland Hotel for the arrival of a celebrated individual (*Illinois State Register*, February 11, 1879; see also June 1 1887). By the middle 1880s, the term apparently had become applied in a colloquial manner to the Washington Street district in reference to the social gatherings and/or partying activities that occurred in this area. In essence, it was referring to the area as a “party district.”

³⁰ Additional references to the term can be found at *Illinois State Journal* (July 24, 1890; January 14, 1891; October 19, 1895; October 27, 1895).

³¹ One 1906 article about the street notes that “This street for years was known as ‘bloody row,’ but time has erased this title, and only the older residents recall the large number of fatalities that have been recorded there.” The article continues by noting that “Since the Civil War days, seventeen men have been killed in the block... Perhaps the first serious battle engaged in within the boundaries of the ‘block of crime’ was during the Civil war. On Christmas day, 1865, a large number of soldiers were in the alley between Seventh and Eighth streets and Washington and Adams streets. The police and soldiers clashed. One soldier was killed and an old resident named Dick Woods was shot and killed.” The article further notes that “Police records show that no less than twenty-five men have been brutally assaulted within this district” (*Illinois State Journal*, July 2, 1896; see also November 26, 1905 and August 16, 1908).

and East Jefferson and East Washington streets on the north and south.”³² As she points out, at the turn of the century, the Levee was characterized by two and three-story brick commercial buildings that housed a variety of businesses, many of which were associated with illicit activities that included gambling, alcohol, sex, and drugs. Although technically illegal, these activities were “unofficially sanctioned as long as it remained within traditional and recognized geographic bounds—that is, away from the more respectable business and residential districts to the west and south” (Senechal 1990:16). Although the local newspapers give extensive accounts of the activities undertaken in the Levee throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century years, one particular expose published by a “zealous anti-saloon crusader” in 1909 and entitled *Hell at Midnight*, contains vivid descriptions of the late-night activities in this district. This correspondent noted that the district was “a mass of dive saloons, pawn shops, questionable hotels, fourth rate lodging houses and brothels from the lowest ramshackle hovels to the most richly and elaborately equipped which can be found anywhere in the State” (Clark 1910; Senechal 1990:16-18). As Senechal (1990:16-18) also notes, the expose’s author clearly showed his “middle-class and nativist bias” in describing the “negro dives” and “Bohemian” saloons (of which he noted 25 within this short four-block stretch) which were “blazing lighthouses of Hell and recruiting stations for the penitentiary.”

Cocaine Alley

By the early 1890s, a new menace—cocaine—began terrorizing the Levee district.³³ This drug quickly became one of the more sought after substances by a variety of Springfield’s less-than-desirable citizens, and its presence was well noted in the East Washington Street commercial district. By this time, both the north and south east/west alleys located immediately behind this short stretch of East Washington Street had apparently attained their own notoriety at an early date. It was in the south alley that police fired on off-duty soldiers in late 1865. These alleys became the location of a variety of “behind-the-scenes” illicit activity that included the sale of

³² At what point Jefferson Street became incorporated into the greater Levee district is unknown. Although Jefferson Street was well known for its saloons and “houses of ill fame,” the businesses were predominately white owned and operated along that street. Nonetheless, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Jefferson Street—and the vice associated with it—was associated with the greater Levee district (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, April 27 1908).

³³ Cocaine was first extracted from coca leaves in 1859 by a German chemist, but it was not until the 1880s that it became popular among the medical profession. The drug was early recognized as a cure for opium and/or morphine addiction (often referred as the “old soldier’s disease” due to opiate addiction during the Civil War years). By the 1880s, additional uses, such as a topical anesthetic, were recognized. The use of the drug was greatly increased in the middle 1880s with the publication in 1884 of a treatise by Sigmund Freud for the use of cocaine to treat depression and sexual impotence. By this time, cocaine was being added to a variety of proprietary medicines (from hair tonics to teething drops for infants), and even soda waters (such as Coca-Cola, beginning in 1886; removed from the soda water in 1903). Although pure food and drug laws passed in the first decade of the twentieth century cut down on the use of cocaine in proprietary medicines and foods, it remained legal to use through 1916. Burnett’s Cocaine was a popular product marketed nationally during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Agitation to change the laws regarding cocaine began much earlier than 1916. For example, a Springfield newspaper carried a story regarding the Illinois Pharmaceutical Association’s annual meeting in Chicago in August 1905, noting that “Among the interesting subjects on the program for discussion will be the need of a narcotic law to effectually put the ‘dope’ fiends out of business in Illinois” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1905). Local pharmacist R. N. Dodd was secretary of the organization.

cocaine. By the late 1890s, the alley located on the south side of the Levee commercial district was a notorious region of downtown Springfield known as “Cocaine Alley.”³⁴ According to the *Illinois State Journal* (July 3, 1899),

The expressive appellation, ‘Cocaine alley,’ is applied to a portion of the district bounded by Eighth and Ninth streets and Washington and Adams streets. Huts along this alley are occupied by some of the outcasts of the city, and the places they call homes are the abiding places of filth and squalor of the direst sort. Negroes and whites live together in these houses, and their debauches and the resulting outbreaks have caused the police much trouble.³⁵

The place known as ‘Cocaine alley’ is in the rear of an old tumbled-down house occupied Bob Winston on Washington street between Eighth and Ninth streets. Every day men and women congregate there and drink beer and snuff cocaine. When thoroughly under the influence of the drug the negroes go into the alley and terrorize the community by their conduct. Drunken men are enticed there and then relieved of their valuables. The last victim was Frank Rogers of Taylorville. He was robbed of his gold watch and chain, forty dollars, and a pair of shoes (*Illinois State Journal*, May 30, 1899).

‘Cocaine alley’ will soon be a thing of the past. So numerous have been the complaints of persons who have been robbed there, that the police have decided to rid the city of the characters which inhabit the place. Already one of the women has been arrested. She is a negress named Ella Brown, better known as ‘Slough Foot Lou,’ and she has caused the police much trouble within the last few years. She will be given a hearing before Justice Brinkerhoff tomorrow. A number of other arrests will follow (*Illinois State Journal*, May 30, 1899).

This illicit use of cocaine was not confined to the south alley, and by 1900 both alleys were notorious for their concentration of “dope fiends.”³⁶ The newspapermen were quick to associate

³⁴ The first use of the term “Cocaine Alley” found in the local newspapers occurred in mid-summer 1898 regarding a robbery of an individual who ventured into the alley (*Illinois State Journal*, July 21, 1898). This news story reports of the robbery of one Isham Sharp as he sat on railroad track, and his friend went into a house adjacent—suggesting that the event may have occurred adjacent to an unknown location adjacent to either the Tenth Street or Madison Street rail corridors.

³⁵ Another source noted that “‘Cocaine alley’ is located in the rear of the business houses on the south side of Washington street, between Eighth and Ninth streets. Men and women, both negroes and whites, and all ages, congregate there daily to indulge in the deadly dissipation. It is in this alley that many of the robberies of visitors to the city have been committed. Like the victim of the morphine or opium habit, the cocaine fiend will go to any length to obtain money with which to purchase the drug. Innocent strangers and adventurous countrymen are enticed into these places under various pretexts and then are set upon and robbed, sometimes suffering severely at the hands of their assailants.” In 1903, the newspapers reported that “‘Cocaine alley’ is to be exterminated for sanitary reasons. It is claimed that the place is filthy and dirty beyond description, whites and blacks living together in the little shacks that serve as houses for the residents” (*Illinois state Journal*, July 24, 1899).

³⁶ In 1903, the newspapers report as many as 50 “shacks” located in the alley and housing cocaine “fiends” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 5, 1903) [See also “From Life’s Other Side: Some Pictures of Degradation in the Capital City. Places Where Blacks and Whites Mingle and Hit the ‘Pipe of Imaginations’—a Few High Grade Dens of Vice,” *Illinois State Register*, December 24, 1900)]. At one point, a newspaperman unfamiliar with the City’s vice

the drug problem with the local African-American population.³⁷ By early 1902, city authorities were mounting some of the first efforts to clean up the vice district, beginning with “Cocaine Alley.” These efforts were being promulgated by the Springfield Health Department citing public safety concerns: “‘Cocaine Alley’ [is] one of the worst neighborhoods in the city, [and] will be wiped out of existence as soon as warm weather sets in” (*Illinois State Journal*, February 12, 1902). These efforts were hampered by legal issues; and the clean-up of Cocaine Alley was not successful at this time.

The Badlands

By the later nineteenth century, the area north of the East Washington commercial district had taken on an air all its own. Sandwiched between the rail corridor running down Madison Street, and the ever more developing commercial character of East Washington Street, the several blocks stretching between Seventh and Ninth Streets between Madison and Jefferson Streets continued to maintain a residential character, albeit interspersed with many small saloons, lunch rooms, and boarding houses. As noted earlier, by the 1870s this “Near East” neighborhood—which became known as the “Badlands”—was the heart of the “red light” district of Springfield. By the 1890s, the neighborhood’s name was derived, in part, from its being home to a number of gambling dens, brothels, and saloons, and thereby representing an extension of Springfield’s notorious Levee District on East Washington Street.

The first occurrence of this term (Badlands) encountered by the current research in reference to a Springfield neighborhood in the local newspapers was in the late summer of 1894. At that time, the *Illinois State Journal* (August 13, 1894) reported the arrest of a man named J. W. Day, who was attempting to sell a stolen watch in the “Bad Lands.” An adjacent story in the newspaper, although not noting the location as being in the Badlands, reported on the attempted hanging of one of the inmates at the infamous Lou Grant “house of ill-fame on Madison between Seventh and Eighth streets.”³⁸ The October 26, 1894 issue of the *Illinois State Register* noted “there was trouble up in the bad lands last evening” with the beating of Dora McDonald by her husband. “Dora and Ike McDonald are lovers living in one of the little shanties on the east side of Eighth street, near Madison street...” In November 1894, the *Illinois State Register* noted that the police

were scouring the bad lands last night in the neighborhood of Eighth and Madison streets in search of one Ernest Knight. Ernest came to the city from Auburn some time ago. He fell into bad company, and finally decided not to return to his little

districts gave the name “Cocaine Alley” to the alley between Mason and Madison Streets, extending from Tenth to Twelfth Streets—a district more correctly referred to as “Shinbone Alley” in (see discussion below) (*Illinois State Journal*, December 3, 1909).

³⁷ The *Illinois State Register* (July 11, 1898) carried a long news story entitled “ARE COCAINE FIENDS: Springfield Negroes Go Wild Over The Drug. Woman from the East Starts the Habit Among Colored People in the City—While Under the Influence They Do Many Queer Things.”

³⁸ Lou Grant’s “house of ill-fame” was located “on Madison between Seventh and Eighth streets” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1894).

country home, as the charms of city life were so much greater. He met Ada Anderson, who resides in a rookery at No. 220 North Eighth street, and has since been adherent to her many charms...

A search of the Springfield newspapers resulted in locating only four short news briefs relating to Springfield's Badlands that year (1894). These early news stories pertaining to the "Badlands" all reference that area of the city near the intersection of Eighth and Madison Streets. At least two of these stories note that the "Bad Lands" were located along Madison Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets at the time (cf. *Illinois state Register*; August 13, 1894). This corresponds to an area north of the Levee, and just east of Greasy Row, representing somewhat an extension of the Eighth and Jefferson Street location.

In contrast, no less than thirty-five news stories occur in the following year's (1895) newspapers of Springfield relating to the nefarious activities of the Badlands that year alone. The activities reported by the newspapers ranged from fights, beatings, thefts, illegal gambling, and prostitution. One such story, related in February 1895 by the *Illinois State Register* (February 15, 1895) noted that Pearl Goldsmith—"a girl of the bad lands near Eighth and Madison streets" was arrested for her involvement in the death of two Fairfield men. One report, from November 1895, indicates that "the police are still continuing their raids on all the resorts in [the] bad lands. Yesterday morning they made raids on some resorts run by white women and arrested twelve inmates" (*Illinois State Journal*, November 30, 1895).³⁹

Although these early references to the Badlands appear to reference an area centered at Eighth and Madison Streets, the designation quickly became associated with a much larger area extending farther to the east. In her seminal work on the 1908 race riot, Senechal (1990:16) defined the Badlands as this expanded region, noting that it extended "northeast of the Levee (between Reynolds and Jefferson streets on the north and south, and east of Ninth Street for several blocks)." Her definition of the levee did not include that region west of Ninth Street, which was the core of the early district. Senechal (1990:16) further states that, in this area "lay a large settlement of poor blacks known as the Badlands. This neighborhood, like others of its kind in American cities, was vulnerable to invasion by gambling dens, brothels, and other assorted 'dives'" (Senecal 1990:16).

By the middle 1870s, prostitution had become well entrenched within the Badlands, particularly near the Tenth and Madison Street intersection. In 1875, the three "resorts" not located within the immediate area of the original Eighth Street "red light district" (the two-block area located north of Washington Street between Seventh and Ninth Streets) discussed earlier consisted of

³⁹ The newspaper noted raids on "some resorts run by white women" and named Lillie Reeves, Hattie Spencer, and Goldie Werner as being "charged with keeping houses of ill-repute." Goldie Werner, and her husband Joe, were arrested again in December 1895. Joe was charged with "keeping a house of ill fame," whereas Goldie was charged with "being an inmate." The newspaper reporting the arrest noted that "this pair is part of a tribe in the bad lands which the police are endeavoring to run out of town" (*Illinois State Register*, December 3, 1895). The *Illinois State Register* (May 1, 1896) noted the Abraham Hamilton, a farmer, "went into the bad lands yesterday afternoon with a friend, and dropped into a colored joint at No. 314 North Tenth Street. When he got ready to go he found that he had been touched for \$15, and he immediately swore out a warrant..." This resort was located immediately across Tenth Street from the project area.

those operated by Jessie Brown [sic, Jessie Brownie], Eva Montague, and Emma Taylor. These three “resorts” were located within a new area that had expanded to the northeast (just east of the new Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Depot, and north of the new Wabash Depot). All three of these new “sporting” establishments were located within a half block each side of Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison Streets—the heart of the area that was soon to be known as the Badlands. The first of the houses of ill fame to open within this area appears to have been one operated by Emma Taylor at 915 East Madison Street (a location directly behind House A, along Madison Street). Emma Taylor appears to be the one-and-only Emma Nash who relocated her “house of ill fame” from her earlier Eighth Street location to 915 East Madison Street in circa 1872.⁴⁰ Similarly, by 1874, Jessie Brownie was operating a resort 1016 East Mason Street, a location that backed up on Shinbone Alley (SCD 1874:33).⁴¹ The establishment of these resorts at this location may have been an early attempt by the proprietors to relocate and “upscale” their businesses outside of the earlier Eighth Street district (which have become rather “seedy” and crowded by that date). By 1879, less formal “houses” were being established within the Tenth Street project area (between Madison and Mason Streets). The first documented prostitute of this less formal “business model” at this location was a woman named Lizzie Kendall. The 1879

⁴⁰ Although Emma continued to be a regular fixture in the local newspapers through late October 1887, she may have taken a respite from the trade. By 1879, Emma appears to have yet again relocated, this time to a house along Ninth Street. In 1879, the *Register* noted that Emma Nash (along with two young women boarders named Gussie Weldron and Frankie Merrill) were accused of running a bawdy house. At her hearing, Emma claimed the “she had not been keeping a house of prostitution for the last two months, and that she was endeavoring to lead a life of reform. Similarly, her co-defendants claimed the “they had not engaged in the business” since they had moved in with Mrs. Nash. The jury apparently believed the women and returned a verdict of not guilty (*Illinois State Register*, 10 December 1879, p. 4). In late 1887, the *Journal* again noted that Emma Nash, “with her quartette of highly improper female boarders, was arraigned... and for want of prosecution, were dismissed” (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 October 1887, p. 4). Emma’s claims of “endeavoring to lead a life of reform” apparently was only a ruse, as Mrs. Nash was arraigned several times during the early to middle 1880s for the operation of a house of prostitution, albeit not from 915 East Madison Street. Beginning in circa 1880, and continuing through 1886, Anne E. Seaman (widow of Isaac Seaman) and her family were residing in the large house at 915 East Madison Street, with Emma apparently having relocated to north Ninth Street, between Jefferson and Madison Street (cf. *Springfield City Directory* 1881:80). Shortly afterwards, Emma appears to have yet again relocated, this time to the northeast corner of Eighth and Jefferson Streets (immediately across the street from Madam Brownie’s resort). In 1886, the *Springfield City Directory* notes her living at 801 East Jefferson Street (*Springfield City Directory* 1886:206). In 1887, the house at 915 East Madison Street was occupied by one Nellie Woods, along with a number of young single women, suggesting that the large house at this location had once again returned to its old haunts as a house of prostitution. The previous year (1886), Nellie was listed as a resident at 716 Jefferson Street (SCD 1886:297). By 1891, Mabel Baxter was operating the resort at this location and her husband Charles ran a rather notorious saloon next door beginning in late summer 1896. Mabel Baxter’s Ranch was rather well known through circa 1902.

⁴¹ Madame Jessie Brownie was the pseudonym and/or business name used by Augusta Kellogg. Kellogg (aka Jessie Brownie) had arrived in Springfield in circa 1870-72 (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 4 July 1915, p. 2; *Illinois State Register*, 4 July 1915, p. 20). Her obituary suggests that she established a resort in Springfield, at 729 E. Jefferson Street, in circa 1875. Contrary to her obituary, it would appear that she initially established a resort at 1016 East Mason by 1873, prior to moving to her Jefferson Street location in circa 1875. The 1873 *Springfield City Directory* lists a Mrs. Jessie Browning residing on the south side of Mason Street, between Tenth and Eleventh Streets (SCD 1873:35). By 1876, one Eva Montague was listed as residing at 1016 East Mason Street (having taken over the earlier Jessie Brownie resort). This location—1016 East Mason Street—was to persist as a “house of ill fame” for several decades. In circa 1886, this house was taken over by Lou Barnes, who continued to operate it through circa 1899. In 1899, the resort was being operated by one Gertie Bond. In 1896, the Sanborn fire insurance map designated this property as the “Old Point Comfort.”

Springfield City Directory lists Lizzie with an address of “325, west side Tenth, between Madison and Mason” (a location that presumably correlates House F).⁴² Similarly, the 1880 directory listed “Miss Lizzie Kendall” as living at “325 N. Tenth Street.” In August 1880, the *Illinois State Register* reported that “Miss Kendall is charged with being the proprietress of a “gilded [sic] palace of sin” (*Illinois State Register* August 15, 1880).⁴³

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population, the first primary source to openly identify individuals with the occupation of “prostitute,” contains a wealth of information relating to the prostitution trade during the late nineteenth century in Springfield.⁴⁴ In 1880, the census noted the presence of thirteen houses with occupant prostitutes. The madams managing these establishments generally were noted with occupations of “Keeping House” and averaged 32 years of age. Not counting the madams operating each of these establishments, the 40 women identified as prostitutes ranged in age from 15 to 35 years old, with an average age of 21.9 years. In total, with the

⁴² The 1880 U.S. Census of Population also lists a female border in House D named Maude Lyles with an occupation of “prostitute.”

⁴³ Although this was Miss Kendall’s first entry in the local newspapers, it definitely was not her last. In January 1881, the same newspaper reported that a Daisy Morrison—a “painted woman who makes her home in the fashionable bagulo [sic] presided over by Madam Lizzie Kendall”—had been assaulted while on the job (*Illinois State Register*, January 4, 1881). Again in February 16, 1881, Lizzie was arrested and charged with eight others for keeping “houses of ill fame” (*Illinois State Journal*, February 16, 1881). In October 1881, Kendall was described as keeping a “bawdy house”—yet another name for her trade (*Illinois State Register*; October 2, 1881). Again, in July 1882, she was charged with operating a “house of ill fame” at this location (*Illinois State Register*, July 7, 1882). It is unclear as to how long Lizzie may have continued operating at this Tenth Street location. In February 1882, the *Illinois State Journal* (February 4, 1882) indicates that “the house of Lizzie Kendall, a prostitute, [was located] on East Mason street...” Although the newspaper’s reference to an East Mason Street location may indicate that Lizzie had moved to a new location by early 1882, the newspaper account may be in error as the East Mason Street location is in close proximity to her Tenth Street house. Lizzie’s reputation was fairly well-known during the early 1880s, and the *Illinois State Journal* (March 2, 1882) noted that she was the “proprietress of a noted bagnio of the city...”—a “bagnio” being a brothel or bath house (especially in Turkey). In late 1882, the newspaper noted that Lizzie Kendall and Lizzie Malderner “were assessed their monthly dues of \$35 and costs for being keepers of houses of ill-fame” (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 December 1882). An 1884 newspaper article entitled “DIZZY GIRLS” described Lizzie Kendall’s house of ill fame as a “mansion” (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 January 1884). No less than 32 entries relating to Lizzie Kendall’s exploits appear in the local newspapers during the years 1880 through 1885. In January 1884, the *Illinois State Journal* reported that “Lizzie Kendall’s house was burglarized Tuesday night. Three men entered the house, choloroformed [sic] the fair Lizzie, and captured some jewelry, a revolver and a lot of trinkets” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 12, 1884). The last entry detailing her life as a “madam” was in March 1885 (*Illinois State Journal*, March 19, 1885). Apparently Lizzie Kendall married a local Springfield man named Frank Ryan in May 1882. Ryan had divorced his wife, married Lizzie, and soon drifted away from Springfield only to re-appear in the news in early 1888 accused of having murdered a woman in Omaha, Nebraska (*Illinois State Register*, March 6, 1888). Lizzie filed for a divorce in October 1883 on grounds of desertion and cruelty (*Illinois State Journal*, October 3, 1883). No further stories appear in the local newspaper regarding Lizzie Kendall Ryan after that 1888 news story.

⁴⁴ Subsequent census documents do not continue with this practice in the use of “prostitute” as an occupation. In a similar vein, the 1886, 1887, 1888 and 1891 Springfield city directories appear to have a code identifying prostitutes within their pages (with the appearance of a “?” following each prostitute’s name). Similarly, the 1876 city directory has a code for prostitutes as well (using a capital “L” following the entry)

accompanying madams, minimally 53 women were engaged with organized prostitution in Springfield in 1880—all of whom were white.⁴⁵

These thirteen houses were located on Jefferson Street (n=4), Ninth Street (n=3), Mason Street (n=2), Tenth Street (n=2) and one each on Washington and Eleventh Streets. By far, the house with the most live-in prostitutes was that operated by Jessie Brownie. Besides Brownie, ten young women identified as prostitutes were living within her resort, which was located on the northwest corner of Eighth and Jefferson Street (729 E. Jefferson). Also present in this resort, which was colloquially referred to as the Senate in 1896, were two Black servants (one a male and the other a female), and a young Black child. Located in close proximity, presumably within the next house west of Brownie's resort, was that of Julia Perkins. The Perkins resort had four inmates at that time. Continuing one house to the west was the resort of Alice Rethford. The Rethford resort had five live-in prostitutes. Among the women within the Rethford resort were two young girls named Goams, presumably sisters (16 and 18 years of age). The house immediately to the west of the Rethford resort was occupied by the John Flannigan family (located at 711 East Jefferson). No occupation was listed for Mr. Flannigan. Living within this household was John's wife Catherine, five young daughters (between the ages of 9 and 17), and two female boarders. The two older Flannigan daughters (15 and 17 years of age) were both noted with occupations of prostitutes, as were the two boarders within the house. Presumably, Catherine functioned as the madam of the house, which functioned as a house of prostitution.⁴⁶ Located on the east side of Eighth Street (just south of the Eighth and Jefferson Street intersection) was the resort operated by Maggie Brown. Living within the Brown resort at this time were four prostitutes. In 1880, at least four resorts (as well as a family home with two daughters and live-in boarders working as prostitutes) were located at this busy Eighth and Jefferson Street location.

Another cluster of resorts, as documented in the 1880 U.S. Census of Population, was near the Tenth and Mason Street intersection. One of the older and more prominent houses within this neighborhood was that operated by Eva Montague at 1016 East Mason Street. Colloquially referred to as Old Point Comfort, this establishment employed three young women and two Black servants. Located at the southeast corner of Mason and Tenth Streets (1004 East Mason

⁴⁵ At the turn of the century (circa 1895-1915), cultural norms strictly dictated the interaction of white and Black individuals within Jim Crow society. In New Orleans, both white and Black brothels were in operation, often side-by-side. Nonetheless, these brothels were for the "sporting pleasure" solely of white clientele, and Black men were legally barred from purchasing the services of a prostitute, whether white or Black (cf. Rose 1974). In 1880s Springfield, no Black brothels appear to have been in operation, and all of the prostitutes were white. Such exclusion of Blacks from brothels apparently lead to racial discord (see 18xx riots at the Eighth and Jefferson Street location). By 1900, many less formal brothels were in operation catering to both races. Although the white brothels were tolerated by the authorities (as long as they continued to pay their monthly "dues"), it appears to have been the "negro dives" that the City of Springfield sought to eradicate.

⁴⁶ In 1881, Catharine Flannigan was fined \$50 for being a "keeper" of a bagnio (*Illinois State Register*, 13 October 1881, p. 3). She was in good company with Eva Montague (fined \$125), Jessie Brownie (fined \$125), Lizzie Kendall (fined \$100), Lucille Wilson (fined \$100), and Maggie Brown (fined \$125), many of whom were her neighbors. Contemporary newspaper accounts indicate that Catherine had been arrested for running a "bawdy house" (most likely a euphemism for a house of prostitution) (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 8 July 1882, p. 6; 9 September 1882, p. 3). The 1886 Springfield City Directory (SCD 1886:101) indicates Kate Flannigan, a prostitute, residing at 707 East Jefferson Street.

Street) was the resort then operated by Lucille Wilson. At that time, the Wilson resort employed two women and two servants (one white and one Black). Just around the corner, on Tenth Street were the resorts operated by Sarah Williams (presumably within House D) and Lizzie Kendall (presumably in House F). The Williams resort employed two women, whereas the Kendall resort employed only one woman (besides the operating madame). Conspicuously absent from this cluster of resorts was that of the infamous Emma Nash, who had established a house of ill fame on the north side of Madison Street, immediately to the west of the Tenth Street intersection (at 915 East Madison Street). Mrs. Nash had relocated her well-established business from south Eighth Street (the location of the current Maggie Brown Resort) to this location in circa 1872. For reasons unknown, Mrs. Nash apparently moved to yet another location on the west side of Ninth Street, near Jefferson, by 1879.⁴⁷ Apparently, Mrs. Nash had married one William Chattan sometime prior 1875, and the 1880 census documented the resort of one Emma Chattan on Ninth Street.⁴⁸ Besides Emma, who at 50 years of age was the oldest of the madames listed within the 1880 census, two young prostitutes were also residing with her at this Ninth Street location. In late 1881 or early 1882, Mrs. Nash relocated yet again, to the northeast corner of Eighth and Jefferson Street (immediately across the street to the east of Jennie Brown's resort). In 1880, a second small resort also was documented on Ninth Street, occupied by one Jennie Higgins. A third resort, documented on Washington Street was occupied by Kate Ingram.⁴⁹

The larger and presumably more formal resorts offered more amenities to their clients. The fancier resorts were located within larger, more ornate, well-furnished dwellings. In 1880, clearly one of the more high-end resorts was that operated by Madame Jennie Brownie (aka Augusta Kellogg). Her resort was located in a large, upscale dwelling located only a block from both the city and county jails. The upscale character of the household furnishings within these dwellings is suggested by high assessed personal property taxes of the individuals operating these establishments.⁵⁰ In 1883, Maggie Brown was assessed over \$18 in personal property on

⁴⁷ The 1876 *Springfield City Directory* has Mrs. Nash at 915 East Madison Street (SCD 1876:162). She is not listed within the 1879 city directory, but shows up at the “west side Ninth, near Jefferson” in the 1880 city directory (SCD 1880:151). She remains at this Ninth Street address through 1881, at which time she moved to the northeast corner of Eighth and Jefferson Streets (SCD 1881:79).

⁴⁸ There was no listing for Emma Nash in the 1880 census. In 1873, William Chatton had petitioned the City of Springfield to sell liquor, presumably at an East Jefferson Street location (*Illinois State Journal*, 8 July 1873, p. 4). Multiple newspaper accounts from late 1873 document Chattan's harassment of Emma Nash and potential incarceration (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 21 November 1873, p. 4; 24 November 1873, p. 4). Presumably, Nash and Chattan were married at the time. Although the *Journal* published a notice of their divorce in February 1874, the 1875 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that William Chatten [sic] was a resident of 915 East Madison Street at that time (SCD 1875:43; *Illinois State Journal*, 28 February 1874, p. 4). His presence within this house may have necessitated Emma's relocation to Ninth Street.

⁴⁹ Although the census notes this resort on Washington Street, the 1880 city directory suggests Kate was residing at, and potentially operating her resort from, 113 North Ninth Street (SCD 1880:110)—both potentially referring to the same location.

⁵⁰ Augusta Kellogg was born in Limestone, New York in May 1835. She died in 1915, at 80 years of age, of complications that occurred shortly after a confrontation with an inebriated client resulting in a fall down a flight of stairs at her resort. She had ran the resort at this location for forty years (from circa 1875 through 1915). According to her obituary, “there was probably no woman engaged in the same occupation who was more widely known than

her house on Eighth Street. Although not the highest among her neighbors, it was respectable considering the vast majority had no personal property tax assessments at all (sf. *Illinois State Register*, 25 April 1883, p. 2). Similarly high personal property assessments were levied for Lucille Wilson, Emma Nash, and Augusta Kellogg in 1885 (*Illinois State Register*, 22 April 1885, p. 5). Additionally, the presence of multiple servants (generally Black) within these establishments also attests to the level of care given to the care of the establishment and its quests. Similarly, these more formal houses no doubt offered liquor service, whether legally licensed or not. In 1882, the *Register* noted that “the Springfield ‘ladies’ who have a government license to retail liquor, for which they pay \$25 annually, are Jessie N. Brownie, Maggie Brown, Maria Gordon, Lizzie Kendal, Fanny L. Kennedy, Emma Nash, Eva Montague, and Lucille Wilson” (*Illinois State Register*, 2 April 1882, p. 5). Licensing to sell liquor (generally in the form of a tavern license) within the city limits was the purview of the City of Springfield. Most likely the “government license” referred to by the *Register* was such a city license.

By the late 1880s, the heart of the illicit activity generally associated with the Badlands was located at Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison Streets. By this date, Emma Nash’s resort at 915 East Madison Street, which apparently had been converted into traditional residential use for much of the very late 1870s and early 1880s, had reopened again as a resort. By this time, the intersection of “Tenth and Madison” Street became closely aligned with this illicit activity. This locational designation first appears in the city’s newspapers in the middle 1860s in reference to the Old Phoenix Mill located on the southwest corner of this intersection. Occasional references to the intersection—many of them rail related—occur through the 1870s and early 1880s.⁵¹ Beginning in early 1885, these news stories increased in number, and dramatically changed character. At this time, the newspapers began to document a range of illicit activity being conducted at that location. The first of these news stories reported the arrest of four women on charges of vagrancy. In describing these four women, the newspaper stated that “the entire quartette are dusky damsels of doubtful character, who were arrested a day or two ago at Dan Sutton’s ranch, corner of Tenth and Madison streets” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 3, 1885).⁵² It would appear that Dan Sutton’s “ranch” and the other resorts at this Tenth and

she was. As A. N. Kellogg there was never a charitable undertaking in Springfield that she had not subscribed this name and a ... amount to. She was a generous contributor to the Home for the Friendless and other charitable institutions in Springfield, and under the name of A. N. Kellogg, was called one of its greatest benefactors in a charitable way that Springfield ever had.” (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 July 1915, p. 2). At the time of her death, she was a very wealthy woman (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 4 July 1915, p. 20). After her death, Sangamon County considered buying her house for use as a children’s detention facility (*Illinois State Register* 7 October 1915, p. 11).

⁵¹ In November 1883, the *Illinois State Journal* (November 24, 1883) mentioned the need for the establishment of a new depot at the corner, which was never constructed. Change began to occur in at the intersection about this time. In 1885, the old Phoenix Mill (located at the southwest corner of the intersection) was demolished, and replaced by a large lumber yard. In 1890, the Fitzgerald Plaster Company constructed a large 3-story brick manufacturing plant on the northeast corner of this intersection (*Illinois State Journal*, January 25, 1890). At the southeast corner of the intersection was a large rail spur allowing rail traffic to make the curve between Madison and Tenth Streets. By 1890, the only non-industrial corner of this intersection was that located at the northwest corner (House A, current project area).

⁵² Although Dan Sutton was living on the south side of Madison Street, he may have been operating a “resort” at the Tenth and Madison Street location—potentially in House A. By 1888, the local newspapers note a woman named Mollie Lynch was operating a resort at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison streets, clearly within House A (*Illinois State Journal*, May 28, 1888).

Madison Street location had become a destination point for “sporting” gentlemen by the late 1880s.

Well-visited “resorts” from the middle 1890s located in the expanded Badlands region included Malinda Reed’s “house on Tenth Street” (*Illinois State Register*, May 1, 1896), Mabel Baxter’s “house of ill repute on Madison street, between Ninth and Tenth streets” (*Illinois State Register*, December 21 1892),⁵³ Lizzie Cousin’s “house of ill fame at Tenth and Madison streets” (*Illinois State Register*, October 5, 1895), and Lou Barnes “house” at 1016 East Mason Street (*Illinois State Register*, December 19, 1889).⁵⁴ At this time, Mollie Drennan’s “house of prostitution on Jefferson street” was also referenced as being “in [the] bad lands...” (*Illinois State Register*, Dec 28, 1896). The number of news briefs during the later 1890s and early years of the twentieth century referencing the Badlands increased exponentially, and by the early years of the new century, the red-light district known as the Badlands had expanded dramatically. In late summer 1905, the red-light district was reported to be located along Madison and Mason Streets, between Ninth and Twelfth Streets (*Illinois State Register*, August 22, 1905). As noted earlier, Senechal (1990) suggests that the Badlands had shifted a bit more to the east by 1908, and covered an area roughly bounded by Ninth Street on the west, Fifteenth Street on the east, Jefferson Street on the south, and Reynolds Street on the north (see Figures 13-14).

At any rate, by the middle 1890s, illicit activity was well recognized as being located at the Tenth and Madison Street intersection. In 1880, all of the “resorts” documented in the Badlands were operated by white women utilizing white prostitutes (whether male or female). The business of prostitution was clearly dominated by—at least in the sporting districts of downtown Springfield—by whites. But this was to quickly change during the 1890s. By the 1890s, the profession had greatly expanded, and many of the “houses” in the Badlands were being operated and/or staffed by African-American women. In an article entitled “Negro Dives Raided: Wholesale Capture of Male and Female Inmates Last Night” (*Illinois State Register*, November 28, 1895), the local newspaper wrote

The police have at last decided to drive the negro thieves—men and women alike—from the city, or else keep them on the rock pile all the time. The negro dives of the city, located around Tenth and Madison streets, have been running wide open since the fair, which brought a bad crowd of St. Louis negroes here, and they have become so bold that it is now dangerous for a white man to even go on the streets where these dives are located, even when on business and in broad daylight.⁵⁵

⁵³ Mabel Baxter’s resort was located along the north side of Madison Street, midway between Ninth and Tenth Streets—immediately adjacent to the rear of House A. By 1896, Charles Baxter had opened up a saloon along Madison Street, immediately adjacent to his wife’s “resort”—both of which were destroyed by the mob in August 1908 (*Illinois State Register*, August 11, 1896). Mabel and her activities along Madison Street cease to appear in the local newspapers after June 1902. It is unclear as to how much longer after that date that the resort continued to remain open (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 11 May 1902, p. 2; *Illinois State Register*, 26 June 1902, p. 6).

⁵⁴ This house was labeled “Old Point Comfort” on the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map.

⁵⁵ The reporter further noted that the police “captured fourteen negroes, including men and women. All were booked as disorderly, but the police believe that in some of the cases they can prove the women prostitutes, in which

Although most of the more established “houses” in Springfield at this time (1890s) were operated by whites, the anger appears to be directed at the “negro dives.” This effort, directed at the “negro dives” continued for many years. In 1902, the *Illinois State Journal* reported that

Vice has taken such a strong hold on the disorderly districts of Springfield that the conditions are alarming. Chief of Police Herring realizes the danger and yesterday he commenced a crusade on the negro dives. Nearly forty keepers and inmates of these places were taken into custody. They include men and women of the most depraved character and among them are a score of white persons. ‘Matters have become serious in the disorderly district. The keepers and inmates of negro dives are swelling in number so that it will be necessary to drive them out of town. Heavy fines will be imposed on them and if they cannot pay they must either go to prison or leave town. In this way I hope to free Springfield of a majority of these people’ (*Illinois State Journal*, April 9, 1902).

Around that same time [circa 1902], the City of Springfield launched a campaign to clean up the district and began their efforts on Cocaine Alley. With the assistance of the Board of Public Health the City emphasized the unsanitary conditions and danger to public health (particularly related to the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox). Describing “Cocaine Alley,” Mayor Phillips described the area as “one of worst plaque spots in the city...” and “one of the worst thoroughfares in the bad lands,” and in consultation with the Board of Health, developed a plan to condemn “the wretched shanties that line the alley on either side and have them torn down for sanitary reasons” (*Springfield News* June 3, 1902). Unfortunately, although this was hoped to be the beginning of a major cleanup of the Badlands, the project ran into a variety of legal problems and was ineffective in getting results.⁵⁶

By 1905, the “red light district” was a hot political topic for city officials, many of whom were intent on cleaning up the neighborhood. In a news story entitled *Investigate Nuisances*, the *Illinois State Register* (August 12, 1905) discussed the city’s efforts to clean up the neighborhood, noting that “Madison and Mason streets, from Ninth to Twelfth streets, the red light district, will be the object of a visit from the police committee and it is thought that many places will be torn down at the instance of the officials.” The following day, in an article entitled *Vile Shacks To Be Torn Down*, the City (and Mayor Devereux) discussed in more details their plans to demolish “a number of unsanitary buildings... most of them are harboring places for petty criminals and are said to be in a filthy condition” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1905).

If plans laid by city officials and members of the health board are executed, Springfield soon will be rid of a number of unsanitary buildings in the Seventh and First wards. A crusade against unsightly structures in ‘Shinbone alley,’ and

case they can be fined heavier than on a charge of disorderly conduct.” A couple of days later, the *Illinois State Journal* (November 30, 1895) reported that “the police are still continuing their raids on all the resorts in [the] bad lands. Yesterday morning they made raids on some resorts run by white women and arrested twelve inmates.”

⁵⁶ It appears that much of the land that comprised “Cocaine Alley” was owned by William Floreville at the time. Floreville was probably the wealthiest black man in Springfield at the time, and he was not agreeable to the demolition of his properties.

other well-known places is to be investigated under the direction of the board of health.

A few days ago Superintendent of Health Sutton and other city officials went on a tour of investigation and found a large number of huts which they believe should be declared nuisances, and so reported to the mayor. These buildings long have been noted as fences for petty thieves and other persons who are constantly giving the police trouble and to destroy the buildings is one of the plans laid to rid the northeast part of the city of a number of its resorts. In 'Shinbone alley,' which extends from Ninth street to Tenth street, between Madison and Mason streets, there are a number of hovels which the health officers found in a filthy condition and the attention of the council will be called to the matter."

Two years ago war was declared on similar resorts in old 'Cocaine alley,' which has since passed into history. The alley was the loafing place for hundreds of whites and negroes who refused to work and notwithstanding the efforts of the police they continued to exist on money derived from the sale of stolen property. Finally it was determined to condemn the old shacks in which these people lived, and in the course of a few weeks all the places had disappeared, and with them went their occupants.

After being driven from their old haunts many left the city and, believing the plan to be a good one, it is probable that it will be executed again (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1905).

Although the newspaper suggests that the City apparently had had success earlier cleaning up Cocaine Alley, the same article concluded by noting that there had been issues with using this strategy.

The City officials have condemned several buildings around the city, but in every instance they have experienced difficulty in carrying out the requirements of the city code. Suits have been filed for damage done to property, but in no instance has judgement been secured against the city. The members of the fire department will be called upon to destroy the old buildings, if necessary, and in the course of a few months, it is said, only a few of the old haunts will be in existence. Several of these places are looked upon as landmarks, but they must also go..."

In the red light district there are a hundred shacks which are on the list and the crusade will probably be commenced this week, or as soon as those who are to have charge of the work can arrange a meeting.

"To destroy the shacks in the northeast part of the city, which are merely fences for thieves and criminals, should meet with public approval," said a city official yesterday. "In the last few years several buildings have been destroyed by order of the board of health and in spite of the complaint which has been made by the owners, not a single judgement has been secured. I believe the law gives the city

the right to do away with unsightly and unsanitary buildings and it is the duty of the officials to comply with the ordinances on the books.

“Superintendent of Health Sutton is anxious to take up the task and he will be assisted by the members of the council. To tear down the large number of old houses in the northeast part of the city would be a move for better buildings, as in most cases the ground is owned by persons who are financially able to erect more desirable buildings. This move, I believe, will be carried out to the letter and in the course of a few months, the red light district which for years has been a detriment to Springfield, will be forced out of the way” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1905).

Again, the efforts to clean up the city were fraught with difficulty and, to many city inhabitants, the process was not moving fast enough. The *Register* noted, over a year later, that “class suppression” was not the mechanism to clean up vice in the City, and that the laws already on the books needed to be upheld for everyone, rich and poor. Disproportionate police action against established houses such as that operated by Brown was in sharp contrast to that directed at the lower echelon of brothels, often referred to as “Negro Dives.”

We are led to this conclusion that vice cannot be put down in this city by what may be termed ‘class suppression.’ We believe that law should be enforced impartially and without discrimination against all offenders alike and when this is done, it is our judgment that a large per cent of those who now oppose the law will willingly become law abiding citizens (*Illinois State Register*, 29 October 1906, p. 7)

“There is an effort being made to purify the ‘red light’ district in New York city. Springfield has two or three such districts and there is no effort made to purify them. It’s somebody’s time to move” (*Illinois State Register*, November 19, 1906).

Cleanup efforts were not sufficient to stem the tide of the illicit activities, and the Badlands continued to thrive as a wide-open district in which you could obtain about anything one might want—legal or otherwise. Just prior to the race riot of August 1908, in a story relating to arrests made in the City of Springfield the previous year (1907), the *Illinois State Journal* wrote that

[Call] Box No. 13, located at Eleventh and Madison streets, is the one in which the patrol wagon made a majority of trips. Since the police alarm system was inaugurated, ten years ago, policemen have known this box as the ‘hoodoo.’ It is located in the outskirts of the red light district. It is estimated that 800 persons were sent to headquarters from that station during the year (*Illinois State Journal*, January 6, 1908).

After the riots of August 1908, many things continued as before, with little having changed. Efforts prior to the riots to clean up the Badlands had been fraught with difficulty, and such was the case even after that eventful summer. In early 1911, vice still ran rampant in Springfield. Mrs. C. L. Wolfe, President of the Hyde Park Anti-vice Crusade, visited Springfield in support of

proposed new anti-vice legislation at the Statehouse. At an anti-vice meeting held in the Sangamon County courthouse she reported on her work in Chicago, and claimed that “As far as vice and wickedness are concerned, Chicago is nothing compared to Springfield in proportion to their population.” Specifically, in regard to Springfield, Mrs. Wolfe noted that “this very city is one of the wickedest I have ever known. I have been in the badlands of Springfield and know it to be a terrible place of crime an iniquity. . . . In years to come you will look back on these days and wonder why such places were permitted” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 9, 1911).⁵⁷

Whether intentional or not, by the 1890s, commercial houses of prostitution were located within two “segregated” districts, often referred to as “red light” districts. The largest of these segregated districts was centered on the Eighth and Jefferson Street intersection, within eyesight of both the City police station, and County jail. The second of these “segregated districts” was centered on the 300 block of North Tenth Street, extending on both Madison and Mason Streets. The City administration’s tacit acceptance of this industry within the downtown was predicated, in large part, by the monies generated by the monthly round-ups of the working women and the payment of well-established fines, a process that was well established in Springfield by the 1870s.⁵⁸ The concept of “segregated districts” for control of illicit activities such as prostitution was a hot topic of discussion during the early years of the twentieth century by social reformers and politicians, with several communities as diverse as Des Moines, Iowa, New Orleans, Louisiana (as well as both Peoria and Chicago in Illinois) legally mandating distinct locations for such enterprises in hopes of better controlling the illicit activities. Although these two districts were well established by the 1890s, it is unclear whether this was a result of informal city-wide policies, or simply developed by way of practicality and/or happenchance. In 1909, the newly elected Springfield mayor John Schnepf attempted to formalize the practice in an effort to crackdown on the city’s prostitution industry. As a result, Schnepf established a series of “laws” to cut down on street-walking, and public nuisances resulting from uncontrolled solicitation. According to the Register, prior to Schnepf’s new policies regarding the “creation” of a segregated district and abolishment of the “quarterly fine system,” houses of prostitution were located “in the best business districts of the city and in some of the best residence districts of Springfield” with “street walkers” located throughout the city’s public locations. With the help of the Chief of Police Henry Kramer, the City claimed to have dramatically cleaned up the community with the creation of these segregated districts (*Illinois State Register*, 24 October 1909:13).⁵⁹

⁵⁷ The news article was entitled “Calls Tenderloin Here Among Worst: Mrs. C. L. Wolfe, At Anti-Vice Meeting, Tells of Vice in Springfield” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 9, 1911). The reporter further wrote that “Mrs. Wolfe’s talk was one of the most impressive addresses on the condition in the underworld of Chicago and this city that ever has been given in Springfield. Mrs. Wolfe told of her work in Chicago, where she has accomplished much in her fight against vice. She gave in detail the story of how she stood in the doorways of many resorts pleading with men not to enter; of how she was attacked on one occasion; and in one instance narrowly escaped death. The police threatened her and gave every protection in their power to the dives, she claims, but regardless of this, she has been able to save many a young man from a life of shame.”

⁵⁸ The *Register* suggested that these arrests were conducted on a quarterly time frame, and refers to this as the “quarterly fine system” (*Illinois State Register*, 24 October 1909:13).

⁵⁹ Local support of Schnepf’s plan was not universally accepted. When the City Commissioners attempted to formally expand the “segregated district” to include a stretch of Reynolds Street, local landowners were outraged (“Fight Against Vice District,” *Illinois State Register*, 13 May 1913, p. 3; *Illinois State Journal* 16 May 1913, p. 7).

To what degree Schnepf's policies had impacted the vice industry in Springfield is questionable. Business seems to have continued, more-or-less, unabated in Springfield's long-established red-light districts. In the spring of 1913, Springfield's vice district came under scrutiny during hearings conducted by the Illinois Senate over the morality of the state's lieutenant governor (*Illinois State Register*, May 11, 1913; State of Illinois 1913). According to the Senate committee, prostitution in Springfield at the time included not only the presence of the well-established red-light districts, but the practice of a "call system" for procuring working women in a variety of the local hotels and cafes in the community. In late 1914, the Russell Sage Foundation of New York City sponsored a multi-faceted study of the "social health" offered by the public services in the City of Springfield in an effort to identify specific needs of the community. This study outlined many of the problems facing the city at the time—not the least of which was inadequate housing for the Negro District, unsanitary conditions in the older sections of the community, and an over-reliance on liquor license fees to fund the City treasury. The Russell Sage Foundation also weighed in heavily on the prostitution problem in Springfield and the immorality of the presence of segregated districts for prostitution (Potter 1915). As the Russell Sage Foundation noted, "segregation rather than suppression is the policy of the Springfield police department toward vice," and "clandestine prostitution flourishes in many hotels and rooming houses" (Potter 1915:164). According to Potter (1915), the segregated district comprised a large area located north of Washington Street and east of Seventh Street, and within this district

there were identified 33 recognized houses of prostitution containing white women—five with but one inmate each,—and a considerable number of Negro houses with something like 60 inmates. In the white houses alone were 143 inmates in September 1914. With the exception of three three-dollar to five-dollar houses and one two-dollar house and three-dollar house, these Springfield houses charge \$1.00 to \$2.00. It is estimated by one who should know that taken as a whole, earnings of inmates average \$25 a week. At this rate the total income of the houses containing white women alone would be \$3,575 a week, \$15,400 a month, and \$185,000 a year. Another person estimates the total earnings of recognized houses black and white at \$2,730 a week or \$140,000 a year. Even on the basis of the lower figures it is clear that one reason why suppression of commercialized prostitution is so difficult, even though specifically forbidden by state law, is the size of the profits of the traffic.⁶⁰

Potter noted that a similar number of inmates (women and girls) also were working in hotels, rooming houses, and assignation houses under the guise of the "call" system.⁶¹ Not

⁶⁰ See also "SEGREGATION HIT IN SURVEY REPORT. Russell Sage Experts Issue Statement on Vice in City" (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 July 1915, p. 15) and "VICE IS REDUCE BY SUPPRESSION. RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION IS AGAINST 'SEGREGATION'" (*Illinois State Register*, 4 June 1915, p. 2).

⁶¹ Potter (1915:164) noted that the segregated district was "indicated by red lights, house names painted on the doors, and soliciting from windows. Later, however, the names were removed and open soliciting largely abolished, but the character of the district was still apparent." Potter (1915:167) also noted the impact on the community's health due to the acceptance of prostitution: "That venereal disease is more common in Springfield than generally supposed is shown by data presented in the public health section of the survey [Schneider 1915]. Forty-nine

unexpectedly, the Russell Sage Foundation recommended not only the total abolishment of the segregated district, but also strict adherence to the existing laws and abolishment of prostitution in general.

Subsequent civic reforms forthcoming from the work of the Russell Sage Foundation included, among others, the closing of many saloons within the Levee district, and improvements in the water and sewer services to the older sections of the town (Ihlder 1914; Decker and Harrison 1917; Russo 1983:48-49). By this time, the concept of “segregated districts” for prostitution was coming into disfavor among the increasingly progressive urban communities in the United States. In 1912, Des Moines abolished the use of segregated districts to control prostitution (Iowa Injunction Law), with similar laws being passed in California and Washington, D.C (the latter being the “Kenyon Red Light Bill”).⁶² In late 1915, the City of Springfield also put an official end to the city’s segregated district. Through the efforts of the sheriff-physician J. A. Wheeler, the segregated district of Springfield came to an end, and all houses of ill fame were ordered closed. Leading up to this historical occasion was the death of Augusta Kellogg (aka Madam Jessie Brownie) in 1910. The death of Madam Brownie signaled the end of her notorious and palatial resort at Eighth and Jefferson Street. Similarly, in circa 1910, the long-running establishment of Mag Brown was also shuttered just south of Madam Brownie’s resort on Eighth Street.⁶³ The closure of these two, long-running resorts marked an end to a what was the heyday of the city’s “sporting establishments.” As the Journal noted

The final Saturday night in the last chapter of Springfield’s segregated district passed into history as anything but a joyous occasion. Farewell parties of the denizens of the underworld in that section given to their friends of days gone by proved but mockeries. Each peal of laughter from the inmates carried with it a wail and the pianos jingled seemingly but funeral dirges. The entire scene spelled ‘the end’ for tomorrow after many years of unmolested existence the ‘red light’ district of this city by the edict of Sheriff John A. Wheeler will cease to be. (“SEGREGATED VICE BROKEN BY WHEELER. Proprietors of Resorts Prepare to Leave the City,” *Illinois State Journal*, 17 October 1915, p. 3).

Although this was the end of the segregated district, prostitution nonetheless continued within the city. After closure of the segregated district, working women sought other venues to practice their trade, including frequenting local cafes and other residential areas (*Illinois State Register*, 17 February 1917, p. 9). Mayor Bullard noted, in 1926, that “vice exits in Springfield because Springfield men support it” (*Illinois State Journal*, 20 February 1926, p. 13). Similarly, illicit

physicians reported 160 cases of gonorrhea under treatment, 147 cases of syphilis, and 39 cases of chancroid. The same physicians reported 654 cases of gonorrhea, 398 cases of syphilis, and 212 cases of chancroid under treatment in 1913.”

⁶² In October 1913, the *Illinois State Journal* ran a short notice that the U.S. House of Representatives had passed the “Kenyon bill to eliminate the capital’s segregated district by injunction, after the Des Moines plan” (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 October 1913, p. 7). The Journal also ran an article noting the failure of the City of Peoria’s “useless experiment” with segregated districts (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 May 1914, p. 6).

⁶³ The exact date of the closure of this resort is unknown. Mag Brown no longer appears listed locally in 1910, and the house may have been operated for a short time (circa 1910-1912) by one Helen Payne. In 1915, the old landmark, which apparently had been shuttered, was destroyed by fire.

activities continued to haunt the Levee district for decades. Local artist and poet Jack Proctor self-published a booklet of his poems and artwork depicting life in the Levee during the 1930s and 1940s, which included many references to prostitution in the district (Mann, Russo, and Garvert 1996:95; see also Miller 2005). It was not until the widespread demolition efforts of urban renewal during the later 1960s and 1970s (and the construction of Horace Mann office complex) that the Levee district also became a memory. Nonetheless, even with the eradication of both the segregated district in 1915, and the Levee district in the 1970s, prostitution continues within the Capital City, albeit in new and ever changing venues (cf. Olsen 2024a, b).

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Figure 1. Suspected location of Forts Taylor (A) and Johnson(B), in relationship to the Chicago and Alton Railroad depot (C), as depicted on the 1867 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield* (Ruger 1867). The Illinois State Capitol building (D) is located at the lower left margin of the image.

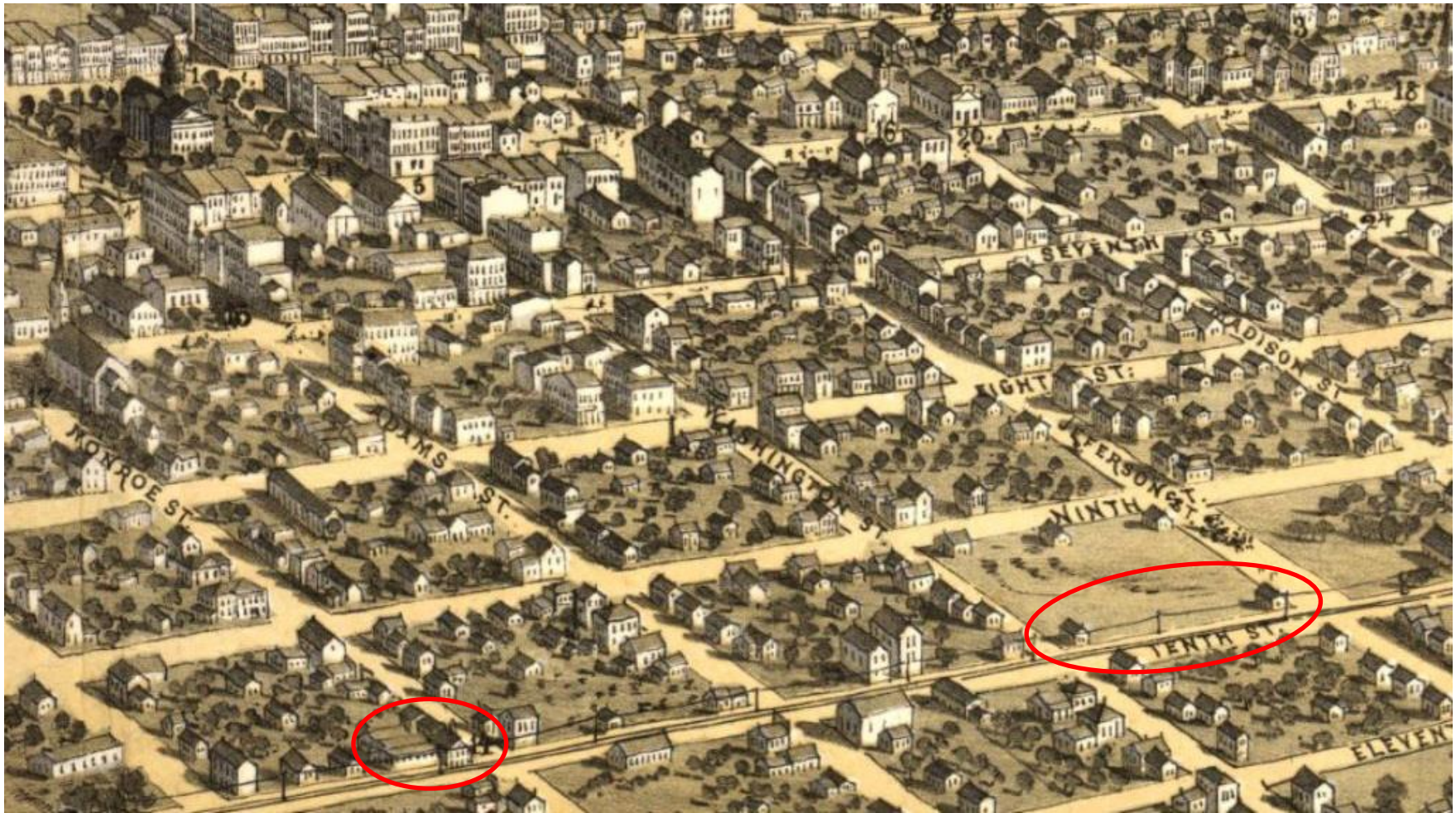


Figure 2. By 1867, the downtown commercial district had extended east along Washington Street to Seventh Street, with the block between Seventh and Eighth Streets being mixed commercial and residential use (Ruger 1867). East of Eighth Street at this time was predominately residential in character. The existing Wabash Depot (A), and location of the new Wabash Depot (to be constructed in 1868) (B) are both circled in red.

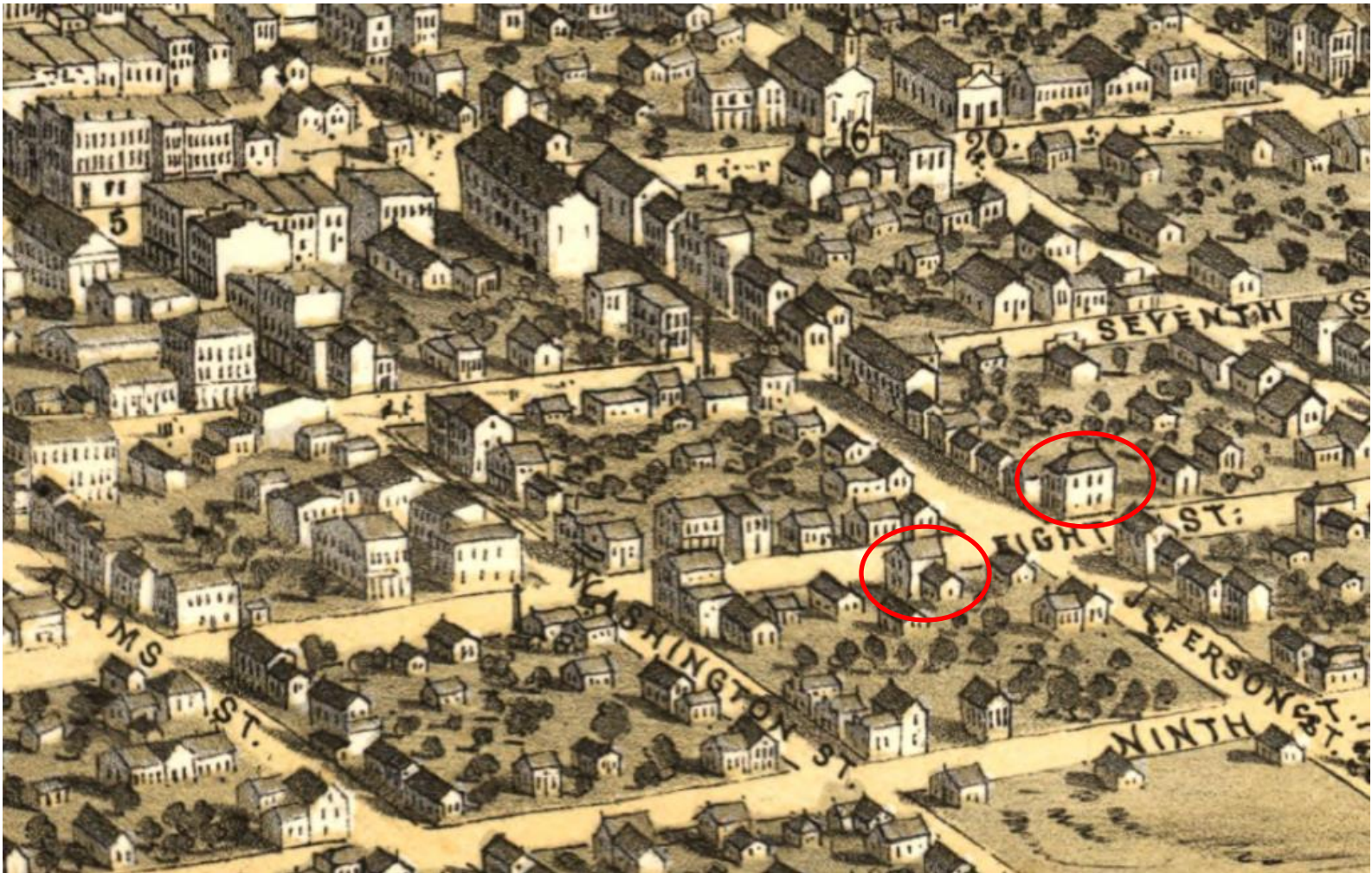


Figure 3. Close-up detail of what was soon to become one of the more infamous districts in Springfield—the Levee (both sides of Washington Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets). The alley south of Washington Street was to become known as Cocaine Alley. The short sections of Eighth Street north of Washington developed into a “resort” district by the early 1870s (and known as “Greasy Row”). The suspected location of Emma Gladden’s (aka Lady Emma Nash’s; later Magie Brown’s) (left circle) and Jessie Brownie’s (right circle) resorts are circled in red. Several others from the 1875 article and 1880 census could be plotted on this figure as well.

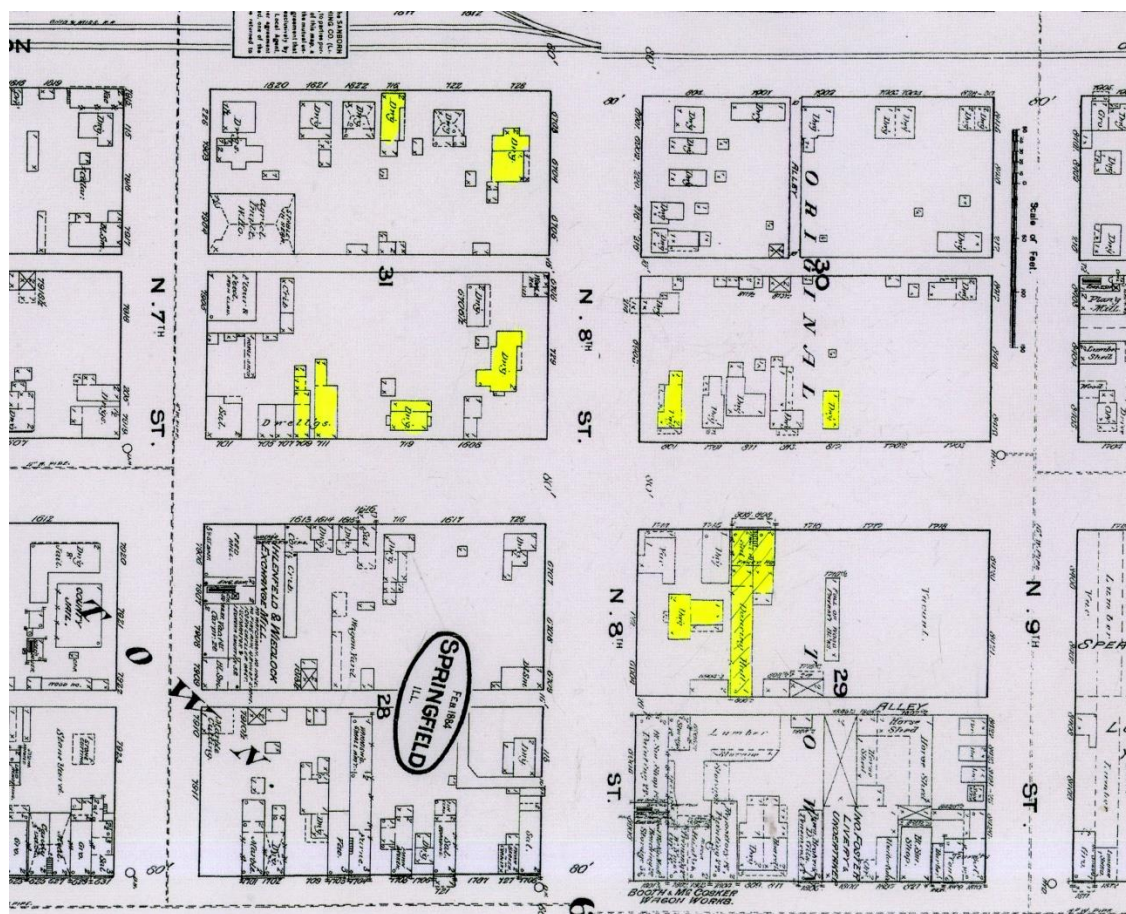


Figure 4. Close-up detail of the Eighth and Jefferson Street intersection in 1884, illustrating the location of several houses of ill fame—an area colloquially known as Greasy Row by the 1870s (Sanborn 1884). The house located along the east side of Eighth Street was originally the well-known Emma Nash resort, which by this date was operated by Madam Mag Brown. Brown’s infamous resort backed up to W. D. Longnecker’s Saloon, Restaurant, and Dance Hall. By this date, Emma Nash was operating from the northeast corner of this intersection. The house at the northwest corner of the intersection was the infamous Jessie Brownie Resort (also known as “the Senate”). Located along the south side of Jefferson St Less than a block to the west was located both the city and county jails.

17-2964 Received July 19, 1880, A

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Supervisor's Dist. No. 6
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Note A—The Census Year begins June 1, 1879, and ends May 31, 1880.
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Note C—Questions Nos. 14, 22 and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.

SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in Springfield, in the County of Sauageau, State of Illinois enumerated by me on the Eight day of June, 1880. W. H. Hartung Enumerator

Age			Sex			Marriage			Education			Profession, Occupation or Trade			Race			Place of Birth		
Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Never	Once	Twice	None	Common School	Academy	College	None	Profession	Occupation	Trade	Other	White	Colored	Other
23710	23711	23712	23713	23714	23715	23716	23717	23718	23719	23720	23721	23722	23723	23724	23725	23726	23727	23728	23729	23730
23731	23732	23733	23734	23735	23736	23737	23738	23739	23740	23741	23742	23743	23744	23745	23746	23747	23748	23749	23750	23751
23752	23753	23754	23755	23756	23757	23758	23759	23760	23761	23762	23763	23764	23765	23766	23767	23768	23769	23770	23771	23772
23773	23774	23775	23776	23777	23778	23779	23780	23781	23782	23783	23784	23785	23786	23787	23788	23789	23790	23791	23792	23793
23794	23795	23796	23797	23798	23799	23800	23801	23802	23803	23804	23805	23806	23807	23808	23809	23810	23811	23812	23813	23814
23815	23816	23817	23818	23819	23820	23821	23822	23823	23824	23825	23826	23827	23828	23829	23830	23831	23832	23833	23834	23835
23836	23837	23838	23839	23840	23841	23842	23843	23844	23845	23846	23847	23848	23849	23850	23851	23852	23853	23854	23855	23856
23857	23858	23859	23860	23861	23862	23863	23864	23865	23866	23867	23868	23869	23870	23871	23872	23873	23874	23875	23876	23877
23878	23879	23880	23881	23882	23883	23884	23885	23886	23887	23888	23889	23890	23891	23892	23893	23894	23895	23896	23897	23898
23899	23900	23901	23902	23903	23904	23905	23906	23907	23908	23909	23910	23911	23912	23913	23914	23915	23916	23917	23918	23919
23920	23921	23922	23923	23924	23925	23926	23927	23928	23929	23930	23931	23932	23933	23934	23935	23936	23937	23938	23939	23940
23941	23942	23943	23944	23945	23946	23947	23948	23949	23950	23951	23952	23953	23954	23955	23956	23957	23958	23959	23960	23961
23962	23963	23964	23965	23966	23967	23968	23969	23970	23971	23972	23973	23974	23975	23976	23977	23978	23979	23980	23981	23982
23983	23984	23985	23986	23987	23988	23989	23990	23991	23992	23993	23994	23995	23996	23997	23998	23999	24000	24001	24002	24003

D.

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23941	23942	23943	23944	23945	23946	23947	23948	23949	23950	23951	23952	23953	23954	23955	23956	23957	23958	23959	23960	23961
23962	23963	23964	23965	23966	23967	23968	23969	23970	23971	23972	23973	23974	23975	23976	23977	23978	23979	23980	23981	23982
23983	23984	23985	23986	23987	23988	23989	23990	23991	23992	23993	23994	23995	23996	23997	23998	23999	24000	24001	24002	24003
24004	24005	24006	24007	24008	24009	24010	24011	24012	24013	24014	24015	24016	24017	24018	24019	24020	24021	24022	24023	24024
24025	24026	24027	24028	24029	24030	24031	24032	24033	24034	24035	24036	24037	24038	24039	24040	24041	24042	24043	24044	24045
24046	24047	24048	24049	24050	24051	24052	24053	24054	24055	24056	24057	24058	24059	24060	24061	24062	24063	24064	24065	24066
24067	24068	24069	24070	24071	24072	24073	24074	24075	24076	24077	24078	24079	24080	24081	24082	24083	24084	24085	24086	24087
24088	24089	24090	24091	24092	24093	24094	24095	24096	24097	24098	24099	24100	24101	24102	24103	24104	24105	24106	24107	24108
24109	24110	24111	24112	24113	24114	24115	24116	24117	24118	24119	24120	24121	24122	24123	24124	24125	24126	24127	24128	24129
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24151	24152	24153	24154	24155	24156	24157	24158	24159	24160	24161	24162	24163	24164	24165	24166	24167	24168	24169	24170	24171
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24214	24215	24216	24217	24218	24219	24220	24221	24222	24223	24224	24225	24226	24227	24228	24229	24230	24231	24232	24233	24234
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24256	24257	24258	24259	24260	24261	24262	24263	24264	24265	24266	24267	24268	24269	24270	24271	24272	24273	24274	24275	24276
24277	24278	24279	24280	24281	24282	24283	24284	24285	24286	24287	24288	24289	24290	24291	24292	24293	24294	24295	24296	24297
24298	24299	24300	24301	24302	24303	24304	24305	24306	24307	24308	24309	24310	24311	24312	24313	24314	24315	24316	24317	24318
24319	24320	24321	24322	24323	24324	24325	24326	24327	24328	24329	24330	24331	24332	24333	24334	24335	24336	24337	24338	24339
24340	24341	24342	24343	24344	24345	24346	24347	24348	24349	24350	24351	24352	24353	24354	24355	24356	24357	24358	24359	24360

Figure 5. Details of the 1880 U.S. Census of Population detailing the houses of ill-fame located along Jefferson Street. The infamous Brownie Resort is circled in red.

Table 1
Summary of Houses of Ill Fame and/or Prostitutes in Springfield, 1880
(U.S. Census of Population)

<u>Dwelling No./</u> <u>Family No.</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Marital</u> <u>Status</u>	<u>Relationship</u> <u>To Head</u> <u>of House</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
68/151	Mason	Eva Montague	White	30	single		Keeping House
		Millie Wheeler	White	28	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Nellie Wilson	White	18	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Mollie Morgan	White	24	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Lottie Ball	Black	20	single	Servant	Servant
		J. W. Dangerfield	Black	47	married	Servant	Servant
148/148	Mason	Lucille Wilson	White	32	married		Keeping House
		Ida Louis	White	22	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Daisy Morrison	White	15	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Alice Patterson	Black	28	married	Servant	Servant
		Bernice Hall	White	28	single	Servant	Servant
151/159	Ninth	Maggie Brown	White	44	married		Keeping House
		Kitty Eaton	White	30	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Mamie Holmes	White	17	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Adah May	White	19	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Laura Birmingham	White	26	single	Boarder	Prostitute
193/208	Ninth	Emma Chattan	White	50			Prostitute
		Anna Reynolds	White	21	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Maud Johnson	White	19	single	Boarder	Prostitute
194/209	Ninth	Jennie Higgins	White	22	single		Prostitute
		Molie Rodgers	White	25	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Cass Williams	White	23	single	Boarder	Prostitute
204/222	Tenth	Sarah Williams	White	28	divorced		Keeping House
		Joseph Howard	White	26	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Maude Lyles	White	23	divorced	Boarder	Prostitute
206/224	Tenth	Lizzie Kendall	White	22	single		Keeping House
		Orie Kendal	White	3	single	daughter	
		Julia Williams	White	24	single	Boarder	Prostitute
210/230	Washington	Kate Ingram	White	27	single		Keeping House
		Mattie Lawrence	White	22	single	Boarder	Prostitute
239/263	Jefferson	Jessie Brownie	White	44	widowed		Keeping House
		Blanche Gray	White	17	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Caddie Ford	White	19	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Maude Estelle	White	17	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Ida Prentis	White	25	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Bernice Larue	White	25	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Lizzie Daniels	White	20	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Josie Morrison	White	19	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Bertie Hamilton	White	20	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Bertha Night	White	17	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Jessie Willard	White	21	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Isaac Gascon	Black	26	single	servant	servant
		Lecia Beasli	Black	27	single	servant	servant
Walton Beasli	Black	12	single				
240/264	Jefferson	Julia Perkins	Black	35	married	Servant	Keeping House
		Sarah Pyttie	White	22	divorced		Prostitute
		Tauny Rapps	White	24	married	Boarder	Prostitute
		Julia Hann	White	25	divorced	Boarder	Prostitute
		May St. Clair	White	24	single	Boarder	Prostitute
241/265	Jefferson	Alice Rethford	White	29			Keeping House
		Hattie Joabs	White	27	married	Boarder	Prostitute
		Lizzie Lucas	White	24	married	Boarder	Prostitute
		Mary Goams	White	18	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Carrie Goams	White	16	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Sarah Hawthorn	White	35	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
242/266	Jefferson	John Flannigan	White	37	married		Keeping House
		Catherine Flanniga	White	38	married	wife	
		Nancy Flannigan	White	17	single	daughter	Prostitute
		Sarah Flannigan	White	15	single	daughter	Prostitute
		Rosa Flannigan	White	12	single	daughter	
		Carry W. Flanniga	White	5	single	daughter	
		Ocio Flannigan	White	9	single	daughter	
		Belle McDermott	White	22	single	Boarder	Prostitute
Mollie Stone	White	21	single	Boarder	Prostitute		
336/345	Eleventh	Nellie Sherman	White	34	married		Keeping House
		Albert Sherman	White	3	son		
		Annie Tracy	White	25	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute



Figure 6. Photograph of working girl in Pennsylvanian brothel, 1892 (Johnson 2018). As with the more established and/or formal brothels in Springfield at the turn-of-the-century, the majority of the working girls were white, and working in a resort operated by white madames.

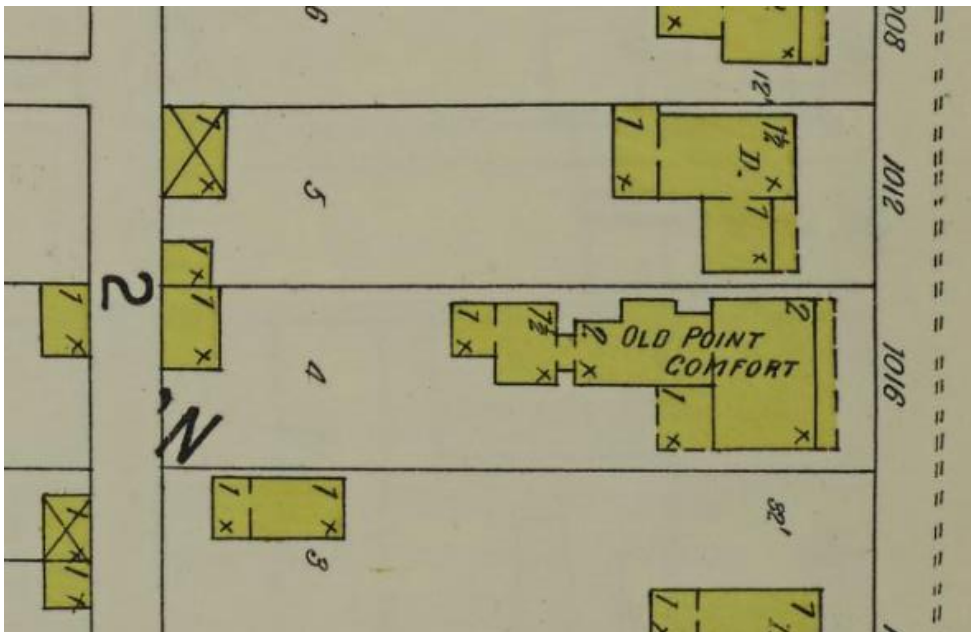
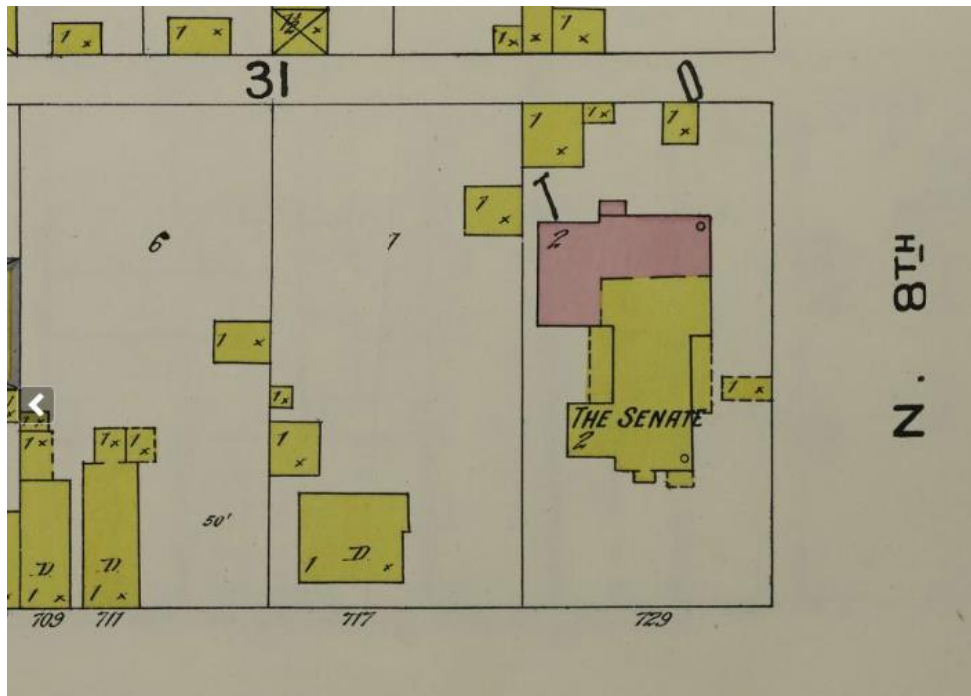


Figure 7. The 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map labels two of the more prominent resorts in Springfield by name (Sanborn-Perris Map Company 1896). Top: The Senate, operated by August Kellogg (aka Jessie Brownie) was located at the northwest corner of Jefferson and North Eighth Streets. Bottom: The Old Point Comfort, operated by numerous madames over the years, was located at 1016 East Mason Street.

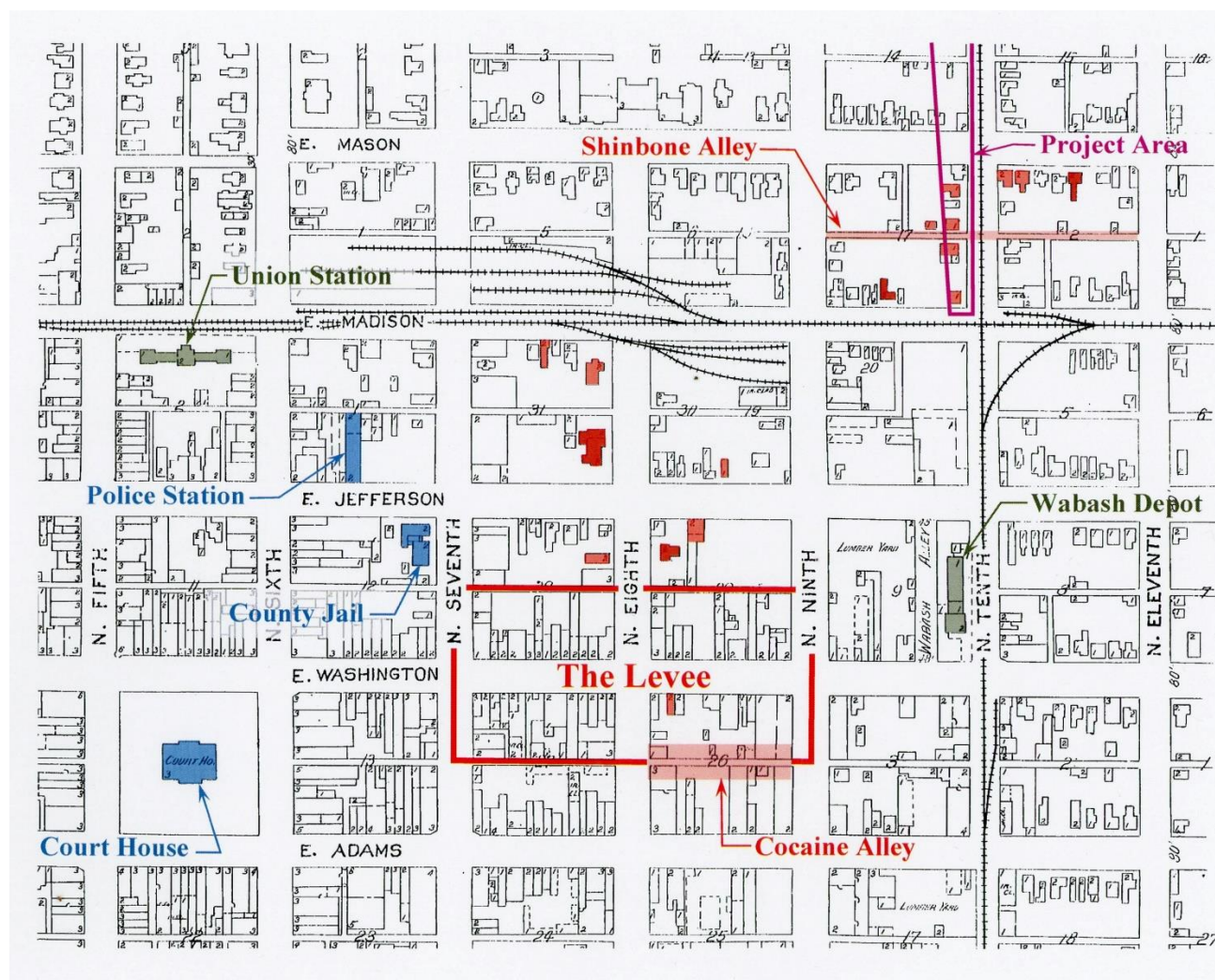


Figure 8. Location of the Levee (and the Tenth Street Rail Improvements Project in relationship to the Central Business district, County Jail, and City Police Station. Buildings highlighted in red are known locations of “houses of ill fame.” Also indicated are the locations of Cocaine Alley and Shinbone Alley. The cluster of houses of ill fame along Eighth Street became known as Greasy Row by the 1870s. The large brothel at the northwest corner of Jefferson and Eighth Street was colloquially known as “the Senate.”



Figure 9. Photographic documentation of Springfield resorts (houses of prostitution) are rare. Top: This image depicts the “house of ill fame” initially established in the early 1870s by Emma Nash (aka Emma Taylor), and later occupied variously Nellie Wood and Mabel Baxter at 915 East Madison Street (ALPLM Ide Collection PC7). This was a large, traditional, two-story frame dwelling, and would have been similar to the well-known Eighth Street resort occupied by (Mag Brown). Bottom: Postcard labeled “Home of Ina Williams / Wrecked and Burned” (ALPLM Ide Collection PC6). This was most likely the pseudonym of Ina Smith, who operated a house of prostitution at 817 East Jefferson Street. The 1896 Sanborn map noted that this house was an old and vacant dwelling. Although in abandoned and in poor condition, Ina appears to have re-occupied the dwelling with her girls. The size and dilapidated condition of this front-gable dwelling was off-set by its location in the heart of the Jefferson Street resort district. In contrast, the dwelling occupied by Madam Jessie Brownie known as “the Senate” (located at the northwest corner of Eighth and Jefferson Street) was a much larger and ornate dwelling that contrasted sharply with these two structures. Together these three resorts illustrate the “scale of quality” associated with resorts within Springfield at the turn of the century.

Table 1
Summary of Newspaper Research for
“Shinbone Alley” and Cocaine Alley” Locations, Springfield, Illinois
(ISJ=Illinois State Journal; ISR=Illinois State Register; SN=Springfield News)

SHINBONE
ALLEY

3/8	1893	ISR	William Clay	Arrested; child molestation/attempted rape (btw Mad. & Mason, nr 10th)
3/13	1894	ISR		Shanty fire (btw 8th & 9th; Adams & Washington)
8/8	1895	ISR	Lincoln Morgan & Lou Belle Clark	Arrested for assault and battery
7/28	1896	ISR	Joe and Jennie Brown	Arrested for vagrancy
9/19	1896	ISR	Laura Driggs & Sadie Harris	Arrested for larceny
9/19	1896	ISR	Sam Curry & George Williams	Curry fined \$5 for assaulting Williams
3/30	1897	ISR	Nellie Wilson; Scott & Richardson	Stole diamond from Mollie Chambers' house
5/16	1897	ISR	Etta Page; Ollie Covington & George Lewis	Page had Patterson and Lewis arrested for assault and battery
5/28	1897	ISR	Frank Williams & Alonzo Smith	Arrested and discharged for burglary
5/25	1898	ISR	Fannie Wilson & Carrie Scott	Scott accused Wilsons of running "robber's roost" at 322 N. 10th
9/26	1898	ISR	Ivy Stephenson	Arrested for disorderly conduct
10/28	1898	ISR	William Shanks	From Berlin vicinity; robbed of \$5 by "loddies" of tenderloin district
7/23	1899	ISJ	William Smith and Maggie Howey	Arrested for disturbance; unplatted court known as Shinbone Alley
7/20	1899	ISJ	William Smith & Maggie Howey	Arrested for disturbance at unplatted court, 10th and Madison

COCAINE
ALLEY

6/3	1902	SN		Mayor has plan for abolition/reformation of Alley
7/21	1898	ISJ	George Lewis & Glen Arnold	Robbed man by tracks
10/2	1898	ISR		George Barnet (the "carver") badly cut visitor to district
12/28	1898	ISR	Ivy Stephenson	Jailed for failure to pay fine; disorderly conduct
5/30	1899	ISJ	Ella Brown	Arrested; more arrests to follow; behind Bob Winston residence
7/3	1899	ISJ	Boehner & Loomis families	Fight

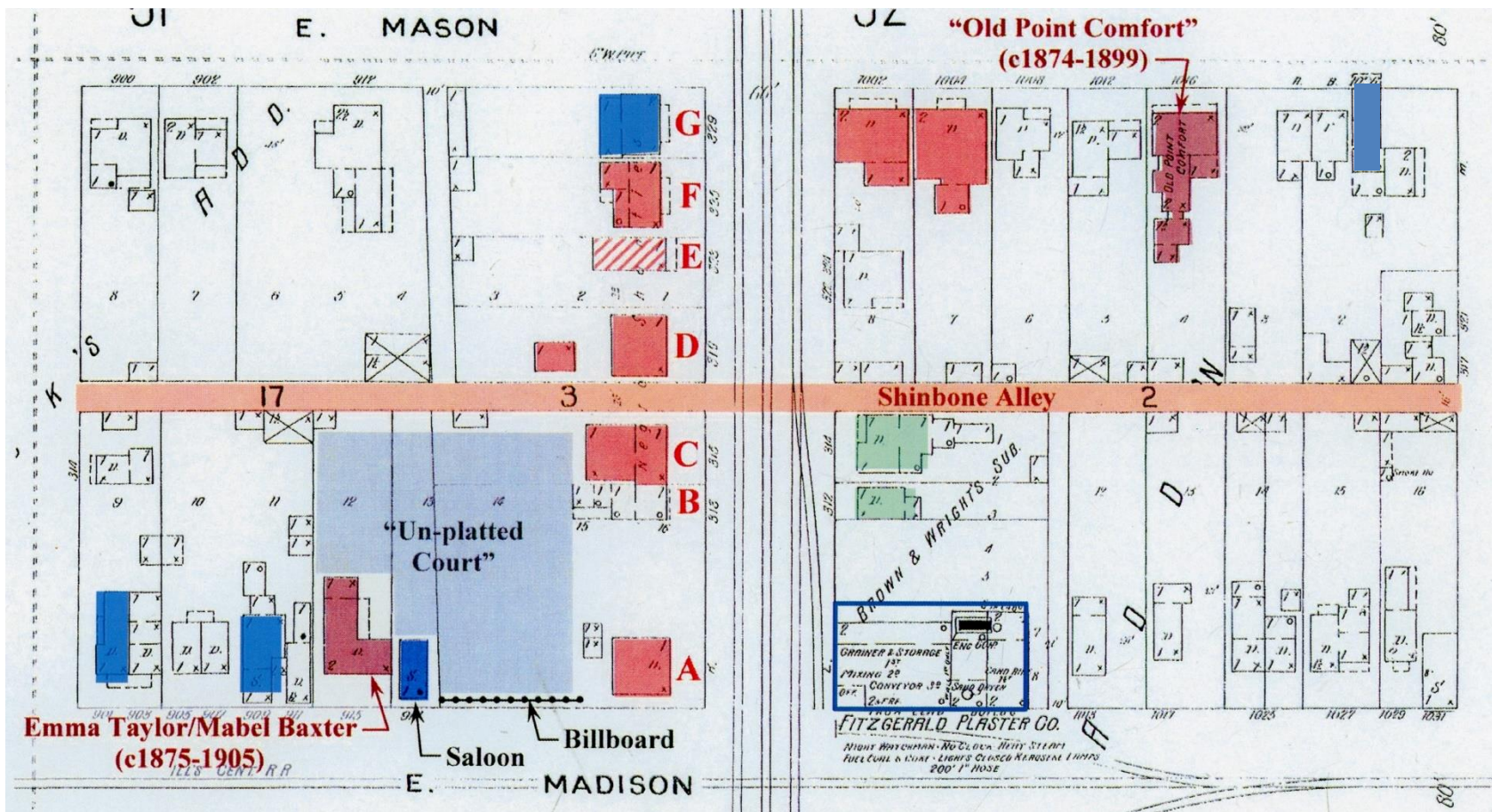
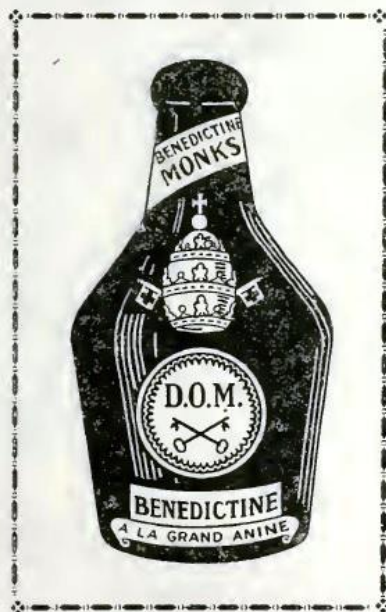


Figure 10. Close-up view of the Tenth and Madison Street location (southwest corner of the Badlands district) in 1896 indicating the location of known “houses of ill fame” at different points in time (highlighted in red) and other landscape features (such as Shinbone Alley). By circa 1907-08, the houses highlighted in blue functioned as saloons, and those highlighted in green most likely were operating as opium dens and/or gambling houses. Of particular note are the locations of the infamous Emma Taylor/Mabel Baxter and Old Point Comfort resorts in relationship to the Tenth Street Rail Improvements Project (Houses A through G).

Lincoln's Home Town!

HELL AT MIDNIGHT IN SPRINGFIELD

or A Burning History of the Sin and Shame
Of the Capital City of Illinois



This is the only book ever published exposing Benedictine, the infamous dope made by the Monks in their monasteries and sold in dives and brothels throughout the slums of the world. It is a terrible story. Don't miss it.

BY
WM. LLOYD CLARK
MILAN, ILLINOIS
1924

FIFTH EDITION
PRICE 25 CENTS

Figure 11. Cover of William Lloyd Clark's book entitled *Hell at Midnight, or A Burning History of the Sin and Shame of the Capital City of Illinois*. This expose of the vice district in Springfield was initially published in 1910 (Clark 1910). The original 1910 cover had an image of Lincoln's bust.

Appendix II

Summary of Newspaper Research for “Tenth and Madison” Location, Springfield, Illinois

(ISR=Illinois State Register; ISJ=Illinois State Journal)

<u>Day/Month</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Paper</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Event</u>
2/11	1867	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Grimsley/Phoenix Mill	Mill to be sold at auction
2/11	1867	ISJ		Mollie Hamilton	Keeper of "Suspicious" house
10/16	1872	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Henry Brown (col)	Son killed; playing on lumber pile
2/9	1878	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Joseph Viera	Died suddenly of apoplexy
1/3	1885	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Dan Sutton's Ranch	Quartet of dusky damsels of doubtful character arrested
8/12	1885	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Old Wackerle Mill	Mill being torn down
8/12	1885	ISJ	N. Tenth		Case of infanticide being investigated
3/2	1885	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison 2nd House, NW Corner, Tenth & Madison	Railroad Watch House	Mike Burns accosted young Miss Lizzie Thomas
10/27	1887	ISR		Sarah Clark	Found dead of loathsome disease in house
5/28	1888	ISJ	NW Corner, Tenth & Madison	Jack O'Hunter	Potential suicide at Lynch Resort; taken to St. John's Hospital
5/28	1888	ISJ	NW Corner, Tenth & Madison	Mollie Lynch	Landlady at the Lynch Resort
8/24	1889	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Levi Thomas	Deathly ill with typhoid fever
8/24	1889	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Levi Thomas	Died at his home
1/8	1890	ISR	NE Corner, Tenth & Madison	Cement Factory	Ground being cleared for construction of new factory
3/12	1890	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	J. A. Booth	With Brennan and Osborne; Traveling keg of beer and disturbance Lives with Cranberry family; relates info regarding murder of Henry Jackson
4/24	1890	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison	George Trent	
8/3	1890	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Charles Havey	Struck on head and robbed
8/12	1890	ISR	NE Corner, Tenth & Madison	Fitzgerald Plaster Co.	Construction of new 3-story factory building
8/20	1890	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Joe Smith & Lena Wagner	Domestic disturbance.
10/21	1890	ISR	Alley (btwn 9-10th, Madison- Mason)	Nellie Woods	Negress badly bitten by Nellie Wood's dog in alley
9/19	1893	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Melinda Reed	Fool farmer robbed at Melinda Reed's negro house of ill-fame
6/9	1894	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Henry Connors	Arrested for robbery
11/30	1894	ISR	Tenth & Madison	William Mullen	Fire; four-room house; Mullen tenant; Kanner owner (\$100 damage)
7/2	1895	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Ben Loomis & William Jacoby	Jacoby slashed by Loomis; refuses to press charges
5/1	1895	ISR	Alley (btwn 9-10th, Madison- Mason)	Gertie Harris	Shot boyfriend (Horace Lewis) in alley during quarrel; Harris killed
7/25	1895	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Edward Range	Beat old man; warrant issued; found with Delia Flynn and Dora Jones

9/3	1895	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Lena Smart	Jesse Fagan, carpenter at Fairgrounds, robbed by negress of \$96
9/22	1895	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Lulu Jones (col)	Accused of robbing one man of \$16, and Jesse Fagan of \$96
9/27	1895	ISR	Tenth & Madison	John Fathamer	Coming from house; robbed of \$50 by man from Dan Smith's Saloon
9/29	1895	ISJ	Near Tenth & Madison	Joe Smith	Italian organ grinder with monkey; monkey bit boy (Harry White)
10/5	1895	ISR	Tenth & Madison	William Fathauer	Fathauer "robbed" at Lizzie Cousins' house of ill-fame
10/18	1895	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Lena Dairy (nee Lanson)	Dairy married John Langley (a 75-yr old farmer from Mechanicsburg)
11/24	1895	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Della Flynn & Lillie Williams	Two men attacked and robbed by girls at negro resort
11/28	1895	ISR	Around Tenth & Madison	Lou Maxwell's Place	Negro Dive Raided; Capitola Black and Nell Brown arrested
11/28	1895	ISR	Around Tenth & Madison	Etta Edwards' House	Negro Dive Raided
11/28	1895	ISR	Around Tenth & Madison	Lizzie Kerns' Dive	Negro Dive Raided
11/28	1895	ISR	Around Tenth & Madison	Rosie Dean's House	Negro Dive Raided
11/28	1895	ISR	Around Tenth & Madison	Lou Wilson	Negro Dive Raided; Madame at Bill Head's Old Dive on Mason Street
8/22	1895	ISJ	Madison, near Tenth	Mabel Baxter's House of Ill-fame	Arrested for harboring underage girl
8/22	1895	ISJ	East Madison	Lou Grant's House of Ill-fame	Arrested for harboring underage girl
8/22	1895	ISJ	East Mason	Bill Head's Dive	Arrested for harboring underage girl
1/5	1896	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Alexander Morrison	Negro cook arrested for theft
3/16	1897	ISJ	Tenth & Madison		Wabash RR agree to install arc lamps at crossing, in pference to gates
5/21	1898	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Benjamin Adkins & Benjamin Horn	Left Charlie Baxter's Saloon; fight ensued; Adkins shot in arm by Horn
12/19	1898	ISJ	Near Tenth & Madison	Mike Molnr & James Miller	Riverton coal miners arrested for fighting
5/12	1899	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Mike Fortune	Arrested for theft at immoral resort run by Edna Nichols
6/13	1899	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Isaac Newbolt	Worker at Loper's Restaurant; robbed customer of watch; found at house
7/23	1899	ISJ	Near Tenth & Madison	William Smith & Maggie Howey	Arrested for distrubance; unplatted court known as Shinbone Alley
8/19	1899	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Baxter's Saloon	Railroad men and soldiers brawl
9/17	1899	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Fitzgerald Plaster Co.	Advertisement
3/14	1901	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Mollie Drennan	Lamp explosion; small fire

8/26	1900	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Anna & William Hughes	Domestic disturbance.
8/17	1901	ISR	Tenth & Madison	William "Tea Rose Willie" Hughes	Arrested for creating disturbance at Fisimmons' Saloon
2/11	1902	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Mrs. Lena Lewis	Death notice (62)
2/13	1902	ISJ	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Mrs. Lena Lewis	Death notice (62)
7/9	1902	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Katie Lewis & Rose Drake	Lewis and Drake shot for not walking with Martin Edmundson
2/14	1902	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Mrs. Lina Lewis	Funeral
8/28	1902	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Georgia Anderson	Recovered stolen property from her house
3/30	1903	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	William Thomas	Entered saloon/resort; played craps; beaten and robbed of \$12
7/12	1902	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Eddie Gomes Saloon	Saloon licence suspended
1/24	1904	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	George Taylor	Taylor shot and beaten by Andrew Anderson
3/9	1904	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Lloyd D. Conley	Death notice of young child (2 years old)
5/21	1905	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Eddie Gomes	Gomes and others arrested; Gomes saloon is at 930 E. Madison
9/9	1905	ISJ	East Side, Tenth & Madison		Roof fire at old frame residence; second one in short time
6/28	1906	ISJ	Tenth & Madison	Mildred Spriggs	Notorious negro woman living in a shack attempted suicide
7/28	1906	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Annie Rhodes & Annie Smith	Rhodes attacked Smith with hammer over loss of her house to Smith
5/7	1907	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Frank White	Hospitalized with consumption
8/3	1907	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	Edward Fountain	Fountain arrested for theft from Koluyz saloon
8/3	1907	ISR	Corner, Tenth & Madison	John Koluyz	Saloon located at corner Tenth & Madison
8/27	1907	ISR	Vicinity, Tenth & Madison	Helen Williams	Fined \$100; given choice of leaving City or 6 months in jail
2/4	1910	ISR	Tenth & Madison	Etta Patton (aka Anna Patton)	Arrested for accosting man and robbing him of \$6
4/25	1910	DISR	Near Tenth & Madison	William & Tilford Coleman	Convicted of murder of Frank Scott during craps game; sent to State Pen
9/17	1921	DISR	Tenth & Madison		Agitation to build Union Station at this location
2/6	1958	DISJ	Tenth & Madison		Gypsum mill demolished; incorrectly states constructed in 1908 (photo)
6/16	1905	DISR	[301 N. Tenth]	Mary Smith (col)	Received aid for burial and grave: \$5

Appendix III

The Landlords of the Badlands at the Turn-of-the-Century: The Jewish Connection

Housing in the Tenth Street project area neighborhood in 1908 consisted of older housing stock constructed predominately in the middle nineteenth century (circa 1840s-1870s). By 1908, much of the housing stock was run-down, poorly maintained, and not owner-occupied. Local newspapers often described the housing of the neighborhood in terms such as “wretched shanties,” “shacks,” and “hovels” (cf. *Springfield News* June 3, 1902), and the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map goes so far as to label several of the houses in the immediate project area as “Negro Shanties.” In 1887, for example, the *Illinois State Journal* described House B as “a dilapidated tenement house, near the corner of Tenth and Madison streets... [a] dreary cold hovel.”¹ The implications are significant in that much of the housing in the neighborhood was substandard, and poorly maintained by the time of the 1908 riots. Not too many years after the riots, the Russell-Sage Foundation wrote at length regarding the poor quality and dilapidated conditions of the “negro housing” in Springfield. Additionally, by this date, many of the dwellings housed businesses of questionable character, including saloons, gambling establishments, houses of prostitution, and even opium dens with the Tenth and Madison Street intersection being the heart of the illicit.²

The following discussion focuses on the owners of the rental properties in the project area at the time of the riots. Who were the men—and women—who owned these rental income properties? Some of the houses in the neighborhood, albeit few, were still owned by the families that had initially constructed the houses, and/or occupied them for a generation. Such was the case with House A (301 North Tenth Street) which was the long-time family home of the Westenberger family. The Westenberger family initially occupied the house in the later 1840s, raised a family in the home, and occupied it through their later years of life. Although the widow Westenberger had relocated to live with a family member in circa 1881-82, at the time of the riots, the house was still in the Westenberger family’s ownership. After the death of the matriarch in circa 1880, the house continued to be used as a rental income property by the surviving children. The ownership of the house by multiple siblings potentially made decisions as to how to manage the property difficult. At some point the house was divided into formal and/or separate apartments, but it is unclear when this was accomplished. It was not until circa 1895 that one of the siblings, George, was able to consolidate his ownership of the house. He continued to own the house, presumably with few improvements, through August 1908. George utilized the substantial

¹ The *Journal* was reporting on the death of one Sarah Clark in the house who had “died alone... in a dilapidated tenement house, near the corner of Tenth and Madison streets... At what time she died perhaps will never be known, for she was unattended and alone, even those of her kind avoided her. The cause of her death was disease, brought on by her life of wantonness, and exposure. What agony she must have suffered, when alone in that dreary cold hovel... She was buried in the potters [sic] field” (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 October 1887).

² For a detailed historical context of vice in Springfield, see “‘Springfield A Wicked Old City’: The Rise of Vice in Illinois’ Capital City,” Appendix I, this volume.

Madison Street frontage located along the south side of the property to construct a large bill board advertising his furniture business.

During the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century, many of the older buildings in the neighborhood were purchased as investment properties by local, non-resident families, many of whom were of Jewish faith. The first “wave” of Jewish immigrants into Springfield were generally of central European (German) heritage. Many of these Jewish immigrants left their homeland after the political turmoil of the late 1840s and were small urban shop owners.³ The early Jewish families were “largely of German extraction and education, were of the middle-class townsmen who form the backbone of Europe, and came to America for the same reason that many German Gentiles came—to avoid the military duty which was compulsory after the political upheaval of 1848... They came a family at a time, so slowly that by 1862 there were less than a score in Springfield and the surrounding towns.” In that year (1862), the local Jewish population organized a semi-orthodox church B’rith Shalom, and “became a unified group” with nineteen members (*Illinois State Journal*, November 8, 1931).⁴

One of the first, if not the first, Jewish families documented in early Springfield was the Hammerslough family. Julius Hammerslough arrived in Springfield sometime in circa 1855, presumably from Baltimore where he also had operated a clothing store. By 1856, Julius and one of his brothers were operating a clothing store (Hammerslough Brother Clothiers) on the north side of the Capital Square. The Hammerslough family name first appears in the local newspapers in late 1856, with advertisements appearing for Hammerslough and Brother’s new clothing store. The two brothers were tailors and marketed wholesale and retail clothing. Besides the commercial listing for Hammerslough and Brother, located on the north side of the public square, the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* lists two men by this name: J. Hammerslough (presumably Julius, boarding at the Chenery House), and Louis (boarding at the New England House). Both men were clothiers (*Springfield City Directory* [SCD] 1857:54). Louis moved to Kansas City in circa 1858. By the early 1860s, Edward Hammerslough had joined the company, which included Julius, Lewis, Edward Hammerslough, and Samuel Rosenwald.⁵

Julius Hammerslough was instrumental in the organization of the Springfield Hebrew Congregation (forerunner of the Temple B’rith Shalom) which was established in 1858 with approximately 20 individuals.⁶ Hammerslough was a friend of Abraham Lincoln and not only attended his first inauguration in Washington, but also was part of the delegation which planned

³ Although Campbell (1976:68) suggests that Springfield’s earliest Jewish residents, who were “mostly German” arrived in the 1840s, it was not until the very late 1840s (post-1848), or early 1850s that they arrived (Campbell 1976:68).

⁴ Early families noted in this history include the Myers, Rosenwald, Hammerslough, Stern, Leon, Bergman, Hecht, Seligman, Goslin, Benjamin, Salzenstein, Louis, Katzenstein, and Nusbaum.

⁵ See also <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/126932363/julius-hammerslough> which contains further biographical information regarding Hammerslough’s career in New York City, after his exodus from Springfield.

⁶ Other source suggests that it was not until 1862 that the local Jewish community organized the semi-Orthodox church B’rith Sholem, and “became a unified group” with nineteen members (*Illinois State Journal*, November 8, 1931).

Lincoln's funeral (and helped with the movement in creating what was to become the Lincoln Tomb). Like the majority of the early Jewish families in the region, the Hammerslough brothers were German-born (of Western European descent).

In August 1857, a man named Samuel Rosenwald married Julius' sister Augusta in Baltimore. Rosenwald had arrived in Baltimore, from current Hanover, Germany in 1854. Initially, he worked as a "traveling salesman" (peddler) for a year before opening his own store in Winchester, Virginia. In circa 1856, Rosenwald entered the employ of Julius Hammerslough, and after his marriage to Julius' sister, the couple moved to Peoria where they set up a store for Hammerslough. Soon, Rosenwald bought out Hammerslough's interest in the store which the couple continued to operate until 1860, at which time they moved to Talladega, Alabama and Evansville, Indiana to establish similar stores. In 1861, with the onset of the Civil War, Rosenwald returned to Springfield and opened a new clothing store in partnership with Hammerslough that specialized "in uniforms for Union soldiers." Rosenwald later bought out Hammerslough's interest in the store in February 1868 (presumably at the time Hammerslough moved to New York City), eventually selling his store in Springfield to the Myers Brothers in 1886 (at which time he relocated to Chicago to support his son Julius business). Like Hammerslough, Rosenwald was instrumental in the establishment and support of the Hebrew Congregation (later Congregation B'rith Sholom) (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 31 March 1868, p. 4).⁷

During the Civil War years, a rush of Jewish clothiers (such as Samuel Rosenwald) and dry goods merchants arrived in Springfield intent on supplying the Union army with clothing and other staples. Samuel Levi was one such Jewish clothier that came to Springfield in 1865 in an effort to capitalize on the Civil War financial opportunities (SCD 1877). Levi was born in Prussia in 1830, and came to the United States in 1848.⁸ He initially settled at Fort Wayne, Indiana where he worked as a clerk for a dry goods merchant. Levi immigrated to Springfield, via Kentucky and St. Louis, in 1865 arriving in town at approximately 35 years of age. At this time, as Olegario notes, "Springfield...saw a large increase in Jewish clothing dealers who came to supply the soldiers camped outside of the capital." Samuel Levi was one of these clothing firms that joined Hammerslough and Rosenwald in selling uniforms to the U.S. Army. Writing in 1865, a representative of the credit reporting firm of R. G. Dun Company wrote that "there are some 25 Jew clothing firms here who have all come to sell to soldiers. Soon as that business is over of course they will subside" (Olegario 1998:247). Although R. G. Dun Company "declined to report on most of these establishments, perhaps concluding that their temporary stay in Springfield did not render them at all creditworthy," the company did report on the firm of S.

⁷ While in Springfield, Samuel and Augusta Rosenwald initially lived along South Seventh Street in close proximity to, and later across Eighth Street from, the home of Abraham Lincoln. Samuel and Augusta Rosenwald had six children, one of which was the philanthropist Julius Rosenwald. The young Julius Rosenwald got his start in the clothing business working for Hammerslough and Brothers in New York City in 1879 (<https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scrc/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.ROSEWALDS>; <https://snaccooperative.org/view/1523648>).

⁸ Hohenzoller-Hechingen, Prussia (*Illinois State Journal*, 5 August 1881, p. 6). Levi died in 1881 at 51 years of age. His wife was from the same location, and her family immigrated to the United States in 1854. She died in Chicago in 1905 (*Illinois State Journal*, 3 March 1905, p. 5).

Levy and Brother. Speaking of that firm, the Dun Company reporters noted that their business “was ‘almost exclusively with soldiers’ and that the firm ‘are looked upon here as sharpers’” (Olegario 1998:247).⁹

After the Civil War, several of the Jewish clothing merchants who came to Springfield specially to sell to the U.S. Army (such as Rosenwald and Levy) remained in the community. In 1866, the small Jewish community was able to entice a rabbi to serve the Springfield community, and in that year the first rabbi arrived in Springfield; his name was Bernard Deutsch.¹⁰ The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that the Jewish Synagogue was located “over Township Rooms” on South Sixth Street, and that Rabbi Bernard Deutsch presided (SCD 1868:19). The 1869 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that the Jewish Synagogue was located on Fifth Street between Monroe and Adams Streets, with Rabbi Deutsch still present (SCD 1869:17). The 1872 city directory included substantial histories of the city’s local churches. Although there was a listing for the Hebrew Congregation, it was ever so brief noting its organization in 1864, the presence of Rabbi Deutsch, the size of the congregation (which consisted of 25 members), and the presence of a Sabbath School (with twelve students) (SCD 1872:52). The 1888 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that there were eighteen churches in Springfield at that time, one of which was of the Jewish faith (SCD 1888:31).

By the early 1870s, the congregation had grown to approximately 25 families in size (as opposed to the earlier 25 members). In late 1872, the *Journal* reported that “we are gratified to learn that our citizens of the Isralitish [sic] faith propose to erect a Synagogue, for religions service according to the ‘Reform’ worship”: (*Illinois State Journal* 29 October 1872, p. 4). In 1876, the congregation, which was described as semi-Orthodox, voted to accept the faith’s reform tenants, and the Hebrew Reform Congregation was founded. At this time, the local Jewish congregation purchased land adjacent to, and to the south of, the old Arsenal building on North Fifth Street, and constructed the congregation’s first temple. On September 1, 1876, the congregation moved into their new synagogue (at 426 North Fifth Street), which they occupied through 1916 (at which time a new one was constructed at Fourth and Scarritt Streets). By the 1880s, a substantial Jewish population had settled in this north Fifth Street vicinity.

A second wave of Jewish immigration to the United States had begun in the 1870s, and continued through the early years of the twentieth century. The largest number of this group of Jewish immigrants were from Eastern Europe (today’s Poland, Belarus, Lithuania, and Ukraine,

⁹ Olegario (1998:247) makes some very relevant observations regarding the arrival of the Jewish families into Springfield during the Civil War years. She notes “the Civil War intensified anti-Semitic sentiments, as Jewish entrepreneurs joined the rush to supply both armies with clothing and supplies.” The site of the Levi house was the focus of archaeological investigations as part of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum parking lot facility (Mansberger 2009). In December 1862, General Grant issued his controversial Order No 11, which was made in effort to halt perceived Jewish profiteering during the Civil War, further enflaming anti-Semitic feelings.

¹⁰ Bernard Deutsch was from Bohemia. Little is known about Rabbi Deutsch. A clothing merchant, M. Deutsch, is in business in Springfield in the early 1860s, and may be related. The Deutsch name is associated with two of the families discussed in this vignette. Bernard Friedman married a young woman named Hannah Deutsch. Perhaps she was related to the new rabbi. Similarly, the tailor Abraham Weinberger’s estate was in debt to the firm of M. Deutsch and Company (for slightly over \$864) in 1876.

on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains) and are often referred to as “Russian Jews.”¹¹ Another group contemporaneous with, and culturally similar to, this wave of Russian Jews was a group from the Western slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, this one referred to as the Austro-Hungarian Jews. This new wave of immigrants eventually founded the Orthodox Congregation B’nai Abraham in 1895, which first met in the former Methodist Episcopal Church located at Seventh and Mason streets. According to one history, “in the late ‘70s and early ‘80s came another Jewish group, of a different stock. Marks (2015) states that the Fishman and Greenberg families were among the first of the East European Jews to arrive in Springfield, and that “a sizable number of Springfield Jewish families had their origins in the Rovno (or Rivne) region of Ukraine in the towns of Yampol, Zaslav, Belogoroka, and Shepetovka.” Louis Fishman emigrated to Springfield “as a young man” in 1887. Although Fishman was preceded by more than a decade by fellow Eastern European Jewish immigrants to Springfield (such as the Friedman family), his occupation upon arrival in Springfield, as a peddler, was characteristic of many early Jewish immigrants career path. As a peddler, Fishman started with minimal inventory, no retail establishment, and sold his merchandize by “carrying his stock in a container strapped to his shoulders” and “sold his wares in the streets and market places of the community.”

Later, as his business increased, he secured a horse drawn wagon, loaded his merchandise in the vehicle and toured the farm area surrounding Springfield. For a number of years he operated a street stand at the southeast corner of Sixth and Washington streets, near the old Sangamon Loan & Trust bank, which occupied that site. In 1892, Mr. Fishman opened his first store at 124 North Fifth street.¹²

The 1881 *Springfield City Directory* lists three organizations under the heading “Hebrew Societies”: Emes Lodge No. 67 I.O.B.B (International/Independent Order of B’Nai Birth; meets in rear of Temple), Bereth Sholem Congregation (Temple on North Fifth near the State Arsenal), and the Ladies Benevolent Society (SCD 1881:10)—all associated with the more established Jewish community from the Germanic regions of “Western Europe.” In the autumn of 1882, a small group of these newly arrived Eastern European immigrants organized the first orthodox Jewish congregation in Springfield with a membership of only seven families. Initially this

¹¹ These individuals were escaping from Austro-Hungarian and Russian hegemony. One infamous Russian Jew from Springfield was Abraham Raymer (aka Reimer) who had immigrated to the United States in circa 1905, arriving in Springfield in early 1908 and an active participant in the riotous activities of August 1908. Although not convicted for the crime, Raymer most likely murdered William Donnegan. It is also of note that a fellow Russian Jew—Barker—put up Raymer’s bail bond, suggesting the solidarity of the Jewish community despite the heinous activities in which Raymer had been accused of.

¹² Louis Fishman’s originally marketed “fancy lace and linen”, but with the opening of his store he added “a line of knives” to his inventory and later “brought in guns and mining equipment for the coal miners” and most likely also functioned as a pawn shop). In 1917, Louis retired and turned the business over to his sons. By the 1940s, Fishman Brother’s Sporting Goods store had added “a line of nationally known musical instruments, modern luggage and a complete line of watches and jewelry.” The success of his store “allowed him to bring his wife and oldest son” to Springfield from Europe. By the 1990s, the establishment was known as Fishman Sporting Goods (then located in the 600 block of East Washington Street) (*Illinois State Journal and Register*, 26 January 1947, p. 57). Brother Reuben operated a pawn shop at 719 East Washington Street, which played significant role in the August 1908 race riots.

orthodox congregation met “from house to house, and later rented a building at Seventh and Washington streets, which at that time also housed the city hall. It was not until 1896 that they bought their own church, a building at Seventh and Mason streets, which had been used by the German Methodists.”¹³ In 1886, the orthodox Young Men’s Hebrew Congregation was formed.

During the nineteenth century, a large segment of the Jewish population was centered on the Near North Side. Three synagogues ultimately came to be built within a few blocks of one another on the Near North Side. The earliest of these was located at 426 North Fifth Street and was built by a Reformed congregation that was the ancestor of present-day Temple B’Rith Shalom. This was founded by Jews from Western Europe. Eastern European Jews formed the B’Nai Abraham Congregation in the 1880s, and in 1895 this group purchased a former Methodist church at Seventh and Mason for use as their synagogue. In 1916, construction began on the Temple B’rith Shalom (Reform) constructed at 1004 South Fourth Street, which was completed in 1917. The Isadore Kanner Memorial Synagogue, located at Mason and Eighth Streets (300 block of North Eighth) was completed in 1915 (Russo et al. 1998:118; Ruger 1867). This synagogue was used in the 1920s and 1930s, mostly for holiday services and was shuttered during the early 1940s. In 1957, the Temple Israel (Conservative) was formed, merging with B’nai Abraham. In 1959, the Temple Israel was constructed at 1140 West Governor Street, dedicated in 1962.

One of the first houses in the immediate Tenth Street project area purchased by a Jewish investor was House B (311 North Tenth Street), which was purchased by Henry Schwartz in 1891.¹⁴ Similarly, House C was owned by the Rubinsky family beginning in 1891, and continuing through at least 1908. The Rubinskys were also Jewish immigrants from Russian controlled Poland. Rachel Rubinsky was born in Russian controlled Poland in 1854 and had immigrated to the United States in 1871. Her husband Michael was a peddler, who later became a junk dealer and eventually entered the grocery business. In 1891, the Rubinskys were living at 912 East Madison Street (directly south of project area) but by 1900 they had relocated to 1024 East Madison Street (SCD 1891:716; United States Bureau of the Census [USBC] 1900).¹⁵

An extended Jewish family that had a significant impact on the project neighborhood, beginning in the 1890s, was that of Bernard Friedman. Mr. Friedman and his wife Hannah [nee Deutsch], arrived in Springfield in circa 1880. The couple had four daughters and a son, and their children (with their spouses) were either residents of the Near North Side neighborhood, and/or invested heavily in the neighborhood’s real estate (as well as in commercial property in the Black

¹³ The early families associated with the orthodox congregation included Feltenstein, Schwartz, Kanner, Levi, Friedman, Weinberger, and Goldstein families—several of whom are integral to the current discussion. Samuel Levi occupied a house on North Fifth Street, which was the focus of archaeological investigations conducted by Fever River Research as part of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Parking Garage West project area (Mansberger 2009).

¹⁴ Although a John Rabenstein had purchased 311 North Tenth Street in 1883. Although Rabenstein initially was suspected as being of Jewish heritage, he most likely was a German Catholic who had a career as an undertaker (See discussion, House B; Mansberger and Stratton 2024, Volume II).

¹⁵ The home the Rubinskys occupied in 1900 (1024 East Madison Street) was one of those destroyed in the 1908 race riot. The family had relocated to 815 East Carpenter Street in 1905-1906 (SCD 1906:659).

commercial district known as “the Levee”). This extended family included the Freidmans, the Schwartzes, the Weinbergers, and the Kanners. The four Friedman sisters each married Jewish men, at least three of whom invested heavily in rental income property. Mr. Friedman’s son-in-laws, and his son, capitalized on the family’s ties to the neighborhood. Bettie Friedman married Morris Wineberger, a young clerk at Weinberger and Friedman in 1893. Theresa Freidman married Henry Schwartz. Sarah Friedman married Isadore Kanner. Annie Friedman married Samuel Weinberger.


CAPITOL CLOTHING HOUSE!
NEW STORE.
HAMMERSLOUGH & BRO.,
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS IN
READY MADE CLOTHING,
AND
GENTLEMEN'S FURNISHING GOODS,
NORTH SIDE OF THE SQUARE,
Sept 8-d Springfield, Illinois.

MILITARY OFFICERS ATTENTION.— We are now prepared to make to order officers' clothing in a "superior style;" we have just received a choice lot of military cloth, which will be made up into suits, under the special supervision of L. F. Rude, a competent cutter, whose taste and ability cannot fail to please the most fastidious. Our military goods are warranted to be good color, will be made up in the most substantial manner.
HAMMERSLOUGH BROS.
july 22d 2w.



Figure 1. Top: Pre-war 1850s advertisement for Hammerslough and Brother's store (*Illinois State Register*, 8 September 1856, p. 2). Bottom: Civil War era advertisement for Hammerslough Brothers store, emphasizing military sales (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 August 1862, p. 3).

CITY DIRECTORY.

CAPITOL CLOTHING HOUSE.
I DID.

Eastern  Prices.

I DIDN'T I

HAMMERSLOUGH & BRO.,
WHOLESALE & RETAIL
Manufacturers and Dealers
IN READY MADE CLOTHING,
GENTLEMEN'S FURNISHING GOODS, INDIA RUBBER
Clothing, Hats, Caps, Trunks and Umbrellas.
North side Square, Springfield, Ill.
Our motto is:—"Not to be **BEAT** in **GOODS OR**
PRICES.  **A LARGE STOCK ALWAYS ON HAND.** 

ADVERTISEMENTS. 11

1863.

Largest Stock in the City.

HAMMERSLOUGH BROTHERS.
Merchant Tailors,
CLOTHIERS!
AND DEALERS IN
CLOTHS, CASSIMERES, SATINETS,
HATS, CAPS, AND
GENTS' FURNISHING GOODS,
NORTH SIDE OF THE PUBLIC SQUARE,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

Figure 2. Advertisements for Hammerslough and Brother (left; *Springfield City Directory* 1857) and Hammerslough Brothers (right; *Springfield City Directory* 1863). By 1863, the partnership probably included the three Hammerslough brothers (Julius, Lewis, and Edward), as well as Samuel Rosenwald.

IMPROVEMENTS.—Our enterprising fellow-townsmen, the Hammerslough Brothers, have been making considerable improvements in their clothing establishment, on the North side of the Square. They have built an addition to their store which increases the capacity of their already spacious sales-rooms some seventy feet. These improvements were made necessary by the constantly increasing business of the firm, and to afford room for a new custom department, which is under the superintendence of experienced cutters, and being furnished with all the material which the trade affords, offers considerable inducements to those who desire to have their clothes made to order. Officers and other military men would do well to give them a call, as they have a splendid stock of military cloth, etc., which they are prepared to make up at the shortest notice. This new branch, in addition to their varied and extensive stock of ready made clothing, hats, caps, boots, shoes, etc., makes the establishment of the Messrs. Hammerslough one of the largest and most complete in the West.

DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP.—The firm of Hammerslough Bros., Springfield, Illinois, is hereby dissolved by mutual consent. This dissolution to date from February 1st, 1868. Samuel Rosenwald, our successor, is authorized to collect all moneys due us and settle all claims against us.

JULIUS HAMMERSLOUGH,
LEWIS HAMMERSLOUGH,
EDWARD HAMMERSLOUGH,
SAMUEL ROSENWALD.

Referring to the above dissolution of co-partnership, we take this occasion to express our thanks to our numerous customers for the patronage bestowed upon us, and having sold out our entire interest to our successor, Mr. S. Rosenwald, who will continue the business, we would bespeak for him a continuance of your esteem and patronage.

Respectfully,
HAMMERSLOUGH BROS.

A CARD.—S. Rosenwald, successor to Hammerslough Bros., Springfield, Illinois, solicits the patronage of the many friends of the old firm, to all of whom he is individually known, and promises to henceforth make it his study to please all patrons, and pledges himself to conduct the business upon the same straightforward and honorable rules, by which the old firm secured so large a patronage.

Respectfully,
S. ROSENWALD,
Successor to Hammerslough Bros., Springfield, Illinois. mch28d1m

Figure 3. Left: Civil War era notice of Hammerslough and Brother's recent improvements to their store, and appeal to military customers (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 July 1862, p. 3). Right: An 1868 notice of the dissolution of the Hammerslough partnership, and subsequent sale of the business to Samuel Rosenwald (*Illinois State Journal*, 31 March 1868, p. 4).

PROBLEM — HAMMERSLOUGH BROS.

I have 14,111 coats and each coat has 4 pockets. Owen has 17,463 pills. Each pocket of a Hammerslough coat will hold 748 pills, (large ones). How many pills would Owen have to add to his present stock, and how long would it take him to make them, in order to have enough to fill all the pockets in Hammerslough's coats?

P. S. To find out how many pills Owen can make in a day you will either have to go to him and inquire, or else buy one of Hammerslough's splendid coats, put it on and you will be wise enough to know anything, except—(What's the matter with the gas.) feb 9

COULDN'T COME "UP" TO HAMMER-

SLOUGH'S overcoats. No, sir, would'nt like to try the experiment. Too dangerous by several precincts. If he did Owen's Patent Medicines would'nt go "down" the peoples' throat. Much the best goods at bottom prices is OWEN'S style all over. feb9

I AM sitting to-day in old No. 10,
Where you and I have sat so oft together,
And I'm thinking of the Pills that cure all our ills,
And the family dyes—black, brown or leather;
All of which Owen sells cheap, very. Friend, a word:
Have you a cough or cold? Owen has the remedy, certain.

YANKEE Doodle came to town

On a little p-e-e-n-y,
Stuck a feather in his hat
And looked just like T. OWENY.
There's a compliment for you, Mister, that means you're sharp—know how to get up trade. But then there was no need for Yankee to stick a feather in his hat; if he had had one of Hammerslough's bunkum hats on, he'd a looked gay enough.
I say, Hammerslough, how's the coat trade?

Figure 4. Two late war (February 1865) "advertisements," each consisting of linked statements parodying Hammerslough and Brother, and the Springfield druggist T. J. V. Owen (*Illinois State Journal*, 8 February 1865, p. 3; 11 February 1865, p. 3). Both notices appear to poke fun at, and potentially question the extensive sale of both drugs and clothing to the U.S. Government during the Civil War years.

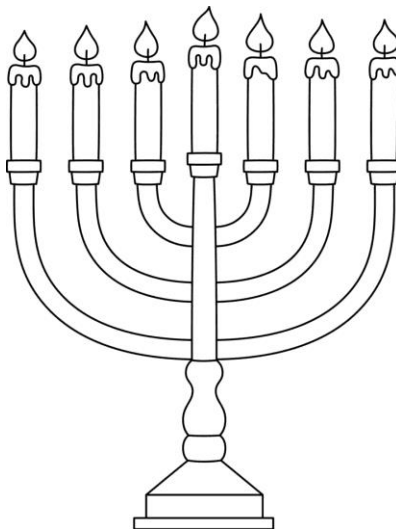


Figure 5. Glass bottle or jar fragment with embossed image of a menorah, recovered from a late nineteenth or early twentieth century privy pit (Feature 6) from a house site along north Fifth Street with the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Parking Lot West Project Area. This artifact may represent a Kosher food product associated with the conservative Orthodox Levi family (or other Jewish family from the neighborhood) (enlarged 175%; Mansberger 2009).

The Friedman Family

Little is known about the early life of Bernard (1823-1901) and Hannah Deutsch (1820-1910) Friedman and their family. Mrs. Friedman's obituary suggests that she was born "in Autro-Hungary and came to this country thirty-five years ago [circa 1875]" and that she had lived in Springfield for the past twenty six years (since circa 1884) ("MRS. H. FRIEDMAN CALLED BY DEATH," *Illinois State Journal*, 19 March 1910, p. 6). Mr. Friedman's obituary suggested that he had been a resident of Springfield for twenty years (since circa 1881) (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 November 1901, p. 6). Their daughter Bettie's obituary suggests that the family had been in Springfield since circa 1880, a date corroborated by an 1881 newspaper announcement (*Illinois State Register*, 25 February 1894, p. 1).

The Friedman family most likely immigrated to the United States from Hungary in circa 1875.¹⁶ Their daughter Bettie's obituary suggests that the family may have been from Kasku, Hungary (most likely Kaschau, Hungary), as that was where she had been born.¹⁷ The 1900 U.S. Census of Population suggests that Henry Friedman, the couple's oldest son, was born in Austria in 1866. This census also suggests that the extended Bernard Friedman family immigrated to the United States, from Austria, in 1873.

Unfortunately, the Friedman family was not located within the pages of the 1880 U.S. Census of Population for Springfield. Although the whereabouts of the family from the time of their arrival in the U.S. in circa 1875 to their arrival in Springfield in circa 1880 is unknown, one of Bernard's daughter's (Theresa) obituary claims that she (and/or the extended Friedman family?) had resided in Cleveland, Ohio prior to coming to Springfield (*Illinois State Register*, 11 September 1913, p. 2). One of the first references to the Friedman family in Springfield occurred in September 1881 with the announcement of the issuance of a marriage license to Samuel M. Weinberger and Annie Friedman, both residents of Springfield. Annie was Bernard's daughter (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 September 1881, p. 7). A second newspaper account occurred in November 1885 with a cryptic note in the paper's "Legal Log" noting that the jury in the case of Sarah Friedman (another one of Bernard's daughter, later to marry Isadore Kanner) had reached a verdict for the plaintiff "in the sum of 99 cents" (*Illinois State Journal*, 14 November 1885, p. 8).

The earliest *Springfield City Directory* that references the Friedman family is the 1882-83 directory, which lists Bernard Friedman as a resident at 714 Madison street (SCD 1882-83:92). The 1886-87 *Springfield City Directory* lists Bernard as living at 717 Washington Street (SCD 1886-87:108). Neither directory lists an occupation for Bernard, who most likely was retired by this time. The 1886-87 directory lists Bernard's son, H. I. Friedman [Henry] as operating a "second hand" store and residing at the same address as his father on Washington Street. By this date, Henry and Samuel Weinberger together were operating a second-hand clothing store, located at 717 Washington Street, under the name Weinberger and Friedman (SCD 1886-

¹⁶ One of the Ancestry.com family trees most relevant to this research is <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/25573818/person/12006603466/facts>.

¹⁷ German Kaschau, Hungarian Kassa, Slovakian Kosice. Today, the city is located in eastern Slovakia near both the Hungarian and Ukrainian border.

87:285). The 1891-92 *Springfield City Directory* lists Bernard as “retired” and residing at 806 Mason Street, a location which the family identified with for many years after.¹⁸ This directory lists Abe J. Friedman (clerk boarding at 717 Washington), Bessie (milliner at Bunkers, residing at 803 Mason Street), David (a fitter at Nebinger’s, residing at 827 Madison Street), Henry I. (a “gents finisher” residing at 806 Mason Street, and Ike K (a clothier, residing at 806 Mason Street)(SCD 1891-92: 125). The firm of Weinberger and Friedman was listed as “Gents Finishers” located at 603 Washington Street. The 1892 *Springfield City Directory* (SCD 1892:230) lists Bernard Friedman residing at 806 East Mason Street, without an occupation listed. At this address at this time, besides Bernard, was Miss Bessie Friedman (milliner with Bunker and Company), Abraham Friedman (clothier at 717 East Washington), Henry I. (a shirt manufacturer at 709 E. Washington), and boarding at 717 East Washington were Mrs. Sarah K. Friedman and Simon Friedman. By 1894, there is no reference to the Weinberger and Friedman clothing store in the local papers. By 1904, Bernard had died, and his son Henry was listed as a shoemaker with the business located at 705 E. Washington (SCD 1904:208). At an early date, the Friedman family was operating businesses from locations within the 700 block of East Washington Street, a location within the heart of the Black commercial district known as “the Levee.”

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population lists Henry Friedman (a merchant) residing with his wife Sarah (nee Schwartz) Friedman. According to the census, Henry was born in Hungary in 1871, and the couple was married in circa 1887. Listed within the household were five children. The elder Bernard Friedman was not found in the 1900 census; he died in mid-November 1901, aged 78 years.¹⁹ His wife Hannah died in March 1910, aged 90 years (*Illinois State Journal* 15 November 1901, p. 6; “Mrs. H Friedman Called By Death. Resident of City Twenty-Six Years Passes Away At Her Home,” *Illinois State Journal*, 19 March 1910, p. 6). At the time of Hannah’s death, she was 90 years of age, was living with her daughter Mrs. Theresa Swartz [sic Schwartz] at the family home at 806 East Mason Street, and was noted as being “well-known and highly respected in this city and was one of the oldest residents in the county” (*Illinois State Register*, 25 March 1910, p. 5). Newspaper research suggests that Bernard and Hanna Friedman had at least four children: Mrs. Morris Weinberger [Bettie], Mrs. Thomas Schwatz [Theresa], Mrs. Isador Kanner [Sarah], Mrs. Samuel N. Weinberger [Annie], and Henry I. Friedman [wife Sarah Moskowitz] (1871-1955).²⁰

Sometime in late 1913 or early 1914, Bernard’s son Henry Friedman apparently shuttered his shoemaking business, and opened a wall paper and paint store. In 1914, the city directory listing noted that Henry Friedman was the proprietor of the “Cut Rate Wall Paper Store, Special

¹⁸ In March 1890, the Register reported that Bernard Friedman, aged 56 years, was a native of Austria and had “took out his first naturalization papers yesterday) (*Illinois State Register*, 12 March 1890, p. 6).

¹⁹ <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/3476506:7602>; see also the 1910 (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/5971696:7884>), 1920 (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/89962155:6061>), and 1930 (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/87633670:6224>) census returns.

²⁰ Hannah’s obituary suggests that she was survived by two sisters, Mrs. G. Firsch (Springfield), Mrs. Comet (Davenport, Iowa), and four brothers, M. Deutsch (Jacksonville), H. Deutsch (Davenport Iowa), J. Deutsch (Minneapolis), and A. Deutsch (South Dakota).

Department of 5 and 10 Cent Wall Paper” located at 116-118 South Seventh Street.” By this time, Henry had was living at a new address, 1213 East Monroe Street. By the 1920s, Friedman had expanded into both paint and furniture. In 1927, the Friedman Brothers (Mandel and Bernard) were apparently running a wall paper and paint store (then located at 625 East Adams). In that year, the brothers filed for bankruptcy (*Illinois State Register*, 5 August 1927, p. 2). It is unclear whether or not this is the same, or a second store. Subsequently, in early 1933, Henry I. Friedman was forced to sell at public auction due to a Chancery Foreclosure, approximately 30 Springfield properties. Although it is unclear whether the advertised locations were improved or not, these probably represent improved properties (*Illinois State Journal*, 5 January 1933, p. 12).

Henry I. Friedman died in 1946 at 79 years of age. At the time, he was residing at 419½ North Sixth Street, and was the proprietor of Friedman’s Wallpaper and Paint Store (located at 114 South Seventh Street), a business that he had initiated in circa 1913-1914 (SCD 1913:346; 1914:350). Henry was a member of the Congregation B’Nai Abraham and the Kanner Memorial Synagogue. At the time of his death, Henry was survived by his wife (Sarah) and seven sons (Simon, Archie, Mandel, Bernard, Benny, Jacob, and Adolph), three daughters (Mrs. Rose Mund, Mrs. Margaret Miller, and Mrs. Hannah Feir), and two sisters (Mrs. Sarah Kanner, and Mrs. Annie Weinberger) (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 August 1946, p. 15).

Although it is unclear whether the father, Bernard invested in real estate or not, based on the 1933 Chancery Foreclosure sale of Henry’s properties, it would appear that he had invested substantially in real estate over the preceding years. In August 1903, Henry was sued for injuries received by a tenant from falling from a porch. According to the tenant, the rental property had not been maintained properly, and he fell from a log that was being used as a porch step (*Illinois State Register*, 15 August 1903, p. 8). At the time of the riots in August 1908, Henry owned at least one property within the immediate Tenth Street project area, as he filed a claim against the City of Springfield for damages incurred at 314 North Tenth Street, for \$2,500 (*Illinois State Register*, 15 July 1909, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1909, p. 9). Ultimately, Henry settled his claim against the City of Springfield for \$750 in early 1912 (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 February 1912, p. 4). In late summer 1911, Henry was cited for not cutting weeds on a lot owned by him at Tenth street, between Madison and Mason—presumably the location of the house once located at 314 North Tenth Street (Site 20; *Illinois State Journal*, 26 August 1911, p. 12). Henry’s sister, Sarah Kanner, died in 1947, and willed extensive property to her nephews and nieces (Henry’s children; See discussion of Isadore Kanner). Of particular interest was the commercial buildings located along Washington and Jefferson Streets, in the heart of the Black commercial district known as the Levee.



KEEN KUTTER HARDWARE KEEN KUTTER

Out of the high rent district. Quality Hardware, Electrical Supplies and Household Appliances at a Reasonable Price. Compare our Quality and Price with merchandise bought elsewhere. We guarantee good value for every dollar spent in our store.

Health Cooker. For Waterless Cooking. Will cook the whole meal at one time. More delicious foods at lower cost. We will be glad to show you the Health Cooker.	PYREX WARE Pie Plates, Casseroles, Baking Dishes, with and without handles.
Brass Faucets... 85c Nickel Plate Faucets... \$1	87c to \$2.50
Asst. up from \$1.50	SOBBERS Values up to \$10, each only 75c
Coal Hook, 35c to 80c	Best shelling suits are obtained with Winchester Shotgun Shell, 80c to \$1.25
Furnace Sumps 49c to \$1.40	WINDOW REFRIGERATOR Heavy galvanized metal, large capacity. \$3.95
Ford Chassis, Keen, Kutter 1.87 to \$3	
The Best Made	

FRIEDMAN'S
Wallpaper, Paints, Furniture 117-119-121 SOUTH SEVENTH Hardware and Electrical Goods

PRE-HOLIDAY SPECIALS ON WALL PAPER

Make your home bright and cheerful with these colorful patterns of quality Wall Paper. NOW AT A BIG SAVING!

SPECIAL ROOM PRICES

Heavy Embossed. Highest Quality Living Room and Dining Room Papers; beautiful patterns; long attention; regular 80c value. Special at 24c	Complete rooms of 10 walls, ceiling and 18 yard border. \$1.48 \$1.90 \$2.20	Highest grade, beautiful patterns and newest colorful designs in bedroom papers. Regular 40c, 35c and 30c values. Special prices at per roll. 9c 12c 14c
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All new stock and beautiful patterns. Bring your size with you and get our special room prices on any size room.

Complete showing of new stock and new designs at per roll.
1c 5c 6c 8c 9c 10c 12c 14c

4 Hr. High Gloss Water Proof Varnish. \$1.40 ea.	4 Hr. Enamel Beautiful Colors. Special Price. 75c ea.	Hard Drying High Gloss Varnish. \$1.00 ea.
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Ray Lacquer Here Now at Our Special Price

WINDOW SHADES
Oil Opac, in all colors. 96c
Washable Jacquard Border, in the newest colors and effects, now at each. \$1.50

LACE CURTAINS
2 1/2 yard lengths. Drop with fringe, 46-inch widths. Special now at \$1.00

PRE-HOLIDAY SPECIALS IN FURNITURE

Practical Gifts for Xmas are Furniture Gifts. Buy here. We are making Special Prices Now.

Foot Stools, Each, 98c	Card Tables, Each, \$1.69	Carpet Sweepers, Each, \$2.90	Framed Pictures, "Spring Song" 16" x 11", Each, 87c
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NEW RUGS

\$x12, a good looking Rug, Special, \$14.90	\$x12 Heavy Fringed Value, \$27.50	Apartment Extension Davenport Table. \$24.50
\$x12 Good Tapestry Special, \$19.75	27" x 36" inch Administer Rug Special, \$7.39	Fibre Fernettes, with removable galvanized liner, made strong and durable. Special, \$3.75

CONSOLE RUGS
New beautiful patterns. \$6.90
Other sizes at special prices, new stock. 58c

FIBRE ROCKERS, 4 DAYS ONLY \$9.90
Our Fibre Rockers mean Quality. Made with removable Spring Cushions, beautiful covers and newest finishes. A \$12.00 value, for Thursday, Friday and Saturday; each. \$9.90

Day Bed with Cane Panel End, 30-Pound All-Giltton Pad. Special. \$17.90

FRIEDMAN'S
Wallpaper, Paints, Furniture 117-119-121 SOUTH SEVENTH Hardware and Electrical Goods

Figure 6. Left: Mr. Henry I. Friedman, only son of Bernard Friedman (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 August 1946, p. 15). Right: Two side-by-side advertisements for Friedman's Wallpaper, Paint, and Furniture Store, which he founded in circa 1913-1914 (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 December 1928, p. 5).

The Weinberger Family²¹

Samuel N., Morris, and Abraham Weinberger were all noted as residents within the greater project area by the later years of the nineteenth century. Perhaps brothers, the relationship of these three men is unknown. Although it is unclear as to the relationship of these three men, they were all related by marriage to the Friedman and Schwartz families. Samuel and Morris married sisters, daughters of Bernard Friedman (Anna and Bette, respectively). Abraham married Henry Schwartz sister (Lena), who also had married one of Bernard's daughters (Theresa).

The early history of the Weinberger family in Springfield is poorly documented. The earliest information regarding the Weinberger family was a listing for A. Weinberger, a tailor, who was residing on Madison Street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets (SCD 1872:124). This location put the family within the 900 Block of Madison Street, a location immediately adjacent to the Tenth Street project area. In mid-1873, J. D. Womer and Adam Weinberger established a "Merchant Tailoring Establishment" on the west side of the Public Square, over the City Clothing House, under the name "Womer and Weinberger" (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 6 September 1873, p. 1). This business was short-lived as in June 1874 the two men published an announcement advertising the dissolution of the partnership, with Weinberger assuming "all liabilities and debts of the firm." The notice stated that Weinberger would "continue the business at the old stand of Womer & Weinberger" (*Illinois State Register*, 19 June 1874, p. 1). That, too, was short-lived as Abraham Weinberger died suddenly in February 1876. The notice of his death states that he "was a well known tailor of this city, was seized with an attack of apoplexy... and died within an hour... He was well and favorably known to many of our citizens" (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 February 1876, p. 4). At the time of his death, he was indebted to several firms for a substantial amount of money (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 11 April 1876, p. 4).²² .

The 1874 *Springfield City Directory* noted the presence of two individuals with the Weinberger name as living in Springfield at that time (SCD 1874:146). The first of the two Weinbergers was A. Weinberger (partner with Womer and Weinberger) residing on the south side of Madison Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets. The firm of Womer and Weinberger was noted as being located on the east side of the square (SCD 1874:151). The second was one P. Weinberger (a peddler) residing on the south side of Reynolds Street between Tenth and Eleventh Streets. The 1875 *Springfield City Directory* lists only one person with the surname Weinberger. This directory indicated that A. Weinberger was a merchant tailor located "over city clothing store," and residing on the south side of Madison Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets (SCD 1875:150).

The 1876 *Springfield City Directory* listed only a single person with the name Weinberger: A. Weinberger, a German immigrant residing at 805 East Mason Street. At that time, this individual was noted as a widow with no occupation listed (SCD 1876:211). It is unclear whether the A. Weinberger in the 1874 and 1876 city directories represent the same individual.

²¹ The family name was Weinberger, but the local newspapers often incorrectly noted the name as Wineberger.

²² One of these firms was that of M. Deutsch and Company—perhaps somehow related to Hannah Deutsch, Bernard Friedman's wife.

The major differences of note between the 1875 and 1876 listings are the change in the individual's occupations, and their addresses. Abraham, the tailor, was still working as a tailor in 1876 prior to his death. Although Abraham the tailor may have moved to Mason Street between 1874 and 1876, it is not insignificant that the address of the Abraham in the 1876 city directory (805 East Mason) is in close proximity to—if not the same house as—the Freidman family residence (identified as 806 East Mason Street). It is unclear as to the tailor Abraham's marital status, and whether or not he had any sons named Abraham, Samuel, and/or Morris.

The 1879 *Springfield City Directory* lists nobody by the surname Weinberger. This directory does list a woman named Anne Winneberg (with occupation of "help") residing at 231 North Fifth Street (SCD 1879:176). There is a slight possibility this could represent Samuel Weinberger's wife Anna. It is not until 1880 that the name of another Weinberger first appears with regularity. This man also was named Abraham Weinberger.

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population enumerated the A. Weinberger household as living on Mason Street (presumably near 11th Street, between street numbers 1029 and 1105). At that time, Abraham was a 28-year old Hungarian-born saloon keeper living with his 27-year old, Hungarian-born wife Lena. The couple had a 6-year old daughter named Annie and a two-year old son named Louis. Both of the Weinberger children were purported to have been born in Hungary, suggesting that the family had only recently immigrated to the United States within the past two years (circa 1878).²³

Abraham Weinberger married Henry Schwartz's sister, Lena. According to one source, Abraham Wineberger [sic Weinberger] and his wife Lena were married at Castria [sic, Casta?], Hungary, presumably in January 1872.²⁴ Born in circa 1850, Abraham would have been approximately 22 at the time of his marriage. The young couple immigrated to the United States in circa 1877, which is consistent with the mid-1870s date of immigration for the Friedman and Schwartz families.²⁵ It is unclear when the family moved to Springfield. Similarly, it is unclear whether or not this Abraham Weinberger (the saloon keeper) was related to the earlier Abraham Weinberger (the tailor).

The 1880 *Springfield City directory* is the first to list Abraham Weinberger, who was listed as a saloon keeper working and residing on the northwest corner of Eleventh and Mason Streets (SCD 1880: 205). In March of 1880, the *Register* reported on the character of the Weinberger establishment.

²³ https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/21778138:6742?_phsrc=OQK727&_phstart=successSource&gsln=weinberger&ml_rpos=1&queryId=c8e4bac6270f50276296863b449b7e51

²⁴ This newspaper account suggests that the couple were married in 1862. As Abraham was born in circa 1850, this would suggest that he was only twelve years old at the time. A later newspaper account reporting on his divorce in 1899 suggests that the couple was married in January 1872. Presumably the earlier account citing 1862 was a typographical error. According to Lena's obituary, she was born in circa 1857. Unfortunately, the reference to Casta is a village and municipality in far western present-day Slovakia (on the foothills of the Little Carpathians, east of Vienna). This marriage also suggests that the Weinberger, Schwartz, and potentially Friedman families were acquaintances prior to their arrival in the United States, perhaps traveling to Springfield together.

²⁵ This date is based on statements made in Mr. Weinberger's obituary (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 March 1899, p. 5).

This saloon, which is situated on the corner of 11th and Mason streets, is the scene, nightly, of drunkenness, hilarity and disturbances by a crowd of low white and colored vandals and vagrants. Of late the proprietor has appeared before the different justices of the peace to obtain warrants for parties (white and black) who are continually being concerned in disgraceful rows at the place. This nuisance above all other should be abated (*Illinois State Register*, 7 March 1880, p. 6).

This news report suggests that Weinberger and his saloon had been at this location for a sufficient amount of time to garner its salacious reputation. It is unknown how much prior to 1880 the Weinberger and his saloon may have been in operation at this location. In September 1880, Weinberger was arrested “for keeping a disorderly house” and “for allowing disorderly conduct and boisterous behavior in a saloon and dance house run by him just east of the Everett house” (*Illinois State Register*, 22 September 1880, p. 4). The following spring (1881), Weinberger was refused renewal of his liquor license, which he managed to get re-instated by the subsequent year (1882). Not too long after, Weinberger was also being accused of running a house of ill fame (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 18 August 1882, p. 6; 20 January 1886, p. 8; *Illinois State Register*, 6 January 1883, p. 3). In late 1883, Weinberger’s saloon was described as

a dive, in which the Devil would blush to be found. It is located in a respectable part of the city, and is the headquarters for a hord of the most abandoned prostitutes, and men, who are equally as low as their female companions. Children are compelled to pass this place on their way to and from school, and peple residing the neighborhood are forced to hear vile language and witness vile acts from the abandoned creatures who congregate in and about the wretched den. Respectable saloon-keepers should feel themselves degraded by being classed with such a creature as Wineberger, and it does not speak well for the city government, that his place is allowed to run, that a few more dollars may be added to the city treasury (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 November 1883, p. 5).

This location of Weinberger’s saloon at the northwest corner of Tenth and Mason Street was situated immediately across the street from one of the more infamous resorts in Springfield at the time: Old Point Comfort.

The 1887 *Springfield City Directory*’s business mirror lists Abraham Weinberger as a saloon operator at 909 East Madison Street (1887:391). As before, this saloon was located immediately adjacent to another of the more infamous houses of ill fame in Springfield: Mabel Baxter’s resort.²⁶ The 1887 directory personal listing lists Abraham Weinberger, saloonkeeper, residing at same address (SCD 1887:327). By the early 1890s, Abraham Weinberger had diversified his business. The 1892 *Springfield City Directory* is the first to list Abraham with two occupations: “Furniture, 110 North Sixth,” and “saloon, 909 East Madison” (SCD 1892:571). In 1894, the *Springfield City Directory* (SCD 1894:471) similarly lists Abraham with two occupations:

²⁶ A news article in June 1889 noted that Mr. A. Wineberger, of 909 East Madison Street, has goe to Davenport, Iowa for his health” (*Illinois State Register*, 20 June 1889, p. 8).

“furniture, 713 East Washington” and “saloon, 909 Madison.” At this date, the new furniture store had relocated to the heart of the Black commercial district known as “the Levee.”

The year 1894 apparently was a rough year for the Weinberger family. In April of that year, Abe ran a notice in the Register denying the fact that he was “connected with the A. P. A., Amoreans, or any other religious proscriptive society” as his name had apparently been published within a pamphlet entitled “A. P. A. Expose” (*Illinois State Register*, 5 April 1894, p. 5). The American Protective Association (A.P.A.) was an anti-Catholic secret society established by Protestants in 1887 with one of its main tenants being the separation of church and state. The apparent chatter around town so concerned him that he thought it necessary to run a retraction in the newspaper. In July, Lena published a notice disavowing her husband’s debts (*Illinois State Register*, 18 July 1894, p. 8). In August 1894, Abe was arrested in response to a warrant sworn to by Birdie Howard, “an inmate of Lena Winebergr’s place” (*Illinois State Register*, 3 August 1894, p. 6).²⁷

In mid-1895, Mrs. Wineberger filed for a divorce from her husband, claiming grounds of physical abuse and cruelty. At the time of their divorce, all of the family property apparently was in Mrs. Wineberger’s name (“WOES OF WINEBERGER. Wife Now Wants a Divorce,” *Illinois State Register*, 4 August 1895, p. 6). Apparently, Lena did not finalize the divorce, as in early 1899 her husband filed for divorce citing grounds of cruelty (accusing her of mistreatment towards him “owing to her violent temper”). Abe also noted in the petition that “she had “induced him to sign all his property over to her and that she now refuses to share the rents with him.” Lena counter-sued, and filed her own petition for a divorce, this time for infidelity. At this time, Lena noted that they “were married January 3, 1872, and lived together until January, 1891. Since that time, Mrs. Wineberger charges, her husband has not lived with her. Mrs. Wineberger runs a saloon on East Madison street. She owns several pieces of business property” (“SAYS ABE WAS FAITHLESS. Lena Winebergr Seeks Divorce From Her Husband,” *Illinois State Journal*, 19 February 1899, p. 5).

In 1896, tension developed between Lena and her neighbor to the west, Edna Brownlee (aka Mollie Kessler). Edna Brownlee operated a house of ill fame on Madison Street, adjacent to one operated by Lena Weinberger. Over the course of several weeks in October of that year, several warrants were sworn out against both Weinberger and Brownlee. Part of the row began over Abe Weinberger’s sale of furniture to the Brownlee woman. At the time, the newspapers noted that Edna lived “in a rather disreputable quarter of the city on Madison street, between Ninth and Tenth streets” (*Illinois State Register*, 19 October 1896, p. 6) “KEEP POLICE BUSY. Neighborhood Feud Results In a Deluge of Warrants,” *Illinois State Journal*, 21 October 1896, p. 6). In the course of the feud, Edna was arrested for adultery as she apparently was not married to the man she was living with, and actually was married to a Rochester man and was using a fictitious name. This feud carried on into early 1897, when additional charges were filed against Brownlee who was arrested for harboring an inmate (Gertie Smith) under eighteen years of age, as well as “entertaining negroes” (*Illinois State Register*, 23 February 1897, p. 6).

By May 1897, Abe apparently had vacated his furniture store located on Washington Street, and that property was in the hands of his wife Lena. At that time, Mrs. Wineberger listed for rent

²⁷ The reason for the warrant is unclear. Birdie Howard was a prostitute in Lena’s house of ill fame located on Madison Street, adjacent to Mabel Baxter’s resort.

“my three story building, 713 East Washington street; two flats and one store room; also two or three more houses.” She listed her address as 909 East Madison Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 May 1897, p. 7). Mrs. Weinberger’s commercial building on Washington Street most likely was rented to Louis Fishman, a peddler turned store operator (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 May 1901, p. 5).²⁸ In 1901, Lena was charged with conducting “an immoral resort” (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 July 1901, p. 5).

Abe Wineberger died in March 1899. Mr. Weinberger, who was approximately 49 years of age, took his own life by swallowing a lethal dose of morphine as he was “despondent because Lena refused to marry him again.” After his death, Mrs. Wineberger apparently “relented, and it is said she would have married him had he lived. She is greatly grieved over his death, and has purchased a costly casket for his burial” (“ABE WINEBERGER IS DEAD. Succumbed to Effects of Poison Taken Last Thursday,” *Illinois State Journal*, 13 March 1899, p. 5). At the time of his death, he was survived by one child—Fannie Zeigle [sic Siegel], one brother Charles (who resided in Hungary), and two sisters, Mrs. Grossman and Mrs. Goldstick (both residents of New York City). Lena Weinberger died on October 9, 1904, at 47-years of age (*Illinoi State Journal*, 11 October 1904, p. 6). At the time of her death, Mrs. Weinberger was listed as the operator of saloon located at 909 East Madison Street, with personal property assets valued at \$2,500 and “a large amount of real estate in Springfield.” The estate administrator was Samuel Weinberger (*Illinois State Register*, 21 October 1904, p. 6; SCD 1904:792). Abe and Lena’s daughter, Fannie, continued to live at the family residence on Madison Street, and manage the families income properties.²⁹

Samuel Weinberger (b. 1862) was most likely related to Abraham Weinberger. The 1887 Springfield City Directory listed Samuel N. Weinberger (partner with Weinberger and Friedman) residing at 705 East Washington Street. Weinberger and H. Isaac Friedman operated a “clothing and gents furnishings” store located at 705 East Washington (SCD 1887:327). The 1900 U.S. Census of Population as a 38-year old, Hungarian-born “Gent’s Finisher” residing with his 24-year old, Hungarian-born wife Annie (b. 1865) at 821 East Washington Street. According to the census, the couple had been married for 16 years (circa 1884), and had immigrated to the United States in 1880. No other occupants were listed within the household at this time. Annie [Anna] was the daughter of Bernard Friedman. Samuel Weinberger and Henry Friedman were owners of the clothing firm Weinberger and Friedman.

²⁸ By 1907, Louis’ clothing store was located at 124 North Fifth Street. Louis’ brother (Reuben) operated a pawn shop, Fishman’s Pawn Shop, which played a significant role in the riots of August 1908. It was located at 719 East Washington Street in 1908. Mrs. Weinberger’s property was located nearby, at 713 East Washington Street.

²⁹ Fannie Wineberger (1880-1916) apparently had married James Schwarz, a saloonkeeper on East Washington street by early 1902 (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 July 1902, p. 5). James Schwartz was another saloon keeper, potentially related to Henry Schwartz. In July 1902, with a ten-month old child, Fannie was granted a divorce fro Schwartz on grounds of cruelty. The newspapers noted that “This is the second unhappy matrimonial adventure” of Fannie, who apparently had also married a man earlier named Conrad Schutt. May have returned to use of her maiden name (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 2 February 1908, p. 3).

Morris Weinberger was a clerk with the firm Weinberger and Friedman. He married Bettie Friedman, another one of Bernard's daughter in April 1893 (*Illinois State Journal*, 14 April 1893, p. 5; 17 April 1893, p. 4). As with Samuel, Morris' relationship to Abraham Weinberger is unknown. Morris, a clerk in the clothing store (and/or shirt manufactory) of Weinberger and Friedman, married Bettie in the Friedman family home at 806 East Jefferson Street. Shortly after their marriage, the 22-year old Mrs. Morris Weinberger died at the family home, 806 East Mason Street (*Illinois State Register*, 25 February 1894, p. 1; *Illinois State Journal*, 25 February 1894, p. 8). The Mason Street address is the same as Bernard Friedman's and Henry I. Friedman's residence (presumably the family's home at the time (SCD 1894:192). The 1894 *Springfield City Directory* (SCD:471) lists Morris Weinberger as the proprietor of a "shirt and overall factory" located at 709 East Washington, and residence at 806 East Mason. The Mason Street address is the same as Bernard Friedman's and Henry I. Friedman's residence (presumably the family's home at the time (SCD 1894:192).

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS.

WOMER & WEINBERGER,

Would respectfully announce to the public that they will open on Friday, September 12th, a first-class

Merchant Tailoring Establishment,

On West Side Public Square, over the City Clothing House.

Having bought a new stock of the

Most Fashionable

And Best Fabrics of Cassimeres,

Cloths and Vestings,

they would invite the public to inspect their stock.

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS!

A. WEINBERGER,

West Side Square—Over City Clothing Store.

Has a full and Complete line of Foreign and Domestic

Cloths, Suitings, Fancy Coatings of the Latest Patterns, for the

Summer Trade,

which he is prepared to make in the most fashionable style.

He invites his friends and the public to call and examine his stock and prices, before purchasing elsewhere. Satisfaction guaranteed.

may 27 d 1874.

Figure 7. Early business advertisements for the “elder” Abraham Weinberger, an established tailor. Left: Advertisement for firm of Womer and Weinberger (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 September 1873, p. 1); Right: Firm of A. Weinberger (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 June 1874, p. 1).

The Schwartz Family

Henry Schwartz (circa 1847-1894) married Bernard's daughter, Theresa Friedman. Henry's mother, Kate Schwartz, died in early November 1891. At the time of her death, her obituary noted that she was a 73-year old, Hungarian born woman who had been living in Springfield for only three years (since circa 1888), and was residing at 1204 East Jefferson Street. At the time of her death, she was survived by one son, Henry Schwartz of Springfield. Rabbi Isaac Rubenstein of the Jewish Temple officiated at her funeral, with burial at Oak Ridge cemetery (*Illinois State Register*, 3 November 1891, p. 5).

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests that the 37-year old Henry Swartz (sic Schwartz) was living with his 24-year old Hungarian-born wife Theresa in that year. Henry was listed as a Hungarian-born saloon and restaurant owner living on Jefferson Street.³⁰ Listed as a separate household within the same building as the young Schwartz family (as in a double house) was that of the 28-year old, Galatia-born "Esidor Connor" and his 22-year old Hungarian-born wife, Sarah. Esidor was listed as a peddler. Most likely, the "Esidor and Sarah Conner" documented in the 1880 census was Isador and Sarah Kanner (see discussion below). Theresa Schwartz and Sarah Kanner were sisters (Bernard Friedman's daughters). Boarding within the Kanner household at this time was a 21-year old Hungarian-born Charles Schwartz, presumably Henry's brother. Charles was listed as a "clerk in grocery."³¹ Henry's obituary states he had lived in Springfield 20 years, suggesting that he had immigrated to Springfield in circa 1874. This corresponds with the circa 1875 time of arrival of the Friedman family (and represents an early Jewish family from the second wave of Eastern European immigrants).

Early in his career, Henry Schwartz was a tavern keeper, with his combination saloon and residence located on Jefferson, between Seventh and Eighth Streets (just north of what became the Black commercial district centered on the 700 Block of Washington Street known as the Levee). Both the 1882-83 and 1886-87 *Springfield City Directories* indicates Henry was a saloon keeper with his place of business being 714 East Jefferson Street (SCD 1882:205; 1886:248). In late 1885, Schwartz constructed a new two-story brick dwelling house, described as "a mansion," on the south side of Jefferson (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 August, 188, p. 8).³² Schwartz subsequently advertised his "saloon on East Jefferson street" for rent beginning in January 1886 (*Illinoi State Register*, 6 November 1885, p. 3). Most likely this was preparatory to

³⁰ The *Journal* described Schwartz, in March 1882, as "a Hebrew, who runs a rum-shop in connection with a sort of restaurant, on East Jefferson street" (*Illinois State Journal*, 14 March, 1882, p. 3).

³¹ https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/47009451:6742?_phsrc=OQK725&_phstart=successSource&gsfn=henry&gsln=schwartz&ml_rpos=1&queryId=05b8ec5eff1086ad032c29c4fbdafa07

³² In late summer 1888, the *Journal* wrote about a wedding held "at the mansion of Mr. Henry Schwartz, 714 east Jefferson street." The young couple was Henry I Friedman (Henry Schwartz's sister-in-law) and Sarah Moskowitsch. The newspaper headline read "HYMEN ON JEFFERSON STREET. A Lively Sunday Evening Wedding in Israelitish [sic] Circles, with Music and Jolly Times" (*Illinois State Journal*, 31 August 1888, p. 4). The article noted that "Everybody was happy and they fell to dancing with unqualified zeal and energy. J. Allen, George King, and W. Schenick brought in two violins and a guitar, and furnished the music. At 11 o'clock the jollity was still in progress and a happier time was note even enjoyed when the Czar of all the Russias was married."

his changing careers, shifting towards management of a retail clothing store on adjacent Washington Street. Only a few weeks later, Schwartz advertised for rent “a double dwelling house of twelve rooms suitable for hotel or boarding house and saloon.”³³ It is unclear where this large dwelling house was located. It is unclear whether or not he succeeded in renting his saloon business.

Schwartz seems to have run a questionable tavern, as many news briefs of his run-ins with the police appear in the 1880s and 1890s newspapers. The 1880s newspapers contain numerous accounts of his selling liquor to minors at his “old stand” on Jefferson Street. Additionally, in June 1886, only a few months after advertising for rent his “double dwelling house of twelve rooms suitable for hotel or boarding house and saloon,” was arrested on a warrant charging him “with renting a house to prostitutes and to be used for the purpose of prostitution” (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 June 1886, p. 4).³⁴ Newspaper accounts also hint at the possibility that Schwartz also pursued money-lending activities in Springfield (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 12 June 1886, p. 3). Henry Schwartz is not enumerated in the 1891-92 *Springfield City Directory* (SCD 1891:294). At some point during or after circa 1886-87, Schwartz changed occupations as he was listed variously as the proprietor of a “notion store” and “clothing house” (located at 821 East Washington Street) at the time of his death. The new location of Mr. Schwartz store was in the heart of the rapidly growing commercial district known as “the Levee.”

In October 1894, Henry Schwartz died suddenly of “heart disease.” At the time of his death, he was noted as “one of the most prominent members of Jewish society of this city.” Henry died while attending a meeting of the Congregation B’nai Jacob while “attending a meeting of Jewish people in a hall on the south side of Washington street, between Sixth and Seventh streets.” At the time of his death, Schwartz was noted as being 52 years of age and “the proprietor of a clothing house at 821 East Washington street.”³⁵ He was survived by his wife (Theresa), one sister (Mrs. Abe Weinberger), his father L. Swartz of Dayton, Ohio, and four brothers, William (New York), Charles, (Pittsburg), and Morris and Joseph (both of Dayton, Ohio). Rabbi Zachmann conducted the services, and he was buried in Oak Ridge cemetery (*Illinois State Register*, 3 October 1894, p. 1; *Illinois State Register*, 4 October 1894, p. 5). The *Journal* suggested that Henry was 48 years of age, and was celebrating the Jewish New Year at Schuck’s Hall when he was struck down, that he was the proprietor of “a notion store on East Washington Street,” and that he had lived in Springfield 20 years (*Illinois State Journal*, 3 October 1894, p. 5).

Upon his death, he willed “all his property to his wife,” with her father (Bernard Friedman) and sister (Annie Weinberger) assisting with the \$2,500 bond for probate (*Illinois State Journal*, 18

³³ Schwartz, who gave his address as 714 East Jefferson Street, noted that the building “will be rented separately or in whole.” In November 1892, Schwartz sold “the two-story brick building on the south side of Jefferson street, between Seventh and Eighth streets” to Mary E. Smith for the sum of \$4,000 (*Illinois State Register*, 5 November 1892, p. 6). Most likely this was the location of his saloon?

³⁴ This area at the corner of Eighth and Jefferson Street became one of the city’s early red-light districts (see previously cited historical context on vice in Springfield, Appendix I, this volume).

³⁵ Sources are inconsistent as to his age at the time of his death, variously noting him as both 48 and 52-years of age.

October 1894, p. 5). After Henry's death, the widow Schwartz continue to manage his properties after his death. Although the extent of Henry's real estate investments is not known, he had purchased property not only along the commercial Jefferson and Washington Streets, but also residential property in the immediate project area by late 1891, when he purchased the house at 313 North Tenth Street (House B) (SCTB 1:302-303). An adjacent property across the street was owned by her brother, Henry Friedman. Most likely, Henry also had purchased before his death portions of a residential brick building located at the northwest corner of Cook and Tenth Street known as the Watson Building.³⁶ One suspects that Henry also had purchased additional property through the years.

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population suggests that Mrs. T. Swarts [sic Schwartz] was living within the F. W. Friedman household at 720 East Washington Street at the time. The elder Mr. Friedman was 74 years of age, and living with his 73-year-old wife Amy. The 46-year-old Mrs. Schwartz was listed as the couple's daughter, and all three were noted as being born in Hungary. Both Mr. Friedman and Mrs. Schwartz were noted as being retired. The census also suggests that the Friedman family had immigrated to the United States in 1876, and they owned their home free of a mortgage. Although Mr. and Mrs. Friedman's name in the census differ from the names Bernard and Hannah (the names of the Friedman children's parents), it appears that this is indeed Henry Schwartz wife, Theresa Friedman Schwartz.³⁷ During this time, Mrs. Schwartz was actively engaged with the Ladies Hebrew Society (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 19 March 1897, p. 6).³⁸

Soon after the riots in August 1908, Mrs. Schwartz filed a claim with the City of Springfield for damages totaling \$1,800 to her property variously described as 313 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Register*, 10 September 1908, p. 5) and 315 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 5 September 1908, p. 5). Nearly a year later, the local newspapers reported on additional claims, (presumably claims being "re-filled"), with both newspapers reporting her claim of \$2,000 in damages for the total loss of the house at 313 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Register*, 15 July 1909, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1909, p. 9). Both newspapers also reported on a claim filed by her brother, Henry Friedman for \$2,500 damages incurred with the loss of the house at 314 North Tenth Street. In late August 1911, three years after the riots, several of the properties at Tenth and Madison Street had not, as yet, been cleaned up. In late summer 1911, Schwartz (as well as her brother Henry) was cited by the city health department for allowing weeds to grow up on a vacant lot she owned on north Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison, presumably that associated with 313 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Journal*, August 26, 1911). At that time, a

³⁶ The Watson Building was partially owned by Mrs. Schwartz in early 1900 when the "old brick tenement" catastrophically collapsed (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 January 1900, p. 3). The newspaper recounts how the occupants barely escaped "from the trembling pile," and that "Four Families Lose [sic] Their All in the Ruin and Are Left Without Furniture or Home."

³⁷ https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/3476654:7602?_phsrc=OQK737&_phstart=successSource&gsln=friedman&ml_rpos=13&queryId=1cab297da4e42aa542ec6c4f124d2cec

³⁸ This particular news story reports on a charity ball the Ladies Hebrew Society held for the benefit of the Poor of Springfield. Mrs. Schwartz served on the arrangements committee, along with her sister, Mrs. Isadore Kanner (and others).

campaign had been waged for several weeks by the city health department to abate the nuisances, which had been ignored by the property owners, and warrants were subsequently issued ("MUST CUT WEEDS OR SUBMIT TO FINE," *Illinois State Journal*, 26 August 1911, p. 12). It was not until early 1912 that the riot claims with Mrs. Schwartz were settled. Although claiming \$2,000 in damages, Mrs. Schwartz (as well as her brother Henry) was awarded \$750 for the loss of her house on Tenth Street during the riots (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 February 1912, p. 4; *Illinois State Register*, 2 February 1912, p. 6).

Mrs. Schwartz died in September 1913 at her residence at 806 East Mason Street (the Friedman family home). She was sixty years of age, and had been suffering from "a lingering illness." At the time of her death, she was survived by two sisters, Mrs. Weinberger and Mrs. Kanner, and her brother Henry Friedman. Mrs. Schwartz was buried in Oak Ridge cemetery, with the Reverend Ignahs Isrel officiating (*Illinois State Register*, 11 September 1913, p. 2; 12 September 1913, p. 9). Mrs. Schwartz bequeathed all of her property to her brother, Henry I. Friedman (*Illinois State Register* 12 September 1913, p. 7).

A two story brick dwelling house is being erected on the south side of Jefferson, between Seventh and Eighth streets by Mr. Henry Schwartz.

FOR RENT—My saloon on East Jefferson Street will be for rent from Jan. 1, 1886. Apply to Henry Schwartz. 11

FOR RENT—A double dwelling house of twelve rooms suitable for hotel or boarding house and saloon. Will be rented separately or in whole. Apply to Henry Schwartz, 714 East Jefferson street. 11

Figure 8. Three notices relating to Henry Schwartz's properties. Top: Constructing a new brick house on Jefferson Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 August 1885, p. 8). Middle: Offering his saloon on Jefferson Street for rent (*Illinois State Register*, 6 November 1885, p. 3). Bottom: Offering for sale large double dwelling house (*Illinois State Register*, 8 December 1885, p. 3).

The Isadore Kanner Family

Clearly, among the extended Friedman family, Isadore Kanner was by far the most invested in real estate in Springfield at the turn-of-the-century, and it was Kanner who filed the largest number of damage claims against the City of Springfield in the wake of the 1908 race riot.

Isadore Kanner (circa 1851-1914) was a Russian Jew who potentially immigrated to the United States as early as 1866—at which time the young Isadore would have been only fourteen years of age (cf. USBC 1900).³⁹ Unfortunately, the young Isadore, or any other family by the Kanner name, has been found in the Springfield city directories from the latter 1860s or 1870s. The first appearance of Isadore appears in the 1880 U.S. Census of Population. In June of that year, the census enumerator documented the 28-year old, Galatia-born “Esidor Connor” and his 22-year old Hungarian-born wife, Sarah living on Jefferson Street.⁴⁰ Esidor’s occupation was listed as a peddler. Most likely, the “Esidor and Sarah Conner” documented in the 1880 census was Isador and Sarah Kanner. The census enumerator noted that the couple were childless, but boarding within the Kanner household at this time was a 21-year-old Hungarian-born Charles Schwartz, whose occupation was listed as a “clerk in grocery.” The census noted that the dwelling in which the Kanner family was residing was most likely a double house, as a second, separate household was enumerated in the same building. This second household was that of Henry Schwartz and his wife, Theresa. The 1880 census indicates that the 37-year old Henry Swartz (sic Schwartz) was living with his 24-year old Hungarian-born wife Theresa in that year. Henry was listed as a Hungarian-born saloon and restaurant owner. Theresa Schwartz and Sarah Kanner were sisters (Bernard Friedman’s daughters), and Charles Schwartz may have been Henry’s brother.⁴¹ Clearly at this time, the young Schwartz and Kanner families were living in close proximity, if not together, as an extended family.

The earliest Springfield city directory which appears to list Isadore Kanner is the 1881-82 city directory which indicates that he was a saloon operator, located at the corner of Seventh and Jefferson Streets (SCD 1881-82:130). Presumably, the family is living within, or above, the

³⁹ The 1900 census enumerator appears to have originally written 1866 in column referencing the year of his immigration to the United States. This date appears to have been overwritten with 1876. Adjoining data column in the census, which tabulated the number of years the individual had lived in the United States, reflected the original 1866 date of entry, and was not modified. The census enumerator, although recording her name as Mary, recorded his wife’s date of immigration to the United States as 1868 (USBC 1900). The 1900 census gives Isadore’s date of birth as September 1849, and his wife’s as May 1850. The 1910 U.S. Census of Population suggests both he and his wife immigrated to the United States in 1870 (USBC 1910). At the time of his death, he was survived by one brother, Albert, who resided in New York City, suggesting that he may have immigrated through New York on his way to Springfield (https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/3478036:7602?tid=&pid=&queryId=6ee893ae08d927ca9be2ad44bbe2fc08&_phsrc=OOK812&_phstart=successSource).

⁴⁰ The Galatia referenced by the census as the home of the Kanner family was located on the eastern side of Carpathian Mountains, in eastern Europe. It is a historical and geographic region spanning what is now southeastern Poland and western Ukraine.

⁴¹ https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/47009451:6742?_phsrc=OOK725&_phstart=successSource&gsfn=henry&gsln=schwartz&ml_rpos=1&queryId=05b8ec5eff1086ad032c29c4fbdafa07

saloon. This location puts the family within what was to become the commercial district known as “the Levee.” The 1886-87 city directory indicates the same location and occupation of Isadore Kanner (SCD 1886-87:313). Shortly thereafter, Kanner abandoned his saloon business, constructed a new brick store on Washington Street, and was listed as a pawn broker and clothier located at 723 East Washington Street (SCD 1891-92:180; SCD 1892:319, 651). The 1904 Springfield City Directory lists only one Kanner family, that of Isadore Kanner who was residing at 419 North Sixth Street with no listed occupation (SCD 1904:362).

Newspaper stories are plentiful regarding the business and personal exploits of Isadore Kanner. The earliest to be located was from April 1882, which carried a short statement that “Isadore Kanner has removed two houses to the corner of Eighth and Mason Streets. Mr. Kanner has made considerable improvement in his property of late” (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 April 1882, p. 6). As such, it would appear that Kanner began dealing early in real estate supplemental to his saloon business. In May 1884, Kanner purchased the “Old Porter Building” which had “graced the corner of Seventh and Jefferson streets for something like a half century” and had it relocated to the corner of Tenth and Mason Streets (*Illinois State Register*, 28 May 1884, p. 3). Kanner constructed a new brick commercial building on the north side of the 700 block of Washington Street in 1886, the heart of the Levee which was transforming quickly during these years (*Illinois State Register*, 27 October 1886, p. 3). This building, located at 723 East Washington Street, became the home of his new clothing store, which is listed as “Clothing and Gents Finishing Goods” in the 1887 city directory (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 May 1887, p. 2; SCD 1887:176). On the second floor of his new building was a large meeting room for social events locally known as Kanner Hall.⁴²

By the early 1890s, Kanner may also have been involved with money-lending activities. In late 1892, Kanner was in court suing two women to foreclose on a mortgage in which he had arranged involving \$3,500 in notes payable to Robert McGuire (*Illinois State Register*, 29 October 1892, p. 6). McGuire was a local attorney and county judge, and long-time acquaintance (and potential partner) of Isadore Kanner (cf. *Illinois State Journal* 19 February 1907, p. 8).⁴³

The local newspapers note Kanner’s participation in numerous social clubs and activities in Springfield. In early 1888, Kanner was instrumental in forming the German Republican Club at a meeting held in Kanner Hall, above his store (*Illinois state Journal*, 23 May 1888, p. 4). Similarly, in 1898, Kanner, along with Henry Freidman’s son Bernard, were elected to leadership positions in the newly organized Young Men’s Hebrew Republican Club. Bernard Freidman was elected President and Isidore Kanner vice president. Approximately 40 Jewish men were present (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 October 1898, p. 5). In January 1896, one of the larger Orthodox Jewish weddings to occur in Springfield involved the extended Friedman,

⁴² Cited by city of Springfield for “maintaining a nuisance in the shape of a filthy outhouse” (*Illinois State Journal*, 30 June 1892, p. 4). Was ordered to abate the nuisance and “only covered it thinly with dirt, which more than ever aggravated it.” Subsequently she was arrested (*Illinois State Register*, 30 June 1892, p. 6).

⁴³ R. L. McGuire purchased numerous other properties in Springfield during this same time period (Sangamon County Grantee’s Index Book 12). It is unclear if these too were intended to be rental properties, or whether McGuire intended to “flip” them; perhaps they were a mixture of both.

Weinberger, and Kanner families and caught the newspaper's attention. At that wedding, Isadore walked the bride-to-be (who was a daughter of Bernard Freidman) down the aisle of the synagogue. A Miss Weinberger was the maid of honor. According to the newspaper, this was the most prominent of the Russian Jewish weddings to have occurred in Springfield "in a number of years and was largely attended" ("A WEDDING OF NOTE. Orthodox Ceremony By Which Two People Were United," *Illinois State Journal*, 20 January 1896, p. 5).

Over the next decade, Kanner appears to have continued to invest heavily in rental real estate located not only in the commercial district known as the "Levee" (the location of his store), but also within the predominately African American neighborhood on Springfield's northeast side, colloquially referred to as the "Badlands." This included several of the properties within the current Springfield Rail Improvements Project. As early as 1888, Kanner appears to have purchased the improvements at the southwest corner of Tenth and Mason Streets (location of House G). He later sold this property to George Reisch for \$1,150 in anticipation of the construction of a saloon, in 1901 (*Illinois State Register*, 6 January 1901, p. 6). This house was demolished in 1907, just prior to the riots. In 1892, Kanner purchased the house at 323 North Tenth Street (House E) for \$600 from the Smith family. Kanner retained ownership of this house for less than a year and a half before selling it to Robert L. McGuire for \$700 in August 1893 (SCDR 94:415). Kanner also owned property on the east side of the 300 Block of North Tenth Street, 320 North Tenth Street (Site 19); his brother-in-law owned the adjacent house at 314 North Tent Street (Site 20). [

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population lists the 50-year old Isadore and his wife Mary [sic], noting that he was retired at the time. The 1910 U.S. Census of Population similarly lists the couple, and suggests both he and his wife immigrated to the United States in 1870 (USBC 1910). This census lists Isadore's birthplace as Austria-German, and that of his wife as Hungary-Magyar.

Immediately after the riots of August 1908, Kanner filed multiple riot claims against the City of Springfield for his losses. On September 5, 1908, the *Register* reported no less than ten claims made by Kanner, and *Journal* eight properties (*Illinois State Register* 5 September 1908, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 5 September 1908, p. 6). A few days later the *Register* noted that Kanner had filed riot claims for "seventeen pieces of real estate in burned and wrecked district riot" valued at \$8,012 ("RIOT CLAIMS ARE \$109,415. Many More Claims Are Filed With Clerk," *Illinois State Register*, 11 September 1908, p. 11).⁴⁴ As the *Register* noted, "Perhaps the heaviest loser of all those whose property was ruined in the riots is Isidor Kanner. He brings suit in the sum of \$10,000 for dwelling houses and stores in East Washington street and East Madison street, which were burned by the mob' (*Illinois State Register*, 25 July 1909, p. 18).

The City of Springfield settled claims filed by Kanner in January 1912. Although Kanner had requested \$10,000 in damages for the fifteen houses he had owned in the Badlands, he was

⁴⁴ Kanner was somewhat hampered by city officials in his efforts to repair three of his damaged buildings. located on west side of Eleventh Street near Madison, but was not able to get a building permit (due to potential fire prevention requirements) Threatened to move the houses across the street, a location apparently outside of the city's fire limits in order to receive a permit (*Illinois state Journal*, 16 December 1908, p. 5). Apparently, he was still thwarted in that endeavor as well (*Illinois State Register*, 17 December 1908, p. 7).

granted only \$3,400 for his losses. With interest, he received a check for \$3,660.59—far lower than the \$10,000 claimed. Kanner’s claim was “one of the largest claims against the city resulting from the riot of August, 1908,” and was second only to that of Henry Loper.⁴⁵ Kanner’s properties damaged during the riots were all located “in the vicinity of Madison and Washington streets, between Seventh and Eleventh streets, and of this number the greatest damage was done to the property at 915 East Madison streets, estimated by Mr. Kanner at \$3,000” (“KANNER SETTLES HIS RIOT CLAIM. Receives \$3,400 From the City,” *Illinois State Register*, 27 January 1912, p. 6; *Illinois State Register*, 8 August 1913, p. 6). The improvements identified as 915 East Madison Street was the large two-story frame house once operated by Mabel Baxter as a resort, and at the time of the riots occupied by Dan Smith. Also owned by Kanner was a small frame saloon located to the east of the Smith residence (once operated by Mabel Baxter and her husband; completely destroyed; see Madison Street Testing, House A). Located immediately to the west of the Smith residence was the house, saloon, and resort of Lena Weinberger (not destroyed). The only other individual that received more in damage payments—whether for personal property or bodily injury—was Harry Loper, who received a check for \$8,350.38—far lower than damages claimed. Also among the buildings owned by Isaac Kanner was the saloon located at 300 North Ninth Street (northeast corner of Ninth and Madison), and home of Thomas Guyett’s bar—a token from which was recovered from House C Fire Deposits.⁴⁶ Kanner had invested heavily in commercial properties along Madison Street, including the Weinberger saloon, and the former saloon and resort owned by Mabel Baxter.

Isadore Kanner died in early 1914. He was 65 years of age (*Illinois State Register*, 23 February 1914, p. 2). He died after a month-long illness at the family home at 419 North Sixth Street. He was buried in Oak Ridge cemetery with services held at the B’nai Abraham synagogue (Seventh and Mason streets) with Rabbi Epstein of Chicago officiating. At the time of his death, Isadore was survived by one brother, Albert, who resided in New York City. At his service, his wife Sarah announced to the congregation that she would pay off the synagogue’s debt of \$1,900 in the memory of her husband. The *Register* noted that “Mr. Kanner was an extensive property owner of Springfield and was reputed to worth a quarter of a million dollars (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 February 1914, p. 5). Kanner bequeathed his estate, which included an estimated \$60,000 in real estate, to his wife. The couple had no children (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 February 1914, p. 2). By July, 1914, apparently in lieu of paying off the Synagogue’s debt, Mrs. Kanner had drawn plans (prepared by George Helmlie) for the construction of the Isadore Kanner Memorial Synagogue to be located at the southeast corner of Eighth and Mason Streets (*Illinois State Register*, 19 July 1914, p. 22). The new synagogue was dedicate by the laying of the cornerstone the following September (*Illinois State Register*, 13 September 1914, p. 11). The failure of Mrs. Kanner in paying off the pre-existing debt caused a split in the congregation, resulting in legal ranklings (“CONGREGATION AFTER ALLEGED DONATION,” Bnai Abraham Church Seeking to Collect \$1,900,” *Illinois State Register*, 24 October 1914, p. 10). The new synagogue ultimately cost approximately \$15,000 to construct, and was described as

⁴⁵ Senechal (1990) suggests that Kanner owned one-quarter of the housing stock within the Badlands.

⁴⁶ Suit for wrongful death brought by widow in 1909 against both Guyett and Kanner (*Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1909, p. 8).

“one of the most modern Jewish edifices west of New York” and “complies strictly with all the requirement of the orthodox Jewish religion.” The memorial synagogue was to be dedicated in February 1915, and deeded to the Adas Yeshurun Bet Yauda Kanner (Isidore Kanner Memorial Synagogue) (*Illinois State Register*, 24 February 1915, p. 6). To Mrs. Kanner’s dismay, the congregation refused to accept the memorial as the deed contained clauses “which, it is declared, interfere with the principles of Judaism” (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 March 1915, p. 4). The issue apparently revolved around the requirement of a clear and unconditioned title, one without provisions requiring the building to revert back to Mrs. Kanner should the congregation decide to sell or mortgage it (*Illinois State Register*, 28 February 1915, p. 5). These issues were resolved, and the synagogue was dedicated in March 1915 (*Illinois State Register*, 11 March 1915, p. 16). Apparently this was all transpiring as legal issues continued with regard to Mrs. Kanner’s offer to pay the congregation’s debt on the original synagogue. In late 1915, Mrs. Kanner won her case, and was not required to pay her previous pledge (*Illinois State Journal*, 14 October 1915, p. 2).⁴⁷

Isadore Kanner’s wife, Sarah Friedman Kanner, died in St. Johns Hospital in late 1947. She was 89 years of age, and childless. At the time of her death, she was survived by one sister (Anna Weinberger) and several nieces and nephews (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 November 1947, p. 13). At the time of her death, her estate initially was estimated at \$200,000 (consisting of \$50,000 in personal property and \$150,000 in real estate), but was later revised to \$300,000 which she bequeathed to her nieces and nephews. Properties of note owned by the Kanner family, included the commercial buildings located at 721, 723, 725, 727, 729, and 731 East Washington Street—which consisted of a large swath of the north side of East Washington Street within the Black commercial district known as the Levee (which included the location of Kanner’s original pawn shop and clothing store). Additionally, the family owned 803-805 and 1100-1104 East Jefferson Streets. Although the family had sold much of their property in the immediate Tenth Street project area by this date, they still owned 324-326 North Tenth Street, and 806, 808, 814, and 816 East Mason Streets (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 November 1947, p. 2).

⁴⁷ By the middle 1940s, the Isadore Kanner Memorial Synagogue was no longer being used by the congregation, and it set idle for approximately ten years. In 1954, located immediately across from the main entrance of St. Johns Hospital, the building was purchased by the hospital (which was located immediately adjacent) and was converted into a home for interns by Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 December 1954, p. 19).

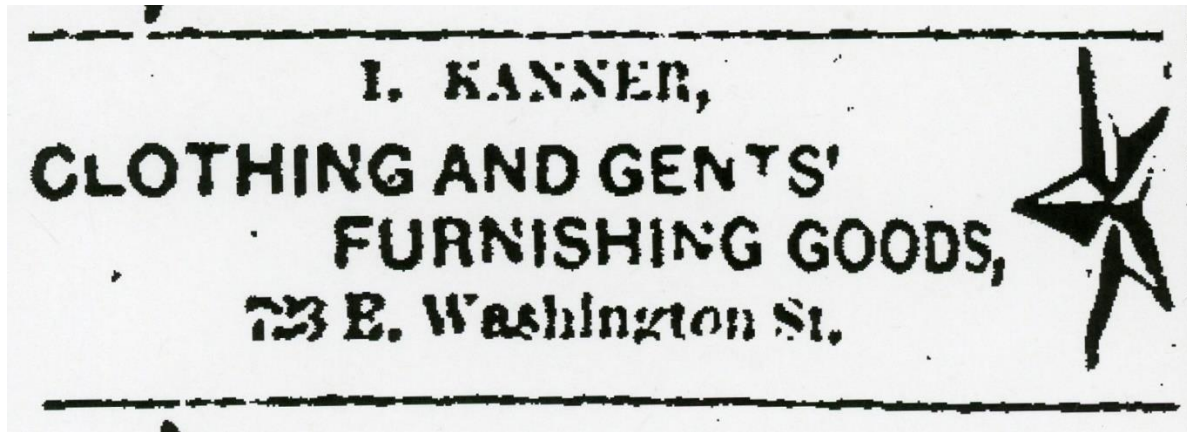


Figure 9. Advertisement for Isadore Kanner's clothing store, located at 723 East Washington Street, the heart of the Black commercial district (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 May 1887, p. 2).

Table 1

**Miscellaneous Newspaper References
for Isadore Kanner
(ISR=*Illinois State Register*; ISJ=*Illinois State Journal*)**

11/9	1891	ISJ	Isadore Kanner	Arrested for Being Open on Sunday
6/30	1892	ISJ	Isadore Kanner	Fined \$5 for Maintaining Nuisance Outhouse
11/1	1893	ISR	Isadore Kanner	Pawn Shop Reports Stolen Goods
2/28	1894	ISJ	Isadore Kanner	Arrested for Violation of City Ordinance
3/10	1894	ISR	Isadore Kanner	Fined \$10 for Failure to File Proper Reports
5/7	1898	ISR	Isadore Kanner	Fails to Collect for Store Room Lease
12/16	1908	ISJ	Isadore Kanner	Proposes to Move Fire-damaged Houses
12/17	1908	ISR	Isadore Kanner	Plans to Move Houses Changed
7/25	1909	ISR	Isadore Kanner	Files Claim Against City for \$10.000
12/16	1909	ISJ	Isadore Kanner	Owner of Building Housing Tavern; Sued



Figure 10. Buildings located in the Levee commercial district damaged by rioters, August 14, 1908 (highlighted in yellow). In 1947, in settling his estate, Kanner's widow owned 721-723-725-727-729-731, as well as 803-805 East Jefferson—presumably, Kanner had owned these properties at the time of the riots. The approximate location of these properties are circled in red.

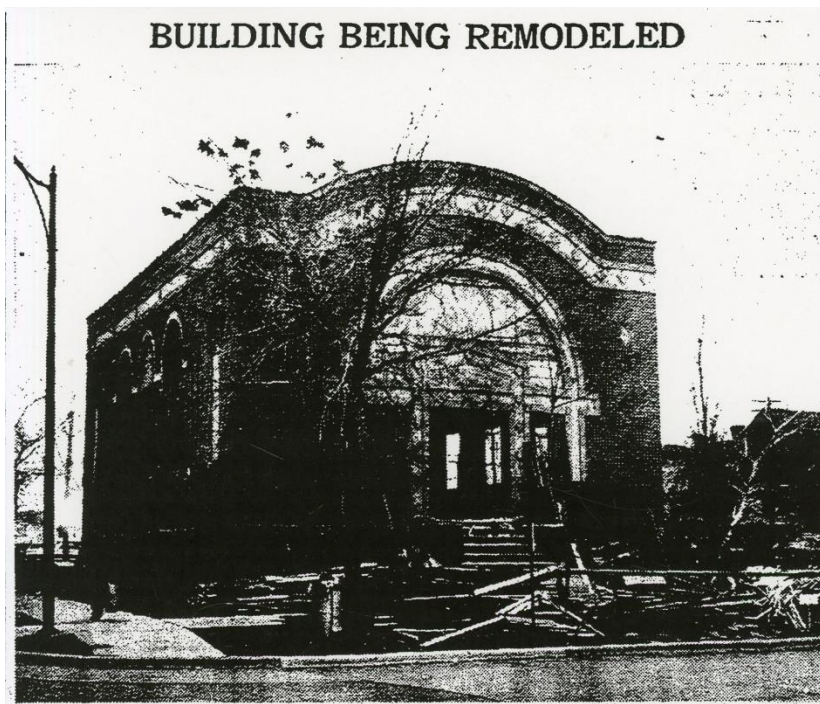
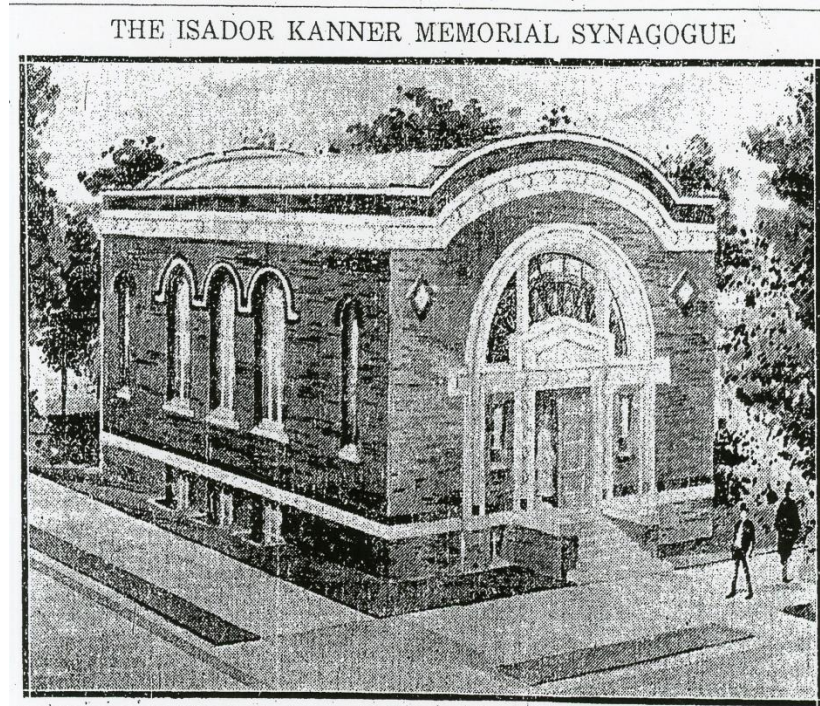


Figure 11. Top: Proposed Isadore Kanner Memorial Synagogue. This building was designed by George Helmle, and constructed in memory of Mr. Kanner by his wife Sara (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 July 1914, p. 22). Bottom: Isadore Kanner Memorial Synagogue being remodeled by St. Johns Hospital (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 December 1954, p. 19)



Figure 12. Isadore and Sarah Kanner headstone, Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois.

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1910 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1920 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1930 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

Appendix IV

The Scott Burton and William Donnegan Murders: The Lynching of Two Innocent Black Men in Illinois' Capital City, August 14-15, 1908

Floyd Mansberger
and
Christopher Stratton

Part I: The Prelude to the Springfield Race Riot, August 1908

The two most egregious events of the August 14-15, 1908 riots in Springfield were the lynching of two innocent Black men by a vengeful white mob. On the first night of terror, after nearly beating the elderly William Smith, Sr. to death at the corner of Tenth and Madison Streets, the crowd proceeded two more blocks eastward along Madison Street where they encountered the barber Scott Burton at his house.¹ Within a short time, just prior to the arrival of the militia and dispersal of the mob, Burton was dead, hanging by a rope from a nearby tree. The following night, learning that a large group of Black citizens had sheltered in place at the nearby State Armory, another mob proceeded to that location bent on harassing the innocent Blacks gathered at this location for safety. Although thwarted in their plans at the Armory, the crowd proceeded south through the grounds of the Illinois State Capital—through the Illinois Militia's encampment—to the home of the elderly William Donnegan. The crowd proceeded to cut Donnegan's throat with a razor, and hang him by a rope from a tree in the local schoolyard across from his house in view of his wife and family. Although he survived the night, he died the following day of his injuries.

Although much has been written regarding the events that unfolded that eventful weekend in August 1908 (cf. Senechal 1990), other than cursory summaries little has been written regarding the lives of the two men who were brutally murdered during the event. The following text looks at the history of lynching in Illinois leading up to the summer of 1908, and details the lives of the two innocent Black men who lost their lives at the hands of the mob on those two nights in August 1908.

By definition, lynching “is an extrajudicial killing by a group [and] is most often used to characterize informal public executions by a mob in order to punish an alleged transgressor, punish a convicted transgressor, or intimidate. It can also be an extreme form of informal group social control, and it is often conducted with the display of a public spectacle (often in the form of hanging) for maximum intimidation.”² During the period 1889-1918, 3,209 individuals were lynched in the United States. Although the majority of these lynchings occurred in the South, “at

¹ See Volume II, Appendix V for an historical sketch on William Smith, Sr. and his son William Smith, Jr.

² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lynching>

least 375 persons... were lynched in western or northern states during these same years.” In Illinois, there were thirty-four reported cases of lynching between 1882 and 1968, nineteen of the victims being Black (McDermott 1999:65; see also Sorensen 2023).

Frontier justice (aka vigilante justice) consisting of citizens taking the law into their own hands, disavowing proper legal procedure, depriving the accused of due process, and adjudicating severe punishment usually resulting in death of the accused, is often thought of as being associated with the lawlessness of the “Wild West.” Racial tensions that developed during the summer of 1908 in Springfield were not an isolated event in space or time. On-the-contrary, frontier justice was not uncommon in early Illinois, and even in the Capital City of Springfield. In the summer 1864, John M. Phillips, a white Springfield man having served three years with the Seventh Illinois Infantry during the Civil War was on furlough from Camp Butler. Phillips was accused of abducting and molesting the young daughter of a local clergyman. Arrested for the crime and jailed, a large crowd soon gathered at that location where they forcibly entered the facility only to find the sheriff had removed the accused man. The local press in reporting the incident seemed to agitate for quick and expedient “justice” for the young girl, and wrote that “we doubt if the feelings of an outraged community will abide the slow processes of the law... [and] the feeling of the people is terribly exasperated, and we doubt if the culprit ever lives to expiate his offence in a penitentiary” (*Illinois State Register*, 11 May 1864). The newspaper coverage justified the violence and further incited more violence the following day. In the courtroom the following day, Phillips was shot and wounded by the girl’s brother (Eugene Clover), a rope was procured, and the mob unsuccessfully attempted to hang Philipps in the courthouse. Whisked away and secured in a nearby room, a crowd once again stormed the room in which Phillips had been secured, shooting him yet again, and if not for the pleas of a select few individuals in the crowd, he was almost lynched a second time. The crowd was convinced to disperse, and the gravely wounded man was transported back to the jail where he died the following day.³

During the 1890s, journalist Ida B. Wells campaigned diligently against racial violence in the south, writing extensively and publishing two pamphlets on the subject in the early 1890s.⁴ Shortly after the Springfield riots in August 1908, William English Walling wrote about the expansion of lynching into the north (Walling 1908). Such racially-inspired violence—violence aimed at Blacks by white mob action—was not new in the greater central Illinois community. During that very weekend of violence, on Sunday August 16th, 1908, the *Illinois State Journal* wrote that

³ No charges were brought against Eugene Clover, the young girl’s brother who shot Phillips multiple times resulting in his death. In September 1864, Clover also served on a jury inquest investigating the fatal shooting of a Civil War soldier in the streets of Springfield (McAndrews, Tara McClellan. “City Had a History of Vigilante Justice,” *Illinois State Journal-Register*, 1 May 2016, p. 11, 13; see also Erika Holst, “Lincoln’s Scandalous Nephew,” *Illinois Times*, 5 February 2015).

⁴ *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (Wells 1892) and *A Red Record: Lynching in the United States* (Wells 1895).

It is the general belief that certain conditions have existed in this community for some time past which have bred disregard of and contempt for the law and which have fostered race prejudice...

The reign of terror did not come to Springfield entirely unheralded. For months, yes, years, past it has been predicted that such an outburst of popular fury would some time come to Springfield (“THE RETURN OF LAW,” *Illinois State Journal*, 16 August 1908, p. 16).⁵

Nearly thirty years earlier, in October 1880, a Black man named Mason Richmond⁶ was nearly lynched in Springfield for voicing his political views, if not for the heroic efforts of the city police at the time. The Democrats were holding a political rally in the Public Square at the county courthouse [present-day Old State Capitol State Historic Site] in support of Winfield S. Hancock. As the Democrats were filing out of the grounds, someone yelled “Hurray For Hancock,” which was answered by a small group of Black men “just outside the gate looking at the crowd” [and apparently simply passing by the event] who yelled “Hurrah For Garfield.”⁷ “From appearances the Democrats had been drinking, and, stirred up by political enthusiasm as they were, a quarrel was easily provoked...” Quickly, one of the Democrat revelers

Turned upon the darky⁸ and said: “You are the fellow that was going to hit me.” Richmond replied that he did not want to hit anybody. The other negroes, it

⁵ The *Journal* article continued by noting that “those who have watched the course of events for years past can only hope and pray that out of the darkness shall come light and out of the turmoil and blood and flame shall arise, phoenix-like, an era of better things.” The editorial stressed the restoration of law and order—for individuals to obey the laws, attend to their own business, and avoid “all intemperate expressions. ”

⁶ Whereas the *Journal* gave the name Mason Richmond, the *Register* indicated the man’s name was Mason Richardson. Both papers continued to maintain their original reporting as to Mason’s surname. The 1880 U.S. Census of Population, however, enumerated a 20-year old Black servant named Mason Richmond as residing—and no doubt working—within the Turney residence at 924 South Sixth Street—one of the larger and more pretentious houses in Springfield. Adjacent entries in the census included that of Clara Irwin (Irwin House; also known as the Iles House) and Charles Matheny (whose occupation was listed as Capitalist) families—in the heart of the affluent Aristocracy Hill neighborhood. Richmond was one of three servants—albeit the only Black and male servant—in the house at that time. Although Richardson is a common Springfield family name [and relevant at the time of the 1908 riots], the 1880 census listed no one in Springfield named Mason Richardson, as incorrectly reported by the *Register*.

⁷ James A. Garfield was the Republican candidate for President, and ultimate winner of the election. It was a close election, with Garfield winning the popular vote by less than 2,000 votes (or 0.11% of the vote). The Electoral College vote was not so close, with Garfield winning 214 to 155 votes with each candidate carrying 19 states (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1880_United_States_presidential_election). It was the only election through 2020 in which both candidates won the same number of states, and remains the election with the smallest margin for victory ever recorded.

⁸ Even though the *Journal* claimed to be attempting to accurately report on events and actually presented a case for the innocence of Richmond, they nonetheless still used a derogatory, racially-sensitive term to describe Richmond. Even though the *Journal* was a more progressive paper far-better than its competitor the *Illinois Register* in regard to race issues, systemic racism still pervades the article’s words. Aside from the racial issues in play, the *Journal* article proceeded to explain that “in view of the fact that this matter is somewhat of a political nature, the *Journal* demands a full and fair investigation in the whole matter...”.

seems, did not want to get into difficulty, and when it was seen that a row was imminent, they dispersed, all except Richmond. The Democrat, whose name could not be learned, and his friends, crowded around Richmond and insisted that he was the man. This the colored man stoutly denied, at the same time backing away from the crowd. After backing several paces, Richmond drew a revolver and warned the crowd that he was not to be molested; that the street was public and that he proposed to maintain his rights.... [Subsequently, one of the Democrats] said “who cares if he has got a pistol; whip him any way,” and the crowd again started for the negro. Richmond turned again, warned them away, and then started north again. Some one of the crowd of the Democrats cried out, “down with him,” and to or three made a rush forward.⁹

In the ensuing melee, while Richmond was fleeing the mob and fearing for his life, he fired a shot in self-defense into the crowd, and an unfortunate “bystander”—one of the Democrats—was hit in the arm. At that very time, the local authorities arrived, and succeeded in taking Richmond into custody. The injured man immediately—while still at the crime scene—exonerated Richmond, and stated that “I attach no blame to the negro, and had I been in his place would have shot some one five minutes sooner. The only regret is, he hit the wrong man. I want you to be sure and say I don’t blame the negro at all.”

As Richmond was being escorted to the City Prison (the same jail in which Richardson and James would be imprisoned in August 1908),

a large crowd had gathered around, and as is usual in such cases, no one stopped to inquire who was to blame. All they knew or care to know, it seemed, was that a Republican negro had shot a white Democrat, and without reason, without investigation, passion aroused because of a supposed outrage, they thirsted for revenge. They followed after the police officers crying “KILL HIM, KILL HIM,” and for a time it seemed that the darkey’s time had come, that the sands of time had run out, and he was to be called to meet his God. But the police still pushed onward toward the calaboose; calmly waving back the infuriated, excited, howling crowd, who seemed determined that Richmond should expiate his offence with his life’s blood. As they neared the city prison a disposition was exhibited to make a grand rush and take the prisoner from the officers but by this time nearly the entire police force was gathered around, showing a calm determination to prevent so dreadful an occurrence at all hazards, and there seems scarcely a doubt that to the firmness of Marshal Fountain and Captain Phillips and their men, who acted nobly and bravely in the matter.

⁹ “An Unfortunate Affair. A Colored Man Shoots a Democratic Torch-bearer,” *Illinois State Journal*, 29 October 1880, p. 4). The *Register* gave a completely different version of the affair, noting that Mason Richardson” [Richmond] “had made himself particularly offensive to some white democrats” see also *Illinois State Journal*, 30 October 1880, p. 4). For the *Register* version of the story, see “Shot by a Negro,” *Illinois State Register*, 29 October 1880, p. 1).

Even after the doors of the prison had been closed upon Richmond, there was disposition among the crowd to make and attack upon the calaboose, rescue the prisoner and hang him to a lamp-post. In the vast crowd there were many excited, hot-headed men who wildly howled in favor of “lynching the d—d nigger,”¹⁰ and using other expressions of like character. Gradually the excitement died out, and it became circulated around that the young man who was shot exonerated Richmond from blame, and one by one the people dispersed, and to-day there are doubtless many good, honest Democrats who regret, in their calmer moments, the incendiary language used by them last night.

The occurrence shows how whisky and political excitement will deprive men of reason, and lead them to actions they will deplore and condemn in calmer moments. While the shooting affray was of a political nature and the parties thereto were a colored Republican and a crowd of white Democrats, the JOURNAL will give a history of the deplorable affray fairly and without prejudice (“AN UNFORTUNATE AFFAIR. A Colored Man Shoots a Democratic Torch-bearer,” *Illinois State Journal*, 29 October 1880, p. 4).¹¹

Although Jones had exonerated Richmond for his actions the night of the event, the following day he filed two warrants for the arrest of Richmond (assault with intent to kill, and carrying a concealed weapon). “Young Jones action in this case is rather curious, to say the least. In less than fifteen minutes after the shooting occurred he, in conversation with a JOURNAL reporter, exonerated the negro from blame, and his statement was printed yesterday morning. About half past one o’clock yesterday afternoon he called at the JOURNAL office and again *personally* endorsed the statement as published with the exception of the part relating to his having taken part in the procession—he did not carry a torch. Notwithstanding this he has sworn out these two warrants. It looks as though he had been influenced by the Democratic heads of messes to begin this prosecution because Richmond is a negro, and for the purposed of making political capital for the Democratic party” (“LOCAL CRIME,” *Illinois State Journal*, 30 October 1880, p. 4). The case was heard by the local courts the following day, and although the charge of assault

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that although the editors of the *Journal* approved the use of the term “nigger,” the term “damned” was unacceptable to them.

¹¹ The *Illinois State Register* carried a story on this event that same day. In their abbreviated article about the incident, the report noted that “While Mr. Springer was speaking at the court house last night, about ten minutes past 9 o’clock the report of a revolver was heard and many on the outskirts of the crowd rushed to the spot, in front of Osgood’s shoe store, to see that [sic] it was about. As near as could be learned a negro, Mason Richardson, had made himself particularly offensive to some white democrats, who were about to resent it, when a horse rushed into the crowd, causing a stampede at which juncture the negro, either thinking the rush was at him or intending to do all the devilment he could and get off in the excitement, fired a revolver into the crowd. The ball lodged into the left arm of A. J. Jones, who was standing on the edge of the sidewalk and was no way concerned in the quarrel. The wound is a flesh one, and not of a dangerous character. Mr. Jones is a highly reputable young man, has been engaged in reporting for the *State Register* at times, and is now teaching at Rienzi schoolhouse, Ball township” (“Shot by a Negro,” *Illinois State Register*, 29 October 1880, p. 1). [See also *Illinois State Journal*, 30 October 1880, p. 2 for commentary about the *Register’s* reporting of the story, and contemporary issues regarding voter suppression and Chinese fear-mongering regarding potential Chinese citizenship issues.]

with intent to murder against Richmond was dropped, he was fined \$5 for carrying a concealed weapon.¹²

The extrajudicial killing (or lynching) of Black men in Illinois prior to the Civil War and Emancipation, although infrequent, has been documented in at least one instance. One of the first documented instances of the lynching of a Black man in Illinois occurred in Golconda (Pope County) in 1856. It was in August of that year that an unnamed Black man was murdered after being accused of sexual assault by a white woman. Similarly, period newspapers recount the lynching of several white men during the 1850s as well (cf. the lynching of a man in McLean County for severely neglecting and abusing his family, and an accused horse thief near Troy Grove in northern Illinois).¹³ During the Civil War years, besides the murder of John Phillips in Springfield in 1864 (as noted above), two additional Black men are known to have been lynched in the state—one in Lawrence County in 1862 (Mathias Anderson) and another in Clay County in 1864 (James Higginbotham). Again in 1867, a Black man named Joseph Marshall was lynched in Venice (Madison County) in retribution for a suspected murder. At least three instances of extra-judicial killings of Black men were documented during the 1870s in Illinois, and included a second individual in Venice (Madison County) in 1870 (Anderson Reed), a Black man from Mt. Carbon (Jackson County) in 1874 (Charles Wyatt), and another in Winchester (Scott County) in 1877 (Andrew Richards). During the 1880s, at least five Black men are known to have been lynched in Illinois, with one each in Hardin County, Cook County, Pulaski County, Perry County, and Coles County (Sorensen 2023). Except for the murder in Cook County (Chicago), these extra-judicial murders were perpetuated predominately within Southern Illinois.

In the summer of 1893, though, another case of vigilante justice which gained substantial news coverage was meted out to a Black man in Decatur (Macon County). Illinois, and the nation, was experiencing an economic depression, which exasperated racial tensions across the state. On June 3, 1893, Samuel Bush was forcibly removed from the Macon County jail in Decatur, drug into the street, and hanged from a utility pole at the corner of Wood and Water Streets (in

¹² The *Register*, addressing the *Journal's* previous days accusations regarding the potential “Democratic heads of messes” influence on Jones for his change of heart and filing of the two warrants wrote that “he [Richardson] was cleared of the most important charge on the testimony of Mr. Jones, who himself entered the complaint, for the purpose of having the case settled as speedily as possible” (“Justices’ Court,” *Illinois State Register*, 31 October 1880, p.4). A small note in the *Register* that same day noted that three local men “were hard at work yesterday trying to win back the colored voters to their allegiance, and heal up the rupture caused by the action of the ‘republican business men” (*Illinois State Register*, 31 October 1880, p. 2). The *Journal* wrote the following day that “Young Jones, who was shot in the melee, and who swore out the warrant, made a good witness for the defense. Thus the attempt of the Democratic papers of this city to manufacture a great outrage out of the attack made upon this negro by some drunken Democrats is squelched by one of their own Justices. The JOURNAL did young Jones an injustice Saturday by intimating that, after exonerating Richmond, the prosecution must have been instigated by the Democratic heads of messes. Mr. Jones explains the matter by saying he was informed by a young law student that if he did not prosecute the negro it would become the duty of State’s Attorney Hazlett to do so. He had engaged someone to take charge of his school this week, and fearing that he would be called away from the school next week, commenced the prosecution himself, so as to have the matter settled as soon as possible. Mr. Jones’ action throughout has been very commendable” (“Police Court Notes. Mason Richmond Discharged—Other Matters,” *Illinois State Journal*, 1 November 1880, p. 3).

¹³ “A Case of Lynching,” *Illinois State Journal*, 12 August 1857, p. 2); “Lynching in Illinois—A Horse Their Hung at Troy Grove,” *Illinois State Journal*, 18 September 1857, p. 2).

front of the Brunswick Hotel).¹⁴ Bush had been accused of raping a white woman (Minnie Cameron Vest) in the nearby town of Mt. Zion. Although he professed his innocence until the end, the frenzied crowd demanded justice, and summarily carried out their punishment on the Black man. Despite the presence of the angry mob, no effort was made to move Bush to a safer location, or to disperse the crowd. The following day, local Decatur newspapers published letters Bush had written while in jail to his sisters and a cousin. In one of those letters, Bush wrote: "Now is the time of need ... Send the money to this Lawyer & he will clear me, if not I expect to be Linched [sic]." The next day (Sunday June 4th, 1893) following his murder, the three local newspapers carried "An Open Letter to Decatur's Colored Citizens" written by Wilson Woodford who noted that "the lynching was not an isolated incident, but rather part of the dominant strategy of racial repression." Woodford denounced the "daily occurrences of such depredations upon the race throughout the country," and reminded blacks of "the littleness in which the lives and property of the race are held." Woodford proposed that the Black community "devise ways and means to assist in bringing to justice . . . the cowardly mob of human fiends."¹⁵ In July 1893, a second Black man named Allen Butler was hanged near Lawrenceville (Lawrence County) for giving an abortion to a young white girl (Sorensen 2023:38). The year of the Bush and Butler lynchings—1893—was a year that experienced one of the highest number of lynchings ever to occur in the United States. Within that year alone, 114 Black souls (mostly men) were murdered by lynching, down from 155 the previous year of 1892 (Katz 1919). It was during this period that journalist Ida B. Wells campaigned diligently against racial violence in the south, writing extensively and publishing two pamphlets on the subject in the early 1890s.¹⁶

In late November 1897, the Afro-American League (presumably the Illinois chapter of this organization) held a convention in Springfield. The League was a national organization that was established in circa 1890 in an effort to improve the status of Blacks in America. A precursor to the NAACP, the organization operated through circa 1908.¹⁷ In late October 1897, A.V. Broady began publishing the *Illinois Record*, a weekly newspaper dedicated to the needs of Springfield's African American community. At this convention, the *Illinois Record* was made the "official organ of the Afro-American Protective League of the State of Illinois." A letter to the *Illinois Record* (November 13, 1897), foretold of events to come:

It is evident that the prejudice to our people in many localities, is growing worse each year. This in my opinion is due to the rapid progress of the Negro rather than to his former condition. The whites therefore inaugurate impediments to this

¹⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lynching_of_Samuel_J._Bush

¹⁵ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 3 June 1893, p. 1; "ATTENTION. To the Colored Citizens of the City of Decatur," *Decatur Daily Republican*, 3 June 1893, p. 1; "WORK OF JUDGE LYNCH. Samuel J. Bush Taken from the County Jail and Strung Up," *Decatur Daily Republican*, 4 June 1893, p. 3.; *Decatur Daily Review*, 3 June 1893, p. 1; *Herald and Review*, 19 May 2016.

¹⁶ *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (Wells 1892) and *A Red Record: Lynching in the United States* (Wells 1895). See also Wells (1901).

¹⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Afro-American_League

progress out of fear to Negro supremacy, therefore to overcome these impediments, it is highly necessary that the thinking, the educated and loving men and women of the race come together not for notoriety, self-aggrandizement [sic], nor political trickery, but to systematize efforts, to manifest the strength, and encourage the weak of the race, to meet constant opposition manly and unflinching. Hence the great necessity of the Afro-American Protective League...¹⁸

Two weeks later, in a story entitled “A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION. Afro-American League Delegates,” the *Illinois Record* (November 27, 1897, page 1) published a graphic image which was captioned “A TYPICAL LYNCHING IN THE SOUTH” (Figure 3). Although not discussed specifically within the long article, its intent no doubt was to draw attention to the goals of the Afro-American Protective League of Illinois, and to emphasize to the residents of the State the need for Black and white residents to unite against racial hatred and support the organizations “call to action,” lest such abominations should come to Illinois. Unfortunately, the “typical” lynching generally associated with the South was no longer isolated to the South. In November 1898, a Black man named George Stewart, accused of an assault on a local white woman from Toluca, was forcibly removed from the northern Illinois Marshall County Jail (at Lacon) by a large mob, and lynched.¹⁹

In early 1903, less than five years later, Illinois again experienced a summer of racially inspired violence that led to the lynching of Black men in Santa Fe (Alexander County), Belleville (St. Clair County), and Danville (Vermilion County). The first of these events occurred in late April of that year when a 17-year-old Black man named William Johnson, a construction laborer working on a new railroad bridge over the Mississippi River for the St. Louis Valley Railroad, was accused of assaulting the young daughter of a white farmer. Not only was the young man lynched, but the white mob attacked the construction tent camp near Santa Fe (Alexander County) where several hundred Black men were encamped. A skirmish ensued with gunshots being fired by both the white mob and Black defenders, ultimately resulting in the destruction of the tent camp and the flight of the Black construction workers from the community. Although no deaths were reported from the skirmish (referred to by the press as a Race Riot), several Black men were reportedly wounded.²⁰

¹⁸. The *Illinois State Journal* (6 November 1890) carried a story and letter from S. Thomas Fortune, regarding upcoming convention to be held in Nashville, Tennessee. The *Illinois State Journal* (29 September 1898) reports on a meeting in Springfield in which the Afro-American League and the Citizen’s Protective League were consolidated. Annual meetings in Springfield were noted in local newspapers for 1899, 1903, and 1907. The 1907 *Illinois State Journal* (15 August 1907) referenced the organization as the Republican Afro-American League. Meeting was held at 1111 East Madison Street.

¹⁹ “Negro Lynched at Lacon,” *Chicago Daily News*, 8 November 1898, p. 2.

²⁰ “Illinois Mob Lynches Negro; Battle Follows,” *Illinois State Register* 27 April 1903, p. 1; “Lynch Negro; Raid Camp,” *Chicago Tribune*, 27 April 1903, p. 1; “Race War Rages in Illinois,” *Daily Democrat [Freeport, Illinois]*, 28 April 1903, p. 3; “Illinois Disgraces,” *Paxton Record [Paxton, Illinois]*, 30 April 1903, p.5. . Only the day prior, the *Chicago Tribune* ran an article regarding a Yale study on Lynching in the United States (“Scientist Makes Lynching Record. Yale Post Graduate Prepares Thesis Based on the Tribune’s Statistics,” *Chicago Tribune*, 26 April 1903, p. 24).

In early June 1903, less than two months later, a Black teacher named David Wyatt was also lynched. Wyatt, a respected and educated man who had taught school in the small St. Clair County community Brooklyn for 10 years, was denied renewal of his teaching certificate. Distraught by the denial, Wyatt subsequently shot and killed the St. Clair County school superintendent (Charles Hertel) on June 6th for his refusal to renew his teaching certificate. As the shooting had transpired in the county courthouse, and officers were readily available, Wyatt was immediately arrested and hauled to the county jail. Rumors quickly circulated that Hertel had suffered fatal injuries due to Wyatt's actions. Although the rumors ultimately were determined incorrect as to Hertel's condition, a mob had gathered outside the jail, and its anger towards Wyatt intensified. Belleville Mayor Frederick John Kern pleaded from the steps of the jail for order, to allow the legal system to proceed. Similarly, State's Attorney James Farmer and former judge M. W. Schaefer had little impact with convincing the crowd to disperse. Attempts to disperse the crowd with firehouses were ordered, but when firemen arrived they were "unwilling to spray a crowd composed of their fellow white citizens". Later that evening, the jail was left unattended, and the mob succeeded in breaking in and removing Wyatt. The crowd subsequently dragged Wyatt to the center of the nearby Town Square where he was lynched from a telephone pole and subsequently set on fire. He was not cut down until after souvenirs had been taken.²¹ Shortly after the Wyatt murder in Brooklyn, the *Rockford Republic* published a story discussing the multitude of lynchings of Black men in Illinois over the past two years time.²²

A little more than a month later, in late July 1903, hell broke out in the east-central community of Danville, Vermilion County. Extrajudicial killings were not a stranger to the eastern Illinois community. In May 1895, a double lynching of two young white men accused of rape had occurred (*Chicago Daily News*, 25 May 1895, p. 8). In mid-1903, in nearby Alvin, a Black man named James Wilson was accused of the brutal assault of a farmer's wife. Wilson fled across the state line into Indiana, was soon captured, and returned to Danville for arraignment. Shortly after his arrival in Danville, an altercation occurred outside a local saloon that ultimately led to the death of a white man (Henry Gatterman) from gunshots fired by a Black man (J. D. Metcalf of Evansville, Indiana).²³ A crowd quickly formed around the body, and Metcalf was quickly

²¹Anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells, writing in the *Chicago Tribune* claimed that there was evidence to show Wyatt had actually acted in self-defense (Downey 1999; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lynching_of_David_Wyatt).

²² "OTHER ILLINOIS LYNCHINGS. Four Colored Men Put to Death by Mobs Within Two Years," *Rockford Republic [Rockford, Illinois]*, 8 June 1903, p. 4.

²³ The Black man is variously referred to as J. D. Metcalf and J. D. Mayfield. The more reputable reporting of the story appears in the *Journal*, which suggests his name was Metcalf. Two days after his death, Metcalf's mutilated and burned body was placed on public display in a coffin (consisting of a rough-hewn wooden box) in the alley behind the undertaker's place of business. At that time, "the lid was opened, leaving the ghastly sight exposed to the hot rays of a scorching sun. There hundreds of people viewed all that remained of the naked body and turned away in horror. Millions of flies infested the box and covered the charred flesh, adding to the grewsomeness [sic] of the spectacle" ("TWENTY FOUR RIOTS' VICTIMS," *Illinois State Journal*, 27 July 1903, p. 1-2).

The white man that was shot and killed by Metcalf was variously known as Gatterman, Gaitmann, Gratteman, and Matterman. He was a veteran who had only recently returned from service with the U.S. Army in the Philippines (Philippine-American War) ("TWENTY-FOUR RIOTS' VICTIMS," *Illinois State Journal*, 27 July 1903, p. 1).

arrested and hauled to the city jail (located in City Hall). Soon the crowd demanded action, and the mob subsequently stormed the city jail, forcibly removed Metcalf, beat him, and ultimately hanged him, with his body being mutilated and burned. Upon succeeding in killing Metcalf, the crowd turned their attention to the county jail where Wilson recently had been incarcerated, and the frenzied mob unleashed their fury on him. If not for the heroic efforts of the county sheriff (H. H. Whitlock), his deputies, and a Black employee (the turnkey) who had barricaded themselves in the jail, Wilson would also have been similarly lynched.²⁴ After busting down the jail door with a steel railroad rail used as a battering ram, Whitlock fired upon the mob as they attempted to enter the facility killing at least one and seriously injuring several others.²⁵ Fearing mob action, Whitlock had requested assistance from the Governor (who was out-of-state in Michigan at the time), but unfortunately was unsuccessful in reaching anyone with proper authority to send troops. Ultimately, four companies of the Seventh Regiment (then at Camp Lincoln in Springfield) arrived the following morning around 9:00-9:30, and remained in the community for several days (“SEVERAL KILLED, MANY WOUNDED IN BLOODY RACE RIOT AT DANVILLE,” *Illinois State Register*, 26 July, 1903, p. 1). According to the newspaper coverage of the event, “leading citizens say the outbreak has been feared for a long time, as bitter feeling has existed for several years between the negroes and a certain class of white persons. A number of minor outbreaks have occurred during the past year” (“TWENTY_FOUR RIOTS’ VICTIMS,” *Illinois State Journal*, 27 July 1903, p. 1-2).

Over the subsequent months, stretching well into mid-1904, the social, legal, and political aftermath of the lynchings that had occurred in Belleville and Danville were oft reported in the State’s newspapers—particularly those in Springfield, being a hot topic of social debate regarding the causes, as well as legal repercussions for the mob participants. By early 1905, Representative Edward H. Green, from Cook County, was openly discussing the need of a state anti-lynching law—something the Federal government was not willing to pursue. At the time, Green was the sole Black legislator then serving in the Illinois General Assembly. On May 16, 1905, the State of Illinois passed Green’s anti-lynching law, which not only levied a \$1,000 fine on individuals convicted of participating in a lynch mob, but also made it unlawful for five or more people to gather with the intent of doing violence of people or property. Furthermore, it

²⁴ According to the local newspaper, “the mob was especially wild in its anger against the negro turnkey.” Similarly, the mob had no respect for the company of Black militia recently organized and based in Danville: “Company K, a colored troop, has its headquarters here and the officials have prepared to call it out. Leaders of the mob declare that they will try to kill the entire company if it comes out” (*Illinois State Register* 26 July, 1903, p. 1). [Company K, Eighth Regiment, Illinois National Guard—was based in Peoria?]. Many of the men from this company assembled at the local armory in fear of an attack from the mob (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 July 1903, p. 2).

This was not the first time that Danville had been the scene of a lynching. In 1895, two white men were forcibly taken from the jail and hanged from a nearby bridge for assaulting a young girl (“TWENTY_FOUR RIOTS’ VICTIMS,” *Illinois State Journal*, 27 July 1903, p. 2). See also “DANVILLE DISGRACED BY DESPERATE RACE WAR,” *Weekly Illinois State Register*, 28 July, 1903, p. 1, 3).

The *Illinois State Register* (26 July, 1903, p. 1) reported that the riot resulted “in the violent death of two men; the fatal wounding of two others, with injury to six or eight men, whites and blacks...” The following day the Springfield newspaper noted two dead and twenty-two injured in the Danville “Race War,” including “four unknown negroes, beaten into insensibility by the mob” (“TWENTY-FOUR RIOTS’ VICTIMS,” *Illinois State Journal*, 27 July 1903, p. 1).

²⁵ Whitlock insisted that he alone had fired into the crowd.

required the removal from office of any law enforcement officer who allowed a prisoner to be removed from custody and lynched (McDermott 1999:62).

The fact that special legislation had been passed for a specific type of murder (already a capital punishment) was an acknowledgement that lynching was a problem in Illinois. Governor Deneen's support of the measure significantly boosted his support among Black voters, who played a critical role in his reelection in 1908, defeating former Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson (McDermott 1999:62). Yates' previous debacle with the Danville riots in 1903 also contributed to the Black vote shifting support towards Deneen. Yates bowed out of the subsequent election, admitting that he had insufficient experience in the political arena, making an opening for Deneen.

Although Springfield newspapers carried numerous stories of lynchings as well as many a story regarding the moral and legal issues surrounding lynching in general that had occurred throughout the country during the years 1905 through mid-summer 1908, the State of Illinois appears to have remained free of lynchings during this time. Although no lynchings are reported in Illinois during this period, several "close encounters" were noted, many involving white perpetrators of horrific and brutal crimes.²⁶ The early summer of 1908 seemed to be passing fairly well in Illinois with regard to racial tensions, but this quickly changed in a dramatic manner during the sweltering heat of mid-August 1908.

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²⁶ One of the more horrific crimes almost resulted in the lynching of Thomas Baldwin in early 1907. Baldwin, a resident of rural McLean County, shot and killed the 14-year old girl he was accused of assaulting, her mother, and a young married couple who had testified against Baldwin. Fearful of retribution by a mob of "infuriated farmers," Baldwin was quickly transferred to Bloomington ("Accused by Girl, Farmer Kills Man and Three Women," *Illinois State Register*, 1 March 1907, p. 1).

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ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER.

FIFTY-SEVENTH YEAR.

SPRINGFIELD, SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 3, 1893.

TEN CENTS A WEEK.

MOB LAW AT DECATUR

THE NEGRO ASSAILANT OF MRS. WM. VEST LYNCHED.

His Name Was Samuel J. Bush and He Was Arrested at Windsor, Shelby County—A Crowd of Several Hundred Men Surrounded the Jail, Hattered Down the Doors, and Carried Out Bush, Hanging Him to a Lamp Post in the Presence of Thousands of People.

DECATUR, Ill., June 3.—At an early hour this morning, the negro assailant of Mrs. William Vest at Mt. Zion paid the penalty of his crime at the hands of Judge Lynch, being hanged on a telegraph pole in front of the opera house.

He was captured a little before daylight yesterday morning near Windsor, in Shelby county. He was brought to Decatur at 10:40 by a route stopping at Mt. Zion. Hundreds of people were at the train and there is great excitement in town to-night. The negro gives his name as Samuel J. Bush.

All night to-night a big crowd has surrounded the jail. At midnight it numbers over 500 men and many threats of lynching are made. One attempt to lynch a mob was made, but failed. The crowd is worked up to a nervous state of excitement, and an effort to lynch the prisoner is expected at any time. About thirty guards armed with Winchester are posted in the building. The jail keys have been hidden, and the only way for a man to enter would be to hammer down the doors. The determination and interest of those surrounding the jail will be understood when it is stated that during a steady downpour of rain for over an hour the dimination of the crowd was not perceptible.

and then suicided. The murdered man is of a wealthy Mississippi family.

WILL CAUSE A SENSATION.

Harry Hill, an Atlanta Society Man, Arrested at Chicago, June 2—Harry Hill of Atlanta, Ga., mentioned in the dispatches from there as arrested for forgeries, appeared in court to-day and was held in bonds to await the arrival of the Atlanta police. Hill declares the Atlanta police. Hill declares himself innocent. He admits that he assumed the name of Mrs. Porter, wife of the president of the Merchants' bank of Atlanta, to notes aggregating \$1,400, but declared that he did this with her permission and that every note endorsed was sent to her to say that it was all right. He says he was seduced by a speculator and that he left Atlanta some time ago, having first run over to his attorney property to cure Mrs. Porter. It is said that Judge Hill is a lender in society in Atlanta and that the affair will cause a sensation.

THE JEWELRY GONE.

Over \$70,000 Worth of Valuables Lost Through Carelessness.

BEDFORD, Mass., June 2.—This forenoon Mr. Charles H. Colburn, together with her two daughters, left their Boston residence to drive to Hopedale, but before leaving Mrs. Colburn gave to the care of her eldest daughter a bag containing \$70,000 worth of diamonds and jewelry. The bag was brought with them on the ride to Hopedale. The young lady set the bag down, came away and forgot it, a fact which was not discovered until they nearly reached Bedford. The salesman hurried back to Boston to get the forgotten valuables, but when he reached the house the bag vanished. Several detectives have been sent out back to unravel the mystery.

CHANGED WITH ADDUCTION.

Edward Fendricks, the Board of Trade

PLUMS FOR THE BOYS

APPOINTMENT OF REVENUE COLLECTORS COMING SOON.

Secretary Carlisle Has Decided as to Whom He Wants—A List Being Made of Those Who Will Be Asked to Resign—What Points Available—Political Deal Statement—The Sherman Bullion Law.

WASHINGTON, June 2.—When the president returns from his fishing trip to Hog Island, Va., he will take up the papers in the cases between fifteen and twenty collectors of internal revenue which now await action. Commissioner Miller spent a week considering them and has made his recommendations and Secretary Carlisle spent several days last week in looking them over and has fully made up his mind as to whom he wants in each case. He will go over the matter again with the president. Had the latter not been absent from the city this week the appointments would have been made before now. In the meantime Appointment Clerk Kretz is getting the names of the old collectors who have tendered their resignations and those whose places are wanted, but who have not done so, will be requested to do so at once.

THE SHERMAN BULLION LAW.

Information from Silver Sources that It Will Be Suspended.

WASHINGTON, June 2.—Information coming from the silver sources make it safe to predict there will be little trouble to pass a bill through the house in repeal the Sherman silver law soon after congress meets. How things will stand in the senate is another story, but it will probably be found that the finance committee will have a majority for the repeal of the present law. The reason given by some of those who will drop from the ranks of the radical sil-

ing the governor to lay the difficulties leading in the way of the two houses meeting in grand committee before the superior court for decision.

A DISCOURAGING WEEK.

Disheartening Conditions Prevailing in the Business World—Labor Troubles—New York, June 2.—B. G. Dunn & Co., say: More disheartening conditions prevailed during the past week and those who saw the beginning of a permanent recovery in the latter part of a week ago are disappointed. The money markets have been closer, especially in the interior, and manufacturing and trade are more restricted than before. Gold has gone out again in large amounts, the exports for the week being about \$5,000,000 and the treasury gold reserve is drawn down to about \$80,000,000. In nearly all the departments of trade, uncertainty about the future has a depressing effect, which is now clearly perceived in the decrease of new business, and while most of the manufacturing works are yet employed on full orders, as they run out the number of works closed increases.

Chicago reports increased receipts—in sheep 30 per cent, corn 35, oats 40, and wheat 175 per cent, but a decrease in all other articles, especially in animal products. What is quoted below the lowest price for thirty years. General trade is satisfactory and collections are improving. St. Louis reports cotton and iron moving liberally, but loans are curtailed to a minimum and there is no market for local securities save at the buyer's prices. At Kansas City trade is fairly good but money is scarce, with collections slow. Stocks are nearly \$2 per share lower than a week ago. Wheat has declined 1 1/2 cents, corn 2 1/2, oats 1 1/2, with moderate transactions, few caring to buy wheat with the enormous stocks in sight. Lard and hogs are lower and cotton has declined a sixteenth with moderate sales, though the receipts are small. The market for tin was overvalued and fell 4 cents, and coffee is

AT THE "WHITE CITY"

FIFTY THOUSAND PEOPLE ATTEND THE FAIR YESTERDAY.

This Country Will Materialize Another Royal Leader in the Person of an Astorite Belle—Astoria Crack Band Arrives—Congress of Moralists—Arguments on Sunday Closing—A Decision Expected Probably To-day.

CHICAGO, June 2.—The world's congress on social purity was presided over by Arch Bishop Ireland to-day. Addresses were delivered by Mrs. Ballington Booth, of the Salvation Army, and Rev. J. M. McCleary, of Minneapolis. The league for the promotion of social purity met in an adjoining hall and was addressed by Bishop Fallows. To-night the congress heard a number of interesting papers on pertinent topics.

Word was received to-day that the far-famed oriental monarch, Sultan Johore, was coming to the world's fair. His majesty directed Commissioner Lake to meet him in Germany and accompany him to the fair. The "White City" is now practically completed. The railway tracks which were laid inside the grounds to facilitate the distribution of exhibits were taken up to-day and with very few exceptions the exhibits are all in place and by the first of next week the fair will undoubtedly be finished for the inspection of the public from end to end.

The band of the Austria crack regiment arrived to-day and will give a series of concerts throughout the fair. The heavy clouds that threatened rain this morning did not keep people away from the grounds. When it cleared up this afternoon the crowd increased until the bureau estimated that some 50,000 was there. The attendance yesterday was 55,000.

Sunday Closing Argument Ended. Chicago, June 2.—The argument in

about an agreement between the company and strikers. They succeeded this afternoon.

ELEVEN WERE HURT.

Disastrous Wreck on the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railroad.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., June 2.—A disastrous wreck occurred on the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis railroad this morning at 6:30 o'clock, resulting in the injury of eleven people. The rear coach of the train from Memphis, due here at 7 o'clock, jumped the track and rolled down an embankment forty feet high. Of the eleven passengers in the coach all were more or less injured. Their names were as follows:

Mrs. Susan Saphon, Nashville, dangerously bruised about body and head. Mrs. L. M. Douglas, Chester, S. C., badly bruised.

Mrs. M. G. Worahan, Monona, Ark., leg and face cut.

L. Spurlock, Vienna, Cherokee Nation, badly bruised.

J. S. Maroney, Murphy, N. C., head and back injured.

Mrs. Sordith and infant, Powaton, I. T., the former cut about the head and the latter bruised.

Mrs. Kellery, North Alford, Tex., face cut and back injured.

J. B. Freeman, Harold, Tex., head and hip injured.

A. S. Horan, Nashville, head and back bruised.

John A. Perry, Memphis, bruised and head cut.

J. D. Graves, Alford, Tex., head cut.

The accident was caused by the recent rains, which have rendered the track unsafe. The injured parties were brought to this city and are being cared for at the hospital.

\$300,000 Gone to Athens. New York, June 2.—The iron foundry of J. B. and J. M. Cornell at Twenty-sixth street and Eleventh avenue burned this morning and the flames spread to the entire block. The

RESET BY STRIKERS.

Workmen Along the Drainage Canal Lane Charge on the Sanks.

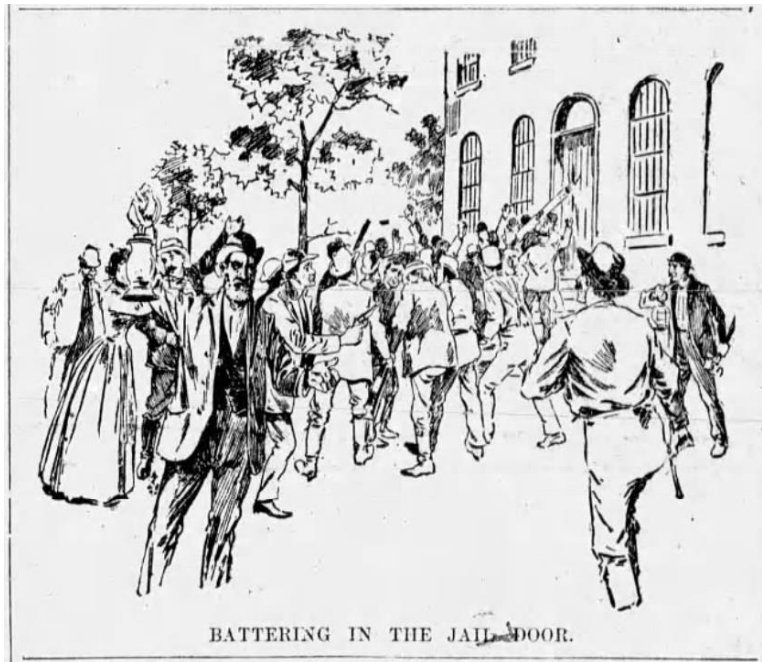
CHICAGO, June 2.—There was a reign of terror to-day along the drainage canal between Laumont and Romeo. Four hundred quarrymen struck for an increase of wages, and armed with clubs and revolvers marched from one quarry to another gaining additions to their ranks and stopping at many saloons on the way until almost crased with liquor they left the quarry and rushed upon the nearest camp of contractors of the drainage canal line. Camp after camp was visited and in each the men were driven from work and where they resisted were assaulted by the strikers. Many men were severely injured and it is thought that one, James Powderly, will die.

The rioters encountered, so really serious opposition until they reached the camp of the McCormick Construction Co. Here they were met by McCormick himself, and he told them not to do any damage to the property. Thereupon they began to hurl rocks at him, striking his horse and bruising him. McCormick retreated and procured a Winchester rifle, at the sight of which the rioters fled. His men, however, all quit. At Mason, Hogan and King's camp they struck and wounded Peter King, brother of the contractor. A freight train on the Santa Fe killed one of the strikers who was on the track, near Romeo.

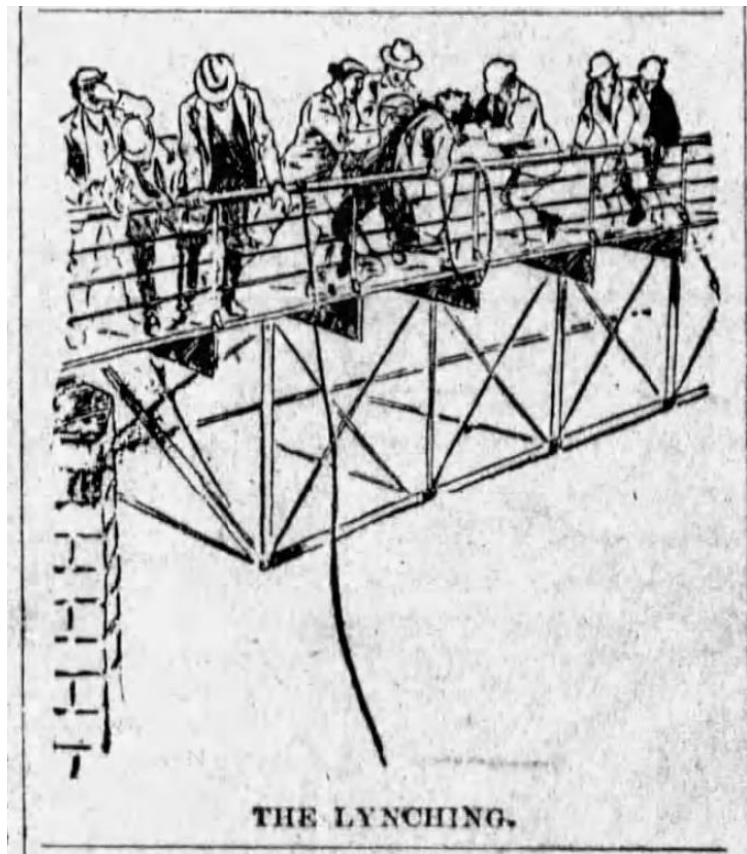
The strikers number about 2,000 men, 1,200 of them being employed on drainage. The cause of the strike is that the stone company reduced wages from 17 1/2 cents to 15 cents per hour. The strike also extends to Joliet because from 300 to 400 men are out because of the same reduction. The drainage contractors are unable to learn why the strike has been ordered on them as there was no reduction in wages.

THE LUTHERANS.

Strong Resolutions Against Divorce—The Greasy Law Also Condemned.



BATTERING IN THE JAIL DOOR.



THE LYNCHING.

Figure 2. Two views depicting the “double lynching” at Danville, of two white men accused of raping a young girl in 1895 (*Stephenson Farmer* [Lena, Illinois], 31 May 1895, p. 2).

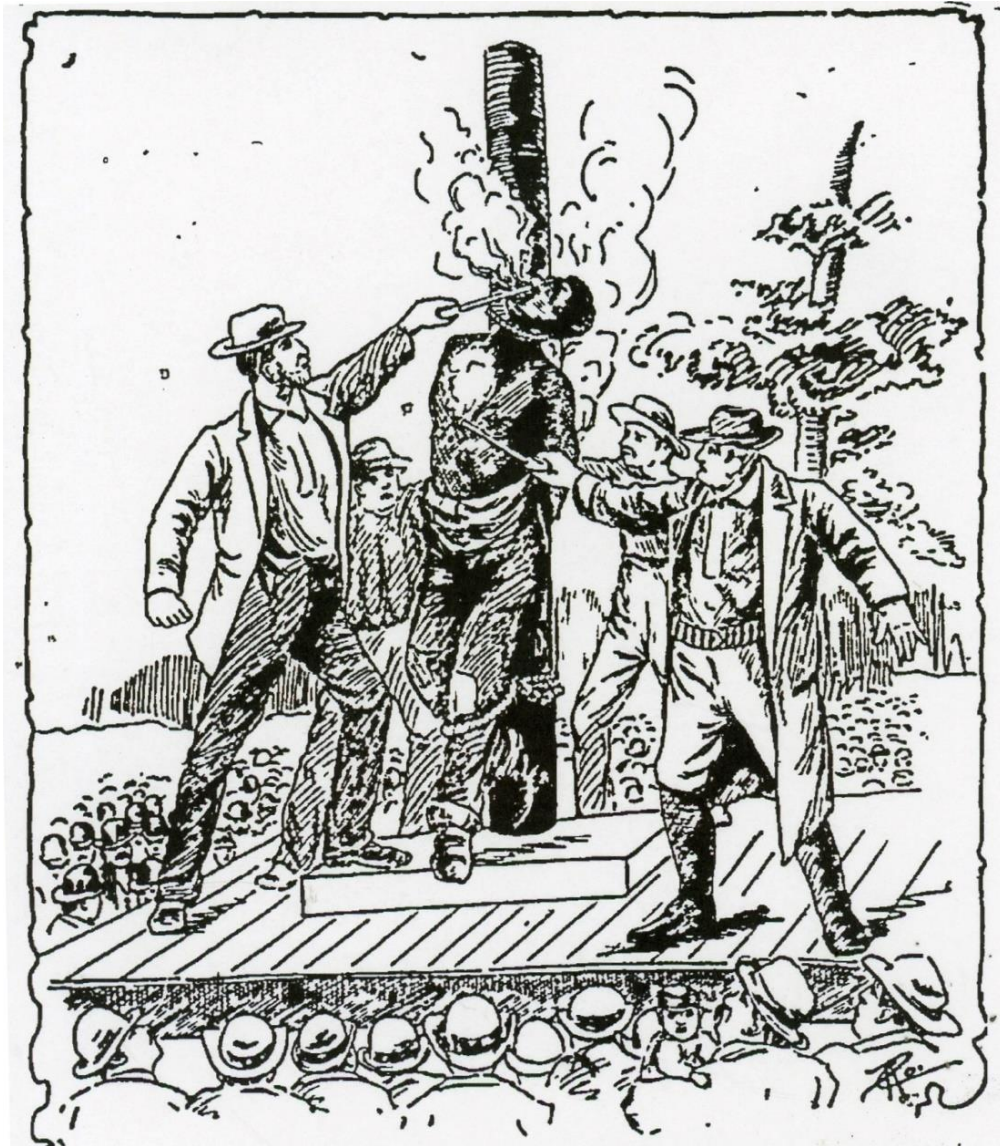


Figure 3. Image captioned “A TYPICAL LYNCHING IN THE SOUTH” published in the Black-owned and edited Springfield newspaper the *Illinois Record* in November 1897. This graphic figure accompanied a story entitled “A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION. Afro-American League Delegates” (*Illinois Record*, 17 November 27, 1897, p. 1). Although not discussed specifically within the long article, its intent no doubt was to draw attention to the goals of the Afro-American Protective League of Illinois, and to emphasize to the residents of the State the need for Black and White residents to unite against racial hatred and support the organizations “call to action,” lest such abominations should come to Illinois.

WILL NOT ACT IN LYNCHING.

Acting Governor Sees No Reason for Executive Interference.

Acting Governor Northcott said last evening he did not believe it would be necessary for the executive office to take action regarding the lynching of W. T. Wyatt, the colored school teacher who shot Charles Hertel, superintendent of the St. Clair county schools, at Belleville Saturday night.

"The lynching of Wyatt," said the governor, "was a single act of lawlessness. It does not indicate a disposition on the part of the local authorities to disregard the law or their duty, such as would warrant the governor in interfering. On the other hand, my information is that the officers who are charged with the administration of the law at Belleville attempted to prevent the lynching and there is nothing to indicate that they will not do their full duty in bringing the lynchers to justice.

"I know the prosecuting attorney of St. Clair county to be an honest and capable official and I have full confidence in his ability and willingness to uphold the law in his county. No judges in the state stand higher than the men who are on the bench in the St. Clair district and they can be depended on to do what is right without suggestion or direction from the governor's office.

"Unless there was something to show that they were no longer worthy of the confidence of the public, this office would not be justified in assuming that the law was to be disregarded."

Figure 4. During the summer of 1903, two separate lynchings of Black men occurred in Illinois. The first of these murders occurred in Belleville in early June (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 June 1903, p. 1). Although this short article was located on the front page, the local Springfield newspapers poorly covered the event. On the day of the murder, buried on page four of the newspaper, the *Register* published a two sentence comment that simply read "There has been another lynching in Illinois. Oh, my, but Missouri and Mississippi will talk about us now" (*Illinois state Register*, 8 June 1903, p. 4).

DANVILLE DISGRACED BY DESPERATE RACE WAR

Bloodthirsty Mob on Way to Lynch Alleged Negro Rapist; Hangs and Burns a Negro Murderer.

FIERCE ATTACK MADE ON COUNTY JAIL

Mob Assaulted Jail Door With Railroad Iron But Were Repulsed by Sheriff—Four Companies of Militia Sent to Scene.

PRESENCE OF SOLDIERS PREVENTS MORE VIOLENCE

Danville, Ill., July 25.—A race riot in this city, resulting up to mid-night in the violent death of two men; the fatal wounding of two others, with injury to six or eight men, whites and

ILLINOIS WITHOUT A GOVERNOR NO ONE TO GIVE ORDERS

For several hours Sunday morning and late Saturday night Illinois was practically without a governor. Scores of telegrams came from the scene of the race war at Danville calling upon the governor or acting governor for troops to quell the riot and restore peace. Governor Yates was in Harbor Springs, Mich. Acting Governor Northcott was at his home in Greenville, Ill. The central telephone girl at Greenville was said to be asleep and no word could be sent to the acting governor. Adjutant General Scott was at his home in Fairfield and the telephone offices there were closed. Col. John Oglesby, private secretary to the governor, was in Kansas. The telegrams received were referred to Assistant Adjutant General Reece. He made a strenuous effort to reach the acting governor, the adjutant general and the private secretary to the governor, but all efforts failed. At 2:30 Sunday morning he had not yet managed to get into communication with the authorities who had the power to order troops to the scene of the race riot. The B. & O. S-W. officials at Flora were telegraphed to asking if they could not send a switch engine to Fairfield from Flora to take a message to the adjutant general, but the company declined to do so without pay, and Assistant Adjutant General Roy Reece, who was the only official in the city with any authority at all to act, and who handled the telegrams, did not feel authorized to order the special.

RELIANCE IS DEFENDER

AGAIN PROVES SUPERIOR TO CONSTITUTION AND COLUMBIA.

Wins Trial Race, and New York Yacht Club Names Her as Defender—Constitution Made Fine Showing But Could Not Stand Pace.

Newport, R. I., July 27.—After today's race between Reliance, Constitution and Columbia, in which the former boat again demonstrated her superiority over the other two, the challenge committee of the New York Yacht club selected Reliance as the defender of the Amerlee's cup. It was also decided to discontinue the trial races. Messrs Morgan of Columbia and Belmont of Constitution were perfectly satisfied with the choice of the committee. They are both of the opinion that Reliance is the fastest of the three. From the showing of the three boats during the season the Reliance is fairly entitled to be the defender. In every race she has crossed the finish line ahead, and has lost but few events on time allowances. It is probable the defender will proceed to Bristol for a thorough overhauling. Start Was Good. The three yachts raced over a leeward and windward course to-day. There was a puffly northwester of fifteen miles' strength blowing when the

BELFAST GREET'S KING

ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME ACCORDED TO EDWARD AT ULSTER.

Status of Victoria is Unveiled—City is Elaborately Decorated and Streets Are Thronged With Sightseers—Many Addresses Are Made.

Belfast, July 27.—The welcome extended to King Edward and Queen Alexandra at the capital of Ulster was marked by the same enthusiasm which has followed their progress through Ireland. The city was elaborately decorated and thronged with sightseers, and the streets were lined by 10,000 troops, 2,000 blue-jackets and 5,000 police. The lord mayor and corporation awaited their majesties at the railroad station and presented them with an address. Upward of fifty other addresses were presented on the same occasion. The king in reply said that his highest ambition was to follow in the footsteps of his mother and make the well being of his people, the prosperity of Ireland and the maintenance of the peace of all nations his constant aim. The royal procession was then formed and traversed the streets to the city hall, where the king unveiled a statue erected in honor of Queen Victoria. The reception which their majesties met with everywhere was most enthusiastic.

the conference of political reform leaders was called to order by J. A. Edgerton, secretary of the populist national committee. Mr. Edgerton spoke briefly, outlining the work that it is hoped to accomplish by the conference in the amalgamation of the various reform forces of the nation into one party. The day was taken up in the work of organization and short addresses. The principal speech was by Former United States Senator W. V. Allen, of Nebraska, who favored a reorganization of the reform forces, which should embrace the various factions, now embracing practically the same political doctrines and differing mainly in regard to methods.

THIRTEEN CONVICTS MAKE DARING BREAK FOR LIBERTY.

Keepers Have Desperate Fight With Prisoners in Office of Folsom, Cal. Penitentiary. Sacramento, Cal., July 27.—A special to the Bee from Folsom says: Thirteen desperate prisoners confined in the Folsom penitentiary made a successful break for liberty at the breakfast hour this morning. After a fierce fight in the captain's office, during which a turnkey was fatally stabbed, a guard killed and another officer wounded, the convicts seized a quantity of arms and ammunition, and using the warden and other officers for a shield from their pursuers, made good their escape. To-night, it is believed they are making for Bald mountain. The state militia, ordered out by Governor Pardee, have gone to the scene. The wounded: C. J. COCHRANE, turnkey, stabbed in back, will die. WILLIAM L. COTTER, a guard, cut in abdomen, died soon after. W. G. PALMER, cut in head.

POPES BODY LAID TO REST

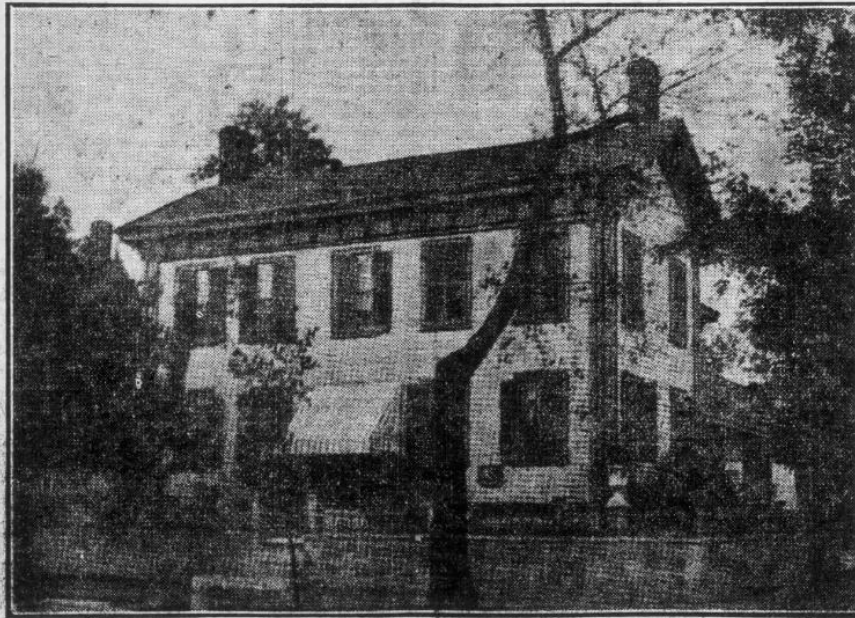
REMAINS FORM NUCLEUS OF IMPRESSIVE SCENE.

Cardinals in Violet Robes and Guards in Brilliant Uniform Attended the Striking Obsequies Yesterday to Pay Last Respects.

Rome, July 27.—Almost all the cardinals of the conclave have now arrived. Their time to-day was mainly occupied with a lengthy meeting of the congregation, which was notable for the cordiality with which Cardinal Gibbons was received. After the meeting the cardinals received numerous visits at their various residences. It was informed circles Cardinal Angelo Di Pietro, pro-datary of the late pope, is being talked of as a compromise candidate in the event that Cardinals Greglia, Gotti, Rampolla or Serafino Vannetelli is unable to secure the necessary votes. Should Di Pietro be elected pope, he would, it is said, be the representative of the Rampolla-Gotti faction, and yet would be fairly acceptable to all. Cardinal Michael Loeu, archbishop of Armagh, who, with the exception of Cardinal Gibbons, will be the only English speaking cardinal in the conclave, arrived to-day from Ireland. He said he believed that

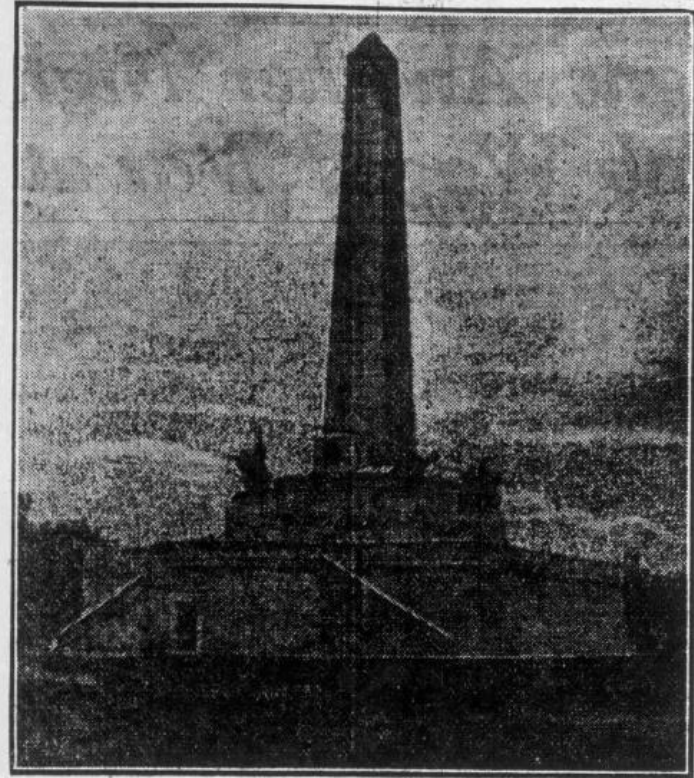
Figure 5. The second murder of a Black man in the summer of 1903 occurred in late July in Danville. At that time, although Governor Yates was out of the state at the time, the Illinois militia was called out to suppress the violence (*Illinois State Register* 28 July 1903, p. 1). The second lynching of the summer warranted headline coverage in the Springfield papers—at least with the *Register*.

Here, in the Very Shadow of the Old Home of Lincoln,
The Emancipator, Negro Was Lynched at Springfield



THE LINCOLN HOME AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.,
Near where the race riots of Friday and Saturday nights occurred.

Lincoln Monument Towers Over Scene
Of Clash Between Blacks and Whites



THE LINCOLN MONUMENT AT SPRINGFIELD.
It was near this monument that Charles Hunter, colored, was lynched by a mob
of infuriated white citizens Friday night.

Figure 7. The irony of the riots occurring in the home town of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, did not go unnoticed by *The Minneapolis Journal* (16 August 1908, p. 1-2).



Figure 8. Political cartoon characterizing events in Springfield, August 14-15, 1908 (*Chicago Tribune*, August 16, 1908, page 1). In the background, the Capital City is in flames, and a Black man hangs by his neck from a electrical pole. In the foreground, an angry and armed white mob chases a family of Black men, women, and children across the grounds in front of the Lincoln Tomb. Typical of the era, the images of the Black individuals facial details are highly racialized.

Appendix V

The Scott Burton and William Donnegan Murders: The Lynching of Two Innocent Black Men in Illinois' Capital City, August 14-15, 1908

Floyd Mansberger
and
Christopher Stratton

The First Lynching Victim of Springfield's Race Riot: Mr. Scott Burton¹

On the first night of the riots, after discovering that Richardson (the accused rapist) had been secreted out of town, the white mob ransacked Loper's Restaurant, followed by the Black commercial district (known as the Levee) and proceed north to the residential district referred to as the Badlands where they advanced east along Madison Street, eventually arriving in the wee hours of the morning at the home of a local Black barber named Scott Burton. Burton succeeded in waking his family and securing their exit out the rear of the house, only to remain behind presumably to protect his home and property. Unfortunately, Mr. Burton paid with his life for that decision to rightly protect his home.²

Little is known about Burton's early life in Springfield, or prior to his arrival in the Capital City. Senechal (1990) contains little to no biographical information regarding Burton. Both the 1880 and 1900 U.S. Census of Populations notes that Scott Burton was born in Georgia.³ Burton's declared age listed in the 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests that he was born in circa 1849-50, but according to the 1900 U.S. Census of population, his birth year was listed as 1852. In both census returns, his mother and father listed Georgia as their place of birth. At what point Burton immigrated to Springfield is unclear.

No individual fitting Burton's profile was located within the 1870 census for Illinois. The U.S. Census of Population did enumerate a young, 18-year old Black man named Scott Burton (suggestive of an 1852 birth year) living with his parents and siblings in rural Jasper County, Georgia at the time.⁴ The head of that household was Fred Burton (40-years of age) whose

¹ The first victim of the riots was a young 17-year old waiter at Loper's Restaurant named Louis Johnson who had been killed by a stray bullet or piece of glass shrapnel that cut his neck, and he died immediately. Louis Johnson was white.

² "Mob Lynched Scott Burton," *Illinois State Register*. 21 August 1908.

³ Death records of his child Marie suggests that Scott Burton was born in Atlanta, Georgia.

⁴ The family is noted as living with the Thompson and Barnes District, County of Jasper. Monticello, the county seat of Jasper County, is situated in north central Georgia approximately 50 miles southeast of Atlanta in the heart of the cotton-producing upland Black Belt. Monticello, the county seat, was founded in 1808. The census indicates that the "Newton Factory" post office serviced this rural community. Newton Factory, was also variously known through time as Factory Shoals, Webbville, and Webb. Located south of Covington (and north of Monticello), a

occupation was listed as farm laborer (“Work on farm”). Besides his eldest son Scott, residing with Fred was his 37-year old presumed wife (Phoebe Burton), his 16 year old daughter Martha, and 12 year old brother Albert. It is unknown whether or not this is the same individual who settled within Springfield, Illinois by 1874.⁵

The first evidence of the young Scott Burton living in Springfield occurs with the appearance of a marriage license issued by the Sangamon County courthouse. On June 6, 1872, one Scott Burton received a license to marry one Mary A. Johnson—both residents of Springfield.⁶ As the 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests, Mary probably had emigrated recently from Washington City (Washington, D.C.). Although Scott Burton was not documented in the 1872 *Springfield City Directory* that year, he was listed within the subsequent 1874 *Springfield City Directory*. Within that document, Burton was listed as “colored” and residing on the southeast corner of Tenth and Monroe Streets. No occupation was listed for the young Burton, who would have been approximately 25 years of age at that time. Although Burton was not noted in the 1876 *Springfield City Directory*, he does appear listed in the subsequent 1879 directory as a barber located along the south side Washington Street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets. The 1879 directory does not indicate a residential location for Burton. Similarly, the 1880 city directory lists Burton as a barber located at 919 East Washington Street, again without a residential location listed. This business location was on the east end of what would soon become the Black commercial district known as the Levee.

Scott Burton first appears in the local Springfield newspapers in early 1878. In January of that year, the *Illinois State Register* noted that “Scott Burton, the barber, still ‘hangs out’ on the south side of Washington Street, between Ninth and Tenth” (*Illinois State Register*, 17 January 1878, p. 4). Nearly two years later, in September 1879, the local newspapers report on Burton’s arrest “for threatening to carve one Howard Jackson.”⁷ Again in late November 1881, Burton was arrested for assaulting “one John Lucchisi” (*Illinois State Register*, 23 November 1881, p. 3). What provoked these confrontations is unknown.

In June 1880, the U.S. Census of Population documented the 31-year old Scott Burton as living with his 39-year old wife Mary at an unknown location in the presumed 900 block of East Washington Street. The census again lists Burton’s occupation as a barber, and notes that his wife Mary had been born in Washington City [Washington, D.C.]. Living within the household

cotton mill was established at this location during the 1820s or 1830s and was a significant local rural service center through the Civil War years. Devastated by the Civil War, the vitality of the community quickly declined during the post-Civil War years, and today little remains to show of this community’s presence (<http://www.thepiedmontchronicles.com/2011/09/lost-towns-of-newton-jasper-and-morgan.html>).

⁵ Charles Burton, Scott Burton’s oldest child, related to the *Journal* that his parents both had died before he left the South, that his father had no brothers, and that he [Scott] had no living brothers (two younger brothers having died) (“Ralph Burton’ A Mystery,” *Illinois State Journal*, 2 September 1908, p. 1).

⁶ No Mary A. Johnson was located within the 1870 U.S. Census of Population.

⁷ A second news account of the incident noted that “Scott Burton, a colored barber, who evidenced a desire to make an ante-mortem examination of Howard Jackson’s anatomy” was before Judge Stratton (*Illinois State Register*, 7 September 1879, p. 4; *Illinois State Journal*, 8 September 1879, p. 4).

at that time were their adopted son George Burton (6 months of age), and three boarders, all of whom were coal miners (31-year old Walter Gray, 35-year old Quincy Epps, and 22-year old Charles Jefferson). All six individuals within the household were listed as Black. At the time, this was the only Black household on this and the adjacent pages within the census. The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* substantiates his occupation and indicates his place of business was at 919 East Washington Street.

Apparently, Mary and Scott's relationship was troubled, as in late summer 1880, Mary Burton filed for a divorce citing Scott for adultery, abuse, and "that he failed to provide the necessary means for her support" (*Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1880, p. 4).⁸ The divorce may not have been finalized until October 1882 (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 October 1882, p. 8).⁹

In January 1883, Scott Burton and Catherine "Kate" Calls [Qualls] were issued a marriage license (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 January 1883, p. 8).¹⁰ Kate had been born into slavery at, or near, Hannibal, Missouri and purportedly came to Springfield in circa 1872.¹¹ Over the next twenty years, Kate and Scott Burton remained together and raised a family on the East side of Springfield. Their first child (Charles) was born in circa 1883. Subsequent children were born in 1884 (Mattie), 1891 (Thomas), 1895 (Marie), and 1898 (Jessie).¹²

During their early years of marriage, life was no doubt stressful for the young couple, and the barber Scott Burton was no stranger to the local newspapers' crime reports ("police beats"). In late summer 1883, Burton was arrested for displaying a weapon in a threatening manner (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 August 1883, p. 7), and later that same winter he was fined \$3 and costs for disorderly conduct based on a complaint filed by Henry Beard (*Illinois State Register*, 28 December 1883, p. 3). Few details regarding these infractions are known, but they do suggest that Burton was capable and willing to stand up to adversaries, and defend himself. Again, many years later in late 1890, Burton was feuding with his neighbor, a white woman named Mrs. Westbrook. According to the newspaper account, "Mrs. Westbrook, white, an old offender, was arrested on the charge of being drunk and disorderly and threatening her neighbor, Scott Burton,

⁸ Mary Burton also was documented in the local newspapers. In May 1879, she was fined \$3 and costs for using obscene language towards one Martha King (*Illinois State Register*, 25 May 1879, p. 4), and was arrested for disorderly conduct in early 1880 (*Illinois State Journal*, 20 May 1880, p. 3). All-in-all though, she appears little documented within the local newspapers.

⁹ [Ancestry.com - 1880 United States Federal Census](https://www.ancestry.com)

¹⁰ Catherine "Kate" Calls or Qualls was not located in Illinois within the 1870 or 1880 U.S. Census of Population ([Illinois, U.S., Compiled Marriages, 1851-1900 - Ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com)).

¹¹ Mrs. Burton's obituary noted how she well remembered the Civil War, and related stories regarding Union soldiers commandeering food, shelter, and fresh horses from her master. Her obituary also details that her husband Scott "was killed during the race riot of 1908, and her home and husband's barber shop sacked and burned" (Mrs. Katie Burton, Once Slave, Dies," (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 December 1942, p. 11).

¹² Marie Burton died in June 1923 in Detroit, Michigan. Her birth date was given as March 3, 1895. Her death certificate gave her father's place of birth as Atlanta, Georgia, and noted her mother's maiden name was Katie Quall, born in Florida, Missouri. Marie was buried in Atlanta, Georgia (Ancestry.com. *Michigan, U.S., Death Records, 1867-1952* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015).

colored, with a club. The parties live on Reynolds street, between Eighth and Ninth” (*Illinois State Register*, 12 September, 1890, p. 6).

Shortly after his murder in August 1908, the *Illinois State Journal* published a short article recounting how “the negro, Scott Burton, who was hanged by the mob in Springfield Aug. 15, escaped the same fate by people of his own color a few years ago. At the time, 1884, he was conducting a small barber shop in Mt. Pulaski on the south side of the square.” According to the article, Burton “left here [Mt. Pulaski] after the fall election of that year and went to Springfield.” If correct, based on the late 1883 news accounts of Burton’s presence in Springfield noted above, the young barber may have been in Mt. Pulaski beginning in late winter of 1884, returning to Springfield later that fall. At any rate, the news story suggests that “many of our people remember him and especially those who marched with him that day when he went to Clinton as the mascot for the Mt. Pulaski Democratic club” (italics added). The Journal described Burton’s previous narrow escape:

It was during the Cleveland campaign and Scott accompanied the Mt. Pulaski Democratic club to Clinton to attend a big rally there and marched in the parade, wearing a white plug hat. The negroes of Clinton were very indignant and cursed him all along the line and at one time their demonstrations became so threatening that men who are now some of our most prominent business men to protect him drew their guns and drove the negroes off. They were terribly worked up, though, and followed our boys to the train and stoned their car as it pulled out of Clinton. Had not some of the best citizens of Mt. Pulaski protected him that day he would have met a summary fate at the hands of his own people (“BURTON HAD ONE ESCAPE. Was Threatened With Rough Treatment at Clinton Several Years Ago,” *Illinois State Journal*, 23 August 1908, p.5).¹³

Burton’s occupation as a barber is first noted by the *Illinois State Register* in 1879. Presumably Burton may have learned his trade sometime shortly after his arrival in Springfield during the early 1870s. After his apparent return to Springfield, Scott Burton continued his career as a barber, eventually establishing his own shop at the northeast corner of Ninth and Jefferson Streets.¹⁴

The 1887 *Springfield City Directory* notes that Burton was a “colored” barber, but unfortunately is unclear as to the location of his house or business.¹⁵ The 1891 city directory oddly suggests that Scott Burton was a teamster residing at 821 East Reynolds Street (SCD 1891:158), whereas the 1892 directory indicates he was a barber residing at 408 North Tenth Street (SCD 1892:123). In the late summer of 1892, the 40-year old Scott Burton presumably began working in the Paradise Tonsorial Parlor located in the 700 Block of Washington Street—in the heart of the Black commercial Levee District. In late summer 1892, Captain Jordan S. Murray—the

¹³ This story was a “Special to the *Sunday Journal*” apparently reprinted from the August 22nd Mt. Pulaski newspaper.

¹⁴ Burton’s tenure as a barber in Mt. Pulaski is currently uncollaborated.

¹⁵ This directory reads “Burton, Scott, (col), barber, h 2d, bet Washington and Jefferson” (SCD 1887:62).

“enterprising saloonist of 715 Washington st. ... opened up a first-class barber shop at 728 Washington st. with three chairs and two bath rooms with all modern improvements.”¹⁶ According to the *State Capital*

The furniture is all new neat and clean, and it is his purpose to accommodate all with discrimination against none so long as they behave themselves and pay for what they get. His mirror is 44 inches long and is second to none in town in the way of taste and equipment. It is certainly entitle to the patronage of the colored people in Springfield (“A LONG FELT WANT,” *State Capital*, 27 August 1892, p. 4).

In late October 1892, the *State Capital* carried an advertisement for Captain Murray’ Paradise Tonsorial Parlor,¹⁷ and an accompanying news story with the advertisement noted that this “enterprising and wide awake young man of Central Illinois” opened a “tonsorial parlor” in Springfield at 729 East Washington Street. His parlors were known as “the finest owned by Afro-Americans in the state.” At that time, “Messrs. Scott Burton, Ed Smith, W. G. Hammonds”—“always kind and courteous”—were “located within Capt. J. S. Murray’s” establishment (*Illinois State Capital*, 22 October 1892, p. 4). The advertisement noted that his Paradise Tonsorial Parlor, where “hot and cold baths” were available, was “the Place all Colored Men with Race pride should patronize” (*Illinois State Capital*, 22 October 1892, p. 4). The 1894 city directory lists Burton as a “colored” barber residing at 1226 East Mason Street, whereas the 1896 Springfield City Directory does not list a Black man named Scott Burton (SCD 1894:112; 1896:63). The 1898 Springfield City Directory lists Scott Burton as a working at the “S. Iron Company,” residing at 1119 East Reynolds Street (SCD 1898:108). If these city directories reference the same individual, then it seems that Burton may have been having difficulty maintaining his job as a barber, and shifted around from place to place for work.

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population documented the Burton family at their residence at 1119 East Reynolds Street. Scott was a 48-year old barber at that time, living with his 49-year old wife Kate, and their five children. According to the census, the couple had been married for 18 years (suggesting a marriage date of circa 1882). The census noted that Kate had given birth to eight children, only five of whom were still living. The Burton children living within the house hold at that time were their two sons Charles (b. 1882; 17 years of age) and Thomas (b. 1890; 9 years of age), and three daughters Mattie (b. 1883; 16 years of age), Mary (b. 1893; six years of

¹⁶ Captain Jordan S. Murray was successful saloon keeper, and newspaper editor (*State Capital*). By the 1890s he was noted as one of the most influential Black men in Springfield. With the start of the Spanish-American War in 1898, at the request of Captain John Marshall of Chicago, Murray was responsible for raising a company of one hundred local Black men to serve with the Eighth Illinois Regiment. As the *Illinois Record* noted, “Captain Murray issued the call and had no difficulty in raising the required number of men in much less than the allotted time” (“A CALL FOR ARMS,” *Illinois Record*, 30 April 1898, p. 28).

¹⁷ A tonsorial parlor was an establishment that gave haircuts and shaves. It is derived from the Latin *tondere* (“to shear, clip, or crop”) with *tonsor* being an archaic term for barber (merriam-webster.com/dictionary). In essence, a “tonsorial parlor” was a fancy way of referring to a “barber shop” which cut hair, gave shaves, and perhaps even worked on teeth. Local newspapers still advertised as such through the first decade of twentieth century.

age), and Jessie (b. 1898; two years of age). Charles, the eldest son, was listed as a day laborer.¹⁸ According to the census enumerator, the elder Scott Burton could not read, nor write, and rented his home.¹⁹

In early 1900, Mrs. Burton was accosted and robbed by a highway man near the Burton residence (listed as 1115 East Reynolds Street). Upon losing her cape and pocket to the bandit, she let out a scream

And the Rev. Jarvis, who was in the vicinity, ran to her assistance. He was soon joined by the woman's husband, who was armed with a poker. The highwayman ran through a yard next to the Burton home, with Mr. Burton in hot pursuit. Burton struck the man over the head with a heavy poker and felled him. Burton took his wife's belongings from her [sic; him] and immediately returned home, leaving the man lying in the vacant lot ("ASSAILED BY HIGHWAYMAN. Mrs. Scott Burton Held Up and Robbed, *Illinois State Register*, 17 January 1900, p. 8; *Illinois State Journal*, 17 January 1900, p. 2).

The 1902 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Burton was a laborer residing at 1130 East Reynolds Street (SCD 1902:114). For the first time, in 1904, the *Springfield City Directory* listed two men by this name, both Black. One was a barber working for William Morgan, and residing at 1130 East Reynolds Street. The second, a driver for the Little and Son Livery Company, roomed at 315 East Adams Street (SCD 1904: 123). This double listing for the name Scott Burton raises questions as to several of the earlier directory entries of a man by this name working at non-barber occupations. Perhaps Scott Burton, the barber, remained undocumented in the city directories during these earlier years. It is not until 1906 that the city directory suggests, for the first and last time, that Burton was working as an independent, self-employed barber—one of eight such Black barbers listed in Springfield at the time.²⁰ [Need to check this with business listings in SVC]. His place of business was indicated as being at 903 East Jefferson Street that year (SCD 1906: 858). Whereas the 1907 city directory lists Burton as a barber residing at 322 north Twelfth Street, it does not indicate the location of his business (SCD 1907:139). In 1907, Mrs. Burton had received assistance, in the form of shoes valued at \$3.00 from the County (*Illinois State Register*, 15 March 1907, p. 10). In keeping with the earlier directories, Scott Burton was not noted in the 1908 *Springfield City Directory* (SCD 1908:144).

¹⁸ Charles W. Burton (January 27, 1896) answered the call to military duty during the Great War (World War I) and was a Corporal, Company I, 370th Infantry, 93rd Division, U.S. Army. Son of Mrs. Mary Burton, 2227 East Stuart street, Springfield. Enlisted 19 April 1917 in Springfield, and trained at Camp Logan, Houston, Texas; Camp Stuart, Virginia, and Newport News, Virginia. Transferred overseas in 6 April 1918 on U.S.S. President Grant, and saw action at St. Mihiel, Soissons, and Argonne Forest. At Soissons, wounded by machine gun fire at Soissons Front. Discharged at Camp Grant on February 11, 1919 (Duff 1920:1085).

¹⁹ [Ancestry.com - 1900 United States Federal Census](https://www.ancestry.com)

²⁰ In October 1906, the *Illinois State Register* carried a notice of the death of Thomas Burton (17 years of age), the child of Mr. and Mrs. Scott Burton who resided at 1130 East Reynolds Street (*Illinois State Register*, 5 October 1906, p. 5).

On that fateful evening of Friday, August 15, 1908, after leaving the commercial Levee along Washington Street, the frenzied mob turned north proceeding up Ninth Street, and one of the first structures they encountered was the small frame barber shop occupied by Scott Burton at the northeast corner of Jefferson and Ninth Streets. Continuing north on Ninth Street, the mob turned east upon reaching Madison Street, wrecking havoc along the way. The *Register* noted that “Beginning just east of the corner of Ninth and Madison... and extending as far east as Thirteenth street, the whole territory was practically laid waste, the one notable exception being the plant of the United States Gypsum company” (*Illinois State Register*, 16 August 1908, p. 2).²¹ At, or about 2:30 that early morning of Saturday, August 16, 1908, the crowd had reached Twelfth Street, and soon thereafter the 58-year old Scott Burton was murdered by the angry white mob intent on inflicting harm to any Black man that would cross their path (“BURTON VICTIM OF LYNCHERS. Negro Barber First to Hang in Clamor for Revenge,” *Illinois State Journal*, 16 August 1908, p. 3). The *Illinois State Journal* (16 August 1908, p. 2) noted that “THE DEAD included SCOTT BURTON, negro barber at Ninth and Jefferson streets. Hung by mob to tree at Twelfth and Madison streets.”²² According to the *Journal*

Until 2:30 o'clock yesterday morning the mob had been unable to inflict the death penalty upon a single black. Burton was seen near the place he was lynched and, it is said, fired shots and wounded a white man. A rush was made for him and, with every avenue of escape cut off, the negro was soon within the mob's grasp. He was beaten into unconsciousness and dragged from the yard in which he was caught to the street.

Somebody produced a rope, a thin line probably used in hanging someone's washing, a noose was fitted about the man's neck and half unconscious, Burton was hauled clear of the ground. A dead tree with one projecting branch was used as a gallows. As Burton's body swung into the air revolver shots rent the air and bullets found lodgment in his swaying body. Burton was insensible after his beating and he never knew the fate meted out to him. As the body hung from the tree all manner of fiendish cruelties were perpetrated upon it. Men gashed it with knives, others attempted to start a fire under the tree, and nearly all his clothing was torn from the remains (“BURTON VICTIM OF LYNCHERS. Negro Barber First to Hang in Clamor for Revenge,” *Illinois State Journal*, 16 August 1908, p. 3).

Front page headlines the following day, immediately adjacent to a picture of Mrs. Hallum which identified her as the “victim of negro fiend,” read “LYNCHING EARLY THIS MORNING.” The story proceeded to describe the events of Burton's murder that early Saturday morning, and noted that

²¹ The previous day, the *Register* wrote that “every building in that vicinity with the exception of the U. S. Gypsum company's warehouse and one or two others, was burned...” (*Illinois State Register*, 15 August 1908, p. 1).

²² Early accounts misidentified the first victim (Scott Burton) as Charles Hunter (a negro porter in a saloon) (cf. “Negro Lynched; Co. H. In Fight Fires On Mob,” *The Decatur Herald*, 15 August, 1908, p. 1; *Chicago Tribune*, 15 August 1908, p. 1).

SAID NEGRO SHOT WHITES

Some of the members of the mob declared that the negro lynched had shot two white men. They said that in a fight with the whites the negro was forced into a corner at the saloon and grocery at the corner of Twelfth and Madison. When retreat was cut off, the negro is said to have opened fire, wounding two (*Illinois State Register*, 15 August 1908, p. 1).²³

A more sympathetic newspaper, the *Springfield News* (15 August 1908) recounted Mr. Burton's two teenage daughters' account of what transpired in the early morning hours (2:00am) that evening.

Father was sitting in the house with us when the mob came around the corner on 12th and Madison streets. They came around our house and set fire to the place, then some of them came into the house. When they saw Father several of them struck him with bottles, and one man had an axe, which he hit him with. The men then took him out of the house and that is the last we saw."²⁴

Another eye witness (former Constable Joe Gambrell), although most likely exaggerating the size of the mob, noted that

The crowd, composed of thousands of men, had gathered at Twelfth and Madison streets, and were firing house after house. Some one set fire to Burton's place, and he shot at the crowd, hitting two. This made the rest of the gang mad, and they went in the house and dragged the old man out. He was beaten insensible before the rope was put around his neck. After he was strung up to the tree at the corner the crowd stood back and fired bullets at the body.²⁵

A couple weeks after the riots, Mr. Burton's son Charles also recounted to the *Illinois State Register* the horrific events that transpired that early morning of August 15th. At the time of the mob action, the family consisting of his father, mother, three younger sisters, and himself were at

²³ Even though the news reporter admitted that Burton's "retreat was cut off," and thus his firing on the crowd was in self-defense, the headline still attributed his lynching to the fact that he had "shot two white men." Sheriff Werner cut the body down at approximately 3:30am Saturday morning, and the newspaper cited that "there were forty bullet holes in the body." After he was hanged, the body was further mutilated, an attempt was made to set it on fire, and "men and boys played with the corpse swinging it back and forth against the building to hear the dull thud that it would make" ("Complete Story of Riot Causing Death and Ruin," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 16 August 1908, p. 22). Similarly, the *Journal* noted that "As the body hung from the tree all manner of fiendish cruelties were perpetrated upon it. Men gashed it with knives, others attempted to start a fire under the tree, and nearly all his clothing was torn from the remains" (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 August 1908, p. 3).

²⁴ This quote was also printed in the *Register* ("Daughters Tell of Tragedy," *Illinois State Register*, 16 August 1908, p. 3). See also: "Story of the Lynching," *Chicago Tribune* 16 August 1908, p. 2; "Mob Lynched Scott Burton," *Illinois State Register*, 21 August 1908, p. 1.

²⁵ "Daughters Tell of Tragedy," *Illinois State Register*, 16 August 1908, p. 3

home on Twelfth Street.²⁶ Hearing the mob approaching, yet several blocks away, his parents prepared the children to flee. Mrs. Burton, her three daughters and Charles left through the back door of the house—which sat adjacent to the alley, between Madison and Mason Streets.

they ran almost into the country, and then sat down at the edge of the city to rest and await the advance of the mob. Though the crowd did not follow them further, they could hear the shouts of the rioters and could see the flames of the houses formerly occupied by the negroes.

They spent the remainder of the night in the open, but none could sleep, “For some reason my father didn’t come,” Mr. Burton [Charles] said last evening. “when we left the house we thought he was coming too, but instead of leaving with us he remained in the house waiting for the mob. We had to run and in the excitement we did not miss him at first. When we saw that he was not with us, it was too late to return to the house, so we could only run on without him.”

Charles, and the rest of the family, never saw their father again.

When the sun rose in a few hours after the lynching, the mother, son and three children returned to their devastated home, but could not find the father.

His blood could be seen in the rear yard, but they did not know that he had been lynched until a neighbor told them of the awful death of the aged negro. The body had been taken to a colored undertaking establishment [probably....], and threats had been made against the lives of the survivors of the dead man.

We could do nothing but leave,” Mr. Burton [Charles] said. My mother and sisters went to relatives in Alton, and I went to Decatur on Saturday, after my father had been lynched about 3 o’clock in the morning. None of us could be here to the funeral. No funeral services over the remains were held. The body was embalmed, and buried by the undertaker before we returned.

In Decatur I stayed with a Mr. Cooper at 855 West King street, and I did not return to Springfield until one week ago last Friday. When I returned, I went for my mother and sisters, and they are now staying with friends near where we formerly lived. I began to look for work as soon as I returned and after some time, found employment at the Illinois hotel.

Mr. Burton [Charles] does not think that his father intended to fight the mob. He thinks that the old negro wanted to stay with his home as long as he could, and that he hoped the raid would conclude before it reached Twelfth street. It is

²⁶ Charles’ younger brother Thomas (born circa 1891) apparently did not survive childhood.

thought that Scott Burton was first assaulted by several leaders of the mob who rushed ahead and caught him.²⁷

In early September, Charles noted that the day after the murder of his father he had made arrangements for his father's funeral (more correctly burial) after which he proceeded to Decatur "where he lived until the following Friday at the home of Mr. Cooper... After my return to Springfield, I went to work and the following Sunday I went to Alton to get my mother and sisters, who went there to stay with friends. None of the members of the family was present at father's funeral."²⁸

Scott Burton was hanged from a small tree in front of Joseph Werner's store, located at the northwest corner of Madison and Twelfth Streets.²⁹ Upon the arrival of the mob at his house, Burton appears to have "stood his ground" to protect his house, and apparently fired shots into the crowd to ward off their advance, but to no avail. Firing in self-defense, apparently over the heads of participants to drive them off, pellets from his shotgun reportedly lodged in Kate Howard's arm (the "Joan-of-Arc" of the frenzied mob). Whether attempting to flea his house or not, Burton was overtaken, beaten, and hung from a small tree located in front of Werner's store half a block to the south of his residence. Further

Accounts suggest that whatever Mr. Burton's motives—whether to fight or flee before the mob overtook him—he apparently was overcome by the mob. Burton's only "indiscretion" or "mistake," other than being a relatively successful Black businessman (although his life style, as represented by his small rental house, does not belie such success) was that he stood up to the mob to protect his family and property—a trait he had exhibited earlier in his life on multiple occasions. Although it is unclear whether the mob had targeted him, his family, and residence, it is clear that he was killed for the "audacity" of protecting his family and his property.

²⁷ "TELLS OF ESCAPE FROM THE MOB. Scott Burton's Son Charles, Gives Details of Their Flight and How Father Was Left Behind," *Illinois State Register*, 2 September 1908, p. 6. (see also "'Ralph Burton' A Mystery," *Illinois State Journal*, 2 September 1908, p. 1).

²⁸ "'Ralph Burton' A Mystery," *Illinois State Journal*, 2 September 1908, p. 1. Further research is needed in fleshing out the history of Scott Burton's children. Scott's grandson, Charles W. (Charlie) Burton, Jr. died in January 1985, a resident of Austin, Texas. He had been employed for 15 years in the Circulation Department of the *Austin American-Statesman*. He was survived by two sons (Charles W. Burton, III and Scott Burton), a daughter Mrs. Kathleen Offinger, a brother James Burton, and a sister Sarah Siebert (*Austin American-Statesman*, 27 January 1985, p. 26).

²⁹ Of German birth, Werner had come to the United States in 1861, settled in New York. Initially, Werner manufactured and sold cigars for a living. In 1896, after a short stay in Missouri, Werner arrived in Missouri and started a grocery at Eleventh and Madison Street. Four years later (in circa 1900), after the success of his original store, he bought property at 1131 East Madison Street, where he operated a "first class grocery" which carried a full line of dry goods, shoes, smoked meats and groceries. Additionally Werner invested in "several other houses and lots and is now [1912] a heavy property owner" residing at 301 North Fourteenth Street. In citing his biographical sketch, the county history noted that his earlier residence "at No. 1131 Madison Street, had been destroyed during the riot in August, 1908. During that troublous period a lynching occurred in front of his building" (Bateman and Selby 1912:1705-1706).

Shortly after Mr. Burton's death, the Illinois militia arrived on the scene, fired into and dispersed the mob. Shortly afterward, Sheriff Werner arrived with a number of deputies and at 3:30am cut his body down from the tree and transported to Kirlin and Egan's undertaking parlor (funeral home). Late Saturday evening (well after dark), Scott Burton's body was unceremoniously laid to rest in Oak Ridge Cemetery, without any family present. The local newspaper wrote:

Last night after the sun had set in the west Burton's body was quietly taken to Oak Ridge, where, without even the formality of a service, the remains were laid away. All his family had fled and there was not one of his relatives present to witness the interment. Burton was a barber, with a shop at Ninth and Jefferson streets, his place being the first to fall prey to flames started by incendiaries.³⁰

In an effort to rationalize and/or legitimize what had happened in Springfield, it took very little time for the press to villainize the two lynched Black men. Shortly after the death of Scott Burton, the papers erroneously stated that Burton was a seventeen-year old boy (a porter in a local barber shop who had shot a white man named Jim Hayes for failing to pay the fee for shining his shoes) and it was in retribution for this shooting that the mob sought out their victim (*Chicago Tribune*, 16 August 1908, p. 2; "Complete Story of Riot Causing Death and Ruin," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 16 August 1908, p. 22). In recanting her accusations against Richardson, Mrs. Hallam accused a second Black man—a minor—named Ralph Burton, and authorities questioned whether or not he was a child of the murdered Scott Burton. Authorities determined that the murdered Burton did not have a son named Ralph, and could not find such an individual.³¹ Rogers (1909:77) wrote "we were startled when the news went flying on the zephyrs that Mrs. Earl Hallam had exonerated Richardson. No he is not the man. She swore out a warrant against another colored man (a mythical man) Ralph Burton who was never known here and whom no one knew... When the papers found out all this, they tucked their tails and never once editorially condemned the woman. O but how these papers had lauded her in headlines"³²

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³⁰ "BURTON VICTIM OF LYNCHERS. Negro Barber First to Hang in Clamor for Revenge," *Illinois State Journal*, 16 August 1908, p. 3. The *Illinois State Register* noted that Mr. Burton's funeral was held at 10 o'clock Sunday, August 16, 1908 ("The Funerals of the Dead," *Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 3).

³¹ "WOMAN'S STORY HALTS OFFICERS," *Illinois State Journal*, 3 September 1908, p. 5.

³² Rogers (1909:77) cites a headline of a two-column front page article of the *Illinois State Register* that read "Negro Assaults High-Tone Lady in a Most Prominent Neighborhood." This article could not be located.

Google Earth (2019)

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Sanborn Map Company

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Springfield City Directories [SCD] (multiple years)

Illinois State Capital (Springfield, Illinois)

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA)

1938 Aerial Photographs of Sangamon County.

1969 Aerial Photographs of Sangamon County.

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Figure 1. Advertisements for Tonsorial Parlors in Springfield. Top: Parlor of William Leeder (*Illinois State Register*, 31 August 1890, p. 15). Bottom: Paradise Tonsorial Parlor owned by Captain Jordan S. Murray. It was in this parlor that the 40-year old Scott Burton was employed for a short time in 1892 (*Illinois State Capital*, 22 October 1892, p. 4).

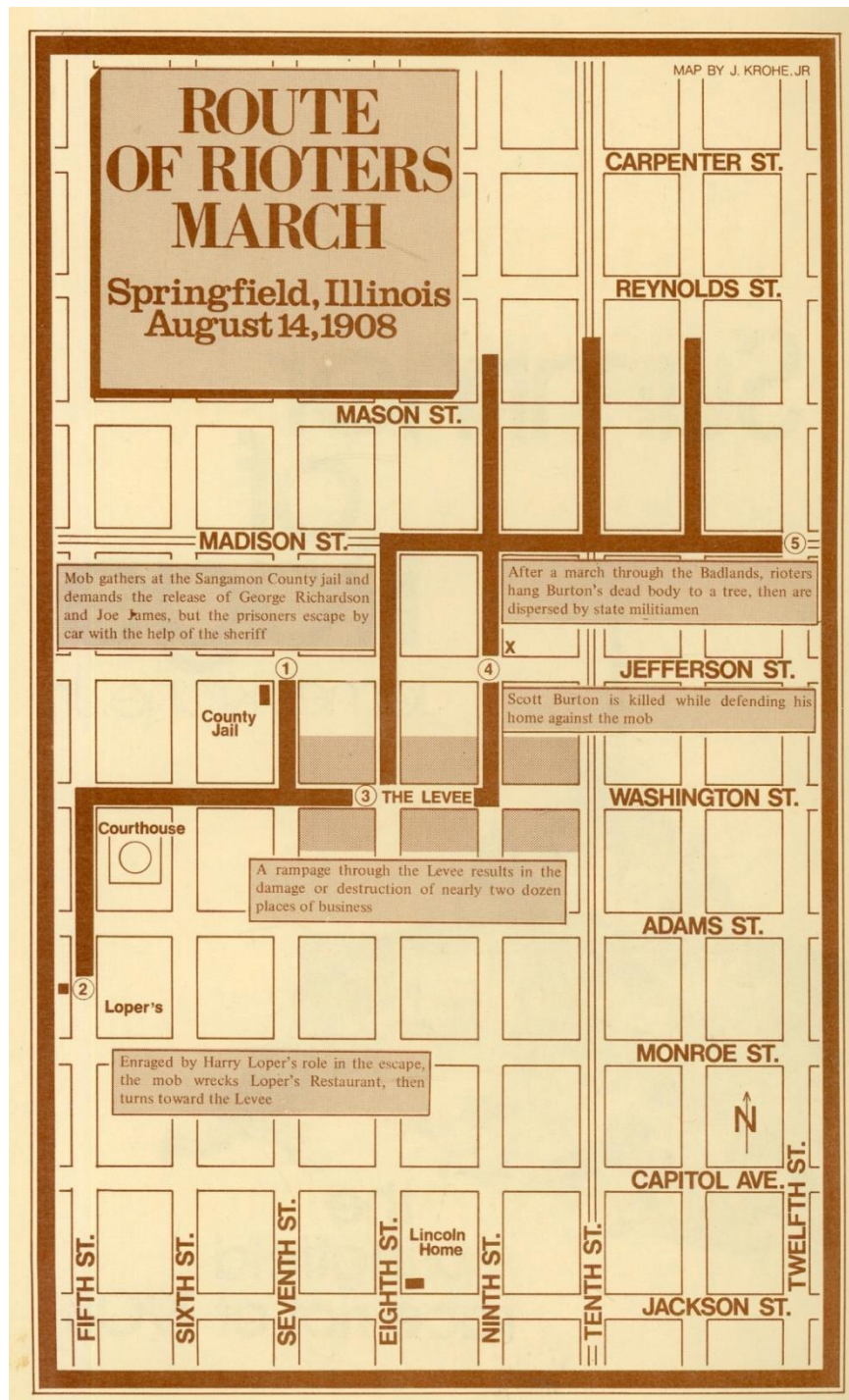


Figure 2. Path taken by mob during the first night of rioting, August 14, 1908, in which Scott Burton was murdered (Krohe 1973).



Figure 3. View of the “Hanging Tree” where Scott Burton was lynched, northwest corner of Twelfth and Madison Streets. Left: A poor quality copy of this image, without text, is present in Scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum); this image was from an online source (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a4/Springfield_Riot_postcard.jpg/1026px-Springfield_Riot_postcard.jpg). Right: Postcard image of “Tree where negro was Lynched” (Smithsonian African American History Museum; Sangamon Valley Collection 90-386B002).

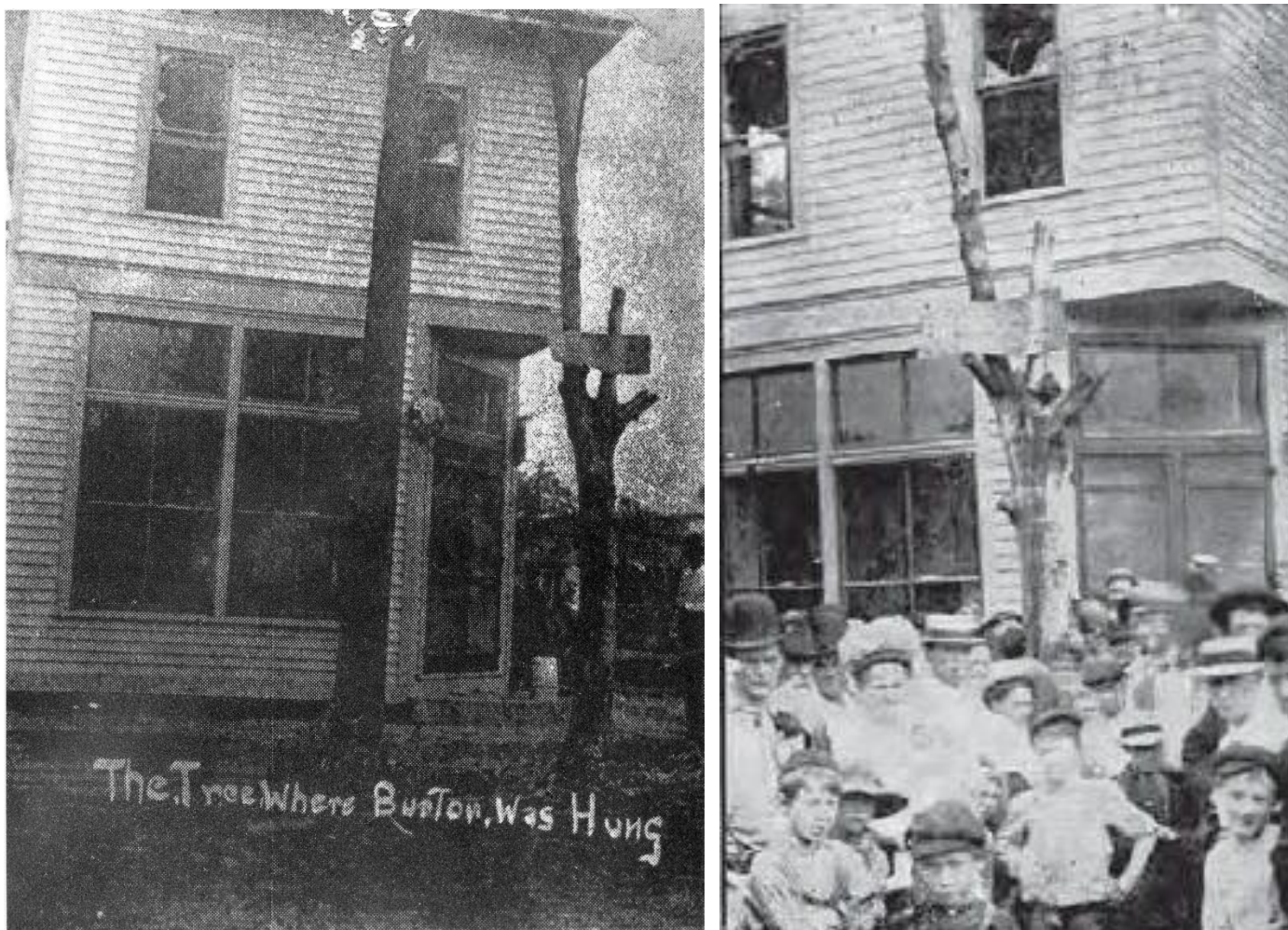


Figure 4. Two views of the “Hanging Tree” where Scott Burton was lynched northwest corner of Twelfth and Madison Streets. Left: Sangamon Valley Collection 90-386A006. Right: *Illinois State Register*, August 21, 1908 (see also Sangamon Valley Collection 97-346011).

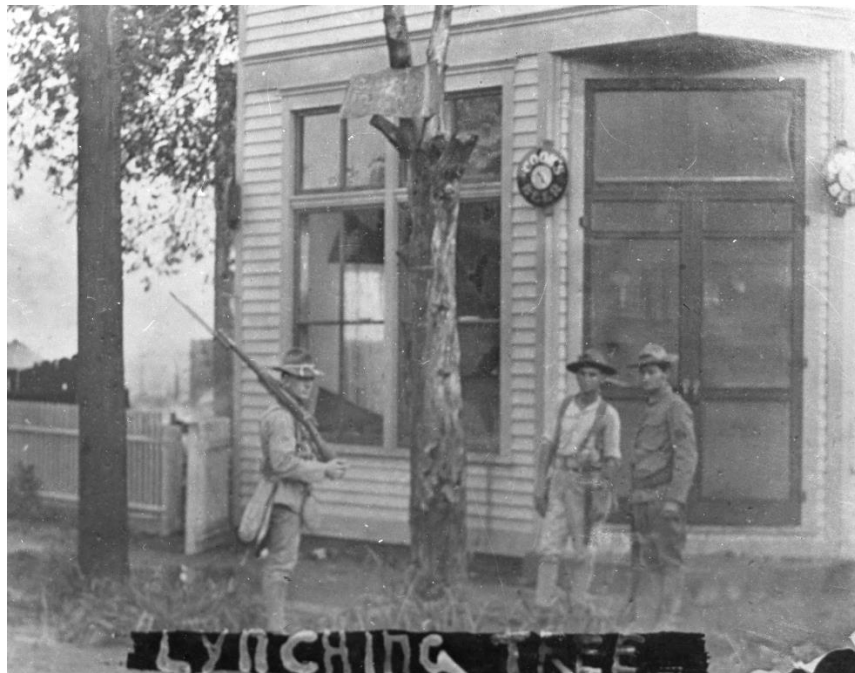


Figure 5. Two views of National Guardsmen patrolling the streets adjacent to the “Hanging Tree” where Scott Burton was lynched northwest corner of Twelfth and Madison Streets. Top: ALPLM Ide Collection PC22 and Sangamon Valley Collection 90-386B004. Bottom: Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A002.

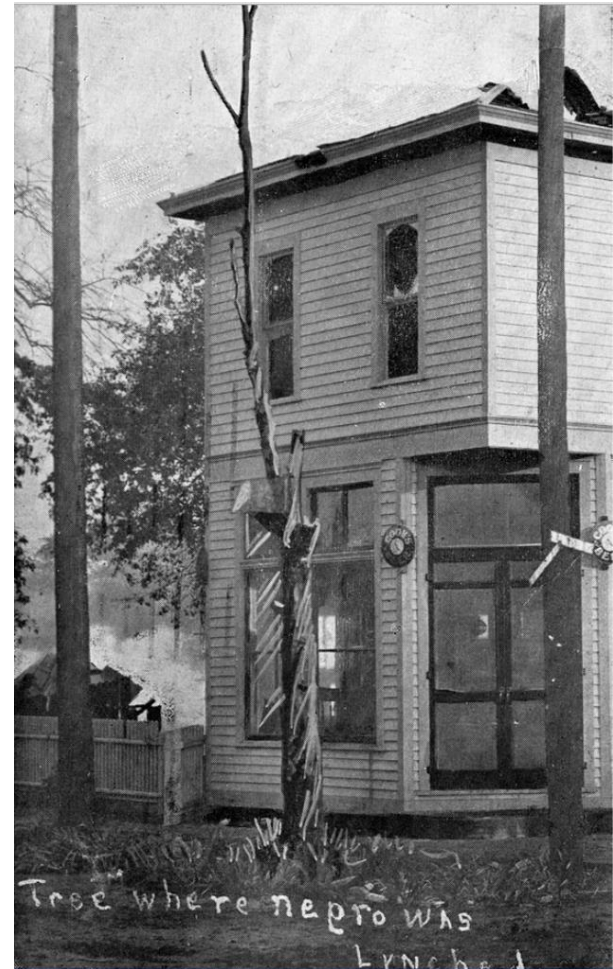
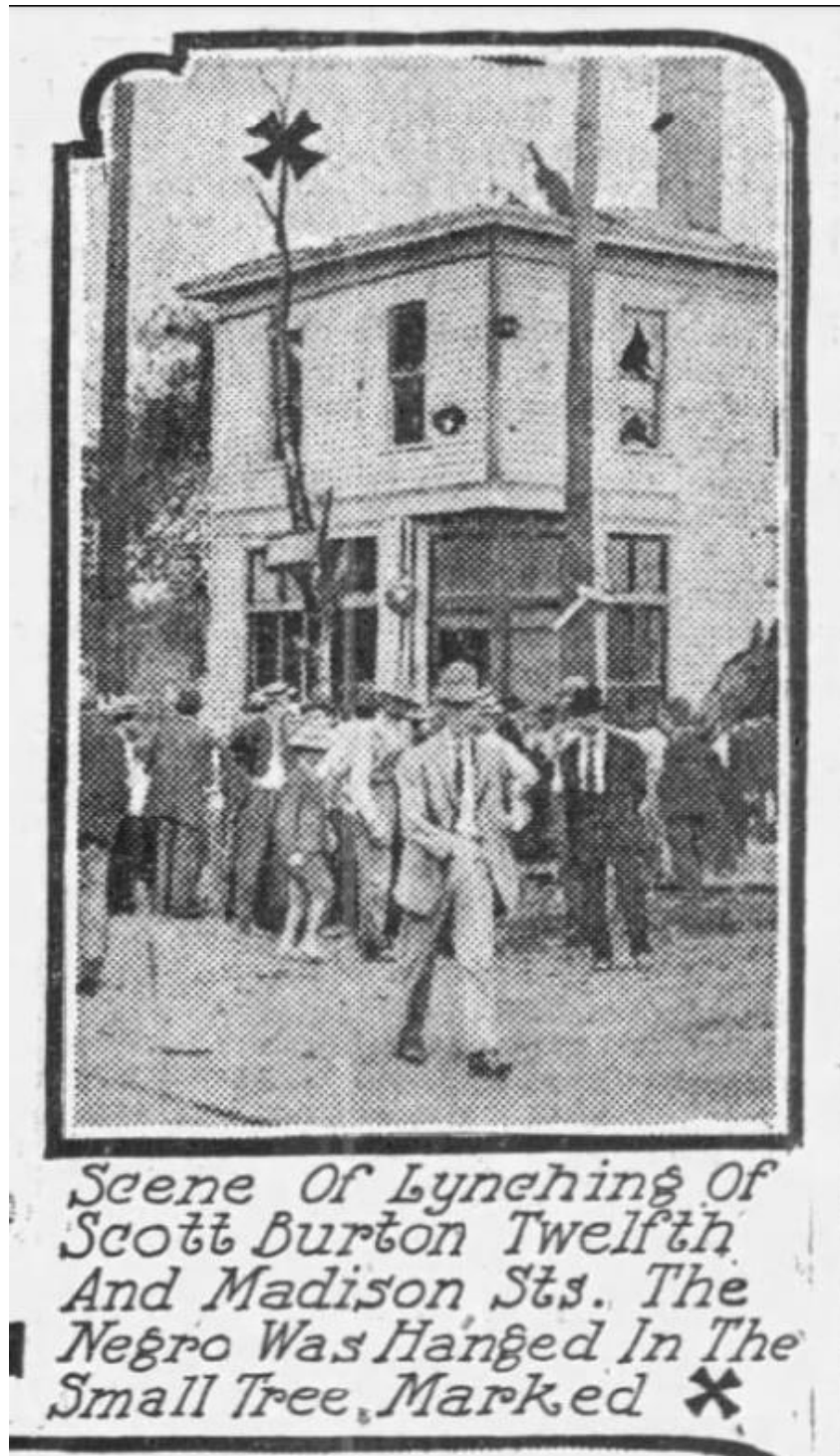


Figure 6. Two views of the saloon and “Hanging Tree” where Scott Burton was lynched, northwest corner of Twelfth and Madison Streets. Left: From the Booth-Grunendike Collection, Archives/Special Collections, Brookens Library, University of Illinois at Springfield (<http://library.uis.edu/archives/localhistory/riotphotos.html>). Right: Postcard image of “Tree where negro was Lynched” (Smithsonian African American History Museum; Sangamon Valley Collection 90-386B002).



Figure 7. View of the saloon and remnants of the “Hanging Tree” where Scott Burton was lynched northwest corner of Twelfth and Madison Streets. Top: *Chicago Tribune*; 16 August 1908, p. 2. Bottom: Top: Postcard image labeled “X Remains of Tree Where Negro Was Hanged / Springfield Race War Aug ‘08” (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A010)



*Scene Of Lynching Of
Scott Burton Twelfth
And Madison Sts. The
Negro Was Hanged In The
Small Tree, Marked X*

Figure 8. Similar view of the site of Burton's lynching, as published in the *Chicago Tribune* (17 August 1908, p. 2).



CHARLES W. BURTON

Corporal, Company I, 370th Infantry, 93rd Division, U. S. A. Son of Mrs. Mary Burton, 2227 East Stuart street, Springfield, Ill. Born January 27, 1896, in Springfield, Ill. Entered service April 19, 1917, in Springfield, Ill. Received his training at Camp Logan, Houston, Tex., Camp Stuart, Va., and Newport News, Va. Sailed overseas April 6, 1918, on the U. S. S. *President Grant*. In action at St. Mihiel, Soissons, and Argonne Forest. Received machine gun wound while in action at Soissons Front. Discharged February 11, 1919, at Camp Grant, Ill.

Figure 9. Portrait and biographical sketch of Corporal Charles Burton, Scott Burton's son. The young Charles was present with his family during the riot, and recounted a first-hand account of the family's flight from the home the early morning of Saturday, August 15, 1908 (*Illinois State Register*, 2 September 1908, p. 6). Burton served with distinction during World War I (Duff 1920:1085).

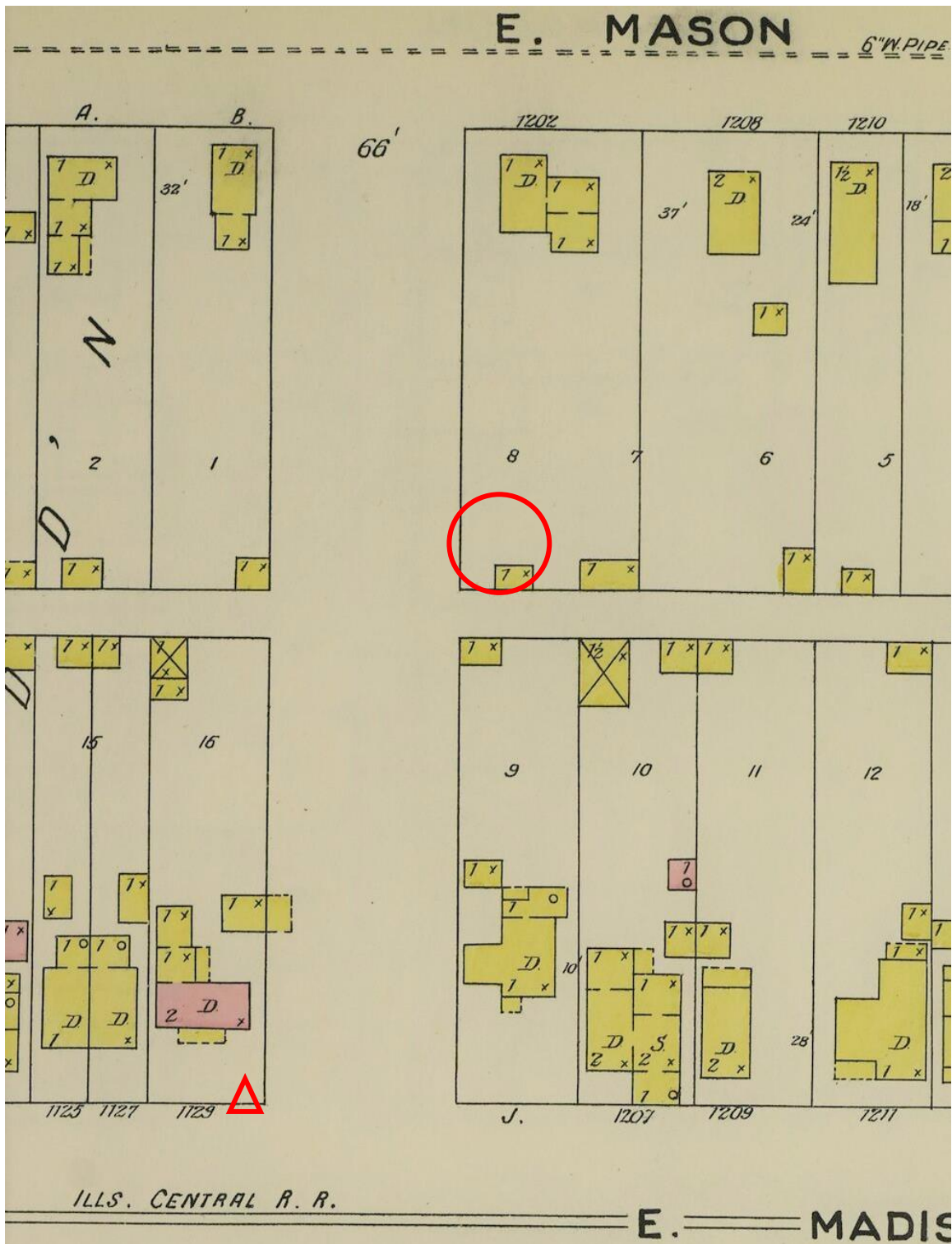


Figure 10. Location of Scott Burton’s residence (circled in red) and the “Hanging Tree” (red triangle) as depicted on the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn 1896:5).

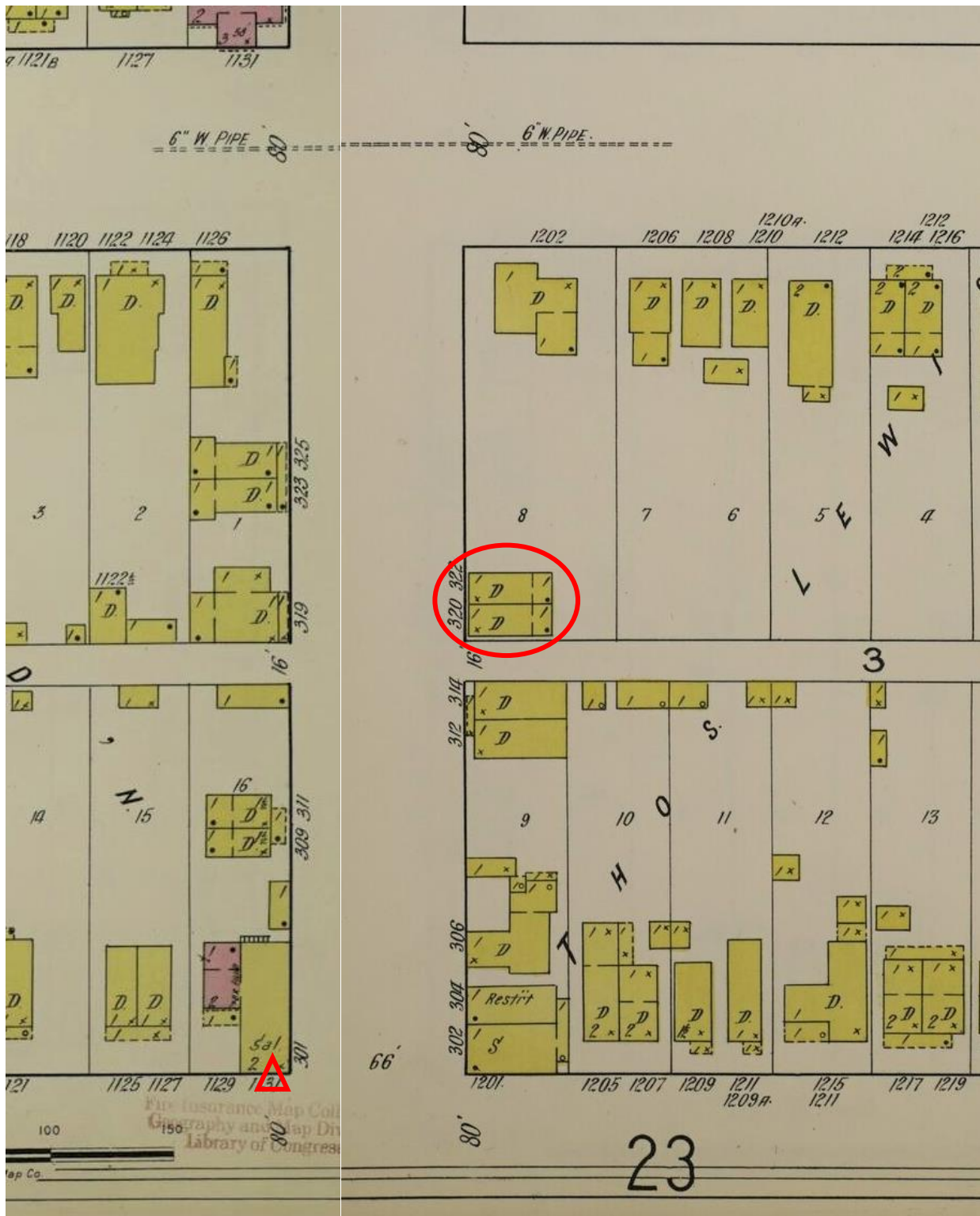


Figure 11. Location of Scott Burton’s residence (circled in red) and the “Hanging Tree” (red triangle) as depicted on the 1917 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn 1917:35-35). This map more correctly depicts the landscape of 1908.

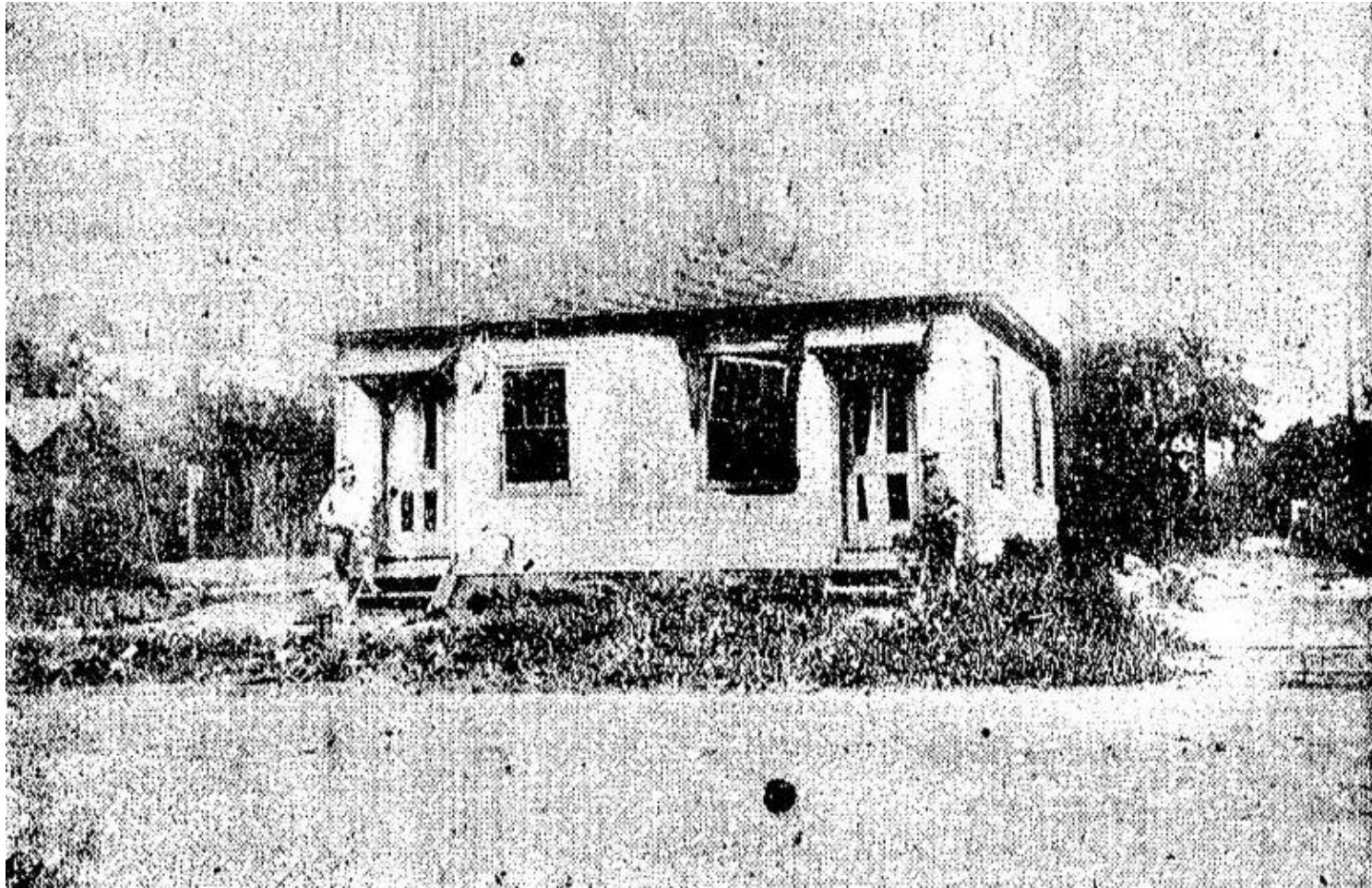


Figure 12. View of the Scott Burton residence—a double house located at 320-322 North Twelfth Street (between Madison and Mason Streets). Note the two National Guardsmen guarding the house. Presumably, the Burton family occupied the south apartment adjacent to the alley, and the most damaged during the riot (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 August 1908, p. 1; “CITY IN GRIP OF RACE TROUBLE 20 YEARS AGO,” *Illinois State Journal*, 12 August 1928, p. 31).



Figure 13. View of the 1938 aerial photograph depicting the Scott Burton residence (circled in red) and the location of the “Hanging Tree” (red triangle) (USDA 1938).



Figure 14. Location of Scott Burton’s residence (circled in red) and the “Hanging Tree” (red triangle) as depicted on the 1969 aerial (USDA 1969). The long, narrow buildings are the Hay Home apartments.

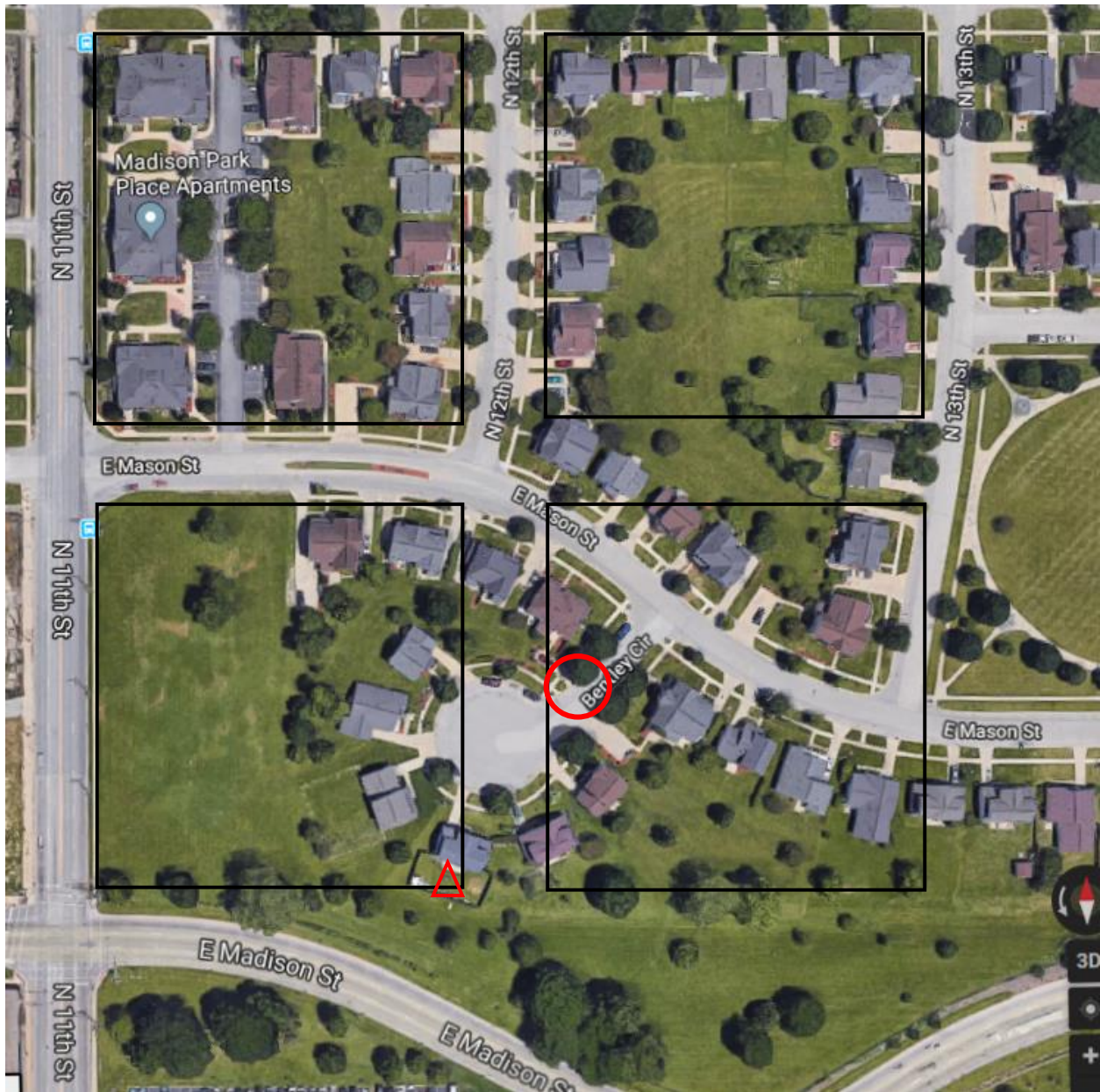


Figure 15. Location of Scott Burton’s residence (circled in red) and the “Hanging Tree” (red triangle) as depicted on the 2019 aerial view of Madison Park Place subdivision (Google Earth 2019).

Appendix VI

The Scott Burton and William Donnegan Murders: The Lynching of Two Innocent Black Men in Illinois' Capital City, August 14-15, 1908

Floyd Mansberger
and
Christopher Stratton

Part III: The Second Lynched Victim of Springfield's Race Riot: Mr. William Donnegan¹

During that first night of violence, after experiencing an horrific night of terror few had experienced in their life, many Blacks fled Springfield. Others sought refuge at the Armory, many with the limited worldly possessions they could carry (*Illinois State Register*, 8 August 1909, p. 5). On Saturday late afternoon/early evening of the second day of rioting in Springfield, hearing that a number of Black families had sought refuge at the Armory, a large crowd that had gathered downtown proceeded to that facility with the intent to run them out of town. Organized by Raymer and “Slim” Humphry, the mob approached the Armory, and were driven off by a small group of Illinois militia—who rolled out two Gatlin guns (fast firing, large caliber “machine” guns that could fire rounds as fast as the user could crank the handle)—and pointed them at the mob. Not too unsurprisingly, the mob backed down and sought an easier target—William Donnegan and his family located at Spring and Edwards Streets only a few blocks south of the Armory. Although the militia pursued the mob with the Gatlin guns, the troops were ordered to not use the guns on the civilian mob, and they returned to the armory. After re-arming themselves, the militia continued their pursuit of the mob, unfortunately arriving too late to save the elderly Donnegan.² Apparently, the mob’s anger was spurred by Donnegan’s success as a businessman, as well as his marriage to a white woman.³

William Donnegan, a shoemaker (and/or cobbler) by trade, was a respected member of the Springfield community whose claim to fame included being friend and cobbler to Abraham

¹ William’s family name has several variations in spelling. Historically, during the 1840s, it appears that the name was spelled “Donigan” (and/or “Donegan”). More recently, family and historians have used the spelling of “Donnegan.” The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* has listings for individuals named both “Donegan” and “Donnegan.” Except for rare instances, we have opted to use the spelling of “Donnegan.”

² After returning to the Armory, apparently there were some issues with sufficient arms and a supply of ammunition for the militia men. Only outfitted with side arms, sufficient rifles and ammunition were not available. Nonetheless, eight soldiers followed in pursuit of the large mob intent on violence and on its way to Donnegan’s residence.

³ Other successful Black families in Springfield most likely were concerned for their safety during these initial encounters as well. Although William Florville (Fluerville) had died many decades earlier, in 1868, his son William LaRue Florville was one of the wealthiest Black men in Springfield at the turn-of-the-century and owner of a large portion of land comprising the commercial Levee district at the time of his death in 1868. William LaRue Florville, his son, died in 1921.

Lincoln. William Donnegan was the youngest child of Leanna Donnegan Knox, a strong-willed, free-Black woman who moved from Kentucky to Illinois in the mid-1840s and raised a large, successful family often known for their outspoken voices and activist actions in support of racial equality and social justice during the nineteenth century. Unbeknown to many of his white neighbors, William Donnegan was an active participant and one-time “conductor” on the Underground Railroad during the 1850s (Harris 1908). Unfortunately, although William has gone down in history as being an unfortunate victim of the 1908 race riot in Springfield, little has been written regarding Donnegan’s early life in Springfield, let alone in his birthplace of Kentucky. This historical sketch attempts to correct these shortcomings, and with the accompanying historical sketch of Leanna Donnegan Knox (William’s mother) highlight the significance of the extended Donnegan family and their struggle for race equality in mid-century Illinois.

Genealogical research suggests that William Donnegan was born in Christian County, Kentucky in circa 1828 (or 1829).⁴ William’s father reportedly was a man named Wyley Donigan, a Black man purportedly born in Christian County, Kentucky in 1790, and who died in 1839.⁵ Similarly, little is known about the early life of William’s mother, Leanna Donigan. Unfortunately, Leanna’s maiden name is unknown. Leanna is often noted as having been born in Hopkinsville, the county seat of Christian County, in 1794. Although oft-cited as having been born in Christian County, Kentucky, the 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests that both Wylie and Leanna had been born in Virginia.⁶ Wyley and Leanna Donigan had seven children, the youngest of which was William Kaves Hamilton (1829-1908).⁷ Leanna, was a “free woman of color,” as she had been born the child of a white woman. As Leanna’s mother was a white woman, her offspring were also free upon birth no matter the race of the father. Similarly, any children of Leanna, a mulatto woman living in Kentucky in the 1810-20s, were also born free. Such was the case with William and his six siblings, and unlike many of his Black brethren in Kentucky,

⁴ William’s year of birth is uncertain, as sources vary. Upon his violent death at the hands of the mob in August 1908, the local newspaper carried a short biographical statement claiming that William was born in Christian County, Kentucky on March 16, 1828, and that he immigrated to Springfield in 1845 (*Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 2). The 1900 U.S. Census of Population suggests his birth year was 1829. Similarly, although his place of birth is cited as Christian County, current research hints at his birth having been in what is today Todd County, Kentucky. Leanna’s name is variously spelled as Leana, Leanna, Leannah, as well as Lee Ann.

⁵ Information regarding William’s father has been obtained from various Ancestry.com family trees, none of which give a source of information for his name, or birth/death dates. This author has not been able to verify a man named Wyley Donigan and/or his marriage to Leanna.

⁶ The 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests that both of William’s parents (i.e. Wyley and Leanna) had been born in Virginia. The 1900 U.S. Census of Population suggests that his father, presumably an enslaved individual, had been born in Africa, whereas his mother was born “at sea.” Unfortunately, the source of this basic information has not been verified, other than with various family trees published on Ancestry.com (cf. the Stone Family Tree; <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/170875781/person/192226237447/facts>). Of particular concern is information regarding William’s father Wyley, which has not as yet been verified.

⁷ Caroline (1811-1892) was the firstborn of Wyley and Leanna’s children. Subsequent children of Wyley and Leanna included Nancy (1815-1855), Spencer (1817-1890), Nelson Green Wyley (1820-1865), Grace Narcissa (1824-1879), Melissa (1827-1897), Presley L. (1828-1885), and the subject of this research—William Kaves Hamilton (1829-1908).

William Donnegan was born free—a “free man of color” never having personally experienced the burden of living the life of a slave.

The earliest records found documenting the Donnegan family in Kentucky is the 1830 U.S. Census of Population for Todd County, Kentucky, which is located adjacent to, and to the east of Christian County.⁸ In that document is a household lacking a surname and identified solely by the name of “Free Loann” [sic, “Free Leann”].⁹ Within this household were a single female between the ages of 24 and 35 (presumably Leanna), four male children between the ages of 10 and 23 (two of whom were probably Spencer and Nelson Green Wiley; two additional of which are unidentified), two females between the age of 10 and 23 (presumably Caroline and Nancy), two males between 1 and 9 (presumably Presley and William), and two females between one and 9 (presumably Grace and Melissa).¹⁰ The 1830 Census for Todd County enumerated eleven families with Black heads of households. Of these eleven households, two were comprised solely of enslaved individuals.¹¹ Of the nine free Black families individually listed in the 1830

⁸Todd County was established in April 1820, with Elkton as the county seat. The county was created from splitting off portions of the adjacent Logan County to the east and Christian County to the west. Elkton, the county seat, is located approximately midway between Russellville (the Logan County seat) and Hopkinsville (the Christian County seat). Geographically, the county is split between the northern high country (often referred to as the Highlands) and the low country to the south. The Highlands are known for their steep slopes and rugged terrain whereas the southern low country is characterized by some of the better farmland in Kentucky, farmland that was well suited to tobacco production. The Elk Fork of the Red River begins north of Elkton and flows in a southeasterly direction. The Russellville—Hopkinsville Road, passing through Elkton, is the divide between these two regions.

In June 1847, just prior to moving to Illinois, Leanna sold a 60-acre parcel of ground she appears to have acquired from her husband Wyley. This land, which may have been the location in which the young family had lived, was located “on [the] headwaters of big Whippoorwill.” The upper reaches of the Big Whippoorwill Creek are located north/northeast of Elkton, immediately east of the Elk River and within the Highlands region of Todd County, Kentucky. This farm appears to have been in the vicinity of Daysville, Kentucky. Daysville, located on the Russellville Road five miles east of Elkton, was established in circa 1833. “In quite an early day the Cumberland Presbyterians used to hold camp-meetings at a place known as the Hebron Camp Ground, which was located about one mile west of where Daysville now stands. Here large annual gatherings were held for many years, and subsequently a society was organized at this point, and a church built which was known as the Hebron Church” (https://kentuckygenealogy.org/todd/daysville_todd_county_kentucky.htm; Battey 1884). In his autobiography, Peter Cartwright speaks of early missionary work among the Blacks of this region at an early date (1810s-20s) (Cartwright 1857; see “Leanna Donnegan: Free-Woman of Color, and Matriarch of Springfield’s Activist Donnegan Family,” Mansberger and Stratton (n.d.).

⁹ The online census transcription suggests that the name was “Free Loann” and not “Free Leann” (USCB 1830).

¹⁰ This census return is for the “non-stated” portions of Todd County. This refers to the more rural areas, and not within the separate enumerated area of Elkton. Logan County was established in 1792, with Russellville the county seat. Christian County was established in 1797, with Hopkinsville the county seat. Both counties are located in the region known as the Pennyroyal (and/or Mississippi Plateau) of central Kentucky, adjacent to the Kentucky-Tennessee border. The 1800 Second Census of Kentucky enumerated 2,201 white citizens, and 297 enslaved Blacks in Christian County. At that time, Logan County contained 4,939 white citizens, 775 enslaved individuals, and 93 free Blacks. The presence of 93 free Blacks probably included the Donnegan family.

¹¹ These consisted of the Martha Reden and Thomas McDougal households, with 12 and 11 enslaved individuals living in each house, respectively. Several additional households in the county at the time, with white heads of households, had free Blacks living within the household as well. For example, the Reverend W. K. Stuart had two enslaved Blacks and one free person of color living within the same household.

census of Todd County, Free Leann's was the only one with the head of the household listed as a woman.¹² As such, it would appear that the Donnegan children, may have been born in what was Todd County, not Christian County.

Enumerated in the 1840 U.S. Census of Population of the adjacent Christian County was the "Jo Knox" household, which was listed in the "non-stated," presumably rural area of the county (not within Hopkinsville). At that time, the family consisted of nine individuals—five being free Blacks (presumably the Donnegan family members), and four being enslaved individuals (presumably the Knox family members). The "free color persons" probably included Leanna (approximately 46 years of age at the time), a male 10-23 years of age (presumably Presley or William), one female 10-23 years of age (presumably either Melissa or Grace), and two males 1-9 years of age. In 1840, William would have been approximately 11-12 years of age at this time. Living together as a family with Leanna at this time were four enslaved individuals who included one male 36-54 years of age (presumably Joel Knox, who was by this time presumably married to Leanna), one female 24-35 years of age, and two male children less than ten years of age. Potentially, the young enslaved adult female and two young enslaved males were children of Joel's from a previous marriage. This relationship between the free and enslaved family members of this family suggests that Leanna had purchased her husband and potentially some (if not all) of his children, and had not emancipated them.¹³

Life in Kentucky during the 1840s for free-Black individuals had continued to become more and more restrictive with time. In the spring 1847, Leanna petitioned the courts for emancipation documents so that she could leave Kentucky and resettle in Illinois. For whatever reason, Leanna had not formally pursued a court-issued decree of emancipation for her and her immediate family, as her daughter Caroline had done earlier. Potentially suggesting a sense of urgency, Leanna pursued another avenue to document her legal status. On April 27, 1847, twenty-one prominent citizens of Hopkinsville, Christian County, Kentucky signed a letter attesting to the fact that Lee Ann Donnegan was a free woman of color. The letter described Leanna's physical attributes, that she was traveling with her enslaved husband Joe Knox, son Presly [sic] and grandson Leeander, daughter Caroline Lee (and her husband and their children). The letter noted that Leanna had a large family of children, "among whom sons Spencer & Wiley & daughter Narcissa" had already "removed to Illinois." Although her papers mention the fact that Spencer, Wiley, and Narcissa had already relocated to Illinois, nowhere is their

¹² The 1830 U.S. Census of Population for Christian County indicates only six households of free Blacks living within the county, with five of them in Hopkinsville. Unfortunately, no leads were found in the 1820 census for Christian, Todd, or Logan Counties.

¹³ This practice of a free woman of color purchasing and owning her husband was not unique. The Springfield Hubbard family, also from Kentucky, had the same family dynamics at the time they left Kentucky, with a free Black woman who owned her enslaved husband (Hubbard Family Story Board, African American History Museum, Springfield, Illinois). For information on Free-Blacks in early Christian County: <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2309>. Woodson notes that "It is hardly believed that a considerable number of Negroes were owners of slaves themselves..." (Woodson 1924:v). Whereas most of the Black ownership of enslaved individuals was probably along philanthropic lines, generally a husband (a free Black man) purchased his wife and/or children, and/or the wife purchased her husband. In such cases, if the husband did not emancipate his wife, any children born of their union were considered slaves. With free women of color, the fact that their husbands were enslaved individuals did not affect the status of their children, as they were considered free.

reference to her son William, nor her daughters Nancy and Melissa. Leanna and her extended family immigrated to Illinois sometime shortly after, arriving in St. Clair County by mid-1848.

Limited archival information suggests that Nancy, Melissa, and William previously had immigrated to Illinois prior to Leanna and Joel. Nancy probably arrived in Springfield with her husband John Rolling Hargrave sometime prior to January 1841 (as her first-born child was born in Illinois in late January 1841). John Hargrave was a successful, Jamaican-born barber in Springfield. Similarly, Spencer most likely arrived prior to his mother and step-father as well, as he was instrumental in the establishment of the African Methodist Church, in Springfield in 1843 (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 July 1934, p. 2; 5 August 1956, p. 44). Information published at the time of William's death suggests that he had arrived in Illinois, presumably Springfield, in 1845, perhaps with his brothers Spencer and Wiley, as well as his sisters Nancy and Narcissa (*Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 2). Unfortunately, emancipation records for Nancy, Melissa, or William have not been located. Nonetheless, it would appear that part of Leanna's family (William, Spencer, Wiley, Nancy, and Narcissa) had preceded her arrival to Illinois by approximately three to seven years, and had settled in Springfield (not rural St. Clair or Madison County) beginning with Nancy and her husband John Hargrave in circa 1841.

William continues to be rather elusive in civic records during the latter 1840s and early 1850s. Although the 1850 U.S. Census of Population documents several members of his family, including his mother and step-father in Springfield, the young William (who would have been approximately 21 years of age at the time) has not been located in the 1850 census of Sangamon County, or elsewhere in Illinois. The earliest civil records relating to William Donnegan, and documenting his presence in Springfield, are marriage records that suggest he was married in Springfield for the first time on October 5, 1852 to a woman named Charlotte Cox.¹⁴ Charlotte was the 22-year old mulatto daughter of Thomas Cox, a local barber from Tennessee (USCB 1850).¹⁵ Unfortunately, little is known about Charlotte Cox and her marriage to William Donnegan. Subsequent records suggest that Charlotte and William may have had two children. The first, born in circa 1852, was a son named Charles. The second, born in circa 1855 or 1856, was a son named Thomas Spencer Donnegan. William and Charlotte remained married through circa 1855-56.¹⁶

¹⁴ According to the *Illinois State Register*, William was married three times, and he had one child each with each of his wives (for a total of three children).

¹⁵ The 1850 U.S. Census of Population enumerated the Cox household. Living within the Cox household were Charlotte's parents (Thomas and Almira), and three siblings (Thomas, Columbus, and Francis), as well as 22-year old, Kentucky-born Anna Guy. It is curious that Anna may have been part of the extended Guy family, of Native-American heritage and intermarried with the Donnegan family. Thomas Cox was noted as having real estate evaluation of \$800.

¹⁶ Charlotte is elusive in local records, particularly after their separation and/or divorce. She appears to have ended up living with William McCoslin in Bloomington by circa 1868. Bowman (2020) has a reference to a Charlott [sic] Cox, a white "child" living with William McCoslin in Bloomington in circa 1868-1870. McCoslin was a Black barber who had settled in Springfield, from Bloomington, by November 1853, and established himself as a partner with both Spencer and Presley Donnegan. McCoslin remained in Springfield through the later 1850s, resettling back in Bloomington as well as nearby Clinton. McCoslin's exit from Springfield corresponds to about the same time that William and Charlotte were divorced. In Bloomington, he had "purchased the interest of Rev. Mr. [Philip] Ward." It seems that there may be some connection between the young divorcee Charlotte Cox and McCoslin.

In November 1852, several members of Springfield's Black community became aware of the Wood River Colored Baptist Association's meeting in Jacksonville where they proposed a system of common school education organized and administered by the Black community, separate from the state-funded public school system.¹⁷ Learning of this effort to form a separate colored school system in Illinois, these Springfield residents responded with a long statement printed in the newspaper and signed by twenty Springfield residents. The group was not in support of "any such system of common school education, under the name of one distinct sect or denomination." The group further noted that they were very pleased with the current private colored schools, and valued the importance of education (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 November 1852, p. 3). Among the ten signatures to this document were Spencer Donnegan and his brother William Donnegan, as well as William McCoslin, John Lee, and William Lee.¹⁸ On November 22, 1852, the *Journal* published an unsigned rebuttal in response to their earlier statement questioning the sanity of this group and their opposition to a "common school education" (*Illinois State Journal*, 22 November 1852, p. 2). The rebuttal incorrectly argued that the group was not in favor of education at all, and had argued in opposition to the public school system in general. Inherent to this issue was the mechanism of the funding related to Black schools at the time. As argued by the opponents of this plan, property-owning Blacks were being taxed, but not receiving their fair share of the property tax for the Black Schools. The Donnegans, among many other Springfield citizens, were arguing against a state-funded, religious based school system administered by the Baptist Association for Black students, and not against a common school system in general. As they argued, a secondary system for Blacks would also do harm to their existing private school system which they were very pleased with. Additionally, they argued that they were entitled to their fair share of the property taxes they paid towards the school system for use with the Black schools, or should be exempt from school taxes and be allowed to build their own school system.¹⁹

In October 1848, shortly after their arrival in Springfield, Leanna's husband Joel Knox purchased property fronting Jefferson Street, adjacent to the northeast corner of Eighth and Jefferson (Figure x). Knox purchased this property (described as the W1/2, Lot 6, Block 30,

¹⁷ The Wood River Baptist Association, an organization of Black churches, was established in the home of Samuel Vinson in April 1838. The group's first meeting was held in September of that year in the Mt. Zion Baptist Church located in Ridge Prairie, Madison County, Illinois. In 1853, the association, along with the Providence Baptist Association of Ohio (and other churches) joined forces and organized the Western Colored Baptist Convention (<https://bgscil.org/history/>).

¹⁸ The two men with surname of Lee most likely are related to the Donnegan family through their sister Caroline (who married a Peter Lee).

¹⁹ In 1874, the State of Illinois mandated that schools not be segregated by race. With the U.S. Supreme Court's Plessy v. Ferguson ruling in 1896, the concept of "separate but equal" racial segregation became the norm in the United States, and the ruling soon resulted in the establishment of separate public-funded school systems for white and Black students of Illinois (and most of the Nation). In 1897, a Black man named Scott Bibb sued the City of Alton to allow his daughter to attend the nearby white school instead of attending the more distant school for Black children in that city. His fight made its way through the courts for many years, finally being adjudicated by the Illinois Supreme Court in his favor in 1908. Unfortunately, the City of Alton interpreted the decision to apply only to two of Bibb's children, and schools in Alton (as well as throughout the Nation) remained segregated through the early 1950s (<https://www.illinoiscourthistory.org/119/The-Alton-School-Cases-2015/history-on-trial-details/>).

Original Town Plat) from William Butler for the price of \$50 (SCDR CC:67). This price suggests the presence of an unimproved lot at that time. Most likely, Leanna and her husband Joel proceeded to construct at least one, if not multiple, small frame houses on this lot shortly thereafter, as the 1854 *City of Springfield* map depicts potentially three small houses at this location at that time. In June 1857, Leanna (then widow of Joel) sold the W1/2, W1/2, Lot 6 to her son, William K. H. Donnegan for the sum of \$250 (SCDR ZZ:320). As part of this sale agreement, the deed stated that “neither party shall dispose of or alien his or her portion of said half lot without the consent of the other party first in writing.” The 1884 Sanborn fire insurance map depicts a single frame house with an L-shaped footprint on the W1/2, Lot 6 which straddled both the east and west halves of the W1/2 of Lot 6. As such, this deed may have resulted in the splitting of the early house into two separate entities, with the smaller east half being occupied by the widow Leanna and the larger west half being occupied by her youngest child, William (and his family). The adjacent E1/2, Lot 6 was purchased from Butler for \$50 by William Mauzy in December 1847 (SCDR CC:48). Mauzy apparently constructed a small house on this property, which he sold in June 1850 for \$400 (SCDR FF:498). In November 1855, Spencer Donnegan purchased the E1/2, Lot 6 and the small frame house constructed by Mauzy for \$500 (SCDR TT:569). Prior to Spencer’s purchase of this property, he may have also been residing in the adjacent house with his mother Leanna and brother William.

Sometime circa 1853, Leanna’s husband Joel Knox died. The 1855 *Springfield City Directory* listed only two Donnegan family members: E. L. Donigan (most likely Presley L. Donnegan) and S. Donigan (Spencer Donnegan), both with the firm of Donigan and Brother. Donigan and Brother was listed as a hairdresser establishment located on Washington Street, near Fifth (SCD 1855). The 1855 city directory also listed Leana Knox, as a resident on Jefferson Street, east of Eighth Street. The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* lists three Donnegan brothers (Spencer, Presley, and William) as residents of Springfield at that time. William was noted as being a shoemaker residing on the north side of Jefferson Street, between Eighth and Ninth Streets, a location he was to remain at for many years.²⁰ Presley and Spencer were both listed as barbers, with Presley residing on the east side of Fourth Street north of Mason Street (adjacent to the African Church) and Spencer on the east side of Second Street between Market and Monroe Streets (SCD 1857:46). Leanna Knox was not listed within the 1857 city directory.²¹

In early 1857, Leannah Knox was in arrears for \$4.68 for her 1856 property taxes. The taxes had been assessed for property located along the north side of Jefferson Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets (specifically, for the W½ Lot 6, Block 30 of the Old Town Plat). The paper noted that the property had an assessed value of \$550. Presumably, the taxes were paid prior to the 1857 tax sale (“City Tax Sale,” *Illinois State Register*, 19 February 1857, p. 3). Leanna’s past due tax bill may have been the impetus for the division of her property into two halves and the sale of the W1/2, W1/2, Lot 6 to her son William in June of that year. Although Hart (2017:76) suggests it was in 1857 that William constructed the house on this lot, the 1854 *City of*

²⁰ William’s step-father, Joel Knox, was also a shoemaker. Perhaps it was his step-father that taught him his trade?

²¹ Both Presley and Spencer may have learned the barber’s trade from their older brother-in-law, John Hargrave.

Springfield map suggests a house was already on this property by that date.²² A newspaper account detailing city improvements in 1857 suggest that a house was constructed during the 1857 building season by B. S. Mauzy on East Jefferson Street, for W. Donnegan, at a cost of \$450 (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 January 1858, p. 2). Mauzy had also constructed the house on the adjacent lot to the east, which Spencer purchased in 1855. If correct, it may imply that William substantially improved his dwelling at this location at that time, and utilized the carpenter/builder (Mauzy) who had only recently before constructed a house on the lot to the east of him.

The 1859 *Springfield City Directory* listed three of the Donnegan family members: P. L. Donnegan (Presley), Spencer, and William. Both Presley and Spencer are listed as barbers.²³ William Donnegan was listed without a residence location, but with an affiliation with the firm “Coleman and Donnegan.” The firm of Coleman and Donnegan were listed as shoemakers, with their shop on the south side of Adams between Sixth and Seventh Streets. L. C. Coleman (Landrum Coleman) resided on the northwest corner of Seventh and Mason Streets (SCD 1859:38, 85).²⁴ Landrum Coleman had married William’s sister, Melissa, in 1852.

During the 1850s, William worked as a self-employed shoemaker supporting his young family. William seems to have prospered during this time, purchasing property and constructing a house, but remaining fairly elusive with his everyday activities. During these immediate pre-Civil War years, William and his activities were seldom documented within the local newspapers (in contrast to his two brothers, Spencer and Presley). Although his social activism was poorly documented during these later 1850s and early 1860s years, later evidence suggest that he may have been involved with more clandestine activity assisting runaway slaves as a “conductor” of the Underground Railroad in Springfield. It may not be coincidental that, as a “conductor” with the Underground Railroad, the young William Donnegan maintained a low profile and was little

²² A comparison of the 1854 city map and 1884 Sanborn map may suggest that the earlier dwellings were demolished and a newer dwelling constructed by William at this time. This location is currently a surface parking lot for Horace Mann.

²³ Presley was listed as a barber with his business located on the north side of Washington Street, between Fourth and Fifth Street. He resided on the east side of Fourth Street, between Mason and Reynolds Streets. His brother Spencer was also listed as a barber, with his shop on the east side of Sixth Street, between Monroe and Adams Streets. His residence was located on Third (?) Street, between Adams and Scarritt Streets.

²⁴ The earlier 1855 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that L. Colmon [sic] was a manufacturer of “boots and Shoes” with his shop on Adams Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets. His residence at that time was Seventh Street, corner of Madison Street (SCD 1855).

A Louis H. Coleman (white; born in 1842 in Hopkinsville, Christian County, Kentucky) was an early resident of Springfield. His grandfather, a William Hopper emancipated his Kentucky slaves in circa 1830 at which time he relocated to Warren County, Illinois where he pursued farming and mercantile pursuits. He eventually relocated to Bloomington, and then to Springfield in 1868. Louis Coleman married Stephen T. Logan’s daughter. Could the Landrum Coleman family (Black) be associated with the extended Hopper families’ plantations in Kentucky? Landrum apparently was born in Virginia, but may have lived in Kentucky prior to relocating to Missouri, and then Illinois. Although speculative, was Landrum one of the slaves emancipated in 1830 by William Hopper (Inter-State Publishing 1881:661)?

noted in the local newspapers as the activity was dangerous, and required a certain degree of both discretion and “aggressiveness” to survive.

Documentation of William Donnegan’s potential participation with the Underground Railroad did not surface until the twilight years of the nineteenth century. In May 1898, the anonymous reminiscences of an individual believed to be William Donnegan were printed within an edition of Springfield’s *The Public Patron*. These lengthy reminiscences detail the story of a Black Springfield resident shoemaker, living on the north side of Jefferson Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets, in 1858, who assisted runaway slaves in their flight north through Springfield to freedom. Both Mann (*Illinois State Journal-Register*, 1 June 2008, p. 56) and Hart (cf. Hart 2006) arrive at the conclusion that this individual was, indeed, William Donnegan, and detail his clandestine activities during these tumultuous, and dangerous times, for a free Black man. It was spring or early summer 1858, and the anonymous individual (presumably William Donnegan) noted that

I lived, in those days, on the north side of Jefferson, between Eighth and Ninth streets, in a story and a half house. It is still standing, and I could show you the garrett yet in which many a runaway has been hidden while the town was being searched. I have secreted scores of them...

Donnegan’s story proceeds to explain the difficult time he had in secreting an unruly, young Black runaway girl out of Springfield. Pursued by her young master and his father, Donnegan relates a harrowing story of cunning, skill, and violence (the shooting of a dog to prevent their capture), assisted by members of the A.M.E. church and his presumed brother Presley, that details his efforts that succeeded in her escape north (Hart 2006).

On November 28, 1859, approximately three years or so after his separation from his first wife, William was issued a marriage license to marry one Lavina Coleman.²⁵ Lavina (b. 1841 in Missouri) was the younger sister of Landrum Coleman, William Donnegan’s business partner. The Coleman family apparently had moved to Springfield sometime after circa 1853, and both Landrum and his father Rueben were shoemakers by trade. Landrum, the oldest child, was born in the State of Virginia in circa 1830, and like the Donnegan family was actively engaged in social activism during the 1850s.²⁶ William’s sister, Melissa had married Landrum Coleman in September 1852.²⁷

²⁵ Ancestry.com. *Illinois, U.S., Compiled Marriages, 1851-1900* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2005.

²⁶ In the early 1870s, Landrum studied theology and became a minister. He was instrumental in the formation of Springfield’s Union Baptist Church.

²⁷ The Rueben Coleman family was documented in late October 1850 as residing at Prairie Township, Randolph County, Missouri in the U.S. Census of Population (USCB 1850). At that time, Rueben and his family were free-Black residents of the state of Missouri. Rueben was noted as a 44-year old shoemaker born in Virginia, and with a real estate evaluation of \$200. Living with him at that time was his 43-year old wife Eliza, their eldest son Landrum (20 years of age), Thornton (18), Mary (16), Eliza (16), John (11), Rosetta (9), Francis (7), and Lucy (4). All of the family members were noted as being “Mulatto.” Based on the age and birth location of their children, Rueben most likely moved to Missouri between 1836 and 1839. It is curious that the household does not have a child named

The following July [1860], the U.S. Census of Population enumerated the young William Donnegan family. At that time, William was 28 years old and living with his 19 year old wife, Lavina. William was noted as having been born in Kentucky, and his wife in Missouri, and as having been married within the past year. It is noteworthy that the young Black man, listed with an occupation of “shoemaker,” had a real estate evaluation of \$900 and personal property evaluation of \$100. Living within the household at the time were one Leona Knox (60 years old born in Illinois; presumably his mother), Jesse Ayers [Ayeose?] (15 year old born in Kentucky), John Ayers (19 year old born in Illinois with occupation of “bill poster”), and a six-year old boy named Thomas Donegan [sic].²⁸ It is unclear as to who the two Ayers boys were. The young Thomas would have been the son of William and his earlier wife Charlotte.²⁹ All six individuals were noted as Black, and no other Black families were enumerated in the census in close proximity to their listing. As to the source of William’s wealth at this time, he would have been

Lavina (future wife of William Donnegan). Lavina would have been 9 years of age at that time, and one might question if the 9-year old Rosetta represents Williams future wife, Lavina.

Rueben Coleman, a 55-year old Black farmer was enumerated as living in District 16, rural Sangamon County in the 1860 U.S. Census of Population. At that time, Rueben was living with Francis J. (17-years old), Lucy Ellen (13-years old), Susan Manda [sic; Amanda] (7 years old), and John V. (a 21-year-old farm laborer). At that time, Rueben had a real estate evaluation of \$1,600 and personal property evaluation of \$250. The 7-year old Susan had been born in Missouri, suggesting that the family had moved to Sangamon County sometime after 1853.

²⁸ The census taker had incorrectly noted that Leanna had been born in Illinois. It is unclear as to who the two Ayers boys were, but there is a slight possibility that they may have been of Choctaw heritage. Senate Document No. 144 (1897:8) noted six individuals with that surname were “declared naturalized citizens of the Choctaw Nation” in 1856. This same source contains a list of the names of 84 individuals of the Catawba Nation descended from William Guy, of Granville County, Georgia, the majority of whom had the surname Guy, seeking relief from the U.S. Government in 1872. Initially, these individuals had been mistakenly identified as Cherokee and thus were not able to get government subsidies for their relocation west to Indian Territory. These individuals were described “as “good and loyal people, and that if any Indian deserved assistance from the Government these Indians did; that their grandfathers on both sides assisted the Government in the war for Independence, and that their names were on the muster rolls in the War Department (U.S. Senate 1897:10). Spencer and Wyley married sisters with the surname Guy, both believed to have been of Catawba heritage. The Ayers family may have been related to the Hargrave family [Unsubstantiated referenced from Ancestry.com has information on Sidney Guy in *Eastern Cherokee Applications of the U.S. Court of Claims, 1906-1909*, as well as *Dawes Commission Index (Overturned), 1896.*]

The six-year-old Thomas Donegan [sic] most likely was William’s first-born child which he had with his first wife Charlotte Cox. The young Thomas was listed within the census after the other three household occupants (after the Ayers boys) as if not an immediate family member. The young age of the Donnegan family, the age of Thomas (born in circa 1854), the placement of his name in the listing after the Ayer family members, and the differential spelling of his surname all suggest that he was not William and Lavina’s son. Thomas married a woman named Catherine Pennie in September 1875, was divorced in 1893, and had three children: Mabel Charlotte, Julia Harriet, and Arthur William (*Illinois State Register*, 26 October 1993, p. 6). The *Illinois State Register* noted that one Thomas Donnegan had constructed a new house at the corner of Seventeenth and Stuart Streets in 1889 (*Illinois State Register*, 4 August 1889, p. 8). Thomas appears to have been fairly civic minded and involved with several community organizations during his life, and may have been actively involved with the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU; established in 1874).

²⁹ The 1870 U.S. Census suggests that Thomas Spencer Donegan was born in about 1855, during William’s marriage to Charlotte Cox. The 1880 census suggests he was born in circa 1856. Illinois death records suggest an unrealistic birth year of 1843 (Ancestry.com).

in Springfield for approximately 15 years by this date, and had become well-established as a shoemaker by this date.³⁰ The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* listed W. K. H. Donagan [sic] as a shoemaker with his residence at 53 Jefferson Street, between Eighth and Ninth Streets—a location he was to remain at for several years (SCD 1860:74, 155).³¹ The directory also noted that his business was located on the north side of Adams Street, between Seventh Street and the Public Square.³² The “Business Mirror” in the 1860 city directory noted that William was one of five “shoe makers” within the city at that time (SCD 1860:155). Sometime prior to 1860, William had purchased property near the southeast corner of Sixth and Jefferson Streets, a location adjacent to Simeon Francis’ residence and the offices of the *Illinois State Journal*.³³

In 1863, the *Springfield City Directory* variously listed several members of the Donnegan family. The first to appear, in alphabetical order, was W. K. H. Donigan (William), a “colored” shoemaker located at Adams, between Sixth and Seventh Streets. The 1863 *Springfield City Directory* lists William Donegan as residing at 53 Jefferson Street, the location of the family home (northeast corner of Eighth and Jefferson Streets). Based on the 1860 census, it is presumed that William was living at this location with his extended family, which included his mother Leanna. The 1863 city directory substantiates this, with a listing of Mrs. L. Knox, “colored” residing at 53 Jefferson Street (SCD 1863:99).

In an interesting twist, only two Donnegan family members were listed within the 1864 *Springfield City Directory*. The first was William (“W. K. H. Donigan”), who was listed as a shoemaker with his shop at Adams Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets (SCD 1864:29). His listing did not indicate that he was “colored.” The immediate post-war city directory from 1866 is much more inclusive for the Donnegan family listing Presley, Spencer, a W. T. H. Donnegan, and one W. M. Donnigan (principal with the firm of Donnigan and Coleman) (SCD 1866:229). The individual identified as “W. M. Donnigan” was living in a house on the north side of Jefferson, between Eighth and Ninth Streets, and most likely refers to William K. H. Donnegan. The firm of W. M. Donnegan and Coleman were listed as boot and shoemakers with a shop on the west side of Fourth Street, two doors south of Washington Street (SCD 1866:92-93). The accompanying “Classified Business Register” lists numerous boot and shoe makers in the city at that time (SCD 1866:231). It would appear that the city directory was intentionally distinguishing between the various family members, suggesting that William Donnigan was not of the same family as Presley, Spencer, and W. T. H. Donnegan.

³⁰ What was the source of young William’s wealth? Gates suggests that the Donnegan family had owned property in Kentucky, and part of the young William’s wealth upon his arrival in Springfield may have originated from the sale of that property upon their removal from Kentucky?

³¹ This address is probably in reference to one of several houses located Lot 6, Block 30, Old Town Plat, and most likely purchased by Joel Knox (and William’s mother, Leana). The *Illinois State Journal* (7 February 1860, p. 3) also listed W. K. Donnegan as the owner of the East ½, West ½, Lot 2, Block 12, Old Town Plat—a prime location adjacent to Simeon Francis residence and the location of the *Illinois State Journal* offices.

³² Besides William K. H. Donnegan, the 1860 *Springfield City Directory* listed Spencer Donnegan, a barber in partnership with Hiram Boyd (Donnegan and Boyd, east side Sixth between Adams and Monroe), and Presley Donnegan, also a barber (partnership with Benjamin Rogers; north side Washington between Fourth and Fifth Streets) (SCD 1860:74). The 1860 city directory has no entry for “colored,” and makes no reference to race.

³³ This was the E1/2, W1/2, Lot 2, Block 12, Original Town Plat (*Illinois State Journal*, 7 February 1860, p. 3).

Many Springfield citizens answered Lincoln's call to military service during the Civil War. Among these volunteers were several free-Black citizens that called Springfield home, including members of the Donnegan family. William's nephew, the 21-year old Cyrus Donnegan (Wiley's eldest child) volunteered for military service in 1863. In May 1863, Cyrus (a young shoemaker at the time) traveled east to Readville, Massachusetts where he enlisted with the 55th Massachusetts Infantry on May 30 of that year. As part of the 55th Massachusetts, the young Cyrus participated in many of the brutal battles of the war, including active participation in the infamous Battle of the Crater.³⁴ Cyrus was mustered out of service in late August 1865 while in Charleston, South Carolina, having attained the rank of Corporal. Fortunately, Cyrus returned to Springfield safely after the war, and was subsequently known as "Captain Donnegan" throughout much of his later years. Although he did not serve in the military, the 27-year-old William K. H. Donnegan (a "colored," married, shoemaker born in Kentucky) registered for military service in the Eighth Congressional District, State of Illinois, with Captain Isaac Keys in August 1863.³⁵ That same day, John Dial and William Daniels (both listed as "Colored") also had registered.³⁶ At this same time, William's brother Wiley (Cyrus' father) was experiencing problems with southern sympathizers, and sometime in circa 1863-64, Wiley had been farming south of Riverton, on a farm he owned for over a decade when he was accosted (potentially shot) and intimidated to such a degree by local Copperheads, that he moved his family north to Paw Paw, Michigan. Shortly after moving to this location, he died in late 1865 (or very early 1866) (Casey [1926]).

The Donnegan family continued their efforts to better the life of the common Black man during the post-war years, and their political activism was evident on both a local and state level at that time. In 1865, the Wood River Baptist Association—the same "colored" Baptist organization that had proposed changes in the organization of Black schools in Illinois in late 1852—held a conference in Springfield to discuss "The Suffrage Question." Not so many years prior, both Spencer and William Donnegan (as well as many other Springfield citizens) had wrangled with the Association over funding of schools for Black children. In the current convention held in Springfield, the Association circulated a *Report on the State of the Country* which pointed out the hypocrisy of re-instating the vote of Southerners who had fought for the dissolution of the Union, whereas the "colored men" of the country who had fought in support of the Union were "its true supporters and faithful friends [and] are denied those rights and privileges, when their free and

³⁴ Ancestry.com; U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865 [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. (https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/2021:1107?tid=&pid=&queryId=344c777e0f47154bc518ea5dcc6fe293&_phsrc=IPJ276&_phstart=succesSource).

³⁵ Ancestry.com. U.S., *Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863-1865* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Original data: Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863-1865. NM-65, entry 172, 620 volumes. NAID: 4213514. Records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau (Civil War), Record Group 110. The National Archives in Washington D.C.

³⁶ Ancestry.com; U.S., Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863-1865. [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. (https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/1666/images/32178_1220705228_0007-00227?pId=425102).

unrestrained exercise is the only means by which to compel respect of their liberty...”.³⁷ Although the newspapers did not name any individuals involved with this meeting, there is no doubt that members of the Donnegan family—particularly Spencer and his brother William, as well as Landrum Coleman and other members of the Springfield community most likely were active participants at this conference.

Although the *Illinois State Journal* generally wrote favorably in support of Black suffrage and equality at the time, the competing *Illinois State Register* wrote vehemently against suffrage and other civil liberties for Blacks.³⁸ The *Register* often wrote condescendingly about many of the community’s prominent Black activist families at the time, including members of the Donnegan and Coleman families which they apparently lumped under the heading “negro equality theorists.” Intent on contrasting the perceived real-life scenarios of Springfield to the racial “theories” proposed by the editors of the *Journal*, the editor of the *Register* wrote “theory without corresponding practice, is but a tinkling brass and a sounding cymbal, like almsgiving without charity, it is all bosh, it profiteth [sic] nothing.” In one such piece of journalistic tripe, the *Register* wrote

We are opposed to mingling the races, and insist that the true interests of the negro consist in removing him from the intervention of the white man. In some measure it may be regarded as a question of taste. We do not fancy all kinds of odors, nor an amalgamation of dissimilar colors. Give the black man a country of his own and an opportunity for cultivation and developement [sic], and if he profits nothing by his sometime affiliation with white men and the opportunities for improvement he has already received, he will very presently descent to his normal status and become a very Congoese and a natural Hottentot. Then, if our neighbor is dissatisfied with the black man’s progress, let him emigrate with his earnest toners to negro land and endeavor to accelerate his more rapid developement [sic]. We are still advocates for a distinct country for the freedman; but, as at present advised, would not object that the rabid and radically loyal should act as missionaries to that region, provided it was a good way removed from blessed America (“Precept and Practice—A Short Disquisition,” *Illinois State Register*, 26 July 1865).

Thus was the state of the anti-suffrage and equality sentiment in Springfield shortly after President Lincoln’s assassination, as expressed by the *Illinois State Register*. It was not until five years later, on February 3, 1870, that the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified giving African-American men the right to vote. Politically, the struggle for equal rights was a hard, up-hill struggle for the likes of the Donnegan and Coleman families, but the initial post-war years were a time of economic stability and growth for several of the Donnegan family members.

³⁷ The Suffrage Question,” *Illinois State Journal*, 23 August 1865, p. 2; “COLORED SUFFRAGE,” *Illinois State Journal*, 23 August 1865, p. 1.

³⁸ The *Register* cited the *Journal* as saying “It would be wise to accept the fact of negro citizenship as it now exists, and go to work to educate and elevate him where he is.” Several other quotes could be added here.

Sometime circa 1866, the elder Leanna Knox moved out of the family home on Jefferson Street and relocated into a new house located on the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Street—a location immediately adjacent to the residence of Reverend Henry Brown. Brown was a renowned A.M.E. activist minister who had settled at this location in the later 1850s, and was the anchor of a small enclave of free-Black residents that had constructed houses at this location. Upon her daughter-in-law’s return to Springfield from Michigan after her son Wiley’s death in 1865, Sidney Donnegan and her family also settled in the neighborhood on the opposite side of Brown’s house.³⁹

During the latter 1860s, the Springfield city directories suggest that William K. H. Donnegan continued in business with his partner Landrum Coleman under the business name of Donigan and Coleman, shoemakers. The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* had three listings for the “Donigan” family: one for the firm Donigan and Coleman, and individual listings for W. K. H. Donigan (William, of Donigan and Coleman), and William (a laborer; presumably Spencer’s son) (SCD 1868:79).⁴⁰ Additionally, the directory had a subsequent listing for another family member with a slightly different spelling of the last name. Presley *Donnegan* was listed as a “colored” barber residing at 86 North Fourth Street. No other family members were mentioned in the 1868 or 1869-70 city directories (SCD 1868; 1869-70). The reason for the differential spelling of the various family members’ surname is unknown. By this date, William’s brother Spencer had moved out of Springfield, settling in nearby Lincoln, Logan County, where he continued to work as a barber, and was instrumental in the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Lincoln in circa 1868.⁴¹

Sometime in early 1869, William and his wife Lavina—residing at their Jefferson Street residence—had their first child. According to the 1870 U.S. Census of Population, their child was born circa April 1869, and was named Benjamin. Subsequent records suggest that the couple’s first child was named Harry Francis Donnegan (1869-1939), and no other records exist for a child named Benjamin within the Donnegan household. It is unclear whether Benjamin and Harry Francis was one and the same individual.⁴² No further information is known regarding a Benjamin Donnegan.

³⁹ See “Wright and Brown’s Subdivision of Lots 9, 10, and 11, Block 2, J. Whitney’s Addition to Springfield: A Free-Black Enclave in Civil War Era Springfield,” Appendix X, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume IV].

⁴⁰ In late March 1868, a resident of East Lincoln (Logan County) named William Donigan obtained a marriage license and married a woman named Violet Madison [Aunty Violet]. This William Donigan, the son of William H. K. Donigan’s brother Spencer, was a 23-year old barber living with his 21 year old wife Violet and their 8-month old daughter in East Lincoln, Logan County in 1870 (USCB 1870).

⁴¹ The Lincoln AME church was organized from their home by Spencer Donnegan and his wife (Elizabeth Guy Donegan), and for several months they held service within their home. In circa 1869, Spencer purchased a school house located on the corner of Sherman and Broadway Street in Lincoln and converted it into a church. In 1880, the school house/church was moved and a new brick church was constructed. This small church still is in service in Lincoln (*Lincoln Evening Courier*, 26 August 1953, p. 12; “The Churches of Black Lincolnites,” <http://findinglincolnillinois.com/churches.html>). Other sources suggest that the African M.E. Church in Lincoln was not organized until July 1870, with Spencer Donnegan being one of the original trustees (Pioneer Publishing Company 1911).

⁴² The 1898 *Springfield City Directory* does list a Benjamin F. Donegan, a “colored” janitor, residing at 1143 S. Spring Street (SCD 1898:168) suggesting that Benjamin and Harry represent two separate individuals. Part of the

In late September 1869, the *Illinois State Journal* carried a story relating to an incident that occurred at William Donnegan's Jefferson Street residence. This news account was signed simply "A Citizen" (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 September 1869).

Sunday morning at about 1 o'clock, as Mr. William Donigan chanced to be in the front yard of his house, situated on Jefferson street, between 8th and 9th, he saw two suspicious looking individuals, and overheard what he considered suspicious conversation. As there had been a number of fires in the immediate vicinity within a few weeks, he at once went into the house and got his gun, then stationed himself in his grape arbor, where he remained for about half an hour. Soon after he saw a man climb over his fence from the alley in the rear of his house, enter his barn and open the alley door and let his comrade in, they then passed through the barn, coming in the direction of his house. When they were within a few feet of Mr. D. he halted them, and they broke and ran. Mr. D. discharged his piece, but failed to bring them down. Mr. D. might have been a little haste in shooting, but when one remembers that his barns were burned about a year since, and four incendiary fires have been discovered within so many weeks, and all within one block of his residence, we think much allowance should be made. Where are our vigilant night police? This neighborhood should have an extra force.

This was the second time we learned of William's familiarity with firearms and his propensity to use them for his defense—the first being used during his Underground Railroad days.

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population listed William H. K. Donegan [sic] as a 41-year old "shoe maker" born in Kentucky. His wife Lavina was listed as a 29-year old housekeeper born in Missouri. Living with the family at the time was Thomas Donegan (15 years of age, born in Illinois) and the 2-month old Benjamin. William was listed with a real estate evaluation of \$2,000. William's mother Leana Knox was no longer living within William's house at this time. Leanna was also noted as a head of household for the last time in the 1870 U.S. Census of Population. At that time, the 70-year old widow was living next door to the Reverend Henry Brown, on the north side of Madison Street (near its intersection with Tenth Street in Wright and Brown's Subdivision), and was noted as the head of the household with an occupation of "keeping house."

William's business partnership with L. A. Coleman was dissolved sometime between 1869 and 1872, presumably due to Coleman's increased dedication and work with the Union Baptist Church (which was organized in 1873).⁴³ The 1872 *Springfield City Directory* is the first to list the firm of Donogan [sic] and Company, boot and shoemakers located on Washington Street,

problem with understanding the dynamics of the family at this time is the suspected date of birth for both children (1869; twins?) and the fact that we cannot find Lavina (and her children) in the subsequent 1880 U.S. Census of Population.

⁴³ Coleman was the pastor of the Union Baptist Church from 1874 through 1879.

between Fourth and Fifth Streets. Principals in the firm were William K. H. Donogan and Cyrus Donogan—William’s nephew (SCD 1872; 1873; 1874; 1875).

The 1875 *Springfield City Directory* lists four Donnegan family members: George (painter), Narcissa, William (shoemaker, 811 Jefferson Street), and Wm. (presumably William, also a shoemaker) (SCD 1875:55). By early 1875, William and Lavina apparently were no longer living together. Although the circumstances are unknown, it would appear that the couple had divorced by late 1874. In late August 1874, William deeded his Jefferson Street home located on the W1/2, W1/2, Lot 6 to his wife Lovinia Donegan, Thomas Donegan (his son with Charlotte Cox), Harry Francis Donegan (his son with Lavinia Coleman), and Charles Hamilton Donegan (his son with Charlotte Cox) for the sum of one dollar. The deed noted that the property included “half of the house & barn on the W1/2 of said Lot 6, Block 30 to be equally divided between the parties holding the E1/2 & the parties holding the W1/2” (SCDR 53:69). This transaction may have been part of the couple’s divorce settlement at the time, which deeded the family home to his wife and children. , Shortly before her death, in the following February 1875, Leanna Knox sold the E1/2, W1/2, Lot 6 to William for the sum of \$800 (SCDR 53:68). What became of Lavina Coleman Donnegan and her young child after this date is unclear, and the lack of documentation may suggest they left Springfield at this time.⁴⁴ Also by this time, Leanna had relocated to a new residence at the northeast corner of Madison and Tenth Streets. It may have been at this time that William moved to the Spring and Edwards Street location where he was to remain through August 1908.

In early February 1875, William Donnegan and Sarah Ann [Monnet] Bowers were issued a marriage license.⁴⁵ At the time of William’s death, the *Illinois State Register* (17 August 1908, p. 2) wrote that his last marriage had occurred in 1876 and that “his last wife being formerly Miss Sarah Rudolph, a white woman and a member of a German family of this city.” At the time of his marriage to Sarah, William would have been approximately 57 years of age, whereas Sarah was approximately 29 years of age—23 years his junior.⁴⁶ In early March 1879, approximately

⁴⁴ It would appear that Lavina may have remarried in early 1875, as a woman named Louevina Donegan married one William H. Paine in early May of that year. No further archival information after this date has been located for Lavina Coleman Donegan. Her son, Harry Francis Donegan was located in Peoria prior to returning to Springfield in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Perhaps Lavina and her new husband removed to Peoria after her divorce from William.

⁴⁵ The marriage occurred on 13 February 1875 (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 February 1875, p. 4; Ancestry.com. *Illinois, U.S., Marriage Index, 1860-1920* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015; See also, *Illinois State Register* 17 August 1908, p. 2). Its Out There family tree in Ancestry.com suggests that Sarah’s maiden name was Monnet. Her father was a Belgium-born man named Joseph Monnet (died 1877). Her mother was a German-born woman (died 1896). The Monnet family, less the 20-year old Sarah, was settled in St. Louis by 1870 (USCB 1870). During the Civil War, Joseph served with the First Regiment, U.S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Home Guard. He relocated to Springfield by the early 1870s, and is buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery. The validity of this family tree is unknown, and further research needs to be conducted to verify that Sarah’s maiden name was, indeed, Monnet.

⁴⁶ The 1850 U.S. Census of Population lists one Sarah Bower as a 23-year old Illinois-born, domestic servant living and working in the Hypolite Fayart household. Fayart was a successful 38-year old, French-born shoemaker with a real estate evaluation of \$20,000 and a personal property evaluation of \$5,000. It seems very likely that the commonality of their trades (shoemaking) may have been the impetus for the young Sarah and older William to

four years after their marriage, William and Sarah Ann Donnegan had a child, who they named William Kaves Hamilton Donnegan (1879-1941). In later life, William was known by the nickname “China.”⁴⁷

The year 1876 was one of celebration for the nation with the country celebrating its 100th birthday. Clearly it was a time of pre-Jim Crow excitement for the Black citizens of the nation, particularly those living in Illinois hopeful for new personal liberties and civil rights. Reflective of these social and political changes was the appearance of the *Directory of the Colored People of Springfield* within the *Springfield City Directory* published that year (SCD 1876:232). Although the 1876 *Colored Directory* listed seven individuals with the surname Donnegan living and working in the Capitol City, some major changes were noted from the earlier directories. By this date, neither of William’s older brothers (Spencer or Presley) were listed within the directory. At the head of the list was the remaining Donnegan brother—William. At the time, William was listed as a shoemaker, residing at 811 East Jefferson (and noted as a “lessee”). It was also that year [1876] that both William, and his brother Presley, were listed as founding members of the “Colored Hayes and Wheeler Club” (in support of the upcoming Presidential election) (*Illinois State Journal*, 8 August 1876, p. 5). Although it was a year of jubilation for the nation, the year 1876 was a sad year for the Donnegan family, as it was on 21 June 1876 that the Donnegan family’s matriarch—the 82-year old Leanna Donnegan Knox—died. A simple notice appeared in the local newspaper announcing her funeral at the A.M.E. Church. She was buried in Oak Ridge cemetery.

Although the extended Donnegan family had begun to age by this time, the latter 1870s continued to be good times for the family. The 1877 *Springfield City Directory* listed eight members of the Donnegan family. As with earlier 1876 *Directory of the Colored People of Springfield*, many of the entries represented the second generation of the Donnegan family, with William being one of the elder family members by this date.⁴⁸ The 1879 *Springfield City*

have met, and eventually marry. As such, one must assume that William and Hypolite had some form of professional, or personal, interaction during the early 1870s that would have brought the couple together.

⁴⁷ William’s Social Security Administration paperwork suggests that his mother’s maiden name was “Monuett.” To confuse the issue, William K. H. Donnigan (aka China) [William II] also had a child by the same name, William K. H. Donnegan, Jr. (1900-1919) [William III]. William and Sarah’s son, William (China), served with the 8th Illinois Infantry in Cuba. The 1920 U.S. Census of Population suggests that he was an inmate at the Chester Penitentiary that year. In 1925 (February 11-September 30), and again in 1930 (September 5-29), William “China” was a resident of the Veteran’s Home in Danville, suffering from Chronic Alcoholism. The 1930 U.S. Census of Population indicates that William was a resident of the Soldiers’ and Sailors Home in Quincy (as of April 9, 1930). China died in Springfield, in 1941 and is buried in Camp Butler National Cemetery (Ancestry.com. *U.S., Spanish American War Volunteers Index to Compiled Military Service Records, 1898* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012).

⁴⁸ At that time, the family included two shoemakers: William K. H. S. Donegan (married two years, residing on the south side of Reynolds Street four doors east of Eleventh Street) and his nephew Cyrus (also married for two years; boarded at 624 North Third Street), three porters: George (with a residence on Third Street), Thomas (with a residence at 212 North Thirteenth Street), and George W. (with a residence at 640 North Third Street), and one barber: Presley Donegan, Jr. (with his residence on the north side of Carpenter Street, two doors west of Third Street). Additionally, three of the Donnegan ladies were also listed within this directory, and included: Narcissa (residence on the north side of Madison Street, two doors east of Tenth Street); Phoebe E. (with a residence two

Directory listed only five Donvegan family members, among them being William K. (shoemaker with shop at the west side of Seventh Street, between Washington and Adams Streets and living on Seventh Street, between Washington and Adams) (SCD 1879:52).⁴⁹ William's sister Grace died in 1879.

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population listed the 41-year old William Donnegan as residing at 218 Edwards Street with his 30-year old wife Sarah A, and one-year old son, William.⁵⁰ William (Sr.) was listed as Black, his wife as white, and their son as mulatto. The census indicated that William was a Kentucky-born shoemaker, with both of his parents having been born in Virginia. Sarah was noted as an Illinois-born house keeper, with both of her parents having been born in Germany. The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that William had a shop on the south side of Washington Street, near Tenth, apparently suggesting that he had moved his shop from his downtown location by this date, and that he resided at 118 West Edwards Street. Both sources suggest that William had relocated his residence to the corner of Spring and Edwards in late 1879 or early 1880 (SCD 1880:64). In the spring of 1879, Williams's sister, Narcissa Donegan died.⁵¹ In 1880, neither Spencer nor Presley, Sr. were listed in the city directory. Presley, Jr. was noted as a barber boarding at 225 East Carpenter Street in that year.

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population also enumerated several households located around the corner on Spring Street, most likely living in William's rental property attached to his residence (which face Edwards Street). At this time, the census-taker noted the presence of a single dwelling with four families—presumably representing the elder Donnegan's rental units attached to the rear of his dwelling. Living in these apartments was the Jonathan Frara family (a white Madeira-Island laborer with his two teenage sons), the Rhoda Miles family (a middle age white woman with her five children, aged 7 to 18 years), Robert Asbury (a 22-year old Black laborer sharing the apartment with his wife, their two young children, a 21-year old Black hotel worker named James Madison and his young wife), and Thomas Donnegan (a 25-year old Black coal miner living with his young wife, two young daughters, and his mother-in-law Julia Perkins)—it clearly was a very full house! Thomas Donnegan probably was William's son from his first wife Charlotte Cox.

During the 1880s and early 1890s, William and his wife remained at their family home at 118 West Edwards Street. The 1881 *Springfield City Directory* lists only the location of William's

door west of 229 Carpenter Street), and the widow Sidney (with a residence at 624 North Third Street) (SCD 1877:31).

⁴⁹ These included: G. W. (a porter at the Leland Hotel, residence at 1038 South Third Street, Susan (help at 612 North Sixth Street), William K. (shoemaker with shop at the west side of Seventh Street, between Washington and Adams Streets), Sarah (dressmaker, residence north side Carpenter Street between Second and Third Streets), and an unidentified woman listed as "E. Donegan" (a washerwoman residing on the north side of Carpenter Street between Second and Third Streets).

⁵⁰ The street number most likely was in error, as the family home was located in the 100 block of West Edwards Street.

⁵¹ The *Illinois State Journal* published an "Adjustment Notice for the estate of Narcissa Donegan, Deceased" in early April 1879 (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 April 1879, p. 4).

business on Washington Street, between 9th and Tenth (SCD 1881:42). The 1882 city directory notes that William was a shoemaker living on 118 West Edwards (SCD 1882:74). The 1887 city directory listed William K. Donnegan as a “colored” shoemaker with his shop at 910 East Washington Street, and residence at 118 West Edwards (SCD 1887a:96). Subsequent city directories in 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1891 list similar information regarding Williams’s shop and residence locations (SCD 1886:84; 1887b 89; 1888:94; 1891:98). The 1886-87 *Springfield City Directory* noted that William’s 64-year old brother, Presley Donegan, had died the previous year, on June 10, 1885 (SCD 1886:22).

Although William had deeded his half of the family home on Jefferson Street (W1/2, W1/2, Lot 6) to his ex-wife and children in the mid-1870s, he continued to own the half of the house once occupied by his mother (E1/2, W1/2, Lot 6). In the fall 1884, the *Register* reported on a roof fire at “the old Donegan property” at the corner of Eighth and Jefferson Streets. The fire apparently burned a hole in the roof, before the fire department was able to extinguish the blaze (*Illinois State Register*, 31 October 1884, p. 3). By the 1880s, the neighborhood around the Eighth and Jefferson Streets intersection had become the heart of Springfield’s vice district, often referred to as “Greasy Row.”⁵² The presence of the residence within this district, and the high crime rate associated with it, most likely had precipitated William’s move from the neighborhood and resettlement on West Edwards Street (which was a more respectable white neighborhood). Again, in mid-1890, the *Journal* reported on the destruction by fire of a “barn on the corner of Eighth and Jefferson streets, the property of W. K. Donegan.” At the time of the fire, the barn was occupied by “Jones, the ragman, and Jacob Sanders, who owned a quantity of hay which was burned up” (*Illinois State Journal*, 21 July 1890, p. 4).⁵³ The following year, the *Register* reported that Donnegan’s house, presumably the house on Edwards Street, had been burglarized with the loss of a gold watch and \$15 cash (*Illinois State Journal*, 7 September 1891, p. 5). An unusual entry in the *Illinois State Register* in May 1891 states that “Mr. W. K. H. Donegan, a shoemaker at No. 912 East Washington street, has removed his family to Watertown, Md., where they will reside” (*Illinois State Register*, 9 May 1891, p. 6).⁵⁴

⁵² For a detailed context of vice in Springfield, see “‘Springfield A Wicked Old City’: The Rise of Vice in Illinois’ Capital City,” Appendix I in Mansberger and Stratton (2024, Volume I).

⁵³ According to the news report, the fire was described as “a beautiful blaze... [that] attracted an extraordinarily large crowd of spectators... the jam of spectators was something remarkable. Two thirds of the crowd were feminine, and they pushed and jostled in the excitement in a way that shamed the men. The firemen were promptly on hand, but could do nothing to save the burning building.” The reporter suggested that “the blaze was probably started by a crowd of boys who frequently play with matches, in that vicinity” (“RUNNING TO THE FIRE. The Whole Town Turns Out to See a Burning Barn,” *Illinois State Journal*, 21 July 1890, p. 4). The large “feminine crowd” most likely was due to the proximity of the property to the adjacent red light district. The following day, the *Register* ran a story about the fire suggesting that it had started at 9:00pm Sunday evening and engulfed a “barn in the rear of Mrs. Amanda Johnson’s (colored) residence, No. 813 East Jefferson street, a barn on the property of Con Civil, and a shed owned by Wm. Donnegan were burned. Mrs. Johnson’s barn was filled with rags, the property of Alex. Jones, colored and with hay, owned by Jacob Sonders. The loss will probably not exceed \$400. Incendiarism or spontaneous combustion are thought to be the cause... The fire drew several thousand people from all parts of the city” (“A Sunday Night Blaze,” *Illinois State Register*, 22 July 1890, p. 6).

⁵⁴ It is unlikely that this was William, Sr., and it also seems unlikely that it would have been William, Jr.

During his later years in life, William, and immediate members of his family, participated in several civic organizations. In 1892, the *State Capital* (3 December 1892, p. 2) reported on W. K. H. Donnegan as being elected the treasurer of the St. John's Chapter of an unidentified organization (potentially the Masons).⁵⁵ In 1893, William was elected as the treasurer of the St. James Chapter No. 2, Holy Royal Arch Masons (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 November 1893, p. 4). William was again elected to the same position in November 1894 (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 November 1894, p. 4). In October of that same year [1894], William was selected by the "Fourth Ward Republican Club (colored)" as a delegate for the October 10th convention (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 October 1894, p. 4). In 1898, Thomas Donnegan, William's son, was president of the Colored Free Silver Club, an organization closely allied with the Race Rights League (*Illinois State Register*, 26 January 1898, p. 4). At the time of his murder, even the radical *Register* noted that William "was quite popular among the people of his race" (*Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 5).

During the latter 1890s and early years of the twentieth century, the Donnegan family name was often noted within the pages of the local newspaper. In January 1897, the newspapers noted the death of "William Donigan (colored), aged 21 years"—born circa 1876, it is unclear who were the parents of this young child (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 January 1897, p. 6).⁵⁶ In February 1897, the *Journal* reported that Mrs. Donnegan apparently was having problems with her step-son, William. The family, including the young William, were living at the corner of Spring and Edwards Street at the time, and Mrs. Donnegan accused him of stealing money from her purse and a gold watch valued at \$75 (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 February 1897, p. 3).⁵⁷ The following year, a William Donnegan—presumably the 19-year old son of William and Sarah (William II)—enlisted with the Eighth Illinois Volunteer Regiment from Springfield, and served in Cuba in late 1898 and early 1899).⁵⁸ A couple years later, the young William Donnegan (William and Sarah's son), presumably upon his return from Cuba, was accused of having purchased liquor (*Illinois State Register*, 15 December 1899, p. 6), and in mid-July 1900, the young William was arrested for entering a saloon while intoxicated, and drawing a revolver and threatening to shoot

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the newspaper is damaged and the name of the organization is not present.

⁵⁶ This individual's headstone, in Oak Ridge Cemetery, states he was 19 years of age (and thus born potentially in circa 1878). William and Lavina's son, also named William, was born in 1879, but he did not die until 1941.

⁵⁷ Although the paper noted that William was Sarah's step-son, this most likely was incorrect, as William and Sarah's son William was living in the home at that time.

⁵⁸ In July 1898, Thomas Donnegan—William and Charlotte's son—co-signed a request "To the Colored Citizens of the City of Springfield" for prospective volunteers to meet at the Union Baptist Church for "the purpose of filling out the colored company of soldiers, for we feel it is our duty at this time that we cannot set with idle hands when a call of this kind is made, for we feel we are loyal to the stars and stripes, and we hope you will come out and do all you can in assisting us" (*Illinois State Register*, 3 July 1898, p. 5). Among the enlistees were Elijah Greenleaf and Robert Wright (McCard and Turney 1899:63; *Illinois State Register*, 26 April 1898, p. 5; "New Company Organized. Colored Sons of Veterans to Join the Ninth Battalion Under Buckner," *Illinois State Journal*, 26 April 1898, p. 2). See also "'A Splendid Good Old Man:' Ex-Slave, Civil War Veteran, and Forty Year Resident of Springfield, Illinois," Appendix V, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume V]) and "Robert Nathaniel Wright (1880-1935): Springfield Citizen, Spanish-American War Veteran, and Victim of the 1908 Springfield Race Riot," Appendix V, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume III]).

the bartender for not serving him liquor (*Illinois State Register*, 6 July 1900, p. 2).⁵⁹ In Late 1903, a William Donnegan apparently was living in Lincoln, where he had been arrested and sentenced to 30 days in jail for pleading guilty of “bribery at elections.” Besides jail time, he was disenfranchised for ten years (*Rockford Morning Star*, 17 November 1903, p. 1; *Illinois State Register*, 19 June 1903, p. 2). It is unclear whether this is young William “China” Donegan of Springfield. During the winter of 1904-05, a William Donnegan’s hands and feet were badly frozen, after which he was hospitalized, and taken to the Veterans Hospital in Danville (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 May 1905, p. 2; *Illinois State Register*, 15 May 1905, p. 9).⁶⁰

William (Sr) was no stranger to violence and the need for self-protection. In late 1898, in retaliation to a warrant against him for assault and battery sworn out the day before by Donnegan, one Arthur Staunton, broke into the Donnegan residence early in the morning with revolver drawn. Entering William’s bedroom, Staunton fired three shots, one of which passed through William’s foot. Donnegan sprang from his bed, seized his revolver from a nearby dresser, and fired two shots at Staunton, who by that time was fleeing the house. Apparently, the two men had been feuding “for some time over a young lady whom Staunton is desperately in love.” Although the newspaper account began with an insinuation that Donnegan, “a colored man” married to a “white woman,” was romantically involved with this “young lady,” the newspaper continued by stating

Staunton is also colored and the young lady for whom his heart yearns is a white girl. Staunton rented a room at the Donnegan homestead and lived there with the young lady for some time. He has neglected to pay room rent, and as Mr. and Mrs. Donnegan took compassion on the young lady, who was being poorly cared for, they ejected Staunton and sheltered the girl. A baby was born to the young girl some time ago and Staunton claims that Donnegan has torn him away from his child and “his own flesh and blood...”

Upon his arrest the following day, Staunton was under the influence of both alcohol and opium and exclaimed “I’ll kill Donnegan if I ever get another chance. It was an accident that I did not kill him yesterday” (“BOMBARDED ENEMY. Arthur Staunton Shoots William Donnegan Through Foot,” *Illinois State Register*, 20 November 1898, p. 7). The elder William and his wife exhibited compassion for, and assisted one of their young female tenants in a very personal manner, only to be the brunt of physical violence by her disgruntled male companion. William

⁵⁹ The 21 year old William K. H. Donegan (118 West Edwards Street) and 21-year old Anna S. Moton (1312 East Adams) were issued a marriage license in early October 1900 (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 October 1900, p. 7).

⁶⁰ There is some confusion as to which of the many William Donnegan’s are referenced in these accounts. It is unclear whether the young William who relocated to Lincoln was William and Sarah’s son, or Spencer’s son. The veteran named William Donnegan who had his hands and feet frozen “off”, and taken to the Veterans Hospital in Danville, was noted as being a *Civil War* veteran, and most likely was Spencer’s, and not William “China” Donnegan (*Illinois State Register*, 15 May 1905, p. 9). The only other possibility of a Civil War veteran named Donnegan would have been Cyrus, but the elder Cyrus Donnegan appears to have died in Arkansas in 1896 ([https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/249234851/cyrus-donagan?_gl=1*1gkc4lq*_ga*MTEyNjIyNTE3Ny4xNjM1NDM4NTk4*_ga_4QT8FMEX30*Z\).mQ3NTM3M2UtODU5Ni00OTk0LTkyOTEtMzAwZjE5YzQ3NTRkLjQxLjEuMTY4MDgxMzc1NC41Ny4wLjA.#source](https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/249234851/cyrus-donagan?_gl=1*1gkc4lq*_ga*MTEyNjIyNTE3Ny4xNjM1NDM4NTk4*_ga_4QT8FMEX30*Z).mQ3NTM3M2UtODU5Ni00OTk0LTkyOTEtMzAwZjE5YzQ3NTRkLjQxLjEuMTY4MDgxMzc1NC41Ny4wLjA.#source)).

Donnegan filed a last will and testament, leaving all of his worldly possessions to his wife Sarah, in September 1899 (SCPR, p. 295-296).

The William Donnegan household was listed in the 1900 U.S. Census of Population as being located at 118 West Edwards Street. Living with the 71-year old William was his 46-year old wife Sarah A. (born August 1853) and their 21-year old son, William (born in 1879). Although previously listed as mulatto, the 1900 census listed William, Jr. as Black. At this time, the dwelling located at 118 West Edwards housed two families—whether in a single dwelling, or a double house is unknown. The second family listed in this dwelling was that of Robert Gray, a Black, 31-year-old day laborer, and his 30-year old wife Anna. Living within the Gray household was a daughter Flossie (12), and two sons, Roy (6) and Paul (3). Living immediately around the corner, at 608 South Spring Street and presumably in one of William Donnegan’s rental houses, was the 63-year old widower, William Sanders—also an African American day laborer. Together, the three families represent a small cluster of African-American households at this location.

Other than an occasional news story regarding the younger William, the newspapers were relatively silent regarding the William Donnegan family during the early years of the twentieth century leading up to August 1908. The elder William most likely was living the life of a retired shoemaker and business man, with his wife, managing his rental properties attached to the rear of his residence. But in August 1908 that life came to a brutal end at the hands of a white mob.

It was Saturday August 15, the second day of racial violence in Springfield. Early that morning, just a couple hours past midnight, the mob that had ransacked the Levee District, burned out a large section of the residential neighborhood known as the Badlands, and lynched Scott Burton, was disbursed forcibly by the Illinois militia who had just arrived in Springfield. On Saturday morning, Springfield residents awoke to the presence of the militia downtown, and a temporary calm that had followed the disbursement of the mob the night before.⁶¹ But that calm was short-lived. By 7pm, crowds had begun to form around the downtown square, the location of the county courthouse. At the time, the militia (under the command of Major General Edward Young) were patrolling the Levee and more heavily occupied Black neighborhoods such as the Badlands (and the far southeast “Goose Prairie” neighborhood), and the downtown was under the jurisdiction of the county sheriff and local police. Fearing conditions were escalating; Sheriff Werner requested assistance from Major General Young, who quickly sent members of the cavalry to disburse the crowd. As the crowd dispersed, and learning that a large group of Black citizens had sheltered in place at the nearby State Arsenal (at 424-426 North Fifth Street), the mob proceeded to that location bent on harassing the innocent Blacks gathered at this location for safety. Although thwarted in their plans at the Arsenal by armed militia, the crowd hit on a new target—the elder William Donnegan—and subsequently proceeded south through the grounds of the Illinois State Capital and the Illinois militia’s encampment—to the home of the elderly Donegan and his family.

⁶¹ By 11am, approximately 500 militiamen were in Springfield patrolling both the Levee and the Badlands. By that evening, the number of troops had swelled to over 1,400, and more were on the way. By Monday, as many as 3,700 militiamen were patrolling the streets of Springfield (Senechal 1990:40, 45).

During the early evening, the Donnegan family was sheltered in place at their residence located to the southeast of the downtown business district, well removed from the violence downtown and in the Badlands. The neighborhoods to the southeast of the public square were predominately white, with only an occasional Black family residing in them. As such, the militia (which had been stretched thin patrolling the more heavily Black-occupied neighborhoods to the north and northeast) had not been patrolling that area of the town, and the mob's actions went unobstructed. Apparently, the Donnegan family had been notified that they were being targeted and that the mob was on their way to their house. "We had been warned that a mob was coming to kill us, but we knew of nothing to do but remain here and await their arrival. We telephoned the jail and the militia headquarters several times, asking for protection, and though we were promised each time that the soldiers would come, none came" (*Illinois State Register* 17 August 1908, p. 2). Upon the arrival of the mob at the Donnegan house, they were met at the front door of the house by the elder Donnegan, who was knocked off his feet, dragged out of his house, beat and pelted with bricks and dragged across the street where the crowd proceeded to cut his throat with a razor, and hang him by a thin rope from a tree in the local schoolyard across from his house in view of his wife and family. Some accounts suggest the mob also attempted to burn his house. The day after the attack on William, the *Associated Press* carried a story originally published in Peoria regarding the confession of one Charles Gadwin in the murder of William Donnegan. Gadwin, a veteran who had served with the Thirty-second U. S. Volunteers in the Philippines, claimed he was "going insane" and had turned himself in to the Bartonville asylum located near Peoria. He was quoted describing the attack on Donnegan, noting that "we stamped in his face; cut his throat; and then put a rope round his neck. That's what it took to kill him" ("LYNCHER FEARS INSANITY. And Surrenders Himself to Police at Peoria," *Tacoma Daily News*, 17 August 1908, p. 3).

Although Donnegan survived the attack, he died the following morning of his injuries (Senechal 1990:42-46).⁶² Immediately after the mob action, "fearing to remain in her house," William's wife Sarah took refuge in the Armory. She told the newspaper "I left my sons to take care of the house... for I was afraid to stay there any longer. This is just an awful blow to me" (*Rockford Morning Star*, 18 August 1908, p. 1). Sarah remained at the Armory for a brief time, returning to her home and family on Edwards Street.

At the Donnegan home there was a sad family gathering. The aged wife of the old negro, who saw the mob hanging her husband to a tree, was scarcely able to talk. She sat in her rocker on the rear porch, a picture of grief and despair.

⁶² William Donnegan was taken to the police station where a military surgeon attended to his wounds, upon which he was transferred to St. Johns Hospital. Mr. Donnegan never regained consciousness, and died from his injuries at 11:30am, Sunday morning at St. Johns Hospital ("Hanged Negro Fifth to Die," *Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 2; see also "W.H. Donnigan [sic] Dies Sunday," *Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 2, 5 and "Widow of Old Negro Lynched is White Woman," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 17 Aug 1908). Another account suggests that he died at 3:15am Sunday morning ("W. H. Donnigan Funeral Held," *Illinois State Register*, 20 August 1908, p. 5).

Although no local evidence suggests that it actually occurred, the *Washington Times* wrote that the mob, after leaving the Donnegan residence on Saturday evening, proceeded to the home of Abraham Lincoln on south Eighth Street—then owned by the State of Illinois—and threatened to burn it down ("Torch Threatens Home of Lincoln," *The Washington Times*, 18 August 1908, p. 9).

Neighbors came to comfort her, for she, as well as her family, has been regarded highly by the white people of the neighborhood (*Chicago Tribune*, 17 August 1908, p. 2).

Shortly thereafter, Sarah left Springfield seeking refuge in Chicago with relatives.⁶³ Several of her immediate family members (including Mrs. Mary Lee, her daughter Mrs. Carrie Hamilton, and her grandson) accompanied her to Chicago, and the *Chicago Tribune* subsequently carried a well-illustrated story of the killing of her husband (*Chicago Tribune*, 17 August 1908, p. 3).⁶⁴ The *Chicago Daily News* (18 August 1908, p. 3) also carried a story with photographs of Mrs. Mary Lee, her daughter Mrs. Carrie Hamilton, and her young son, labeled “Springfield Refugees in Chicago” noting that the three were “waiting for the storm in Springfield to blow over.” In solidarity of their fellow Mason, the *Chicago Daily News* noted that William Donnegan, “the 80-year old colored citizen of Springfield... was a member of the colored Knights Templar commandery [sic] in Springfield and his fellow knights plan to do all in their power to see to it that the persons responsible for this death are punished” and the Colored Knights Templar “from all parts of the United States” held an interstate conference at the damaged Pekin Theater to address “the problem of the Springfield race riots” (*Chicago Daily News*, 18 August 1908, p. 3).⁶⁵ At the time of his death, the *Register* simply noted that Donnegan was a cobbler, “but for several years past had not been actively engaged in business” and that he suffered from rheumatism “and has remained at his home most of the time” (*Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 2).

Services for William Donnegan were held on Wednesday (August 19) at 10am at the undertaking rooms of Henry T. Rhoden, with the Rev. T. D. Logan, pastor of the First Presbyterian church officiating. He was laid to rest in the Colored Section of Oak Ridge Cemetery. Pall bearers were his two sons Thomas and William, and two cousins Harry and John Donnegan. William’s wife Sarah was not able to attend his funeral as she was still in Chicago fearful to return to Springfield (“W. H. Donnigan Funeral Held,” *Illinois State Register*, 20 August 1908, p. 5; *Illinois State Journal*, 19 August 1908, p. 2). Donnegan’s grave site remained unmarked for many years; a tombstone was not placed on William Donnegan’s gravesite until 1994. Although his final resting place was within sight of the Great Emancipator himself, Donnegan was separated from Lincoln by a great divide even in death—Jim Crow segregation. Sarah Ann Donnegan eventually returned to Springfield and lived out her remaining years of life in the home she had shared with her husband, William at the corner of Edwards and Spring Street. She died in April 1931. The *Journal* ran a short notice of her funeral (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 April 1931, p. 14).

In an effort to rationalize and/or legitimize what had happened in Springfield, it took very little time for the press to villainize Donnegan. Immediately after his death, numerous stories were published in an effort to demonize the elder William Donegan. At the time of his murder, the yellow journalism typical of the *Illinois State Register*, noted that he “was worth about \$15,000

⁶³ The *Chicago Tribune* suggests that the relatives resided at 4765 Dearborn Street (18 August 1908, p. 2).

⁶⁴ Mary Lee [nee Mary Belle King] was the wife of Peter and Caroline’s son, John Samuel David Lee (1832-1909). Caroline (1811-1892) was William’s older sister—the oldest of Leanna’s children. In 1908, Mary would have been about 67 years of age. Her daughter Carrie (a school teacher) was about 31 years of age in 1908. She had married a man named Ernest Hamilton. Carrie’s son, Lee, would have been about two years old at this time.

⁶⁵ The Pekin Theater was the first Black-owned theater in Chicago that catered to Black residents.

at the time of his death,” and that “he had made most of this *by the practice of slave importation and by gaining possession of and holding valuable real estate in this city.*” Clearly, in the eyes of the *Register*, it would appear that William’s accumulation of wealth was more than would have been suspected of an ordinary Black ‘shoe maker.’ In an effort to villainize the murdered Donnegan, the *Register* suggested that his wealth had been accrued due to importation of slaves into Springfield—a highly improbable and unlikely activity. According to the newspaper:

Slave Importer

During the times of slavery Mr. Donnigan [sic] was a prominent slave importer of this district. Since slavery did not abound in Illinois at the time, he would import negroes from the southern states and then hire them out as laborers. He was engaged in this business during the presidency of Abraham Lincoln. It is said that he had some trouble as a result of these importations, just preceding the civil war. Local people are said to have forced him to discontinue the practice of bringing negroes from the southern states to Springfield and Illinois.⁶⁶

Krohe (1973:15) continues this thought, noting that “Donnegan, an 80 year old black man who had made a modest fortune for himself importing Southern blacks to work in the homes and shops of pre-Civil War Springfield.”

Accused of capitalizing on the importation of slave labor into Springfield, and being responsible for the large influx of ex-slaves into Springfield following the Civil War, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* repeated the claim. “Uncle Bill,” as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* called Donnegan, “was probably the most widely known negro in Springfield. Older residents say that he brought many negroes to Springfield in the days following the war. He was never a slave, it is said, and it is charged that, in the days following the war, he was the agent for white men who made a hard contract with a large body of negroes, causing conditions which were complained of as resembling slavery” (“Widow of Old Negro Lynched is White Woman,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 17 August 1908, p. 2). Similarly, the *Register* noted that “During the civil war he imported southern negroes here and hired them out to contractors. This fact may have been known by some of the men of the crowd, who probably concluded that Donnigan [sic] was the cause of a great many negroes being in the city, and acted upon the supposition” (“WILLIAM DONNIGAN LYNCHED,” *Illinois State Register*, 21 August 1908, p. 1).

No evidence of William Donegan’s purported activities of importing slaves into the Springfield labor market during the 1850s-60s, and contracting them out as indentured servants, has been encountered. On the contrary, William’s activities strongly suggest that he was involved with just the opposite activity—assisting runaway slaves to find freedom in the north. In a tongue-and-cheek comment, in discussing his clandestine Underground Railroad activities of the latter 1850s, William state that “I once had seven hundred dollars in gold and silver turned into my lap by the owner of a slave as a bribe for my assisting in his recapture. This took place in my shoe shop on Fourth street. ... Well, [I] could not capture the fellow, and had to return the money; but

⁶⁶ “W. H. DONNIGAN DIES SUNDAY. Was Lynched by Mob at Spring and Edwards,” *Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 5; see also “WILLIAM DONNIGAN LYNCHED,” *Illinois State Register*, 21 August 1908, p. 1).

all the same he was under a pile of leather in that very room when the money was paid.” It would appear that William’s acceptance of this money was a ruse, as he was pretending to assist in the capture of the runaway, all the while assisting him in his escape. It seems doubtful that individuals in 1908, in reflecting on William’s early life in Springfield, would have had any recollection of these activities.

A search of Springfield newspapers for reference of clandestine activity undertaken by Donnegan—or others for that matter during this politically and racially charged period of the 1850s—was not uncovered.⁶⁷ Part of this anonymity, no doubt, was due to the clandestine nature of these activities, but anyone who would have been caught violating legal statutes by importing slaves into Springfield—whether white or Black—would clearly have made the newspapers. In contrast, accounts in Donnegan’s own words suggest that he was actively involved in just the opposite—as a cog (or “station”) with the clandestine underground railroad. These conflicting accounts regarding the young William Donnegan’s activities during the 1850s and early 1860s are astounding. On one hand, Donnegan represented an Abolitionist hero as a prominent participant with the Underground Railroad in central Illinois. On the hand, as suggested by the hardline *Register*, Donegan profited off potential free-Black immigrants and runaway slaves and betrayed his own race.

Apparently, William’s wealth (class resentment), and the supposed manner in which he earned it, was not the only factor that riled the local newspaper men. The second reason for Donegan’s murder was attributed to his marriage to a white woman (“Widow of Old Negro Lynched is White Woman,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 17 August 1908, p. 2). The Post correspondent wrote that I regard the lynching of Dunnigan [sic] as the most atrocious crime of the entire outbreak. His only offense was that he married a white woman, and that happened more than 30 years ago.” Similarly, the *Register* wrote:

Married White Woman

Mr. Donnigan was a cobbler in the city and is said to be worth \$15,000. He owns considerable real estate throughout the city and is well known. His wife is said to be a white woman, who he married many years ago. It is thought by many that this fact is the direct cause of the lynching of last night.⁶⁸

In an uncharacteristic manner, the *Register* noted that Donnegan was a Mason, and that he “was quite popular among the people of his race. Some of the older residents of the city state that considerable feeling was aroused when he married his present wife, because she is a white woman and he a negro of the southern type” (*Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 5; see also Rogers 1908:77). In reference to the biracial nature of their relationship, journalists noted that it was “because of her marriage to Donnegan that the mob feeling against her husband is

⁶⁷ Belief in manner in which Donnegan attained his wealth continued in the popular myth surrounding the events of August 1908. “Donnegan made a small fortune bringing southern blacks to Springfield to find jobs. He had never been accused of a crime. He had, however, broken the unwritten law of being married to a white woman for the last thirty-two years” <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/29887569/william-k.-donnegan>

⁶⁸ “WILLIAM DONNIGAN LYNCHED,” *Illinois State Register*, 21 August 1908, p. 1.

believed to have been aroused” (*Rockford Morning Star*, 18 August 1908, p. 1). In refuting this reason for her uncle’s murder, Mrs. Hamilton (William’s grand-niece) noted that it was

not so much the hatred of the colored people as a desire to rob and plunder on the part of hoodlums that caused the riots. The better class of the white people have done all they could to protect peaceable and decent colored people, but they are powerless to cope with the mob. They say that my uncle [sic, great uncle] was killed because he is married to a white woman, but they neglect to state that they have been married twenty years, have children and own considerably property. *It was just the plain desire of the mob to kill and loot that caused the rioting*” (italics original; *Chicago Daily News*, 18 August 1908, p.3).

The *Chicago Tribune* carried a similar statement from Mrs. Hamilton:

The mobs at the capital are made up of the hoodlums and young desperadoes, and it is not hatred of the colored people, but just plain desire to kill and loot, which caused all the rioting... the better class of white people have done all they could to protect the peaceable and decent colored people, but they are powerless to cope with that mob.

They say my uncle was killed because he is married to a white woman, but they have been married twenty years, have children, and own considerable property. And the property was the cause of his murder. He was event told by some of the ringleaders of the mob that he had too much property for a ‘nigger,’ and that he would be killed unless he and his family moved away.

The scenes at Springfield were terrible beyond all description. Everywhere was the same tale of the shooting and beating of negroes and the looting of their homes. As for my poor uncle, it was just plain murder, for he was an old, defenseless, and innocent man who held the respect of our white neighbors (“Explains Capital Lynching: Niece of William Donnegan Says Uncle's Possession of Property Caused Mob's Attack," *Chicago Tribune*, 18 August 1908, p. 2).

In an effort to further demonize William Donnegan, even though his niece noted her uncle’s relationship with his white neighbors, the *Register* stated that “Several relatives of the dead man reside near the Donnigan home and in houses owned by the aged negro. Their yards adjoin, and they have practically the entire corner. At various times, it is alleged, trouble has arisen between the Donnigan family and white people residing in that district in the past” (*Illinois State Register*, 17 August 1908, p. 5). One such episode of trouble between the elder Donnegan and his white neighbors was that of the Staunton affair in which the Donegans assisted and gave aid to an abused young pregnant woman resulting in the violent intrusion of the white lover into the Donnegan’s residence and shooting him in the foot!

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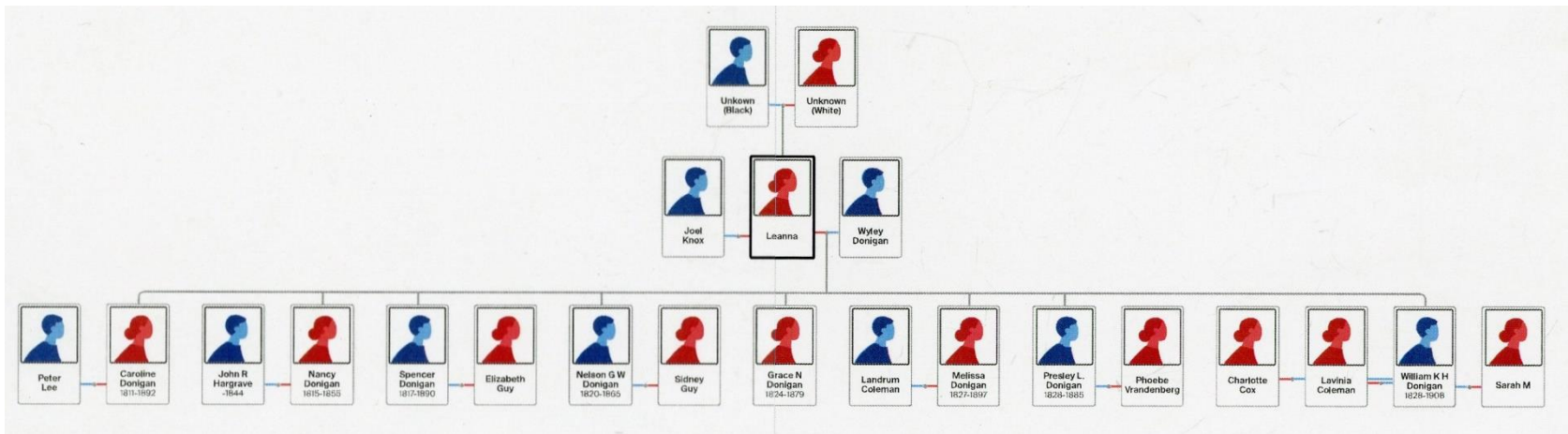


Figure 1. Leanna Donnegan's family tree.

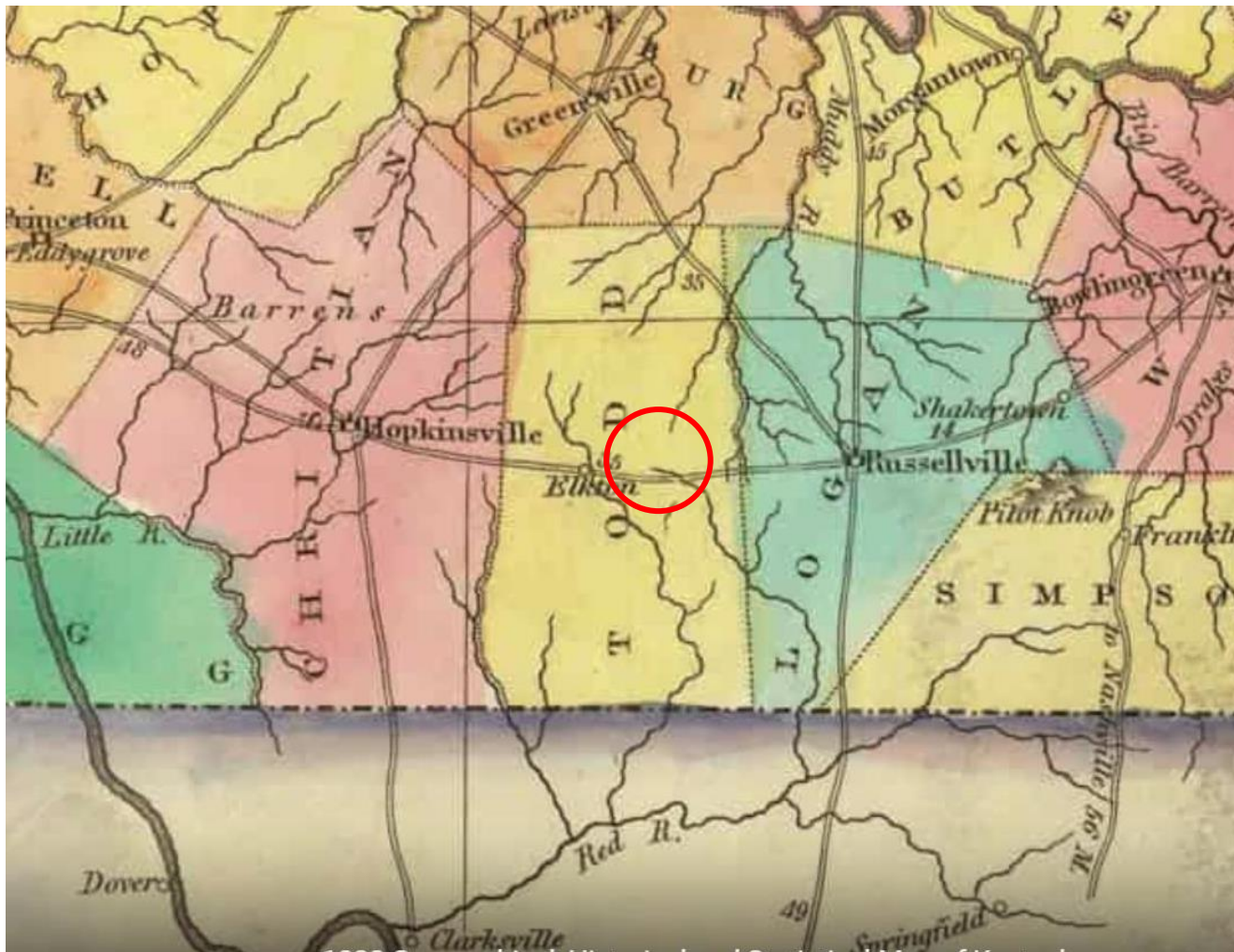


Figure 2. Detail of Christian, Todd, and Logan Counties in west Kentucky, as depicted on the *Map of Kentucky* (Carey and Lea 1822, Plate No. 27). The red circle depicts the suspected region of what is now Todd County in which “Free Loann” [Leanna Donnegan Knox) raised her early family. This region is the headwaters of the Red River, east/northeast of Elkton, Kentucky. In circa 1837, Leanna and her family relocated to the vicinity of Hopkinsville (Christian County) prior to relocating to Illinois in 1847.

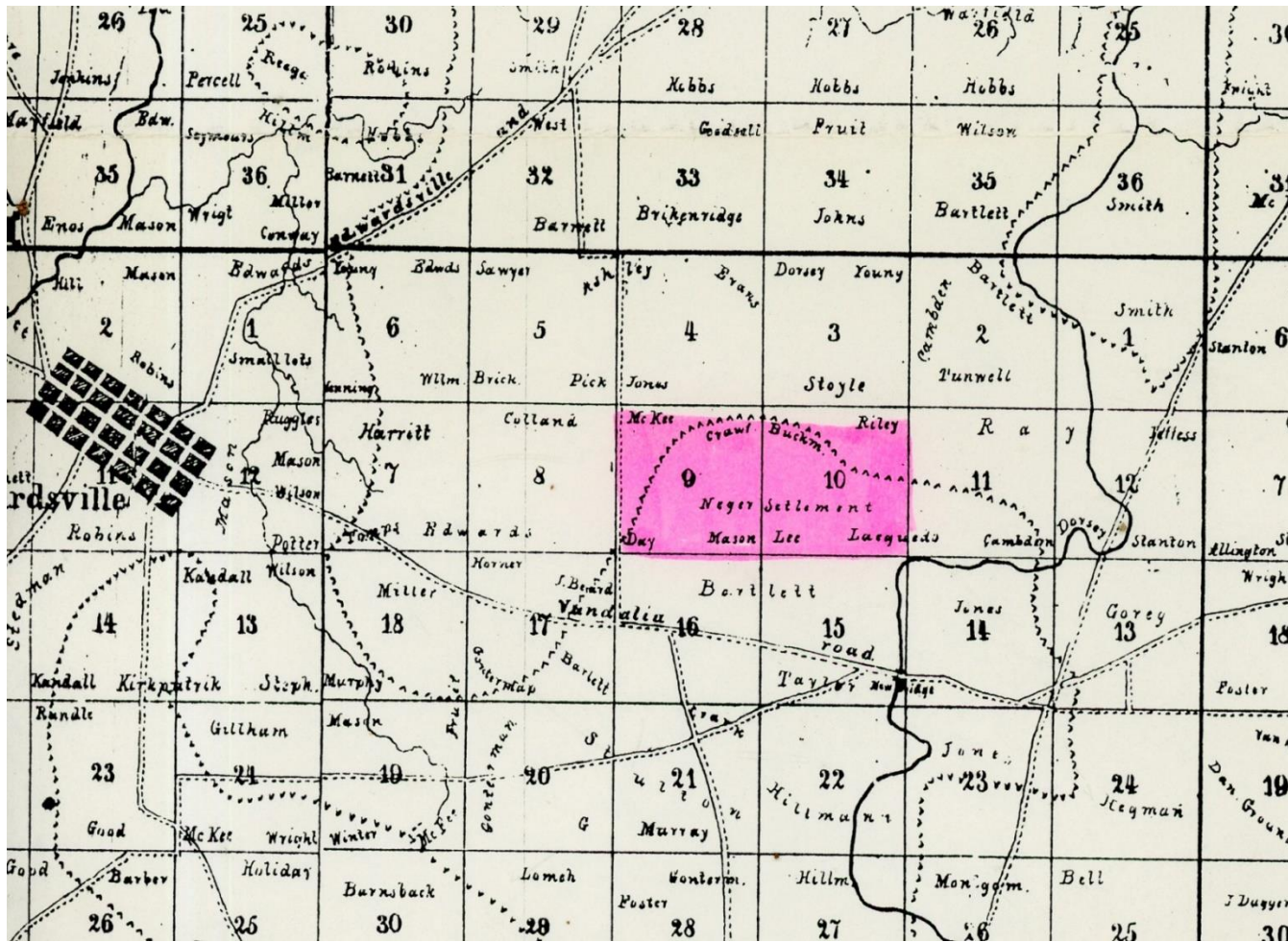


Figure 3. Detail of *Map of Madison County, Illinois* (Meyer 1851) illustrating the location of the “Neger Settlement” [sic] in Sections 9 and 10, Township 4 North, Range 7 West (eastern portion of Edwardsville Township). By this date, ex-Governor Coles had transferred much of his prairie lands to his emancipated slaves. Coles Prairieland Farm started as 80-acres in the SW1/4 Section 4, and soon grew to over 400 acres in size. The farm’s long time manager was Coles’ ex-slave Robert Crawford.

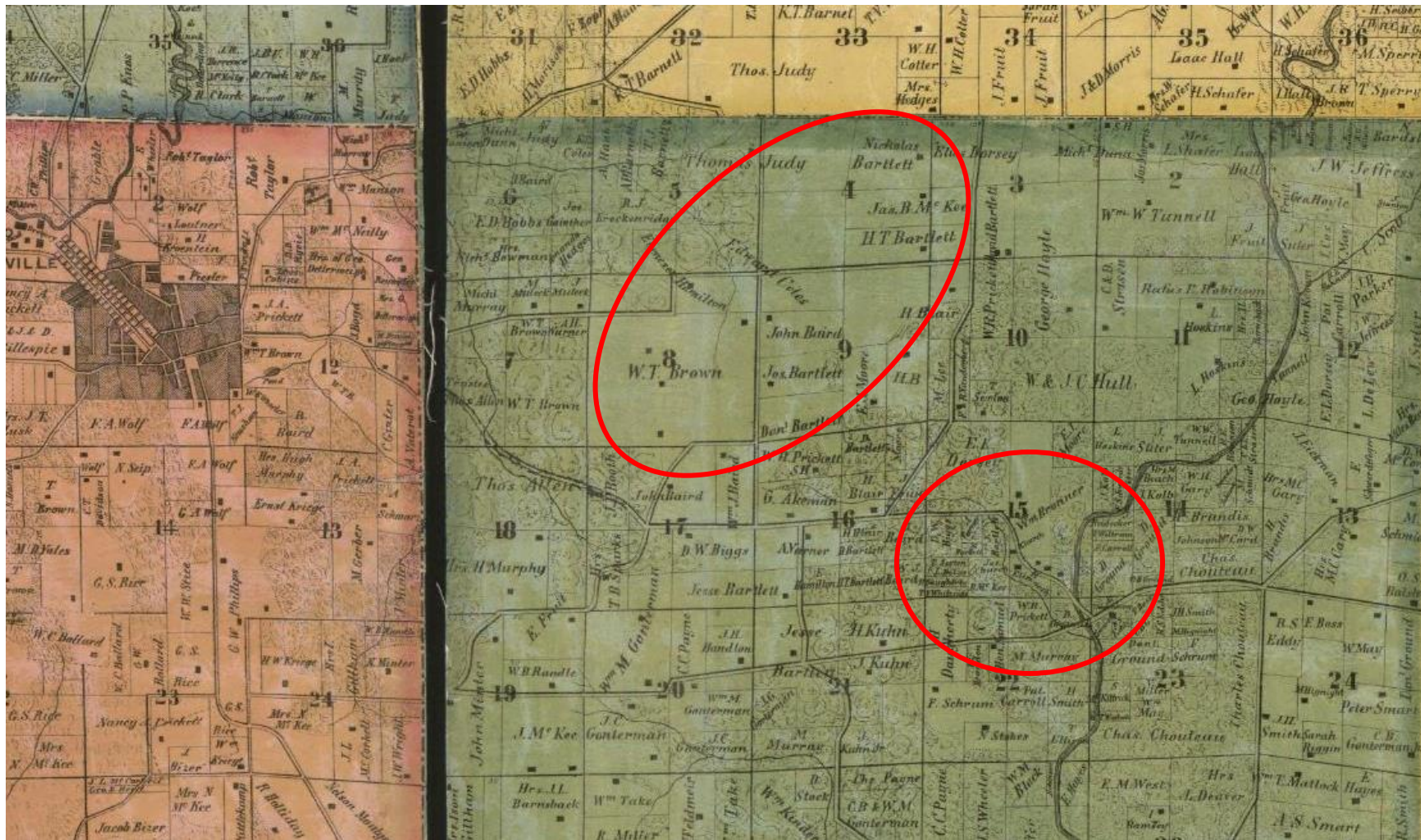


Figure 4. Detail of *Map of Madison County, Illinois* depicting the location of Edward Coles' landholdings (Prairieland Farm) and the Ridge Prairie settlement in 1861 (Holmes and Arnold 1861). By this date, the Ridge Prairie settlement appears to have coalesced around the nearby Silver Creek crossing in Section 15. Coles' landholdings are relatively small by this time. W. T. Brown, one of the larger landowners depicted in the vicinity of Prairieland Farm was not a Black man, and presumably had purchased lands from Coles (<https://madcohistory.org/online-exhibits/edward-coles-champion-of-freedom/life-in-illinois/>).



Figure 5. Location of Bethel Church as depicted on the *Map of St. Clair County, Illinois* (Holmes 1863). This area is just south of the Madison/St. Clair County line and the Ridge Prairie Settlement. It is believed that it was in this vicinity that the extended Lee and Donnegan family settled in 1847 prior to relocating to Springfield.

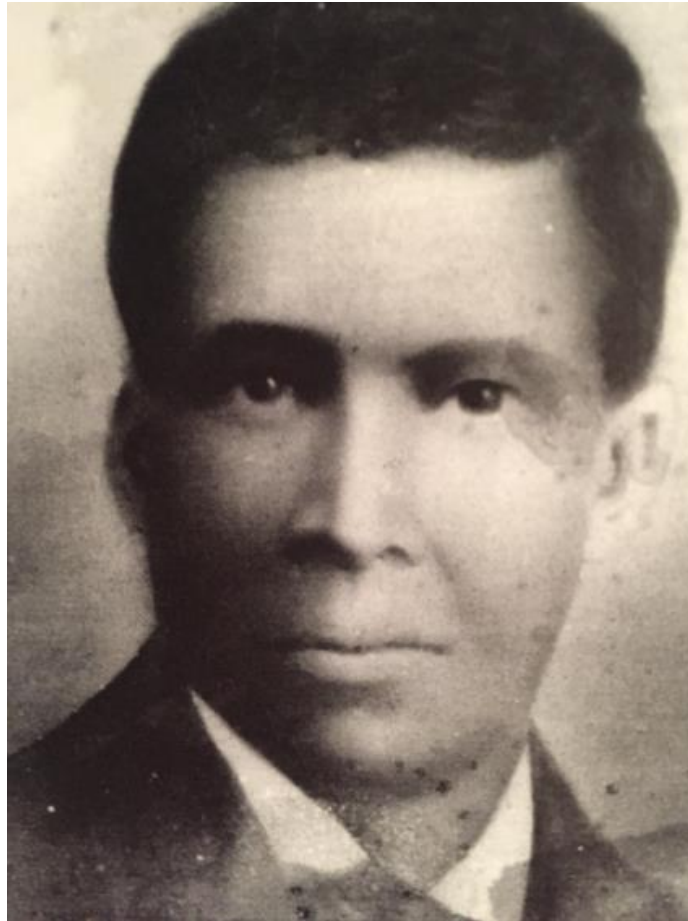


Figure 6. Two views purported to be William Donnegan, Springfield shoemaker lynched during the Springfield Race Riot, August 15, 1908. Left: View of William Donnegan, Sr, as published in *Lincoln Memoirs: From the Log Cabin to the White House* (Harris 1908:83). Right: Picture attributed to William Donnegan, Sr., but most likely an image of his son, William “China” Donnegan, Jr. (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/29887569/william-k.-donnegan>).

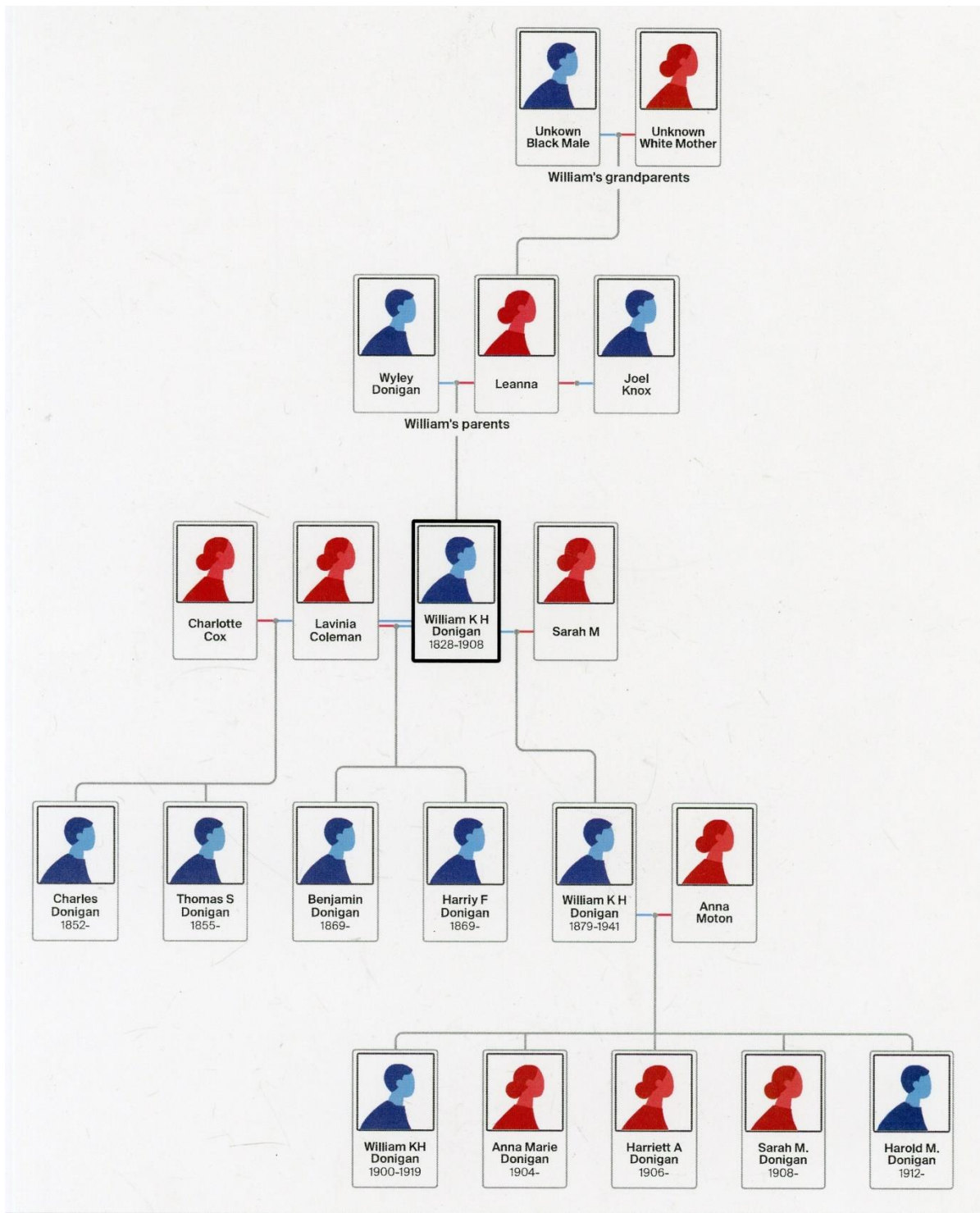


Figure 7. William Donnegan's family tree (Ancestry.com).

BARBER'S NOTICE.

S. DONEGAN will close his Barber's Shop on Saturday nights at 12 o'clock, and will not open his shop on Sunday morning. april 7.

REMOVED.—SPENCER DONEGAN would hereby return his thanks to the public generally who have patronized him so liberally heretofore. He would also inform them that he has removed his Barber's shop to the City Hotel, where he will be happy to wait on all who will favor him with a call in his usual good style. The shop he now occupies is much better adapted to his business, and nothing shall be wanting to accommodate customers. oct 20.

**S. DONEGAN, Tonsorial Professor,
BARBER AND HAIR DRESSER,**

WOULD respectfully inform his old customers and the public generally, that he has now fitted up in superb style as neat a shop as any in the city, and has associated with it one of the best barbers now in the west. Call and see for yourselves. One door east of the City Hotel.

Springfield, Feb. 9, 1853.

Figure 8. Three newspaper advertisements presumably for Spencer Donegan's barber shop. Top: *Illinois State Journal*, 11 April 1849, p. 3. Middle: *Illinois State Journal*, 20 October 1849, p. 3. Bottom: *Illinois State Journal*, 10 February 1854, p. 3.

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Flushing, N. Y., Jan. 20, 1855.

Hair Dressing Saloon.

THE subscribers have now in complete order, with some half a dozen workmen, the large room, a few doors west of Freeman's corner, where they will be ready at any moment to wait upon customers. This establishment is the largest and most liberally furnished of any in the city; and we hope that our liberal citizens, and strangers, will patronize us sufficiently to justify us in our heavy outlays.— We trust we have an establishment that does credit to our city.

(Jan 20) S. & E. DONEGAN.

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—•—

S. Donegan the popular barber and hair dresser has removed from the Chenery House to one door south of the American House, with a full supply of work men that can't be surpassed in the city.

—•—

BARBER WANTED.

S. DONIGAN, ONE DOOR SOUTH OF the American House, will give for a good hand \$8 per week, (Sundays excepted.) jan 31

Figure 9. Three newspaper advertisements presumably for Spencer Donnegan's barber shop. Top: *Illinois State Journal*, 27 January 1855, p. 2. Middle: *Illinois State Journal*, 9, January 1857, p. 3. Bottom: *Illinois State Journal*, 31 January 1857, p. 3.



Figure 10. Detail of *Map of Springfield* (Potter 1854) illustrating the location of the African Church on Fourth Street, north of Madison. Houses located each side of the church at this time were occupied by Presley Donnegan and L. Coleman—as well as the Sappington brothers.

DIED.

In this city, June 21st, LEANNAH KNOX,
aged 82 years. Funeral to day, at 8 o'clock p. m.,
from the A. M. W. Church, North Fourth street.
Friends are invited.

Figure 11. Short obituary notice for Leanna Knox (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 June 1876, p. 4).

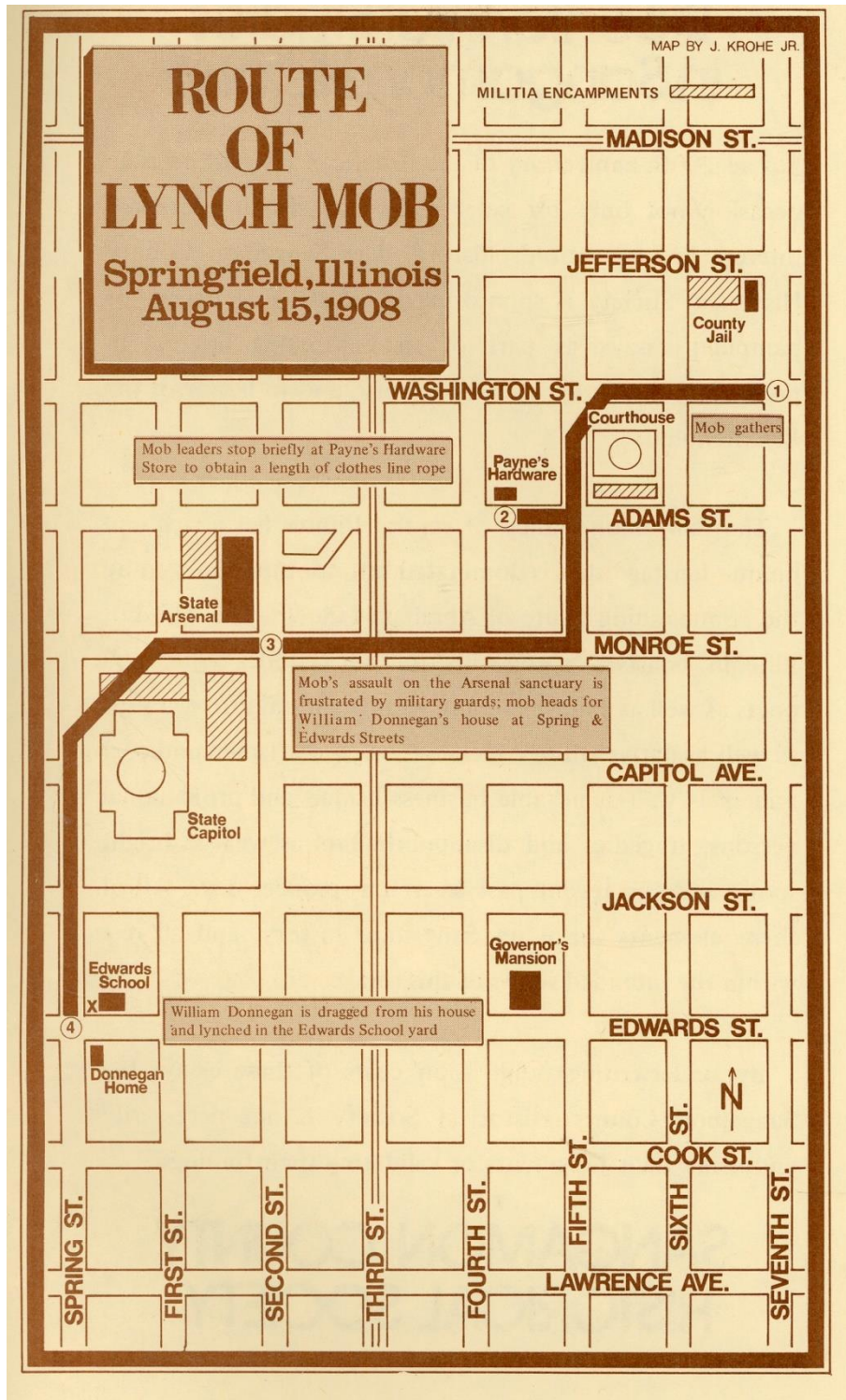


Figure 12. Path taken by mob during the second night of rioting, August 15, 1908, in which William Donnegan was murdered (Krohe 1973).

Family and Home of Aged Negro Lynched Saturday Night; Alleged Mob Leaders.



ERNEST HUMPHREY ABRAHAM RAYMER
MOB LEADERS UNDER ARREST
Raymer is Accused of Having Taken Part in Donnegan Lynching



Family of Donnegan, His Widow in Chair, Her Son, Grandchildren and Neighbors

CHICAGO, Aug. 16.—(Special to Tribune.)—A mob of about 200 men, many of them armed with clubs and stones, gathered in front of the home of an aged Negro, James Donnegan, Saturday night, and lynched him.

Negroes Best Assault.
The mob were getting ready to break down the door when a mob leader, Ernest Humphrey, stepped forward and ordered the mob to disperse. He called a parley, but the mob refused to disperse when they learned the mob leader was the aged Negro.

'Mobs' in Front of Livery.
The mob of the livery men who gathered in front of the livery stable on Saturday night, and who were armed with clubs and stones, were the mob that lynched Donnegan.

Drains Up Miscellaneous.
The mob were getting ready to break down the door when a mob leader, Ernest Humphrey, stepped forward and ordered the mob to disperse. He called a parley, but the mob refused to disperse when they learned the mob leader was the aged Negro.



Home of Donnegan, 80 Year Old Negro, Friend of Abraham Lincoln, Hanged By Mob, To Tree in Front of His House.

DROWNS AS GIRLS LOOK ON

Carl Johnson Sinks, Chimpantons "Thinking It a Joke."

LAUNCH VICTIMS RECOVERED

Body of Emil G. Pfeiffer, Lost Thursday, Found at Kishoreau, Wis.

DROWNING OF THE TEAL

Carl Johnson, 20-year-old, of Hammond, Ind., was drowned Saturday night when he fell from the Teal, a launch on Lake Michigan. He was with a group of girls who were looking on, thinking he was attempting to jump a girl.

Figure 13. Collage of photographs published by the *Chicago Tribune* (17 August 1908, p. 3), juxta positioning the widow Donnegan alongside her husband's killer.

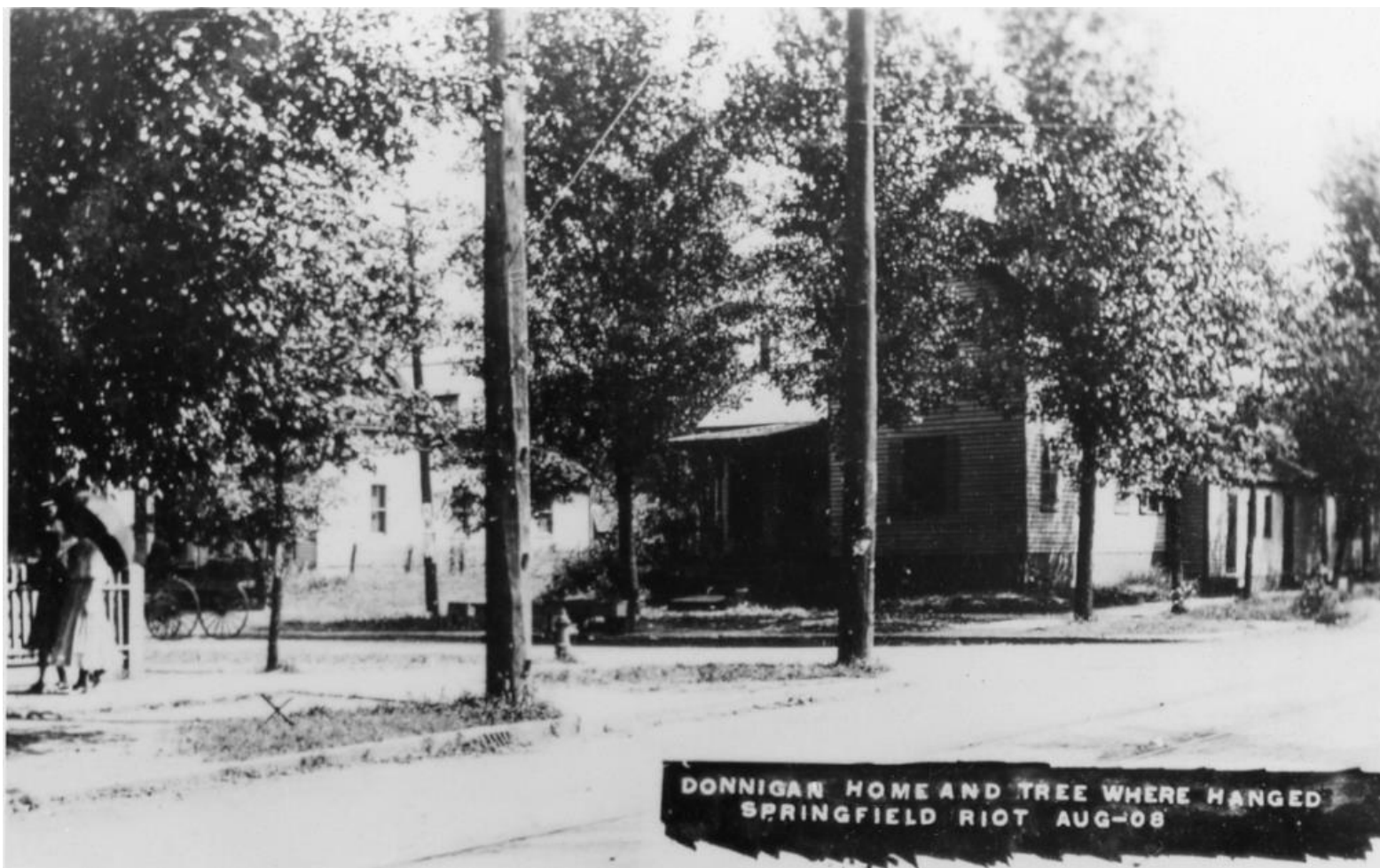
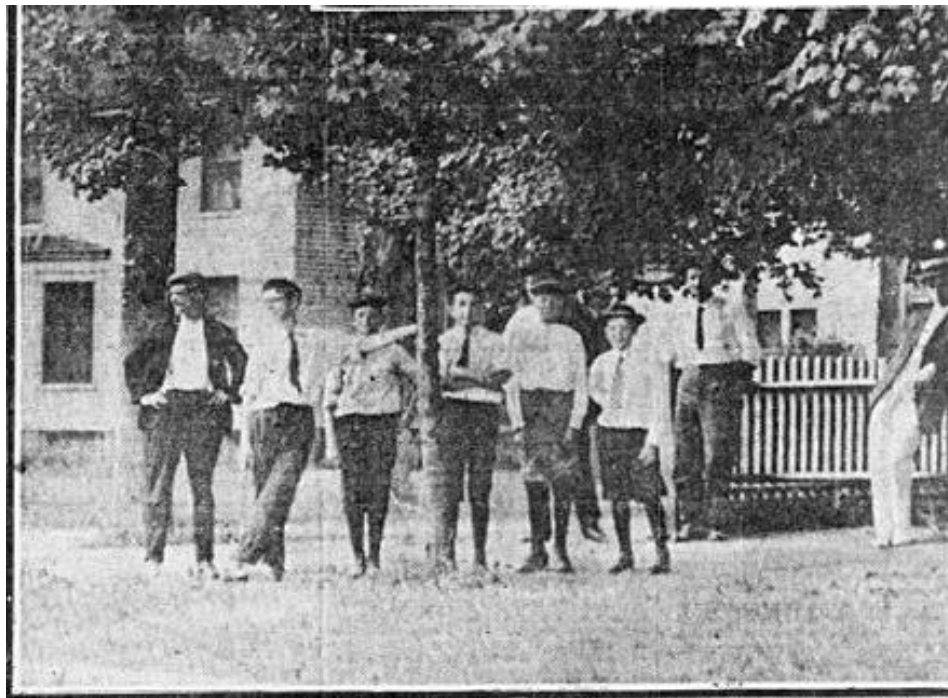


Figure 14. View of the Donnigan House, August 1908 (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-386A009, 90-387B006, and 90-387C002).



Home of Donegan, 80 Year Old Negro, Friend of Abraham Lincoln. Hanged By Mob, To Tree In Front Of His House.

Figure 15. Two views of the Donnigan House, August 1908. **Top:** Sangamon Valley Collection 90-385007, 90-387001, and 90-387C003. **Bottom:** *Chicago Tribune*, 17 August 1908, p. 1).



Figure 16. View of the Donegan family consisting of his widow (Sarah), her son (William, Jr.), three grandchildren, and two unidentified neighbors (*Chicago Tribune*, 17 August 1908, p. 1).



MRS. MARY LEE, HER DAUGHTER, MRS. CARRIE HAMILTON, AND LATTER'S SON.
SPRINGFIELD REFUGEES IN CHICAGO, RELATIVES OF THE COLORED OCTOGENARIAN,
WILLIAM DONNEGAN, WHO WAS LYNCHED.

[From a photograph by a staff artist of 'The Daily News.]

Figure 17. View of William Donegan's family, refugees in Chicago (*Chicago Daily News*, 18 August 1908, p. 3). Mary Lee [nee Mary Belle King] was the wife of Peter and Caroline's son, John Samuel David Lee (1832-1909). Carrie, or Caroline (1811-1892) was William's older sister—the oldest of Leanna's children. In 1908, Mary would have been about 67 years of age. Her daughter Carrie (a school teacher) was about 31 years of age in 1908.



Figure 18. Prior to relocating to 118 West Edwards Street, William Donnegan resided for many years at 811 East Jefferson Street. This view of the *City of Springfield* map (Potter 1854) illustrates the location of William Donnegan’s house. The Donegan residence was located only three blocks northeast of the Public Square and the central business district. In 1857, the West ½, Lot 6, Block 30 (which appears to have had two houses constructed on it) was owned by his mother, Leanna Knox [cf. *Illinois State Register*, 19 February 1857, p. 3 which listed her as delinquent in her property taxes for the previous year.] he 1866 Springfield City Directory suggested that William’s house was on the north side of Jefferson Street, three doors east of Seventh Street—which corresponds to the western of the two houses located on the W1/2, Lot 6 (SCD 1860). The *Illinois State Journal* (7 February 1860, p. 3) also suggests that William K. Donnegan owned of the East ½, West ½, Lot 2, Bock 12, Old Town Plat (located closer to the central business district (and adjacent to Simeon Francis’ residence on Jefferson Street).

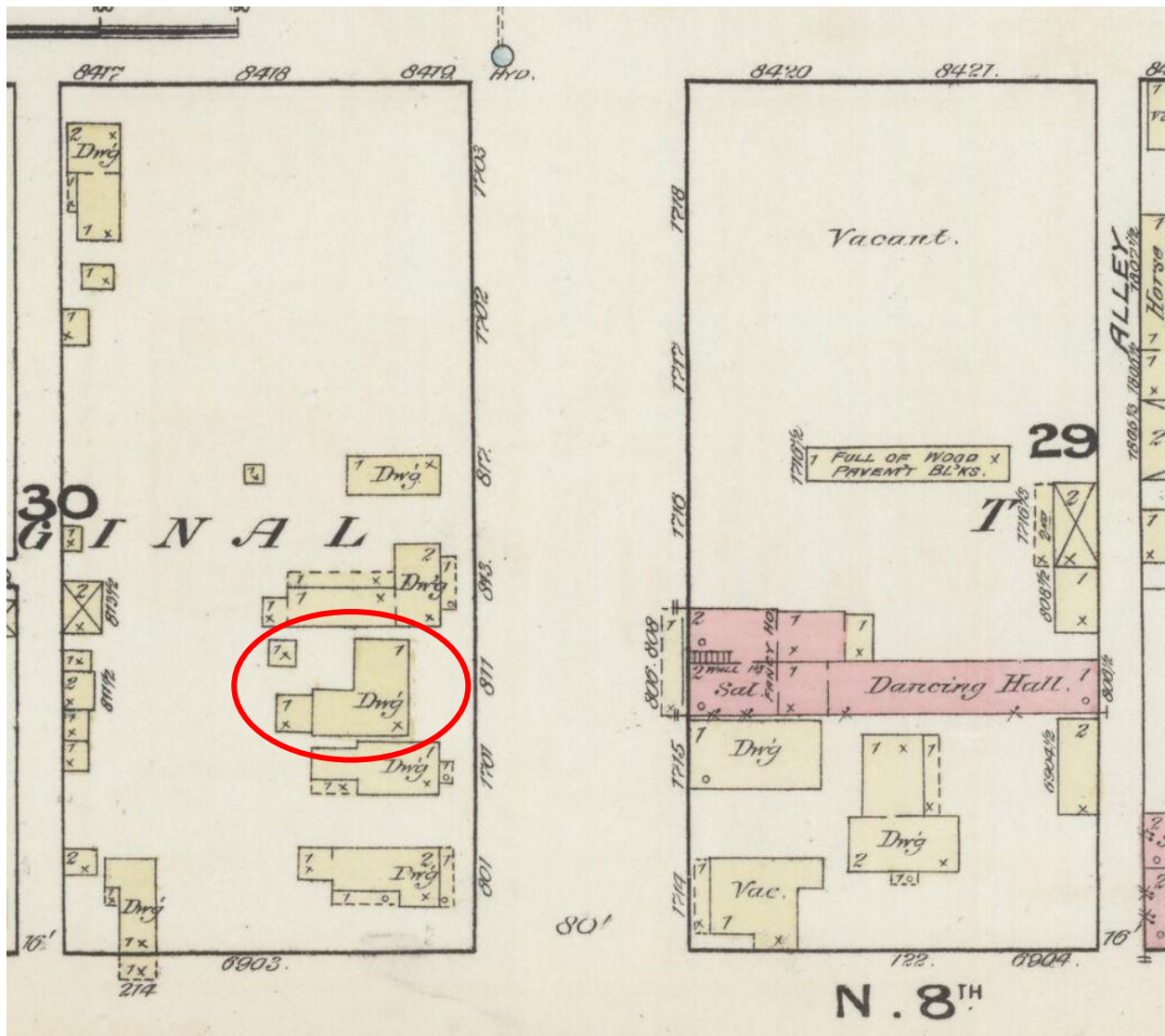


Figure 19. The early Donnegan residence as depicted on the 1884 Sanborn fire insurance map of Springfield (Sanborn 1884). During the 1850s, Donnegan was involved in the Underground Railroad while residing at this location. He remained at 811 East Jefferson Street, with his mother, from the 1850s up through 1879. Houses each side of the Donnegan residence (at 801 and 187 East Jefferson Street) both operated as houses of prostitution. Similarly, the properties located across the street to the south of Donnegan's house included the infamous Mag Brown house of prostitution (122 South Eighth Street), and W. Longnecker's Dancing Hall and Saloon (806-808 Jefferson Street; which also operated as a house of prostitution). To the west of Eighth Street (at the northwest corner of the Eighth and Jefferson Street intersection) was the infamous resort of Madam Jessie Brownie—one of the more upscale and long-running houses of prostitution to have operated in Springfield. Being located within the heart of this vice district, most likely drove Leanna and her family from this neighborhood.

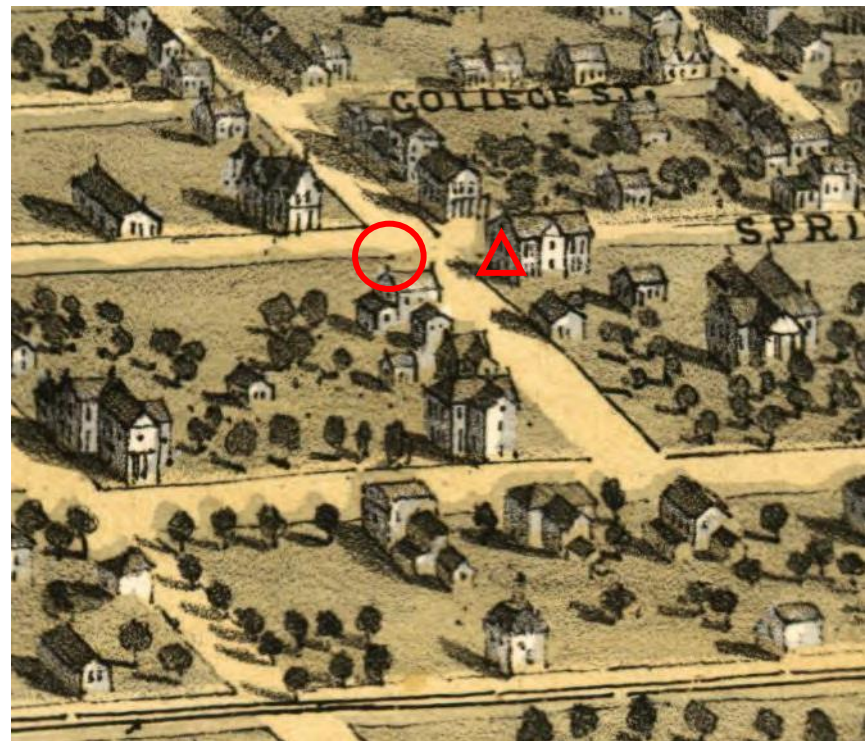


Figure 20. Details of the 1858 *Map of Springfield* (Sides 1858, left) and 1867 *Bird's Eye view of Springfield* (Ruger 1867, left). The red circle indicates the location of the Donnegan residence, which was not yet present at this time. The red triangle marks the location of the Edwards School, where William Donnegan was lynched in 1908.

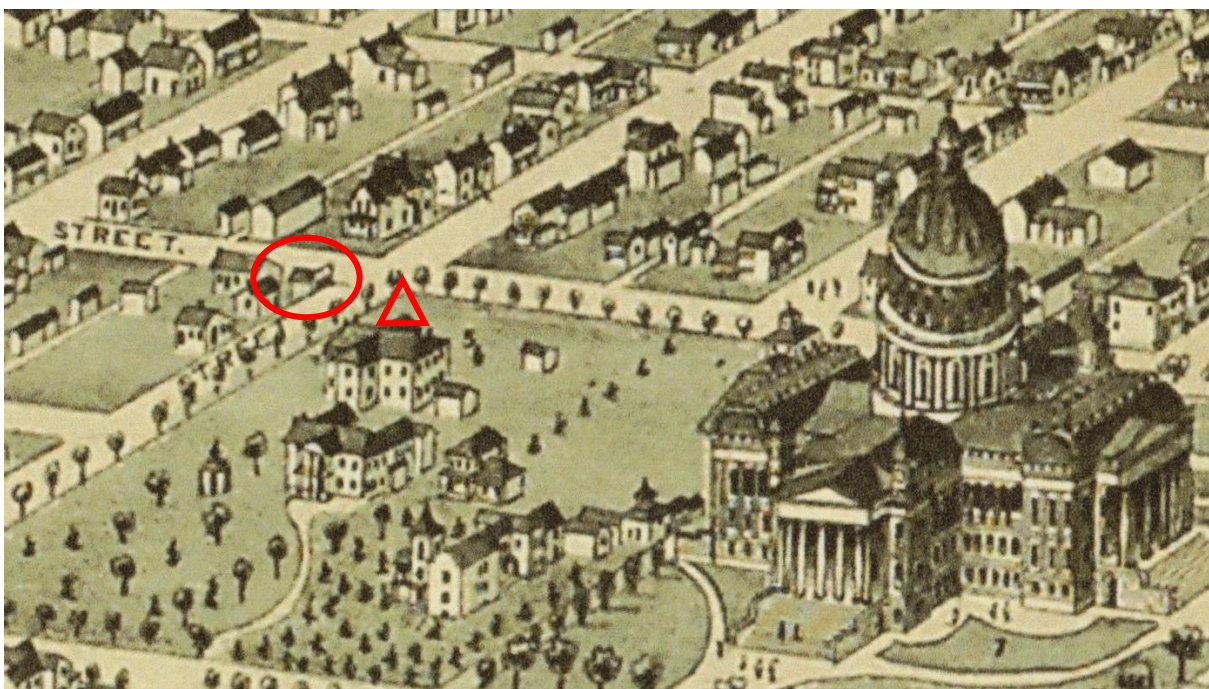


Figure 21. Detail of the 1873 bird's-eye view of Springfield (Koch 1873). The Donnegan house lot appears to be improved by this date, with the construction of a small, one-story building (potentially having a false front?). The present State Capitol was still under construction at this time.

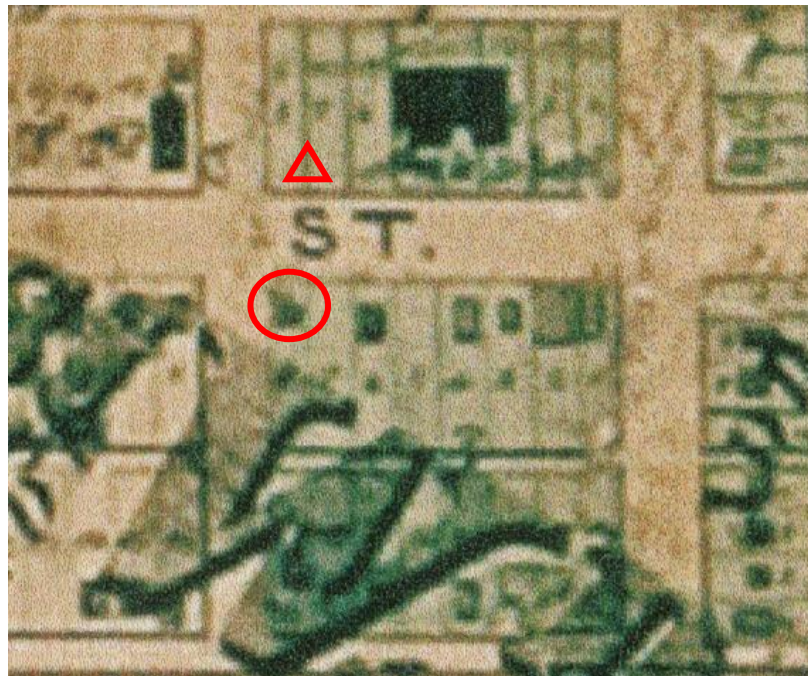


Figure 22. Detail of the 1876 *Map of Springfield* (Bird 1876). The red circle depicts the location of the Donnegan residence, and the red triangle depicts the location of the tree in which he was lynched.

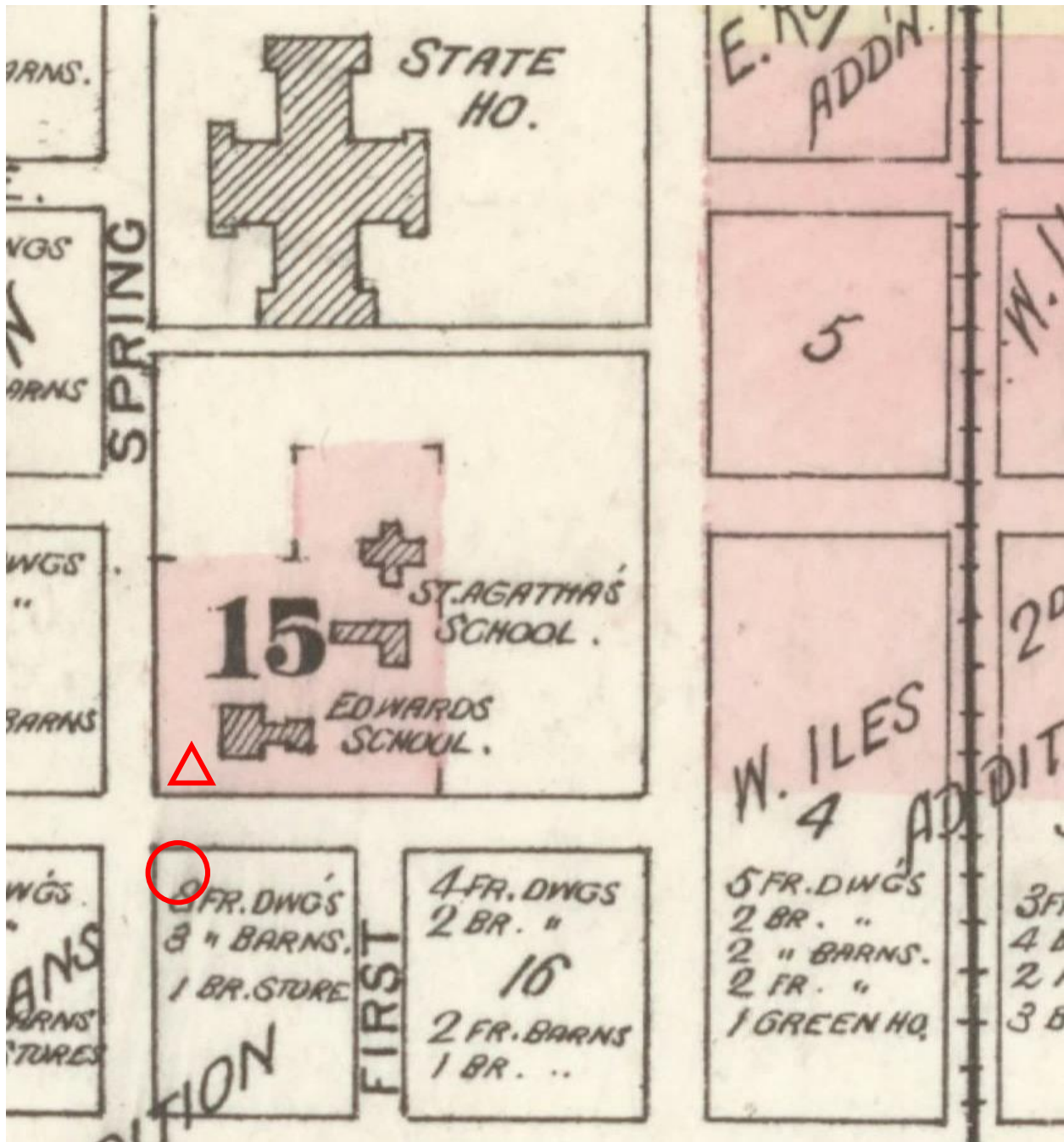


Figure 23. Location of the Donnegan residence (circled in red) and the site of his lynching (red triangle) as depicted on the 1884 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn 1884).

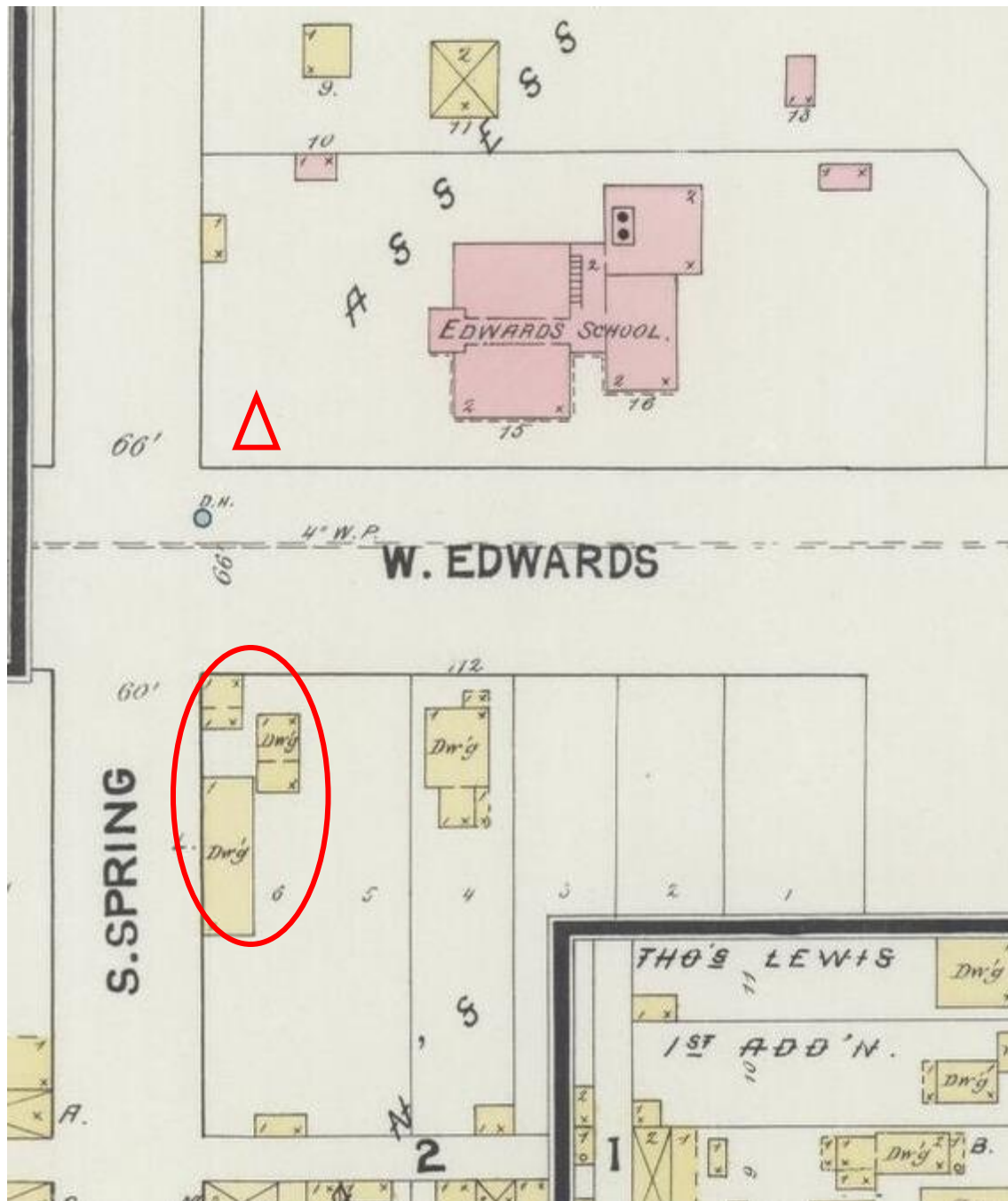


Figure 24. Location of the Donnegan residence (circled in red) and the site of his lynching (red triangle) as depicted on the 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn-Perris 1890:23).

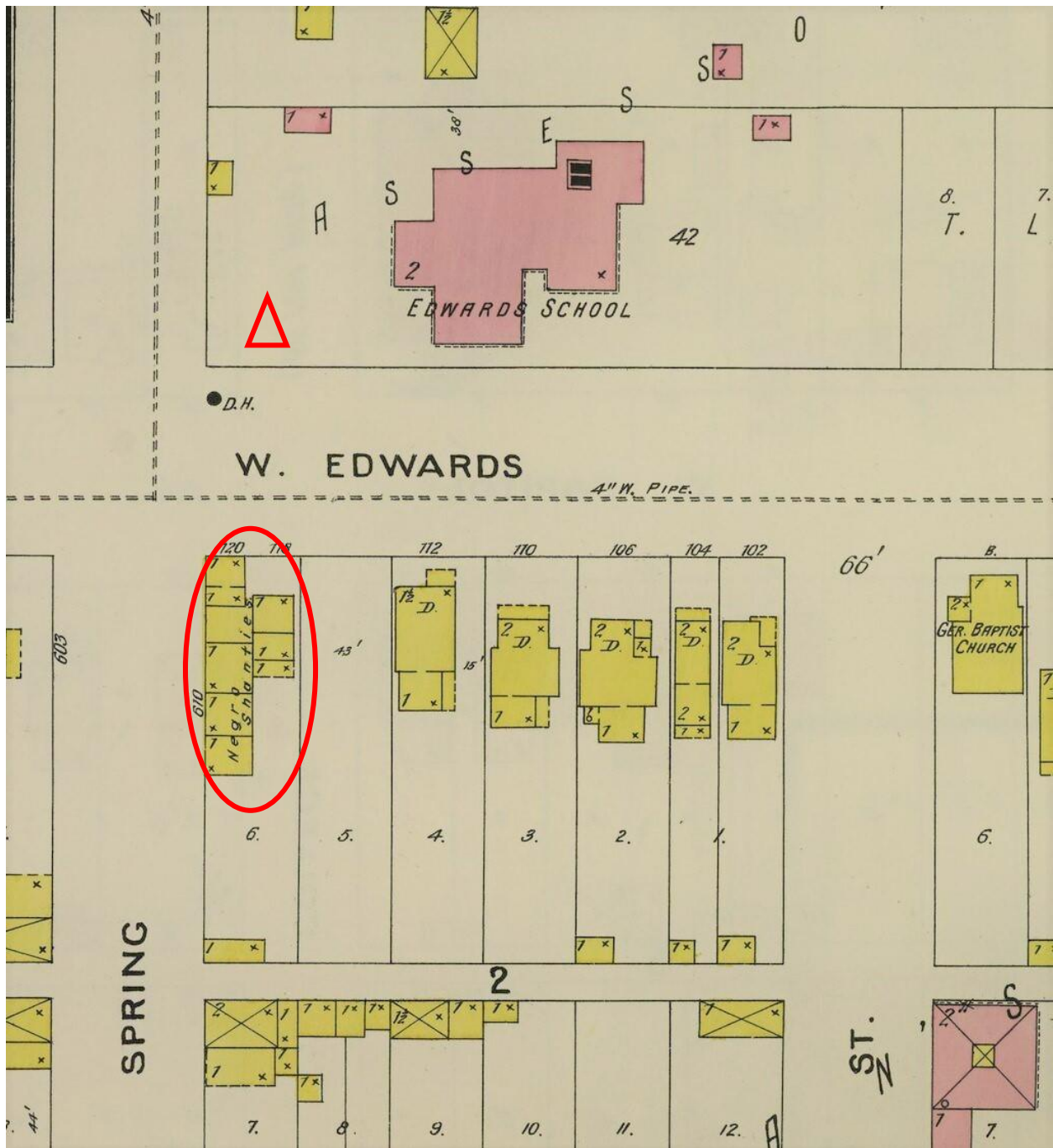


Figure 25. Location of the Donnegan residence (circled in red) and the site of his lynching (red triangle) as depicted on the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn-Perris 1896:39).

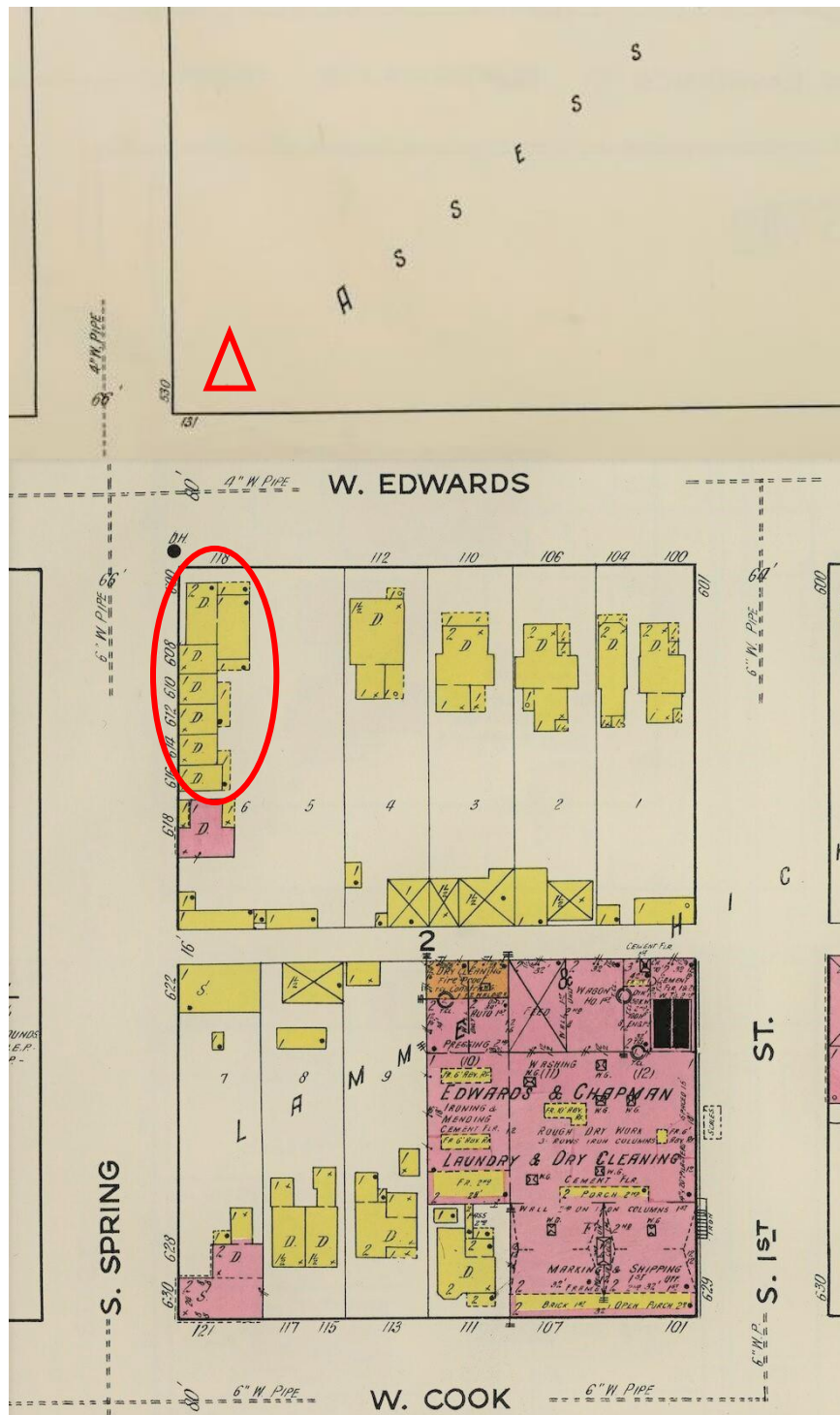


Figure 26. Location of the Donnegan residence (circled in red) and the site of his lynching (red triangle) as depicted on the 1917 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn 1917:152, 154).



Figure 27. View of the Donnegan residence (red circle) and location of his lynching (red triangle) as depicted on a 1939 aerial photograph (USDA 1939). By this date, the Edwards School had been demolished.

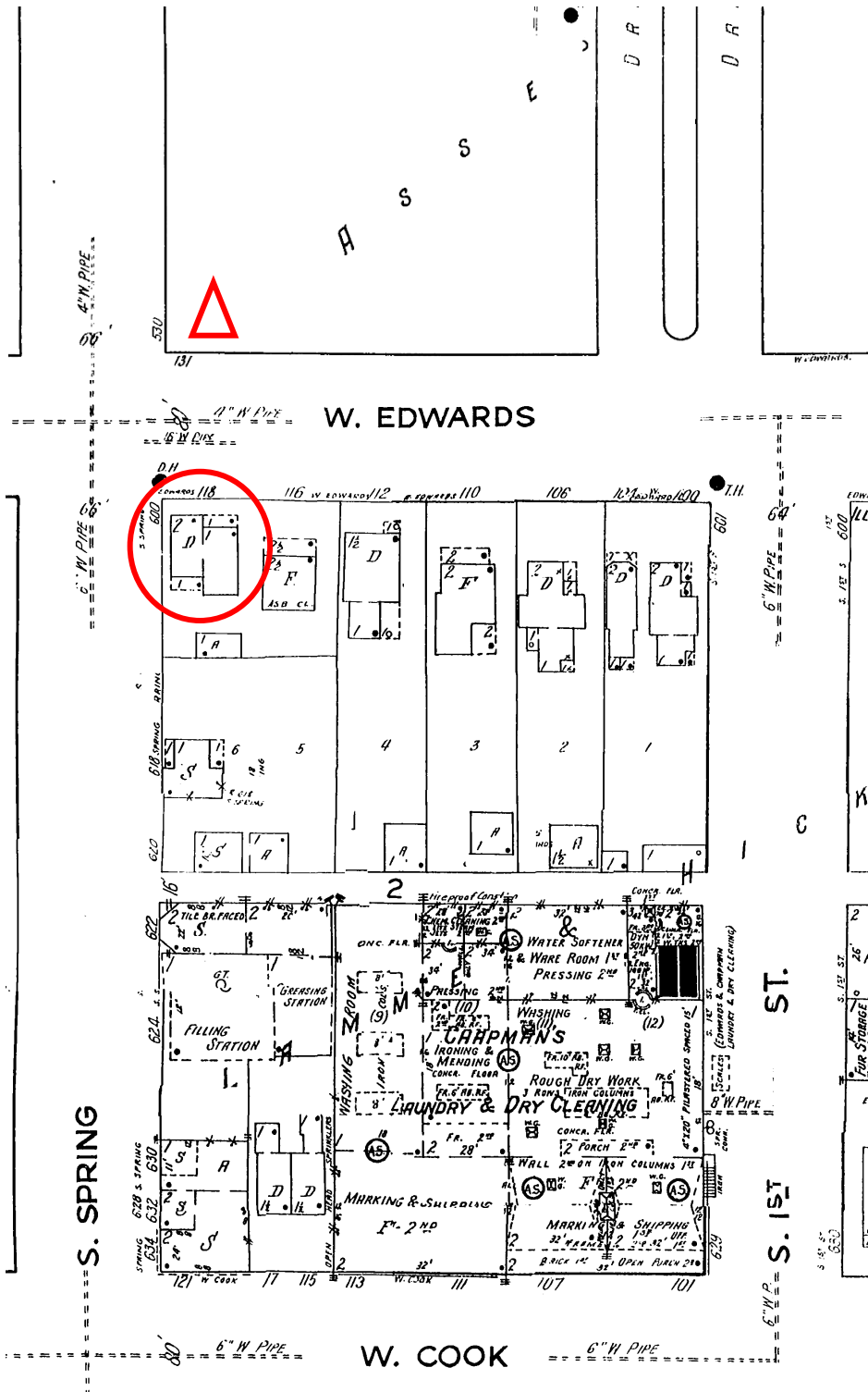


Figure 28. Location of the Donnegan residence (red circle) and of his lynching (red triangle) as depicted on the 1950 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn 1950:152-154).



Figure 29. Aerial view from 1969 illustrating the location of the Donnegan residence (circled in red) (USDA 1969).

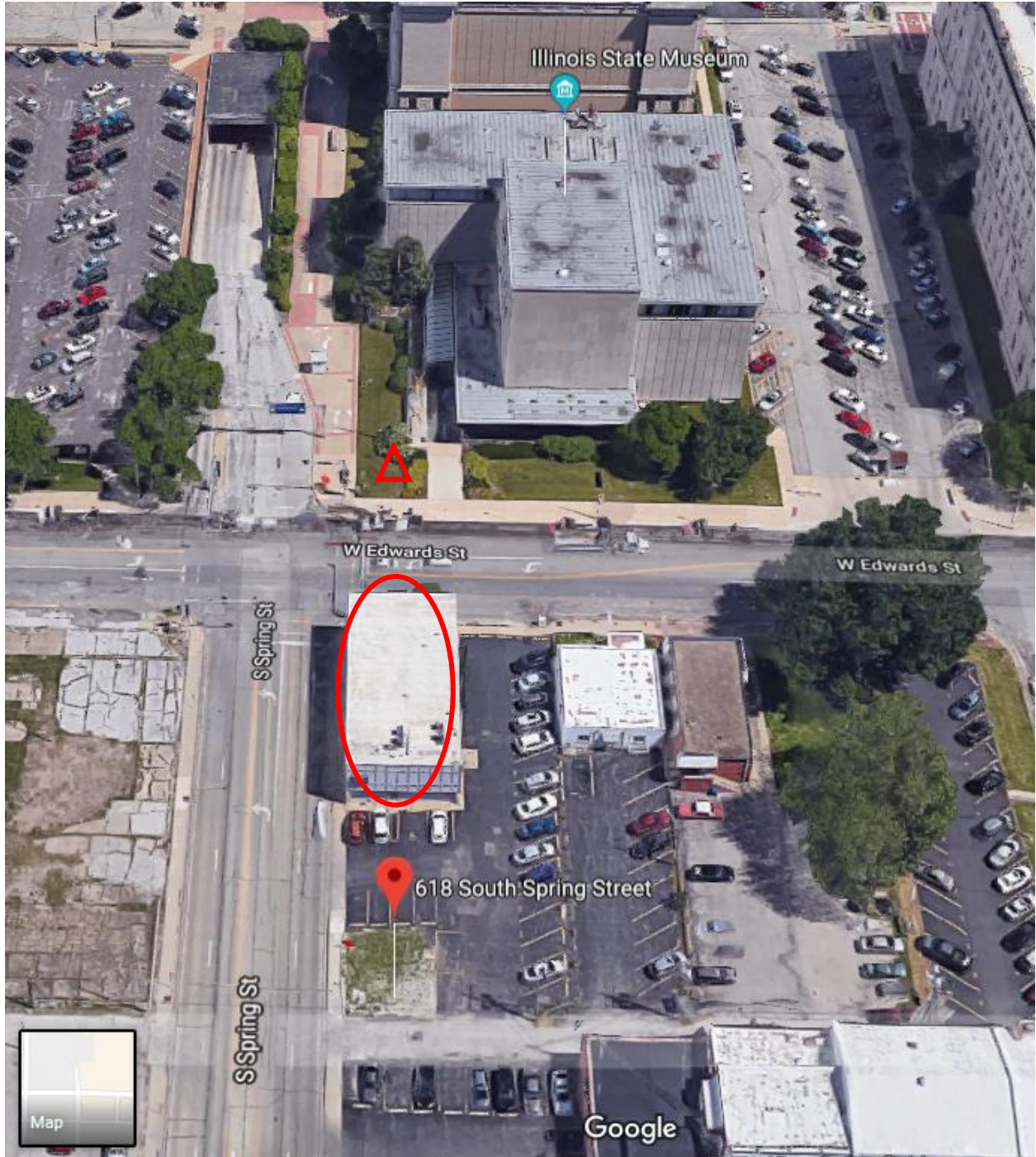


Figure 30. Aerial view illustrating the location of the Donnegan residence (circled in red) and of his lynching (red triangle), as depicted on Google Earth (Google 2019).

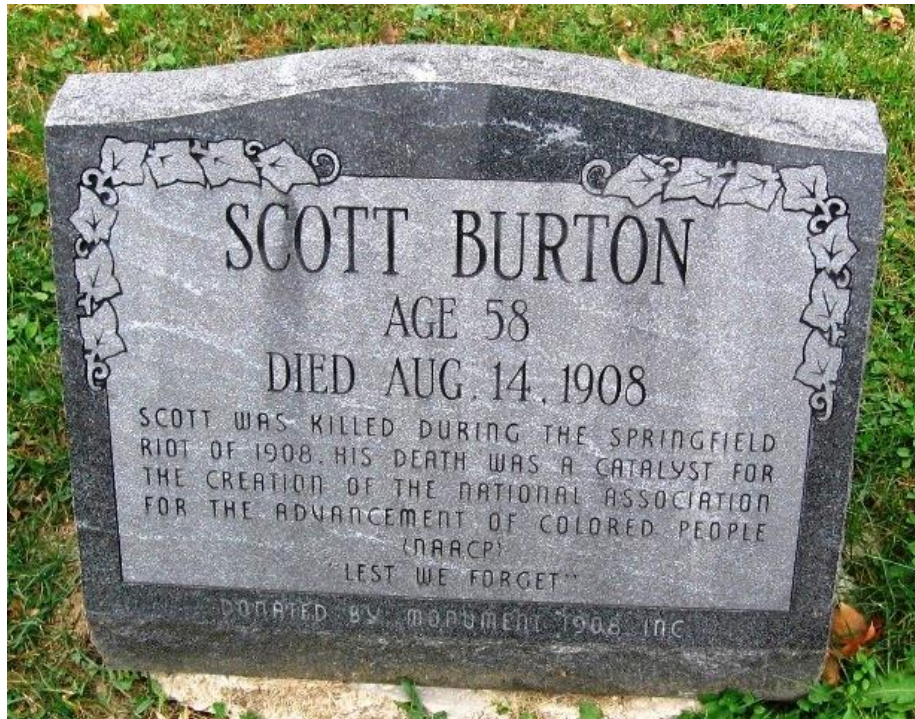


Figure 31. View of the Scott Burton (top) and William Donnegan (bottom) tombstones is Oak Ridge Cemetery. Both graves remained unmarked until 1995, when the current headstones were set. Top: <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/29887546/scott-burton>. Bottom: The text at the base of the tombstone reads “William was killed during the Springfield Riot of 1908. His death was a catalyst for the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). ‘Lest We Forget’” (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/29887569/william-k.-donnegan>).

Appendix VII

THE 1908 SPRINGFIELD RACE RIOT: BURNED BUILDING LOCATIONS AND OTHER HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEWS

On August 14-15, 1908 Springfield, Illinois was rocked by a race riot that resulted in the deaths of nine people, dozens of properties destroyed or damaged, and the displacement of a large segment of the city's black population. The riot was a seminal event in Springfield's history and is the acknowledged catalyst for the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in early 1909. The document presented here has two primary goals: 1) identify the physical locations of the houses and business that were burned or damaged during the riot; and 2) isolate the locations of the numerous photographs that were taken in the riot's aftermath, with a specific emphasis on those illustrating buildings destroyed or severely damaged within (or close proximity to) Springfield's so-called "Badlands."

The data presented here is derived primarily from several local newspaper articles detailing property losses in the Badlands incurred during the riot. On August 16th, only hours after the cessation of the mob action, both the *Illinois State Journal* and *Illinois State Register* ran multi-page stories regarding the riot and its devastation.¹ Needless to say, these accounts were produced quickly after the event—the smoke had hardly cleared from the fires, and the accuracy of the reporting may have reflected this rush to publish. Both newspapers attempted to segregate the damage into the two districts affected—the Levee and the Badlands. Tables 1 and 2 summarize the destruction in the residential neighborhood known as the Badlands, as reported by the *Illinois State Journal* and the *Illinois State Register*, respectively.² The *Illinois State Journal*, in their article entitled "Property Loss Near \$120,000: Damage In Levee And Business District is Heavy" (*[Springfield] Illinois State Journal*), summarized the damage as such:

Red Light District by fire	\$50,000
Damage to Property in Levee District	\$35,000
Loss at Loper's Restaurant and Saloon	\$20,000
General Loss Throughout the Business District	\$15,000

¹ "Property Loss Near \$120,000: Damage In Levee And Business District Is Heavy," *[Springfield] Illinois State Journal* (August 16, 1908, page 5), "Awful Havoc Is Wrought By Mob: Long List of Stores Wrecked and Homes Burned Gives Idea of Magnitude of the Mob's Work of Destruction," *[Springfield] Illinois State Register* (August 16, 1908, p. 1).

² Similarly, Tables 4 and 5 summarize the destruction along the commercial Levee, as reported by the *Illinois State Journal* and the *Illinois State Register*, respectively. It is our hopes to integrate this data into a similar map at a future date.

This article further noted in its subtitle that “Many owners begin repairs but in Red Light Neighborhood destruction of buildings owned or occupied by negroes is complete.” Many photographs of the damaged properties were published at the time, particularly by the *Illinois State Register*.³

After the smoke had cleared, and the embers had cooled off, the City of Springfield began releasing a more accurate accounting of the damage claims filed against them. On September 3, 1908, both the *Journal* and the *Register* carried a story detailing some of the recent claims filed (See Table 3).⁴ At that time, the largest of the claims made was that of R. Fishman, for \$3,272.00 in damages to his pawn shop located on Washington Street, within the Levee commercial district. As the article’s byline indicated, the *Journal* raised the question whether the City could be held liable for the loss of property used for unlawful purposes as “a number of buildings destroyed or damaged in the recent rioting are known to have been devoted to unlawful uses.”

On September 5, 1908, the City of Springfield released an official accounting of the houses damaged and destroyed during the riots, and both the *Illinois State Journal* and the *Illinois State Register* carried accounts of Fire Chief Jacobs official accounting of the damage.⁵ As reported in the subtitle of the *Register’s* account of the event, this “List Made For Benefit of Special Investigating Committee” of the City Council. The *Journal* also noted that “in a number of cases the chief was unable to ascertain the loss, the occupants and owners having fled the town and is still working on the case.” Except for a couple of discrepancies related to suspected typographical errors, both news stories are basically identical in their listing of the damaged properties. Table 4 is a summary of the properties reported by Chief Jacobs by the two newspaper stories. This table provides an inventory of the properties discussed by the two September 5th news articles, along with additional information detailed by them (i.e. property description, owner, occupant, and condition).

The City of Springfield released additional information relating to damage claims filed against them on September 11, 1908, with both the *Journal* and the *Register* carrying story.⁶ Table 5 summarizes the damaged buildings and personal property claims reported at that time. The largest of these claims was by Isaac Kanner, who filed claims for seventeen buildings he owned, in both the Levee and Badlands. The total of his claims at that time was \$8,012 “for 17 pieces of real estate in burned and wrecked district riot.” Another significantly large claim was made by

³ The *Illinois State Register* article was reprinted in its entirety (complete with additional photographs) on August 21, 1908.

⁴ “Must the City Pay All Claims? \$10,000 More of Them Were Filed Yesterday,” *Illinois State Register*, 3 September 1908, p. 5; “Donnegan’s Widow Demands Damages. Files Notice With City Clerk Of Her Suit,” *Illinois State Journal*, 3 September 1908, p. 5).

⁵ “Lists Property in ‘Bad Lands’: Chief Jacobs Makes List of Owners of Those Shacks,” [*Springfield*] *Daily Illinois State Register* (September 5, 1908), and “Forty Houses Damaged. Report of Chief Jacobs Shows Total Number Fired by Mob,” [*Springfield*] *Daily Illinois State Journal* (September 5, 1908).

⁶ “Riot Claims Are \$108,415,” *Illinois State Register*, September 11, 1908, p. 11, and “Riot Claims Now Total \$98,235.87,” *Illinois State Journal*, September 11, 1908, p. 10.

William H. Call, for a total of \$2,849.35. This claim was for the total damage of two buildings (a store located at 1130 East Madison Street and a dwelling at 1126 East Mason Street), and partial damage to a third building (a dwelling located at 1124 East Mason Street). According to Call, he also lost a “barber outfit, personal property and fences, sidewalks and shade trees, ruined.” Will Griswold filed a claim for \$564.74 “for chattels in seven houses” which were described as “balances due on such mortgaged property sold on the installment plan.” On September 15, both the *Journal* and *Register* reported the final day for filing riot claims had arrived, and a total of \$8,812.28 worth of new claims had been filed on that day (Table 6).⁷ Among these claims was that of Louis Hansen for a \$5,000 personal injury claim.

Figure 1 presents the location of the various damaged and/or destroyed properties located within the residential neighborhood known as the Badlands. Properties that were more-or-less completely destroyed are marked in orange. Similarly, properties sustaining less substantial damage are highlighted in green. The degree of damage inflicted on surviving buildings varied considerably, with some properties suffering only broken windows, while others were reported as “completely wrecked” or partially burned—and yet apparently were repaired (based on city directory research and the 1917 Sanborn map for Springfield). It is quite likely that some properties that sustained lighter damage may not have been reported on by the local papers, especially if no damage claim was filed against the city after the riot. As such the map presented as Figure 1 may not fully illustrate the physical damage inflicted by the white mob in the Badlands. Errors in reporting by the local press on specific addresses of damaged properties and their occupants have complicated this endeavor, though some of these issues have been addressed by cross-referencing other sources, such as city directories. In addition, a few of the damaged properties illustrated on the map are based on photographic evidence from the images taken in the immediate aftermath of the 1908 riot, even though these properties were not included in the various lists presented in Tables 1-8. Buildings marked with a blue circle delineate the residences of individuals that incurred the loss of personal property only. These locations may have only been ransacked, and/or minimally damaged. These locations are meant to supplement those already indicated as having been destroyed or damaged (which also likely suffered the loss of personal property), in order to better illustrate the limits of mob violence within the Badlands. Figure 1 represents a compilation of several sheets taken from the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map illustrating the section of the Badlands impacted by the riot. The 1896 Sanborn was the last full-set fire insurance map prepared for Springfield prior to the riot, and hence it was considered most appropriate for our purposes. Several of the addresses listed in the destroyed/damaged inventory do not appear on the 1896 Sanborn, as they had been built during the intervening period (1896-1908)—but these generally were accounted for by consulting the Springfield city directories and the “Block Line Map of the Central Business District” published by the Sanborn Map Company in 1906. As such, for purposes of our research, these building have been added to the 1896 “base” map in their proper location (Figure 1).

⁷ “TWENTY-TWO NEW RIOT SUITS. Filed in the Circuit and the County Courts Yesterday,” *Illinois State Register*, September 15, 1908, p. 6, and “END TO FILING OF RIOT CLAIMS. Last Notices of Suits Against City Given,” *Illinois State Journal*, 15 September 1908, p. 5.

During the two-day event (August 14-15, 1908), the local newspapers documented the destruction of property, and the occupation of the city by armed troops, in a multitude of photographs, many of which were published in the local and regional newspapers of the day. The *Illinois State Register* published a total of at least 41 images relating to the riot and its aftermath over an eight-day period in which they covered the event (*Illinois State Register*, August 28, 1908). The aftermath of the riot was a sightseeing extravaganza that brought many individuals to downtown Springfield. Almost immediately after the event—if not actually during the event—opportunistic individuals had printed a series of postcards illustrating the devastating destruction and presence of armed troops in the Capital City, and were selling such to the multitude of sightseers touring the Badlands to view the damage firsthand. On Sunday (August 16, 1908), the very day following the riots, the *Illinois State Journal* published a short news item entitled “STOP SALE OF WOMAN’S PHOTOS. Police Prevent Distribution of Mrs. Hallam’s Picture.” This story noted that a “postcard vendor who was selling photos of Mrs. Mabel Hallam, the woman [purportedly] attacked by the negro Richardson, and whose awful experience was the direct cause of the breaking out of the race riot, was ordered off the streets last night. I[t] was feared putting forth the pictures in large numbers [w]ould inflame the minds of the persons and cause a fresh outbreak of demonstration” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 16, 1908).⁸ Subsequently, the *Register* also published a booklet of their photographs entitled *Photographic Views of the Great Springfield Race War, August, 1908* (*Illinois State Register*, c.1908).⁹

Additionally, this work attempts to compile these images in a single location, and presents them in the following pages. Historic photograph locations also are indicated on Figures 2 and 3, with direction arrows and photo reference numbers colored in blue. The photographs referenced are presented in sequence on the pages that follow. The images were obtained from a number of sources, including the Illinois State Historical Society collection (now integrated into the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum), the Sangamon Valley Collection (Lincoln Library), Springfield historian Richard Hart, and from numerous online sources. The order in which the historic photographs are arranged follows the path of the mob as it made its way from the Levee through the Badlands. The mob began at the intersection of Ninth and Jefferson Streets, where the barbershop of Scott Burton was located. Burton was one of the two Black men lynched in the riot. The following photographs cover, in sequence, the 300 block of North Ninth Street, the 900-1000 blocks of East Madison Street, the 300 block of North Eleventh Street, the 1100 block of East Madison Street, the 300 block of North Twelfth Street, and finally, the intersection of Mason and Twelfth Streets. The majority of the images focus on the 1000-1100 blocks of East Madison Street, where the devastation wrought by the mob was most pronounced—and particularly on the northwest corner of Madison and Twelfth streets, where Burton was lynched. Oddly, the 300 block of Tenth Street, where seven houses are known to have been burned by the mob (and has been the focus of the recent archaeological investigations)

⁸ The adjacent story in this same issue of the newspaper was entitled “MILITARY SCENE UNUSUAL. Uniformed Guards Forbid Curious in Forbidden Territory” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 16, 1908).

⁹ Another disturbing use of the destroyed properties was the opportunistic advertising used by promoters of the John C. Weber Band. Broadsides promoting John C. Weber and his band (who were performing at the White City amusement park on East Capitol Avenue in Springfield the week of the riots) were posted on many of the burned houses in the district. Placement of these broadsides on the burned-out houses was an opportunistic advertising strategy conducted by Weber’s promoters.

is poorly represented by the photographs taken in the aftermath of the riot. Additional historic photographs pertinent to our research likely do exist in public and private collections and will be integrated into this document as they are located. As such, the document should be considered a work in progress and envisioned to be expanded in the near future.

Table 1.
List of Property Damaged and/or Destroyed Within the Badlands
During the August 1908 Race Riot,
Springfield, Illinois
(As reported on August 16 by the *Illinois State Journal*)

<u>Address</u>		<u>Description</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Condition</u>
907-909	East Madison	saloon and disorderly house	Charles Neal (negro)	total loss (\$5,000)
1000	block Madison (south side)	four residences	Dave Black, Irene Wormley, Mrs. Mary Davis, Mrs. Coleman	total loss (\$5,000)
1117-1129	East Madison	four residences	George Ruffield, Mrs. Harvey, Mattie Edwards, William Brandon, William Jones	\$7,000
1105	East Mason	residence	Harry Moore (negro)	\$300
1114	East Mason	residence	George Cutwright (negro)	\$300
1202	East Mason	building	Mrs. Mary Casey	Interior damage (\$100)
311	North Tenth	residence	Henry Brackmeyer (negro)	\$400
300	block Eleventh (east side)	four residences	Burt Smith, Mrs. Laura Coeman, Sherman Green (negroes), Nell Pitt (white woman)	\$3,000
320	North Twelfth	double house	John White and Cass Williams	\$700
	East Madison (between Tenth and Eleventh)	advertisement boards	owned by W. J. Horn	\$100
	Ninth and Jefferson	barber shop	Scott Burton	total loss
	Tenth (east side near Madison)	double frame shack	Aunt Sue Crawford	\$600
	Tenth and Madison	residence	Robert Darden	total loss (\$300)
	Tenth and Madison (north of U.S. Gypsum Co. plant)	two shacks	negroes	\$600
	Tenth and Eleventh (between Madison and Mason)	lines and cables	Interstate Telephone Company	\$3,000
	Twelfth and Madison	saloon and upstairs residence	Residence occupied by John Rouse and Lawson Goodwin	\$3,000
	Twelfth and Mason	barber shop	William Branden	\$600
	Twelfth and Mason	shoe shop (next door to Branden's shop)	Caldwell (negro)	\$100
	Twelfth and Mason	residence	Scott Burton	total loss
	Unknown location	vacant store and upstairs residence	negro	\$1,000

Table 2.
List of Property Damaged and/or Destroyed Within the Badlands
During the August 1908 Race Riot,
Springfield, Illinois
(As reported on August 16 by the *Illinois State Register*)

<u>Address</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Condition</u>
810 East Jefferson	saloon	Dan F. Smith	transom broken
815 East Jefferson	residence	Mary Smith	burned/destroyed
817 East Jefferson	sporting house	Ina Smith	house and contents completely destroyed by fire; loss complete; \$600
901 East Jefferson	barber shop	Scott Burton (colored; negro who was lynched)	house and contents burned to ground; \$300
813 East Madison	residence	occupant unknown	one of four completely destroyed by flames with contents; total damage \$3,000
815 East Madison	residence	occupant unknown	one of four completely destroyed by flames with contents; total damage \$3,000
817 East Madison	residence	occupant unknown	one of four completely destroyed by flames with contents; total damage \$3,000
831 East Madison	residence	occupant unknown	one of four completely destroyed by flames with contents; total damage \$3,000
909 East Madison	Pabst Beer Hall		windows broken
910-912 East Madison	residences	unoccupied	[two?] houses completely wrecked; \$800
911 East Madison	residence (?)	vacant	windows broken
1008 East Madison	residence	David Black (colored)	house burned to ground
1009 East Madison	residence	vacant	windows broken
1010 East Madison	residence	Mrs. Coleman	house burned to ground; \$800
1011 East Madison	residence	unoccupied	windows broken
1012 East Madison	frame residence	occupied by negroes	Five houses completely destroyed; \$5,000
1014 East Madison	frame residence	occupied by negroes	Five houses completely destroyed; \$5,000
1115 East Madison	residence	James H. Ruffing (colored)	completely destroyed and household effects consumed; \$100
1016 East Madison	frame residence	occupied by negroes	Five houses completely destroyed; \$5,000
1117 East Madison	residence	Charles Diamond (colored)	home destroyed and household effects consumed by flames; \$500
1018 East Madison	frame residence	occupied by negroes	Five houses completely destroyed; \$5,000
1119 East Madison	residence	Mrs. E. Edwards (colored)	home and household effects destroyed; \$500
1020 East Madison	frame residence	occupied by negroes	Five houses completely destroyed; \$5,000
1022 East Madison	boarding house	Mrs. Mary Davis (colored)	completely destroyed; \$1,800
1110 East Madison	residence		torn to pieces; \$300
1114 East Madison	residence	George Cartwright	completely destroyed by fire; \$1,000
1115 East Madison	residence	Sandy Curry	destroyed by fire; \$1,000
1131 East Madison	saloon	Al Hammond	fixtures destroyed and building damaged; \$1,000
1131 East Madison	flat above saloon	James Hamilton	furniture damaged; \$400
1124 East Mason	residence/house	William Tearose	rear end of house burned; \$350
1128 East Mason	residence	Walter Walker	burned to ground; \$1,200
117 North Eighth	vacant room	Building owned by colored Masons	windows broken
300 block Ninth (west side)	four houses		completely gutted; nothing but walls left standing; damage to the three being estimated at \$2,000
304 North Ninth	frame residence	William Scott (colored); occupied by several families	burned; \$800
306 North Ninth	residence	occupied by negroes	burned to ground; \$700
306 North Ninth	residence		totally destroyed by fire; \$800
313 North Tenth	residence		combined damage with adjacent house, about \$1,000
317 North Tenth	residence		combined damage with adjacent house, about \$1,000
320 North Tenth	residence		totally destroyed by fire; \$1,000
304 North Eleventh	frame residence	owned by Mrs. C. Tanner	four houses burned to ground; \$800
306 North Eleventh	frame residence	owned by Mrs. C. Tanner	four houses burned to ground; \$800
308 North Eleventh	frame residence	owned by Mrs. C. Tanner	four houses burned to ground; \$800
310 North Eleventh	frame residence	owned by Mrs. C. Tanner	four houses burned to ground; \$800
311 North Eleventh	frame residence	owned by Mrs. Head	two houses burned to ground; \$500
313 North Eleventh	frame residence	owned by Mrs. Head	two houses burned to ground; \$500
320 North Twelfth	residence	A. Williams (colored)	home fired; \$200
322 North Twelfth	residence	Scott Burton (the negro who was lynched)	household effects destroyed; \$200
Eleventh and Madison	saloon	Ben Yaffe	plate glass window broken
Eleventh and Madison	saloon	Frank Schuckhart	completely wrecked; loss \$2,000
Corner Eleventh and Madison	residence	owned by Reisch Brewing Company	loss complete; \$1,000
Corner Twelfth and Mason	frame double house		burned; \$800

Table 3
List of Property Damaged and/or Destroyed Within the Badlands and the Levee
During the August 1908 Race Riot,
Springfield, Illinois
(As reported on September 3 by both the *Illinois State Register* and *Illinois State Journal*)¹⁰

<u>Address</u>			<u>Description</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Amount of Claim</u>
	Tenth and Madison		personal property		J. B. Wright	\$13.00
1109	East Madison		personal property		Mary A. Soares	\$150.00
1123	East Madison		personal property		Charles Dammon	\$213.50
1131 1/2	East Madison		personal property		George Ray	\$68.50
1131 1/2	East Madison		personal property		James Hamilton	\$68.50
313	North Ninth		personal property		Mollie Talley	\$52.50
228	North Eleventh		personal property		Frank Dammons	\$368.75
312	North Twelfth		real estate	T. C. Baker		\$400.00
313-315	North Eleventh		personal property		James Morrison	\$75.00
719	East Washington		pawn shop	R. Fishman		\$3,272.00
721	East Washington		personal property		H. N. Shonkweiler	\$15.00
807	East Washington		personal property		Sigund Fisher	\$184.70
812	East Washington		personal property		James Sims	\$76.55
819	East Washington		personal property		S. J. Morton	\$609.40
	Central Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M.					\$144.56
	Spring and Edwards		real estate	Sarah Donnegan		\$2,745.00

¹⁰ "Must the City Pay All Claims? \$10,000 More of Them Were Filed Yesterday," *Illinois State Register*, 3 September 1908, p. 5; "Donnegan's Widow Demands Damages. Files Notice With City Clerk Of Her Suit," *Illinois State Journal*, 3 September 1908, p. 5.

Table 4
Official City List of Property Damaged and/or Destroyed Within the Badlands
(September 5, 1908)
During the August 1908 Race Riot,
Springfield, Illinois¹¹

<u>Address</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Condition</u>
817 East Jefferson	frame residence	J. Carpenter	Ina (Inez) Smith	total loss
901 East Jefferson	frame barber shop	J. Carpenter	Scott Burton	total loss
829 East Madison	frame residence	Isaac Kanner	George Burnet	total loss
308 North Ninth	frame residence	Isaac Kanner	J. B. Scott	total loss
310 North Ninth	frame residence	Isaac Kanner	Grace Carter	total loss
314 North Ninth	frame residence	Isaac Kanner		total loss
913-915 East Madison	two story frame residence	Isaac Kanner	Dan Niel	total loss
917 East Madison	frame saloon building	Isaac Kanner	Dan Niel	total loss
301 North Tenth	frame residence	Gerhardt Westenberger	Will Smith	total loss
311 North Ninth	frame residence	Isaac Kanner	George Lewis	total loss
314 North Tenth	frame residence	H. I. Freeman	Della Smith	total loss
320 North Tenth	frame residence	Isaac Kanner	G. West	total loss
323 North Tenth	frame residence	R. L. McGuire	H. Stoutmeyer	total loss
1115 East Madison	frame residence	R. L. McGuire	William Coleman	partial loss
1018 East Madison	frame residence	W. D. Booth	Dave Block	total loss
1020 East Madison	frame residence	W. D. Booth	Jess Wormley	total loss (1)
1022 East Madison	brick residence	A. McCosker	Mrs. Davis	total loss
1024 East Madison	frame residence	S. Puglisi	J. H. Smith	total loss
308 North Eleventh	frame residence	Isaac Kanner	J. Williams	partial loss
310 North Eleventh	frame residence	Isaac Kanner	D. Short	total loss
230 North Eleventh	frame residence	Reisch Bros.		total loss
1108 East Madison	frame residence			total loss
1010 East Madison	frame residence	Fortune Bros.	G. Cartwright, Sr.	partial loss
1106 East Madison	frame residence	Tom Doyle	G. Cartwright, Jr.	total loss
320 North Twelfth	frame residence	J. Fernandez	Scott Burton	partial loss
1130 East Mason	frame barber shop	W. Coll	William Brandon	total loss
1128 East Mason	frame residence	W. Coll	W. Walker	total loss
1126 East Mason	frame residence	W. Coll	William Hughes	partial loss
1123 East Madison	frame residence	Patrick Myers	Della Flynn	total loss
1125 East Madison	frame residence	J. E. Crowley	Miss Edwards	total loss
1129 East Madison	brick residence	Joe Warner	William Brandon	total loss
1131 East Madison	frame saloon building	Joe Warner	Ollie Hammond	partial loss
1117-1119 East Madison	frame residence(s)		James Ruffing	total loss (3)
1121 East Madison	frame residence	Patrick Myers	Charles Diamond	total loss
311 North Tenth	frame residence	Ed Payne		total loss (2)
315 North Tenth		Mrs. T. Schwartz		total loss (4)
1005 East Mason	frame two story house	D. C. Hinton	Ed White	partial loss
1004 East Mason	empty frame shed	Mrs. J. A. Spaar		total loss

Notes:

- 1) 1020 East Madison is not listed by the *ISJ*;
- 2) 311 North Tenth appears to be incorrectly listed as 211 North Tenth by the *ISR*.
- 3) The *ISJ* lists this as a "residence" whereas the *ISR* lists this as "residences." Not clear if one or two structures was present.
- 4) The *ISR* does not list this property.

¹¹ Table compiled from "Lists Property in 'Bad Lands': Chief Jacobs Makes List of Owners of Those Shacks," [Springfield] *Daily Illinois State Register* (September 5, 1908), and "Forty Houses Damaged. Report of Chief Jacobs Shows Total Number Fired by Mob," [Springfield] *Daily Illinois State Journal* (September 5, 1908).

Table 5
List of Property Damaged and/or Destroyed Within the Badlands and the Levee
During the August 1908 Race Riot,
Springfield, Illinois
(As reported on September 11 by both the *Illinois State Register* and *Illinois State Journal*)¹²

<u>Address</u>			<u>Description</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Amount of Claim</u>
1022	East	Madison	real estate	Mary E. McCosker		\$2,500.00
1125	East	Madison	personal property		L. Merriam	\$139.50
719	East	Mason	real estate	John Ross		\$73.00
1124-1130	East	Mason	3 buildings and personal property	William H. Call Fitz, Westenberger & Moore (with Estella Moore)		\$2,849.35
311	North	Tenth	furniture			\$78.00
311	North	Tenth	personal property		R. N. Wright	\$180.50
310	North	Fourteenth	personal property Chattels in seven houses	Will E. Grosword	Bert Smith	\$122.50 \$564.74
723	East	Washington	personal property (bike)		Robert S. Howard	\$25.00
809	East	Washington	personal property	Ed White		\$955.00
811	East	Washington	real estate	Mary E. McCosker		\$157.00
819	East	Washington	building and personal property	Ed White		\$955.00
			17 pieces of real estate	Isador Kanner		\$8,012.00
			personal property		Annie S. Atwood	\$95.00

¹² "Riot Claims Are \$108,415," *Illinois State Register*, September 11, 1908, p. 11, and "Riot Claims Now Total \$98,235.87," *Illinois State Journal*, September 11, 1908, p. 10.

Table 6
List of Property Damaged and/or Destroyed Within the Badlands and the Levee
During the August 1908 Race Riot,
Springfield, Illinois
(As reported on September 15 by both the *Illinois State Register* and *Illinois State Journal*)¹³

<u>Address</u>			<u>Description</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Amount of Claim</u>
1112	East	Mason	personal injury		Louis Hanen	\$5,000.00
915	East	Madison	personal property		Mary Hunter	\$136.10
130	North	Seventh	personal property (?)		G. J. Little	\$109.00
501 [301]	North	Tenth	personal property		Callie Smith	\$268.15
501 [301]	North	Tenth	personal property		May Smith	\$302.83
230	North	Eleventh	personal property		Cordelia Williams	\$31.80
		Seventh & Madison	personal property (?)		Conrad Seip Brewing Co.	\$13.55
		Ninth & Jefferson	real estate (?)	John Carpenter		\$1,500.00
	unspecified		personal property		Minnie Porter	\$340.00
	unspecified		personal property		Cloyd Martin	\$35.00
	unspecified	[807 S. Seventh]	personal property (?)		Rufus L. Berry	\$800.00
	unspecified	[915 E. Mason]	personal property (?)		M. A. Offet	\$41.85
	unspecified		personal property (?)		Green Johnson	\$37.48
	unspecified		personal property (?)		B. F. Hawley	\$47.50
	unspecified		personal property (?)		Sadie House	\$89.50
	unspecified		personal property (?)		W. F. O'Brien	\$98.61
	unspecified	[230 N. Thirteenth]	personal property (?)	George Washington Jones		\$40.83
	unspecified	[311 N. Ninth]	personal property (?)		Bob Oakley	\$327.19
	unspecified	[700 S. Seventh]	personal property (?)		Annie Hamilton	\$34.15
	unspecified		personal property (?)		Mary Davis	\$517.29
	unspecified	[224 N. Eleventh]	personal property (?)		Charles Duncan	\$175.50
	unspecified		personal property (?)		Della Stanford	\$30.00
	unspecified		personal property (?)		J. B. Scott	\$604.57
	unspecified		personal property (?)		Mamie Lewis	\$184.87
	unspecified		personal property (?)		Mabel Peck	\$175.87
	unspecified		personal property (?)		Delia Delaney	\$149.68
	unspecified	[807 E. Washington]	personal property (?)		Sigmund Fisher	\$300.00
	unspecified	[221 N. Fourteenth]	personal property (?)		James Sims	\$300.00
729	East	Washington	personal property (?)	Conrad Seip Brewing Co.		\$30.00
730	East	Washington	personal property (?)	Conrad Seip Brewing Co.		\$450.50
805	East	Washington	personal property		P. H. McSherry	\$70.00
805	East	Washington	personal property (?)		Wisiner and Logan	\$50.00
811	East	Washington	personal property		William Young	\$15.00
813	East	Washington	personal property		G. A. Barksdale	\$21.00
815	East	Washington	personal property		Alicia Warren	\$100.00
823	East	Washington	personal property		William Todd	\$42.65
829	East	Washington	personal property		Frank Reynolds	\$327.00
	East	Washington	personal property (barber shop)		W. G. Garth	\$288.00

¹³ "TWENTY-TWO NEW RIOT SUITS. Filed in the Circuit and the County Courts Yesterday," *Illinois State Register*, September 15, 1908, p. 6, and "END TO FILING OF RIOT CLAIMS. Last Notices of Suits Against City Given," *Illinois State Journal*, 15 September 1908, p. 5.

Table 7.
List of Property Damaged and/or Destroyed Within the Levee District
During the August 1908 Race Riot,
Springfield, Illinois
(As reported on August 16 by the *Illinois State Journal*)

	<u>Address</u>		<u>Description</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Condition</u>
716	East	Washington	barber shop	L. F. Osborn (negro)	front torn out; interior wrecked
718	East	Washington	harness shop	W. L. Blucke (white)	plate glass window broken
719	East	Washington	pawnshop	R. Fishman (jew)	front broken in, entire stock of contents scattered about on floor, much missing
721	East	Washington	saloon	Chester Johnson (negro)	front broken in, bar glass smashed, contents either destroyed or stolen
725	East	Washington	saloon	Angelo and Cardoni (Italian)	windows broken out
726	East	Washington	restaurant and bicycle repair shop	Henry Sallie	Front torn out; interior wrecked
728	East	Washington	restaurant and upstairs rooming house	Mrs. Maggie Niel (negro)	front torn away, interior badly damaged in restaurant, and property carried away; rooming house windows broken in
801	East	Washington	drug store	W. D. Booth (white)	plate glass window broken windows broken in and slight damage to interior furnishings
805	East	Washington	restaurant	Wismer and Logan (white)	interior furnishings
807	East	Washington	shoe dealer	S. Fisher (jew)	front windows broken and part of contents carried away
809	East	Washington	saloon	Edward White (negro)	front broken in, bar mirrors and glassware broken, liquors and cigars carried away
811-813	East	Washington	saloon, barbershop, restaurant, and theater	C. C. Lee (negro)	all fronts broken in, contents ruined, furnishings demolished, stock either carried away or destroyed
812	East	Washington	upholstery shop	Jesse Sims (negro)	front windows broken
814	East	Washington	empty room	Formerly occupied by negroes	windows broken in
815	East	Washington	grocery	J. Edward Thompson (negro)	front broken in, stock carried away and/or destroyed; total loss
817	East	Washington	saloon	Julius Gogalis (lithuanian)	front broken in, bar fixtures badly damaged, all stock taken
819	East	Washington	saloon	S. J. Morton (negro)	front broken in, all furnishings wrecked; stock of liquors and cigars all stolen; peanut vending machine unbroken
821	East	Washington	shoe dealer	J. Fishman (jew)	windows broken; contents stolen
821	East	Washington	barber shop	negro (occupying half of Fishman's building)	front broken in; interior wrecked
822	East	Washington	barber shop	Ben Gordon (negro)	front torn away; inside furnishings demolished
119	North	Eighth	undertaker	Henry Rhoden (negro)	front windows broken
117-119	North	Eighth	Negro Masonic Hall		front windows broken on second and third floors, and in empty store room on ground floor
	South	Eighth (nr. Washington)	meat market	N. Oberman (jew)	windows broken in
	Corner	Eighth and Washington	saloon	Dandy Jim Smith	Front torn out; interior demolished

Table 8.
List of Property Damaged and/or Destroyed Within the Levee District
During the August 1908 Race Riot,
Springfield, Illinois
(As reported on August 16 by the *Illinois State Register*)

<u>Address</u>		<u>Description</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Condition</u>
716	East Washington	barber shop	L. F. Osborn (negro); building owned by K. L. Blucke	totally destroyed (\$200)
718-720	East Washington	harness shop	William L. Blucke	windows broken
719	East Washington	pawn shop	R. Fishman	four plate glass windows smashed, glass in front door broken, practically entire stock stolen; loss complete; fixtures and goods which were not stolen were through about the floor in one big heap; damage \$3,500
721	East Washington	saloon	Chester Johnson	complete loss (\$1,000)
722	East Washington	carriage repair shop	Withey Brothers	windows broken; loss light
723	East Washington	Capitol Laundry		windows broken; loss light
724	East Washington	blacksmiths	C. L. King and A. L. Miller	windows broken; loss light
725	East Washington	saloon	Angelo and Cardoni	plate glass broken (\$700)
726	East Washington	Restaurant and bicycle shop	Henry Sallie	both completely wrecked; all dishes and furniture broken in restaurant; complete stock of bicycles and sundries destroyed; one motorcycle stolen; residence above the store damaged (\$3,000)
728	East Washington	restaurant	Neal Brown (property owned by Mrs. Mary Connors)	business damage \$100; property damage \$100
729	East Washington	saloon	Joe Renzen	glass in front door broken
730	East Washington	Delmonico Caf�	"Dandy" Jim Smith (colored)	plate glass windows broken, stock demolished and fixtures destroyed; lodging rooms above in ruins (\$2,300)
800	East Washington	saloon	Alex. Powullias	windows broken
801	East Washington	drug store	W. D. Booth	windows broken (\$150)
803	East Washington	pawn shop	A. Grabuick	windows, doors, showcases broken (\$300)
806	East Washington	saloon	Hiner and Bryant	windows broken
807	East Washington	shoe shop	S. Fisher	windows broken and stock slightly damaged (\$100); flats above slightly damaged
809	East Washington	saloon	Edward White (colored)	and place devastated in general (\$800)
809	East Washington	lunch room	Wismer and Logan	two front plate glass windows smashed; one front glass door smashed, one glass case perforated with holes
811	East Washington	restaurant	E. Watts (colored)	complete wreck (about \$500)
812	East Washington	upholstery shop	negro	building and fixtures damaged (\$150)
813	East Washington	Star Theater (bar room, barber shop, restaurant and hotel above)	C. C. Lee (colored); building owned by Mary E. Macosta	interior of building completely wrecked; bar room fixtures, pianos, four cash registers, \$200 worth of champagne, several thousand dollars of liquors totally destroyed (\$12,000)
814	East Washington	vacant store room	Formerly occupied by negro	Windows broken
815	East Washington	grocery store	unidentified "Thompson"	complete wreck (\$2,500)
817	East Washington	saloon	Julius Reyhelis (building owned by Reisch Brewing Company)	windows broken, cigars and liquors stolen (\$400)
819	East Washington	saloon	S. J. Morton	completely wrecked (\$1,200)
821	East Washington	shoe store	Jacob Fleshman	windows broken out, stock damaged (\$1,000)
821	East Washington	barber shop	Peter Brady (colored)	front glass broken in; damage to building \$150; damage to stock \$1,200; stock completely destroyed with
822	East Washington	frame building; shoe repair shop	Gordan	all windows out and stock demolished (\$200)
823	East Washington	grocery store	Todd and Rule	windows broken
823	East Washington	candy store	Leo Chiachio	plat glass window broken
933	East Washington	saloon (barber shop in rear)	William Dyke	windows broken; barber shop completely demolished
812	West Washington		A. Stern and Company	household goods; three window transoms broken
107	South Seventh	meat market	N. Oberman	two plate glass windows and transom broken; loss nominal
119	North Eighth	undertaker	Henry Rhoden (colored)	two front windows and six transoms smashed
312	North Thirteenth	frame residence	Major Duncan	House in path of retreating mob after fired upon by militia; windows broken, inside ransacked, house looted
	Ninth and Jefferson (in rear of John Dyke's saloon)	barber shop	negro	



Figure 1. Map illustrating the location of buildings destroyed or severely damaged during the 1908 Springfield Race Riot (highlighted in orange), and the location of damaged buildings (highlighted in green). Buildings indicated with a blue circle are locations of personal property claims (with no accompanying claim against real estate property).

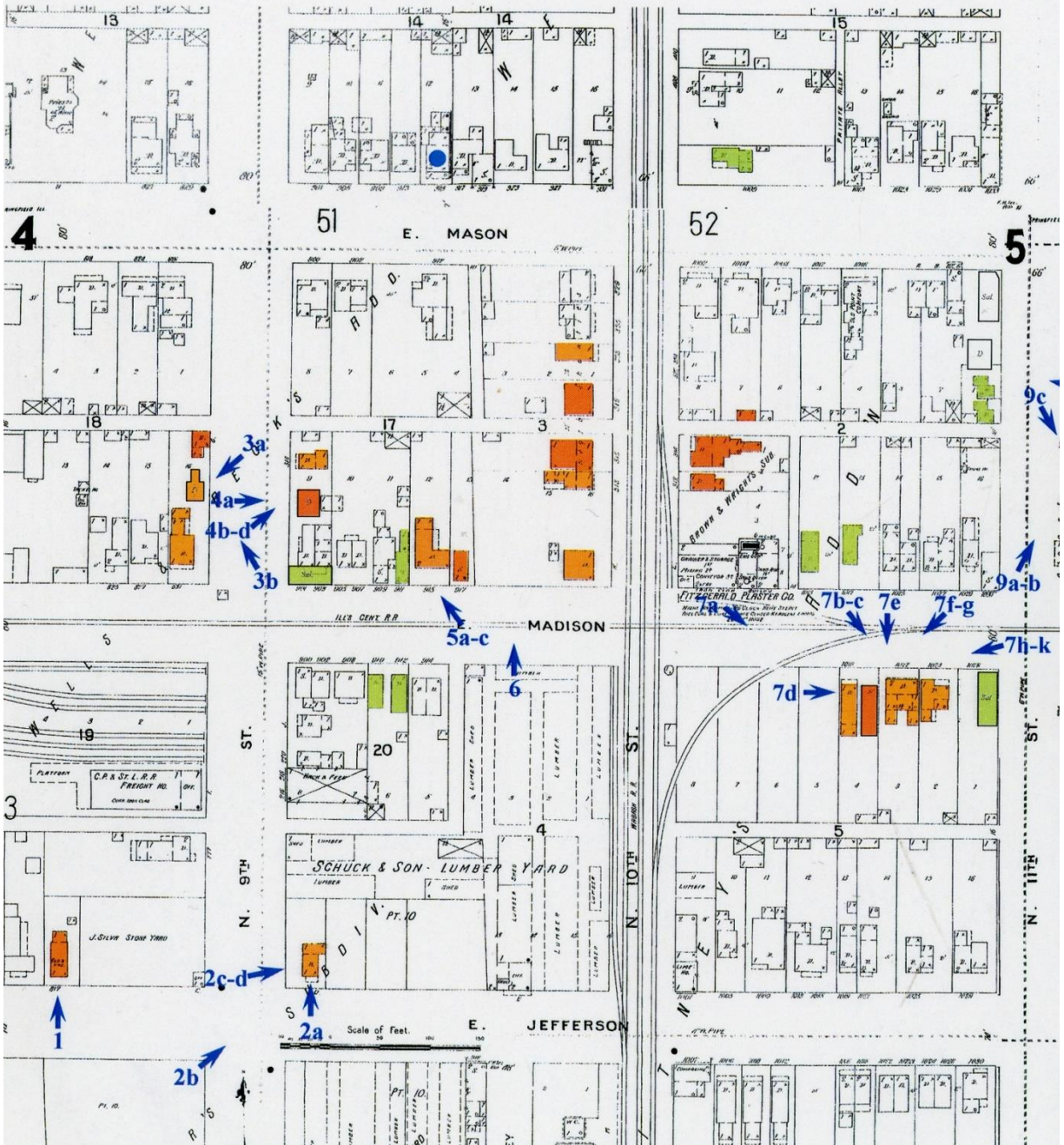


Figure 2. Map 1 illustrating the west half of the “burned-out” residential area of the Badlands, following the 1908 riot. The blue arrows depict the suspected vantage point of documented photographs depicting buildings damaged and/or destroyed during the riot. The numbers reference the subsequent pictures depicted in the following pages.

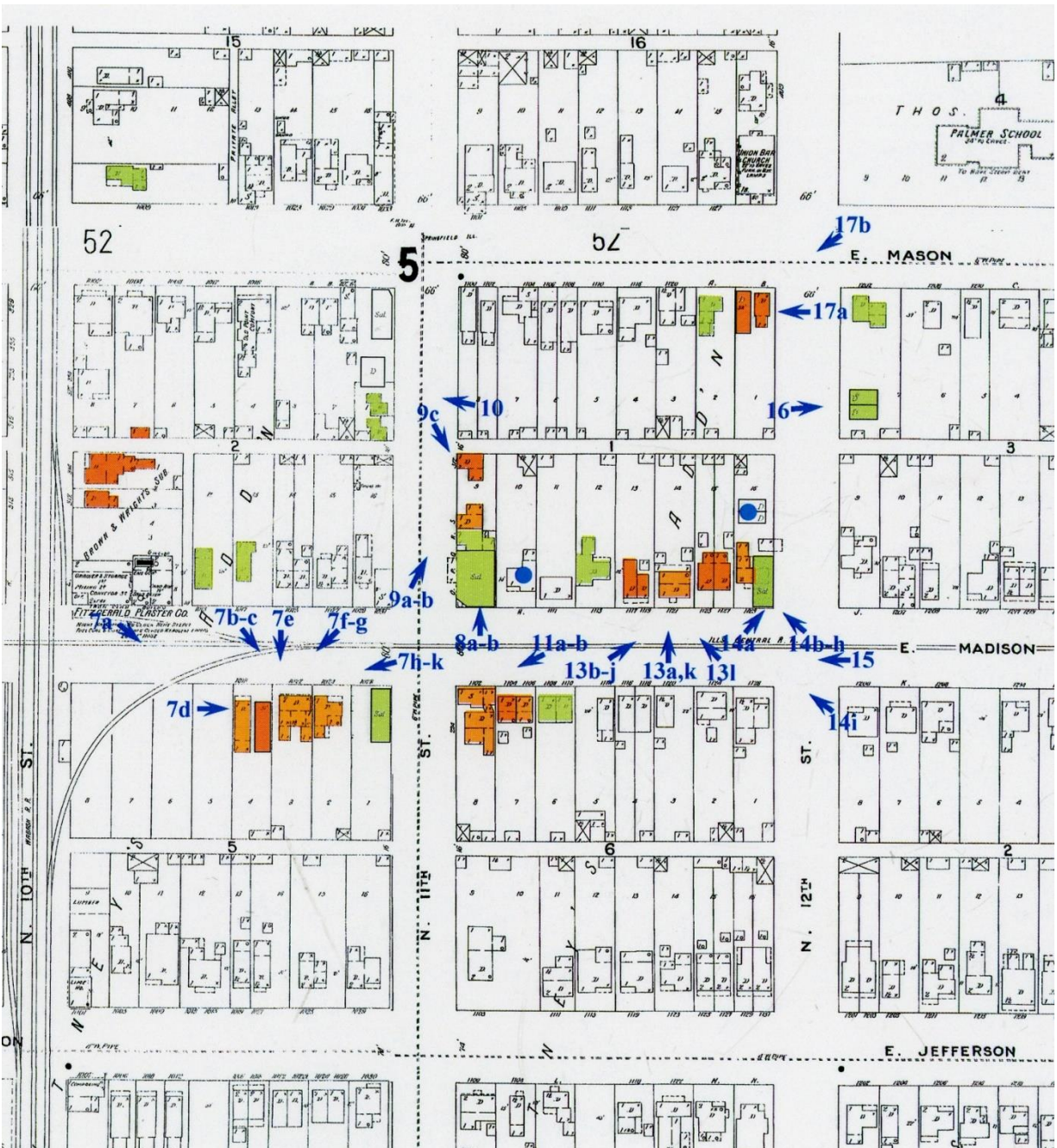


Figure 3. Map 2 illustrating the east half of the “burned-out” residential area of the Badlands, following the 1908 riot. The blue arrows depict the suspected vantage point of documented photographs depicting buildings damaged and/or destroyed during the riot. The numbers reference the subsequent pictures depicted in the following pages.

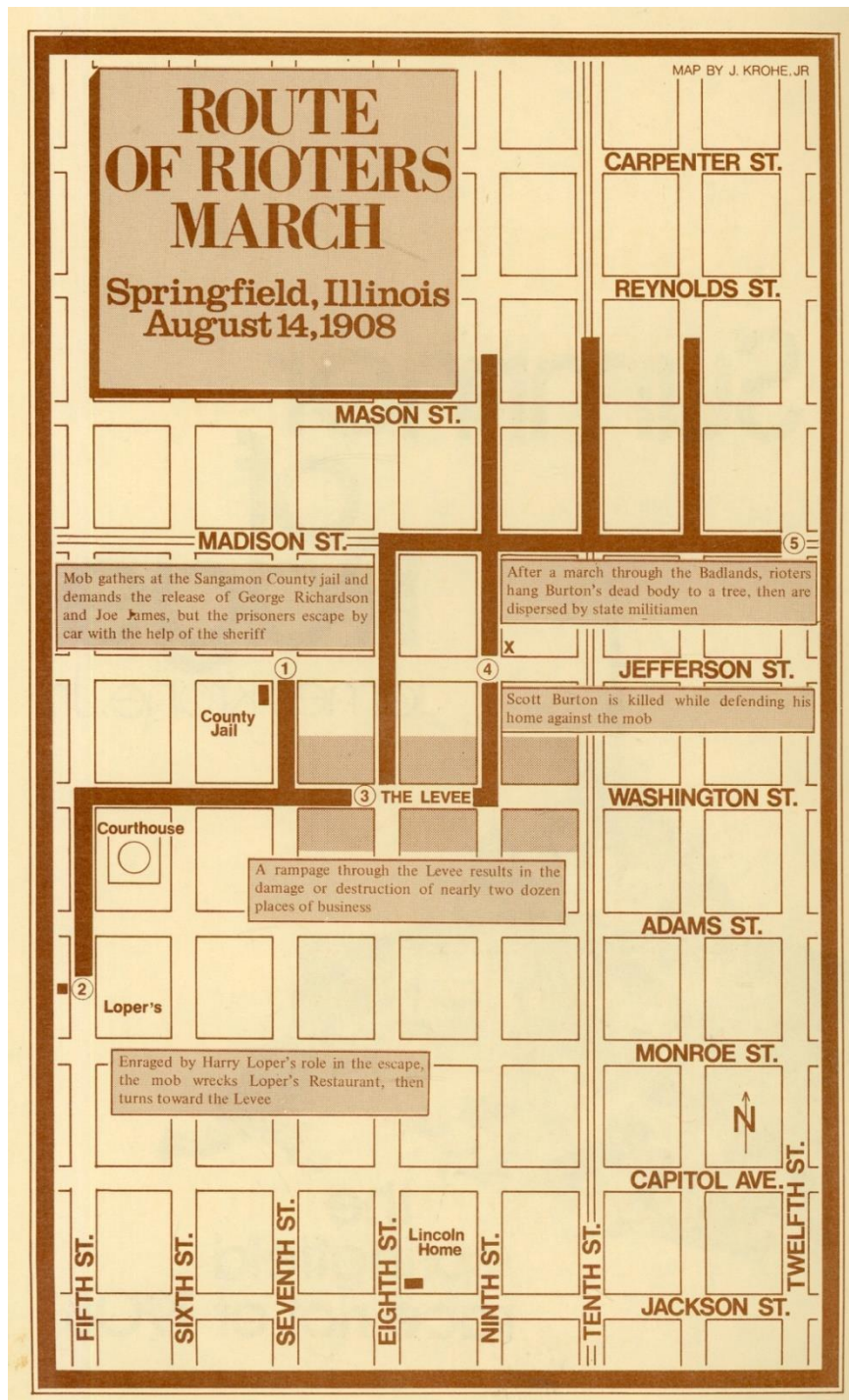


Figure 4. Route taken by mob during the first night of rioting, August 14, 1908, in which Scott Burton was murdered (Krohe 1973).

The Residential District (The Badlands)



View 1. Postcard labeled “Home of Ina Williams / Wrecked and Burned (ALPLM Ide Collection PC6). Williams was most likely the pseudonym of Ina Smith, who operated a “resort” or “sporting house” out an old residence at 817 East Jefferson Street, on the eastern edge of the Levee. The appearance of the house in the photograph is good match for 817 East Jefferson Street, which was listed as a “total loss” in the lists of damaged buildings compiled after the riot.



View 2a. Scott Burton's barbershop on the northeast corner of Jefferson and Ninth streets, which was torched by the mob prior to its assault on the Badlands (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387B007).



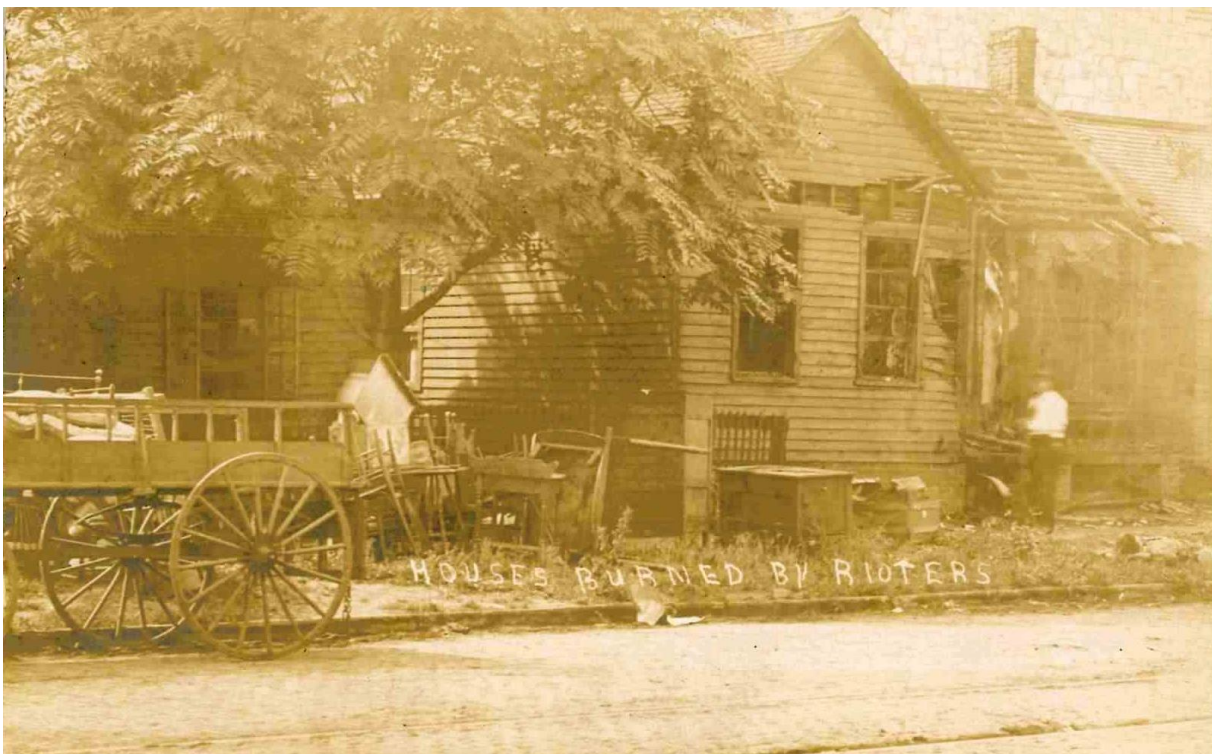
View 2b. Newspaper photograph of the ruins of Scott Burton's barbershop, looking northeast from the intersection of Jefferson and Ninth Streets (*Chicago Tribune*, 17 August 1908, p. 2; reprinted from *Illinois State Journal*, 16 August 1908, p. 1).



View 2c-d. Ruins of Scott Burton's barbershop, looking east. Top: photograph (ALPLM Ide Collection PC5). Bottom: postcard view (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-385006).



View 3a. Wrecked houses on the west side of the 300 block of North Ninth Street, looking southwest (ALPLM Ide Collection NG5798).



View 3b. Wrecked houses on the west side of the 300 block of North Ninth Street, looking northwest (Sangamon Valley Collection, recent acquisition).



View 4a. Two images depicting burned homes at 312 North Ninth Street (at center) and 314 North Ninth Street (at left), looking east (east side of Ninth Street). Top: As presented in scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum). Bottom: ALPLM Ide Collection NG5795.



View 4b. Burned-out houses at 312 and 314 North Ninth Street, looking east (ALPLM Ide Collection PC11a; Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A008).



View 4c. Burned-out houses at 312 and 314 North Ninth Street, looking northeast, with National Guard troops camped out in front (ALPLM Ide Collection, PC13a).



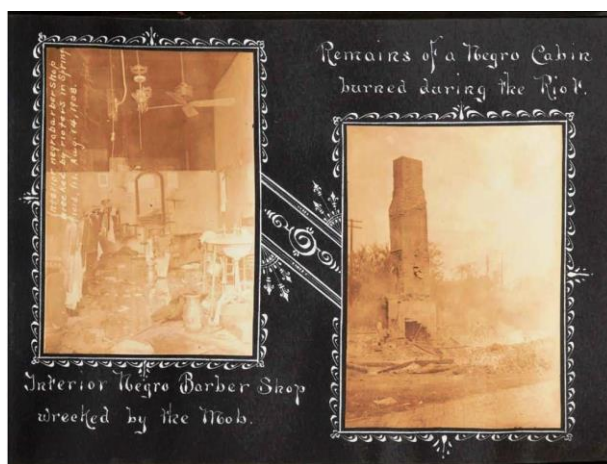
View 4d. Same view as previous postcard (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A003).



View 5a. Postcard image labeled “Negro Residence 9th & Madison / Militia on duty Mob Violence” (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A005). This image depicts the former “house of ill fame” initially established in the early 1870s by Emma Nash (aka Emma Taylor), and later occupied by Mabel Baxter at 913-915 East Madison Street. The adjacent building, located at 917 East Madison Street, was occupied by Charles Baxter beginning in 1896 as a saloon. It lies completely destroyed in this image. In 1908, the Baxter Resort had been closed, and this was probably the D. C. Neal residence (the manager of the adjacent saloon at the time of the riot).



View 5b-c. Two views of the ruins at the house and adjacent saloon at 913-915 and 917 East Madison Street. Top: ALPLM Ide Collection (PC7). Bottom: Postcard (courtesy of Richard Hart).



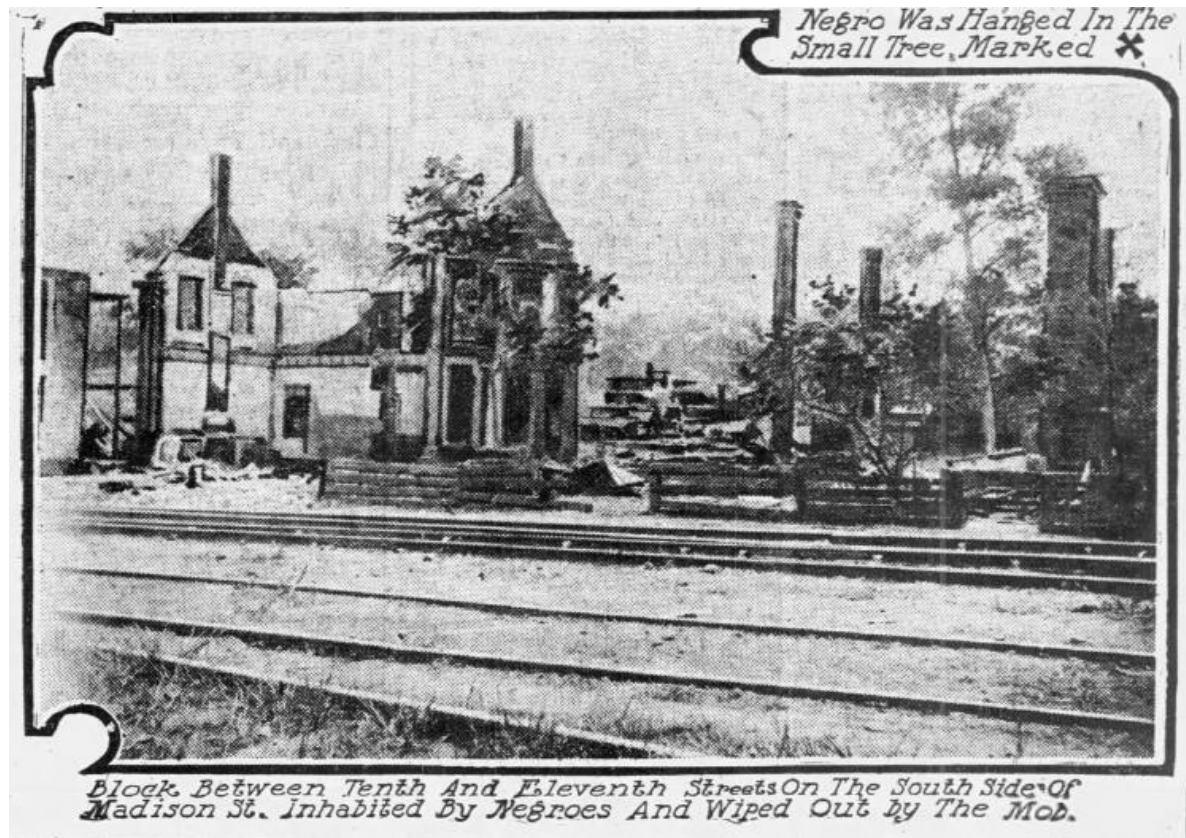
View 6. View of the ruins of the house and adjacent saloon at 913-915 and 917 East Madison Street (far left) and House A (far right; circled in red). This seems to be the only image of the burned houses in the current project area. Top: Detail of House A fireplace, as depicted in scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum). Bottom: ALPLM Ide Collection, NG5792).



View 7a. South side of 1000 block of East Madison Street, looking southeast and showing house numbers 1018, 1020, 1022 and 1024. The business on the southwest corner of Madison and Eleventh streets (with “Bull Durham” sign) was spared during the riot (ALPLM Ide Collection, NG7599).



View 7b. Closer view of the south side of 1000 block of East Madison Street, with ruins of house numbers 1018, 1020, 1022, and 1024 (looking southeast) (<http://library.uis.edu/archives/localhistory/riotphotos.html>).



View 7c. Similar view the burned housing on the south side of 1000 block of East Madison Street as the previous figure (Chicago Tribune, 17 August 1908, p. 2).



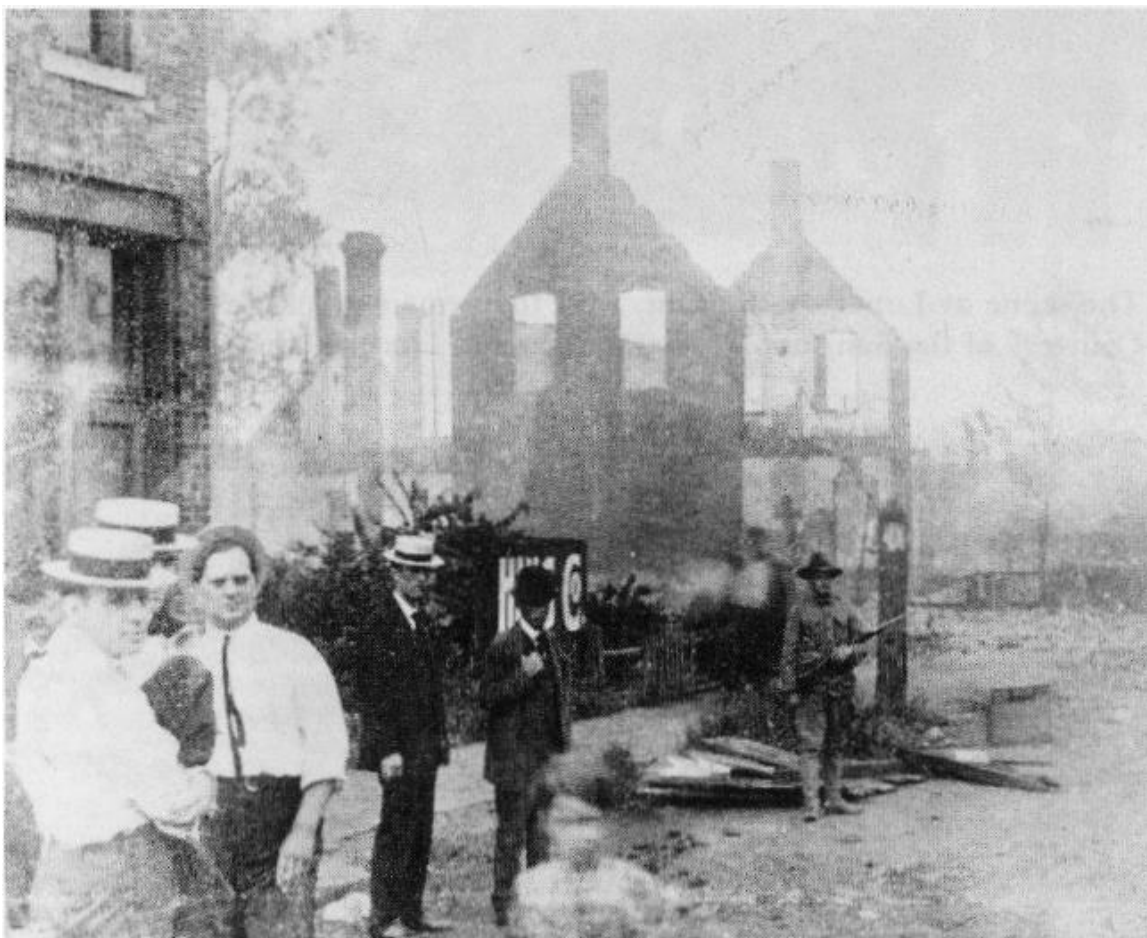
View 7d. View looking east across the burned and gutted remains of the houses on the south side of the 1000 block of East Madison Street. The floor joists of house number 1018 can be seen in the foreground. The brick gable-end wall shown in the center of the view belongs to house number 1022. in the center of the (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387C011).



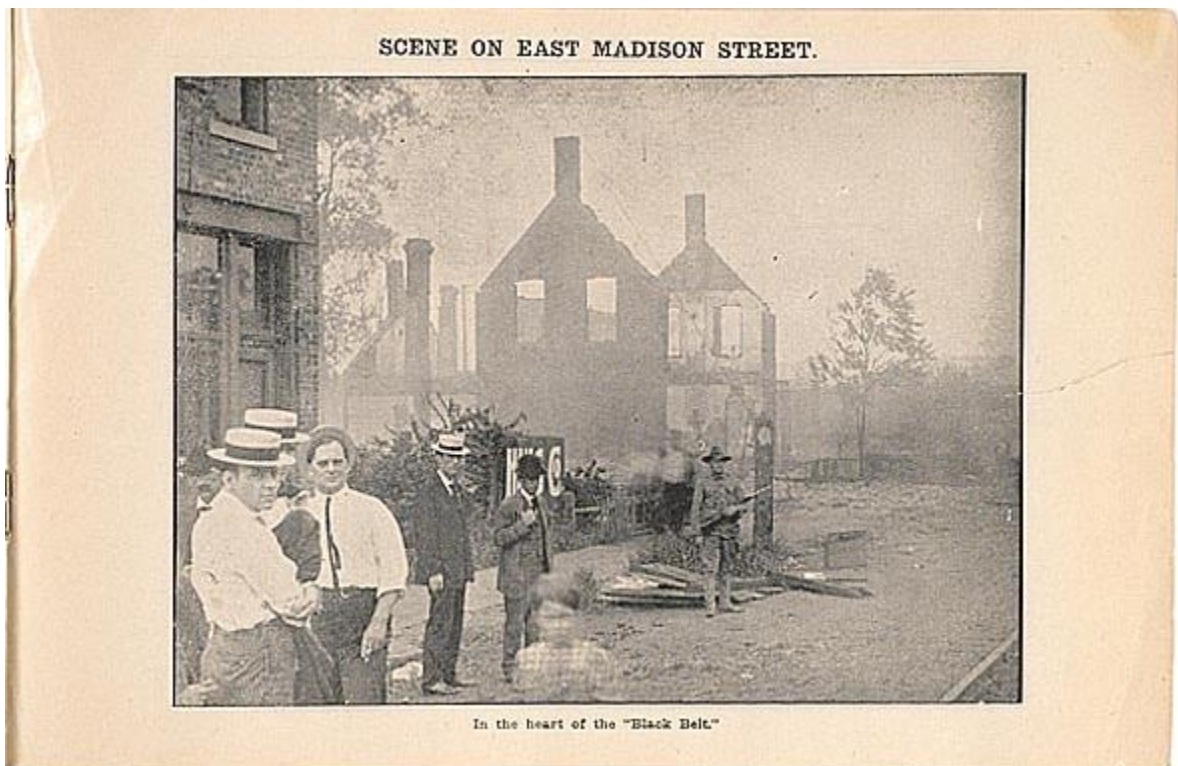
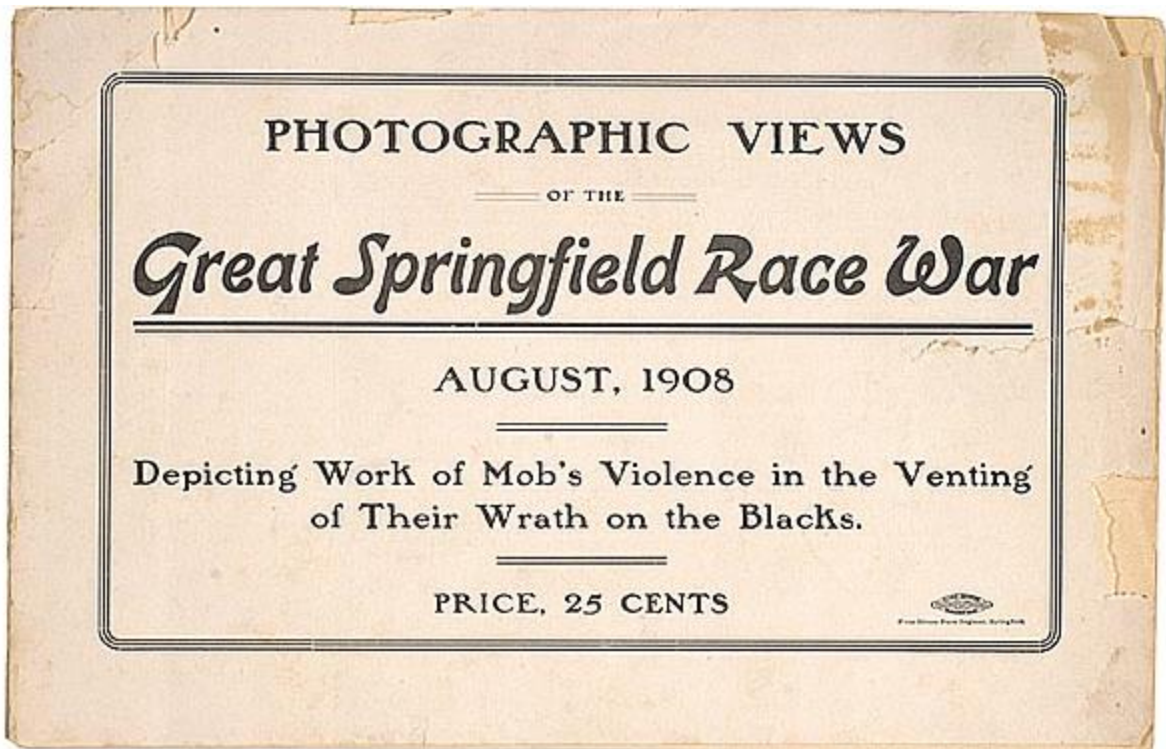
View 7e. South side of 1000 block of East Madison Street, looking south and showing house numbers 1018, 1020, 1022, and 1024 (ALPLM Ide Collection, NG5804).



View 7f-g. Two views of the gutted two-story, brick house at 1022 East Madison Street, looking southwest. Top: Looking west/southwest with the junction of the Wabash and Illinois Central Railroads can be seen in background, with the State Capitol building in far distance (<http://library.uis.edu/archives/localhistory/riotphotos.html>; from the Booth-Grunendike Collection, Archives/Special Collections, Brookens Library, University of Illinois at Springfield). Bottom: Similar view from a 1909 scrap book (Smithsonian African American History Museum).



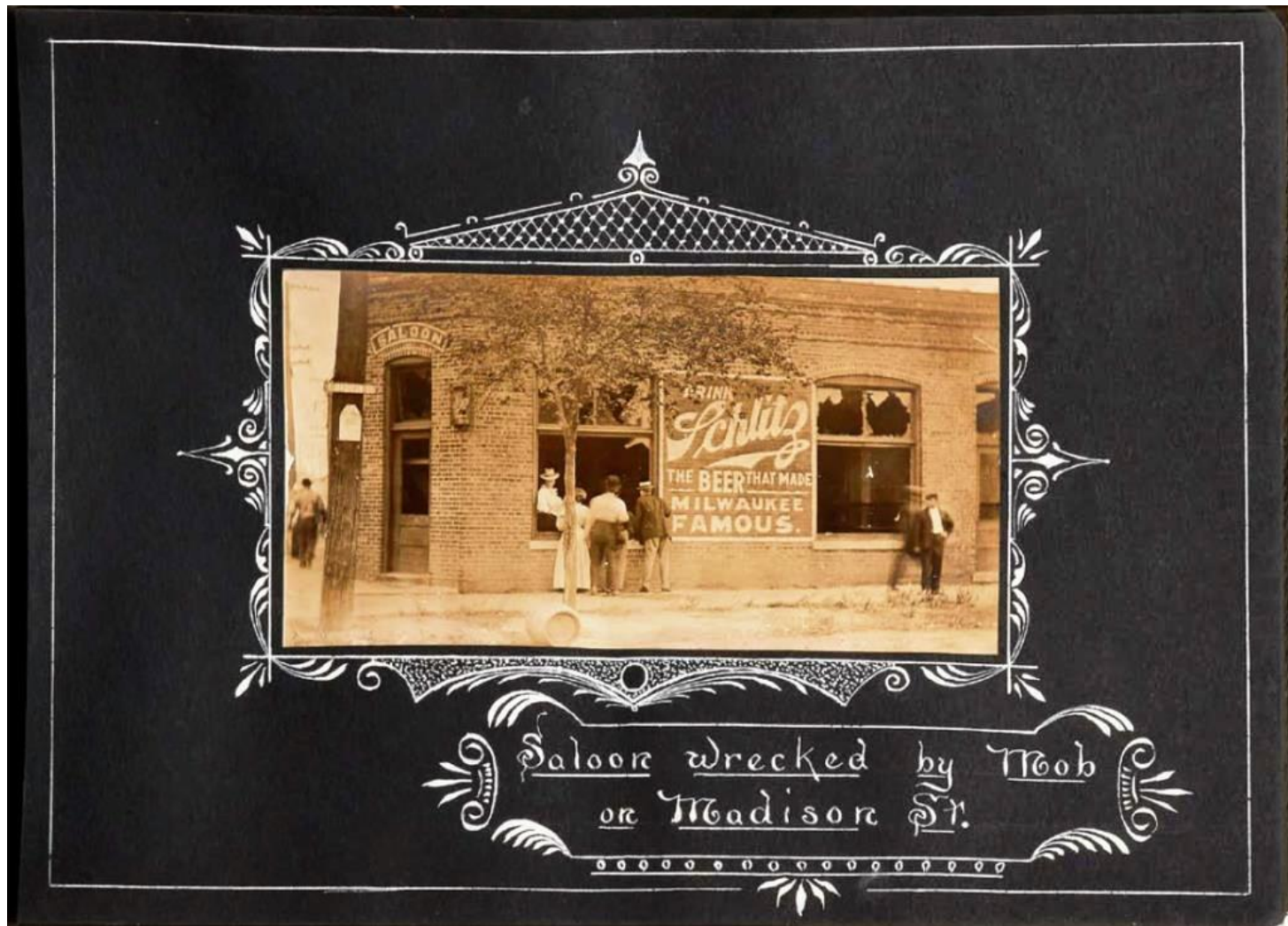
View 7h. South Side of 1000 block of East Madison Street, looking southwest. The gutted two-story, brick house at 1022 East Madison appears in background. This image was published in the *Illinois State Register* (August 16, 1908).



View 7i. Two pages from the souvenir booklet published by the *Illinois State Register* (1908). Top: Cover page. Bottom: Page 1 of images illustrating the south side of the 1000 block of East Madison Street, looking southwest. The gutted two-story, brick house at 1022 East Madison appears in background.



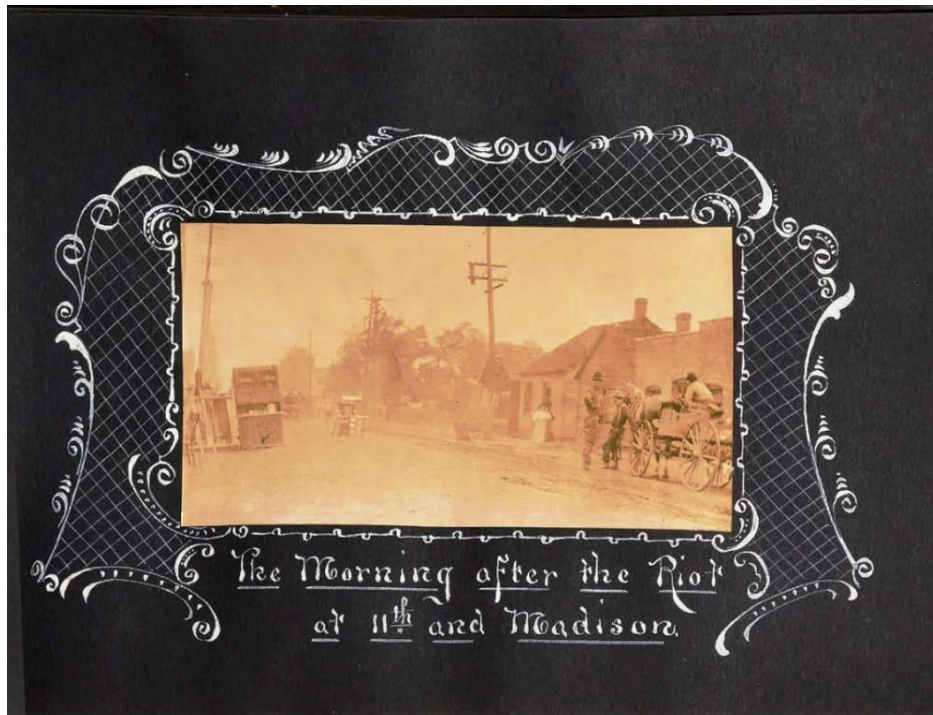
View 7j-k. Two postcard views of the gutted two-story, brick house at 1022 East Madison Street, looking southwest (originally published in the *Illinois State Register*, August 16, 1908). Both images are captioned “Scene In Burned District / Riot Aug. 15 '08.” Top: Postcard view (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-385008). Bottom: ALPLM Ide Collection PC9 (lacks whole postcard detail).



View 8a. View of a saloon located at 1101 East Madison (on the northeast corner of Madison and Eleventh streets), which was owned and/or operated by N. J. Poston (black). The brick saloon was badly damaged by the mob. The image is from a scrap book from 1908 (Smithsonian African American History Museum).



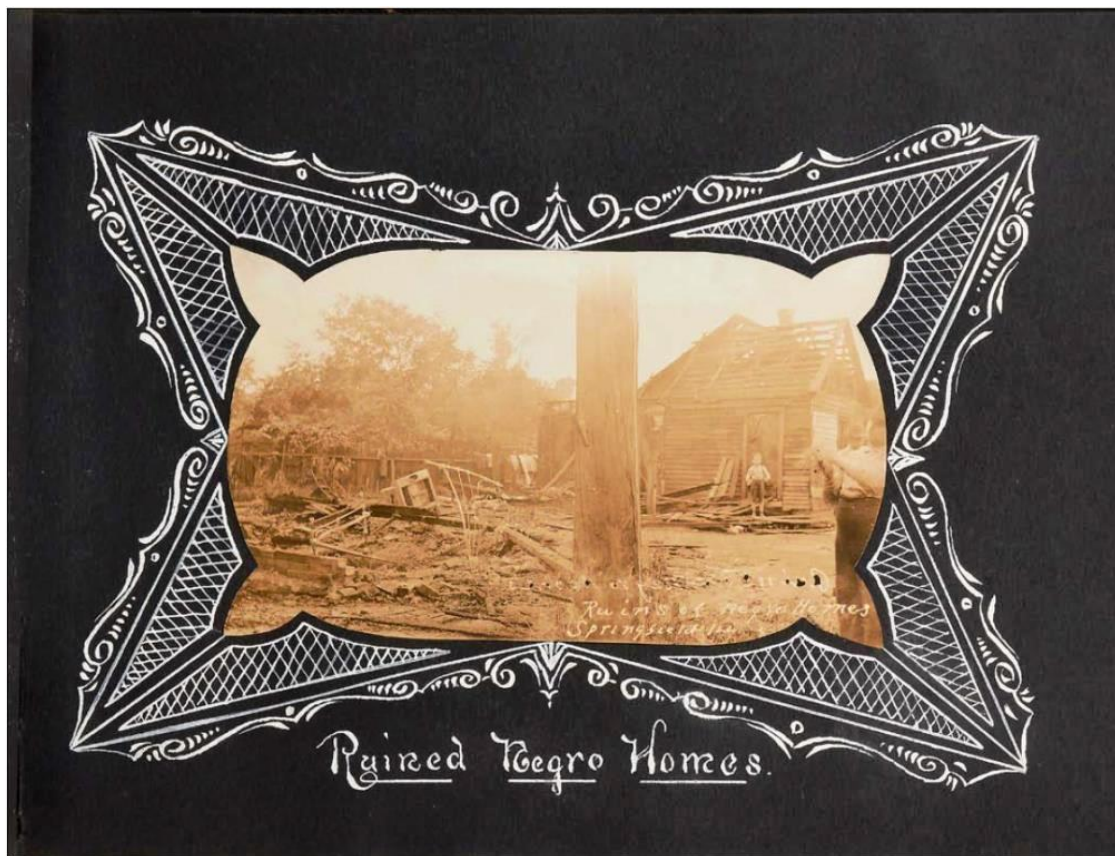
View 8b Enlarged image from previous scrap book illustrating Poston's saloon on Madison Street (Smithsonian African American History Museum).



View 9a. View of the east side of the 300 block of North Eleventh Street, looking northeast, from 1909 Scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum). The caption on this image suggests that it was taken on the morning of August 15. Note the furniture and personal belongings that have been hauled out into Eleventh Street. The rear of Poston's saloon (pictured in photos 8a-b) can be seen at right.



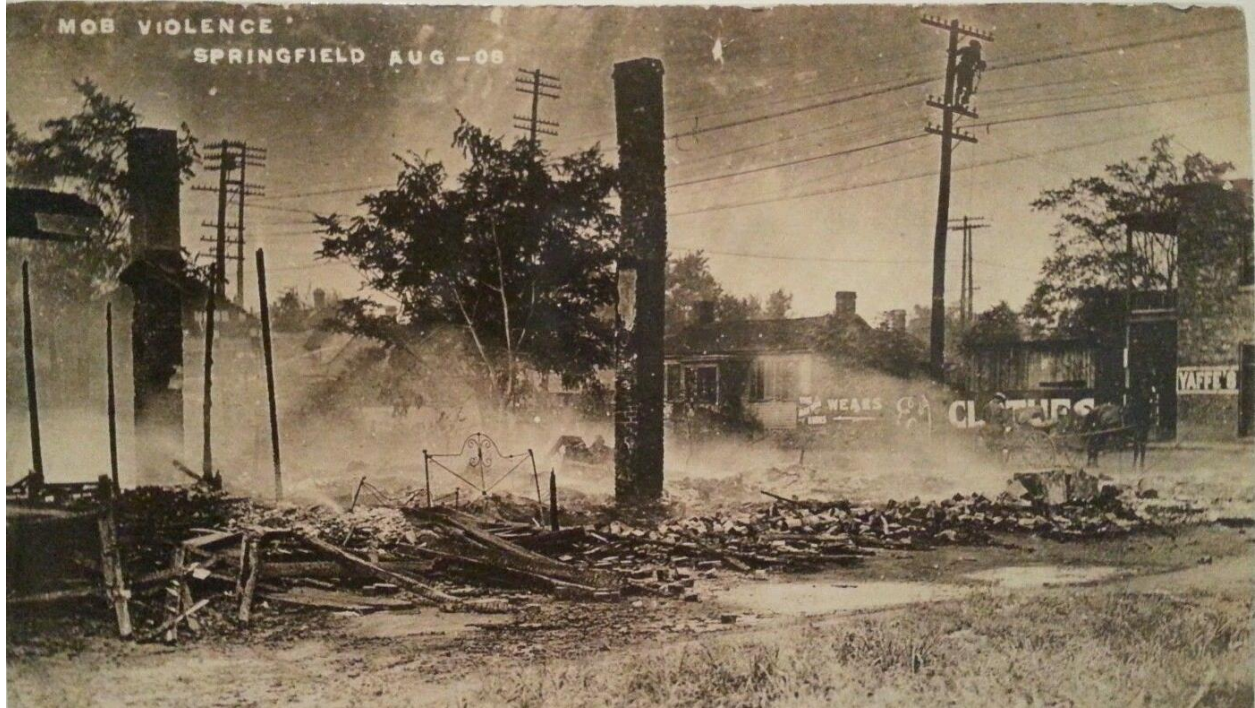
View 9b. View of burned housing on the east side of the 300 block of North Eleventh Street, looking northeast (Walling 1908:530). The rear end of Poston's saloon is visible at right.



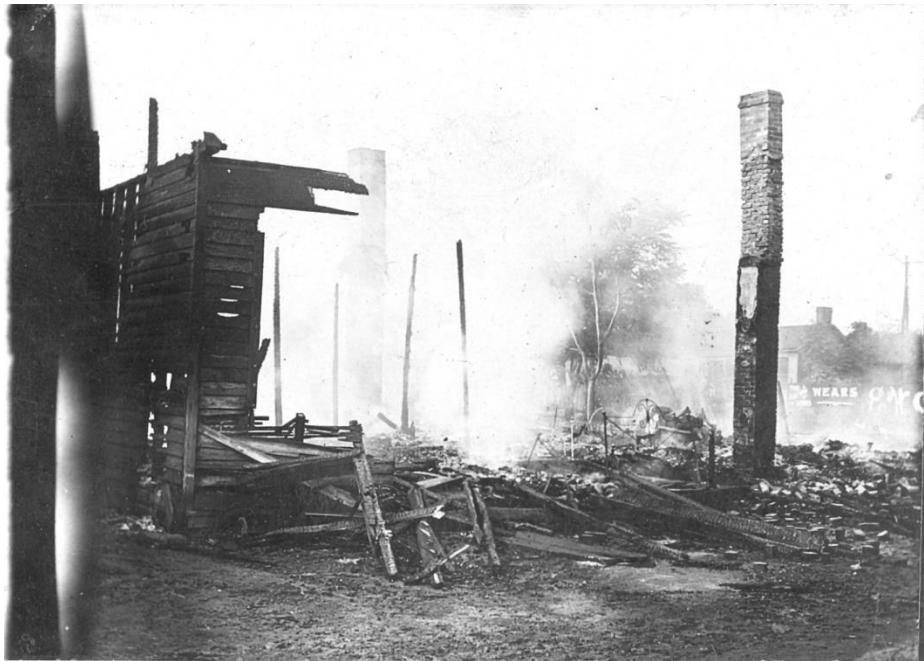
View 9c. Two views of page labeled “Ruined Negro Houses” from 1909 scrap book (Smithsonian African American History Museum). These houses were located on the east side of the 300 block of North Eleventh Street, looking southeast.



View 10. View of houses “between Madison and Mason on 11th” and labeled “Negro Man and Woman eating dry bread for breakfast” from 1909 Scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum).



View 11a. View of an unidentified location, but suspected to be the south side of the 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking southwest towards Eleventh Street (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387B004).



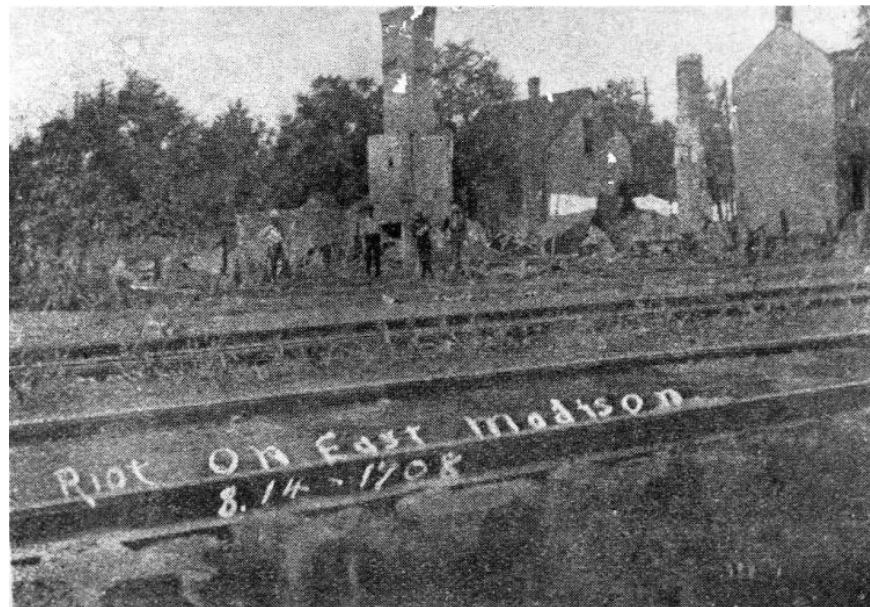
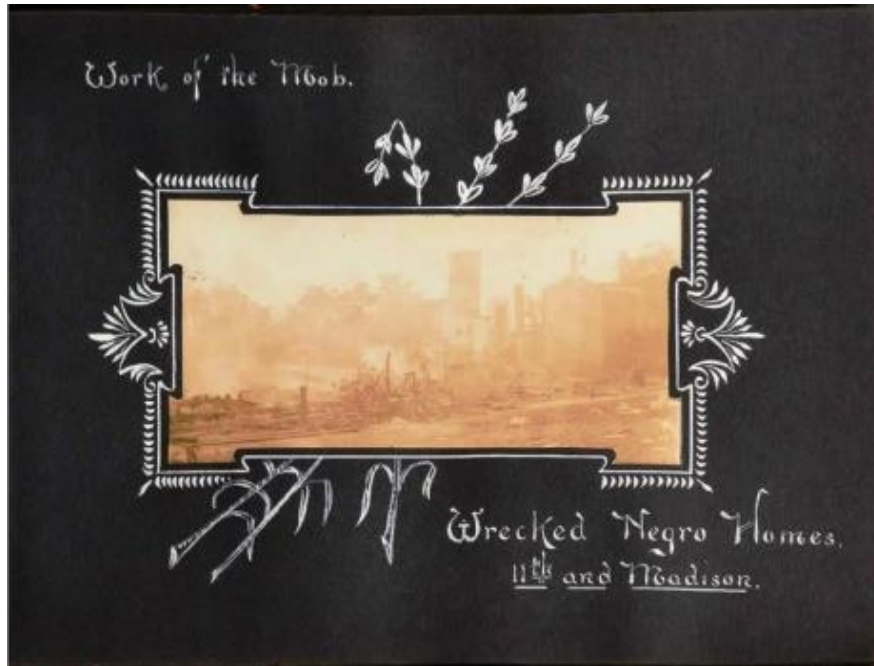
View 11b. Unidentified photograph location, but suspected to be the south side of the 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking southwest towards Eleventh Street (ALPLM Ides Collection PC8).



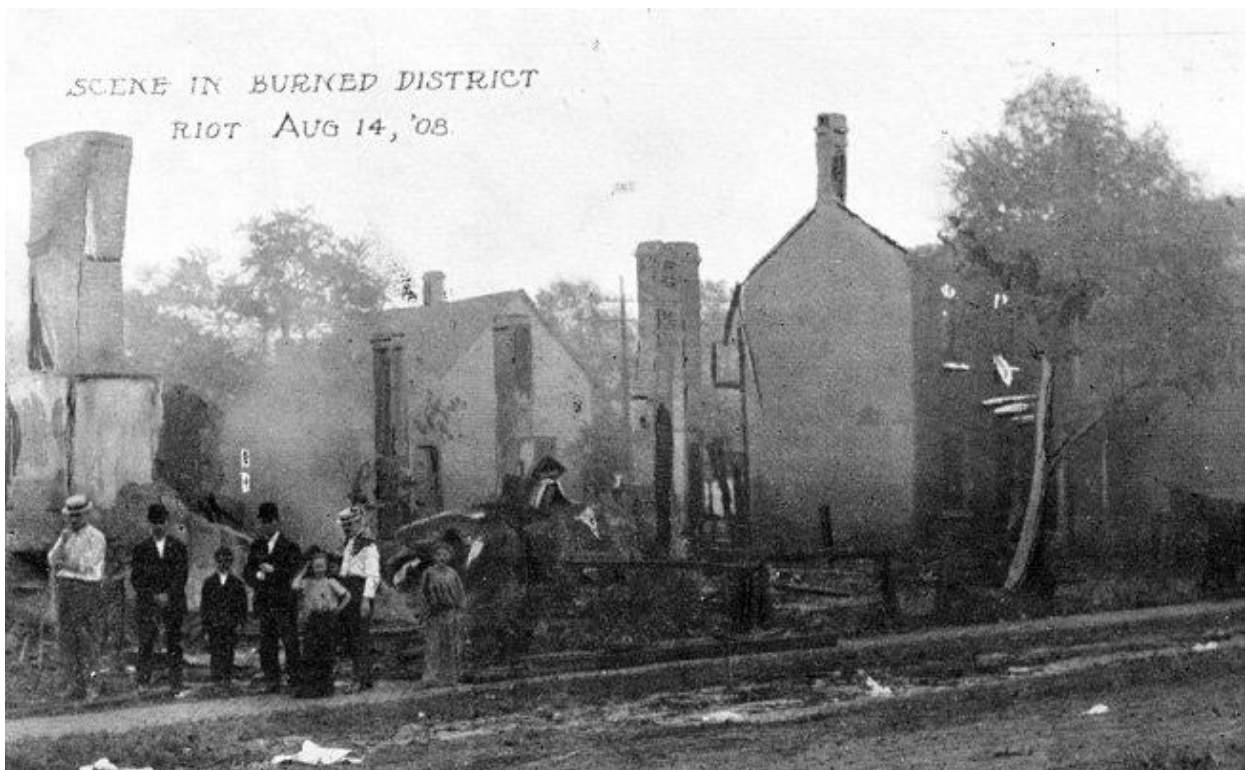
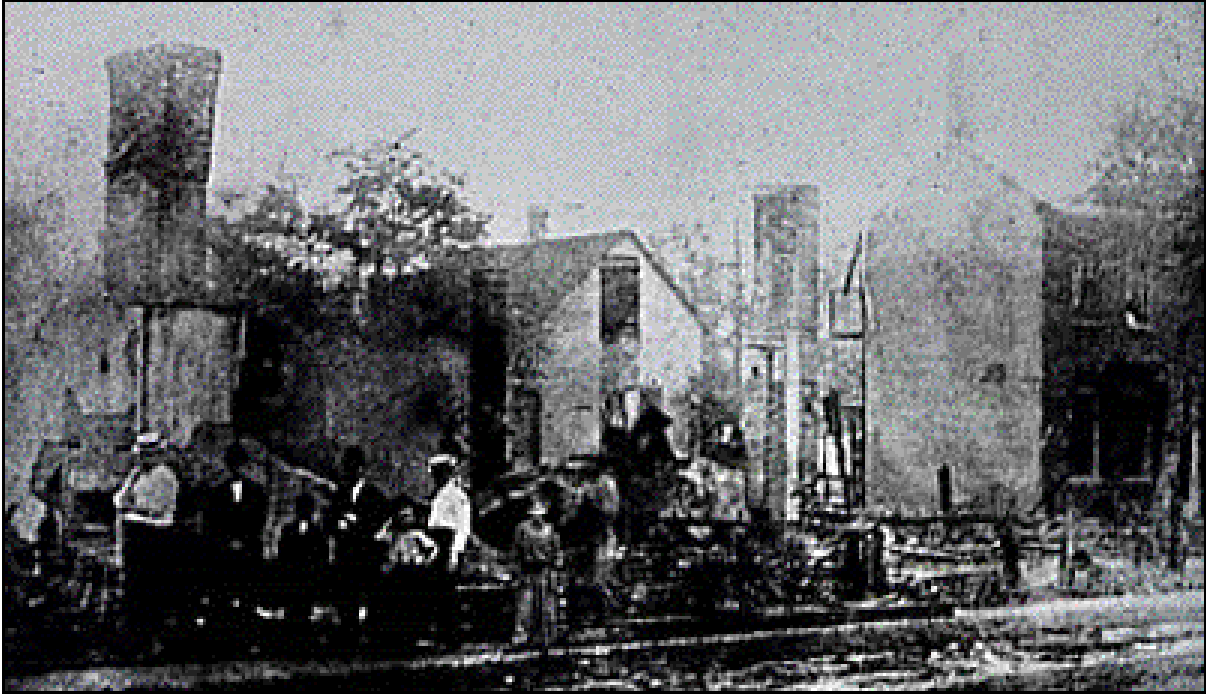
View 13a. North side of 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking north and showing ruins of house numbers 1113 through 1129. The building shown at far right is the saloon/grocery where Scott Burton was lynched. Top: From 1909 scrap book (Smithsonian African American History Museum). Bottom: ALPLM Ide Collection, NG5797.



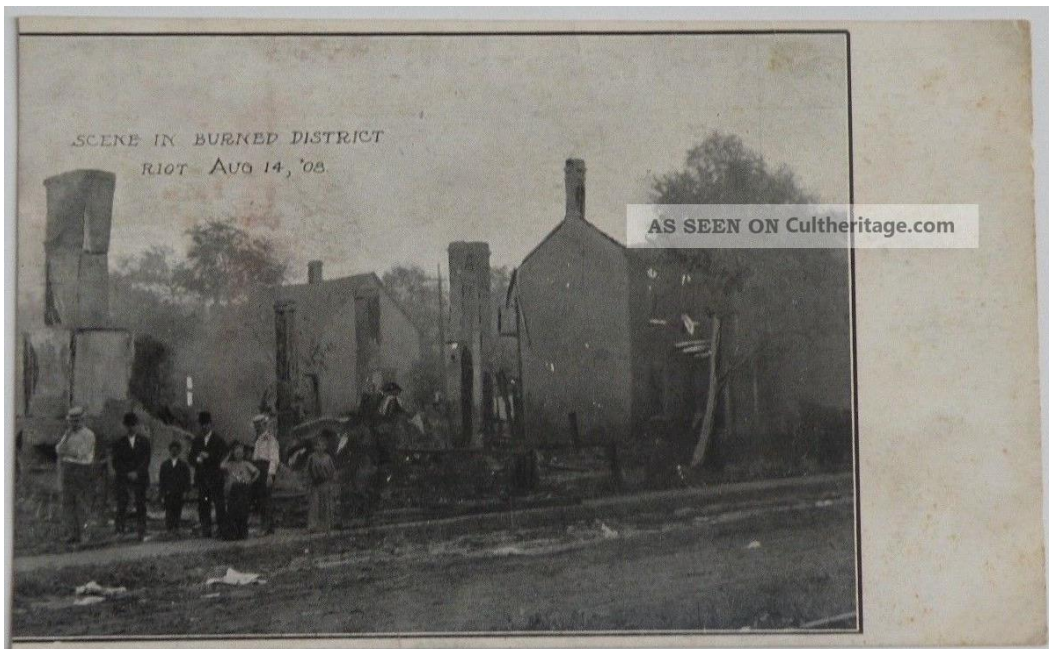
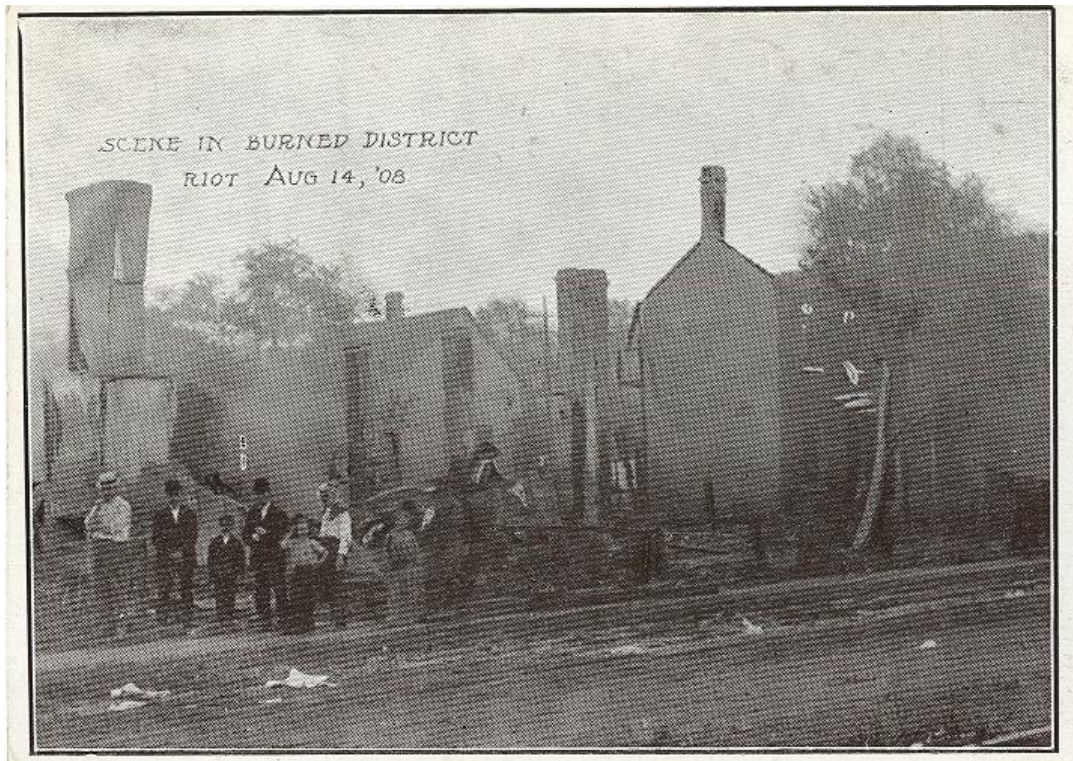
View 13b. Top: Detail of postcard image illustrating the north side of 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking northeast and showing the ruins of house numbers 1121 through 1129 East Madison Street (Photo is reversed; see previous and following images). Note firehose spraying water on smoldering ruins. **Bottom:** Postcard with two images of riot aftermath (including top view), and handwritten text “Nigger Dives Burned on Madison St.” (Postcard image courtesy of Richard Hart; see also <http://www.lib.niu.edu/1996/iht329622.html>).



View 13c. North side of 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking north and showing ruins of house numbers 1113 through 1129. The building shown at far right is the saloon/grocery where Scott Burton was lynched. Top: From 1909 scrap book (Smithsonian African American History Museum). Bottom: Sangamon Valley Collection (90-385004).



View 13d-e. North side of 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking northeast and showing the ruins of house numbers 1121 through 1129. Top: Image as published in the *Illinois State Register* (August 16, 1908). Bottom: Postcard image captioned “Scene in Burned District / Riot Aug. 14, ‘08” (<http://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/springfield-illinois-race-riot-ruins-00-10s>)



View 13f-g. Two identical views of the north side of the 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking northeast and showing the ruins of house numbers 1121 through 1129. Top: ALPLM Ide Collection PC14. Bottom: <http://cultheritage.com/unt/10957-springfield illinois race war scene in burned district riot aug 14 1908 b.html>

ANOTHER VIEW ON EAST MADISON STREET.



Where mob's violence reached its highest pitch.

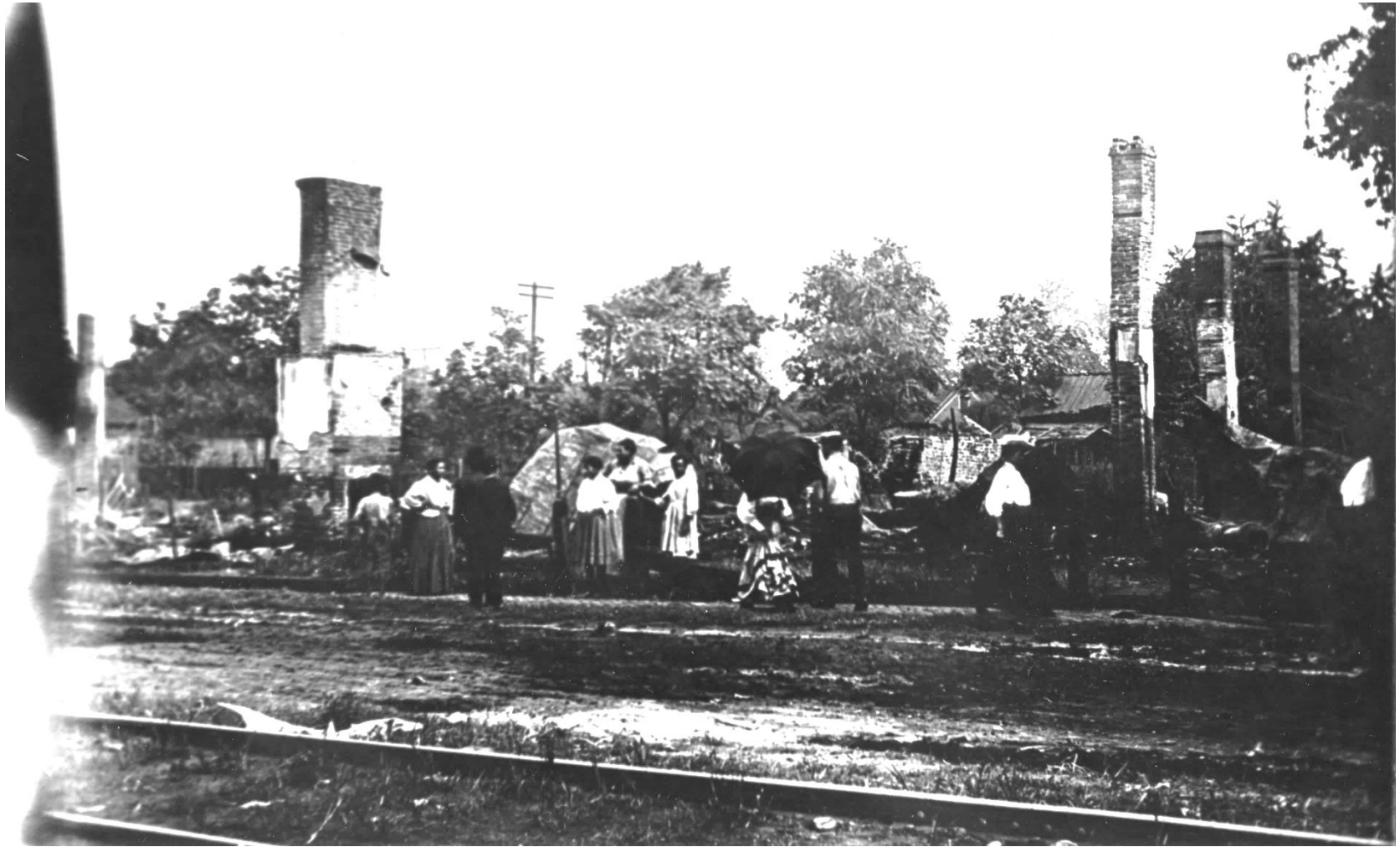
View 13h. Same view, as published within the *Illinois State Journal* (15 August 1908; Sangamon Valley Collection 97-346010).



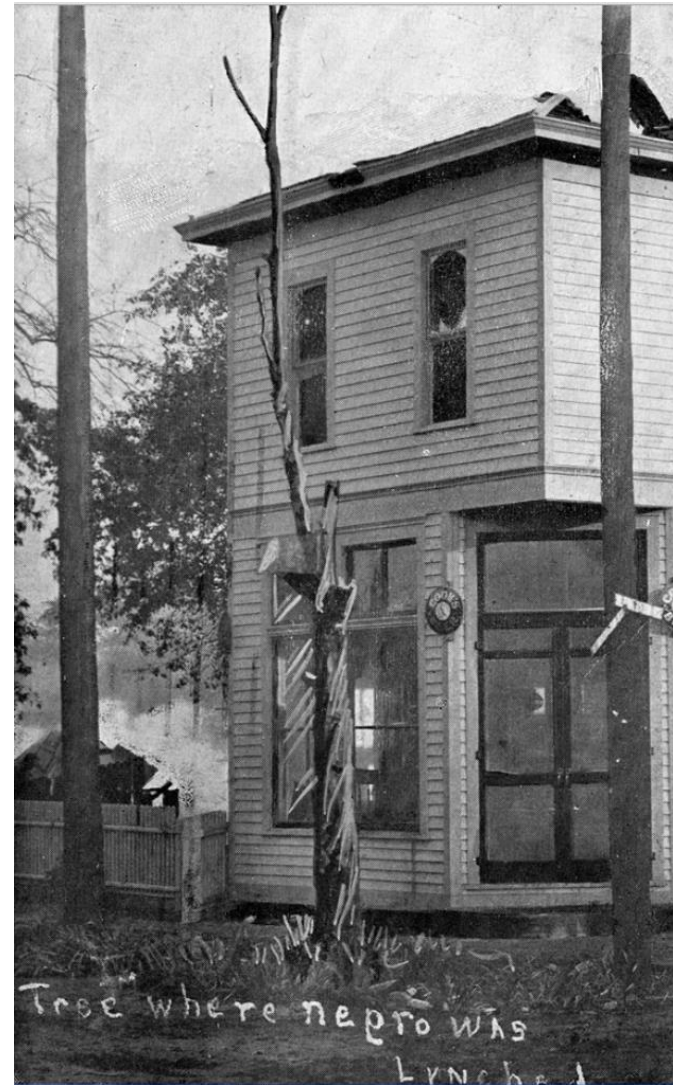
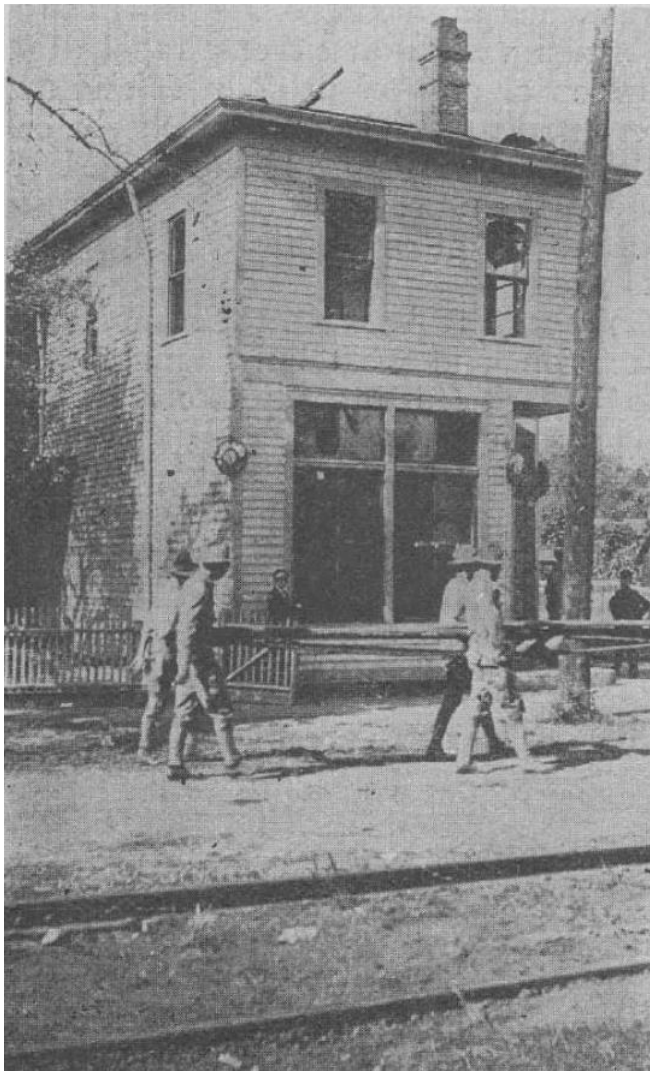
View 13i-j. Two views of the north side of the 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking northeast and showing the ruins of house numbers 1121 through 1129. Top: Sangamon Valley Collection 90-285005 and 90-386B003. Bottom: Sangamon Valley Collection 90-386A007.



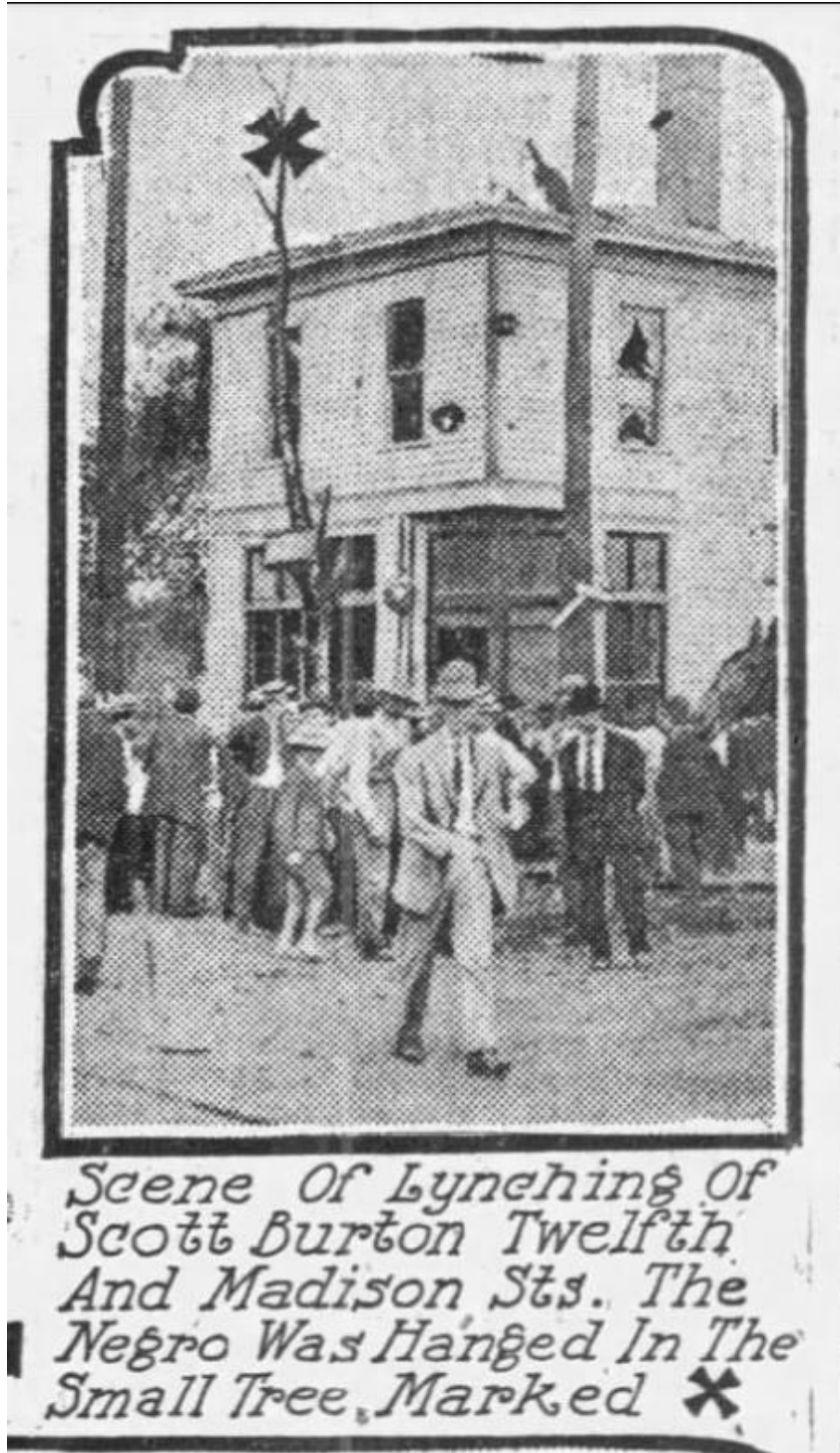
View 13k. Postcard view 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking north with National Guard troops posing in front of the ruins of 1121 East Madison Street in the immediate aftermath of the riot (ALPM Ide Collection PC15; Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A006).



View 13l. View from nearly same vantage point (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A001; see also 90-387B005). This is one of the few images that depicts displaced African-American citizens among the burned-out ruins.

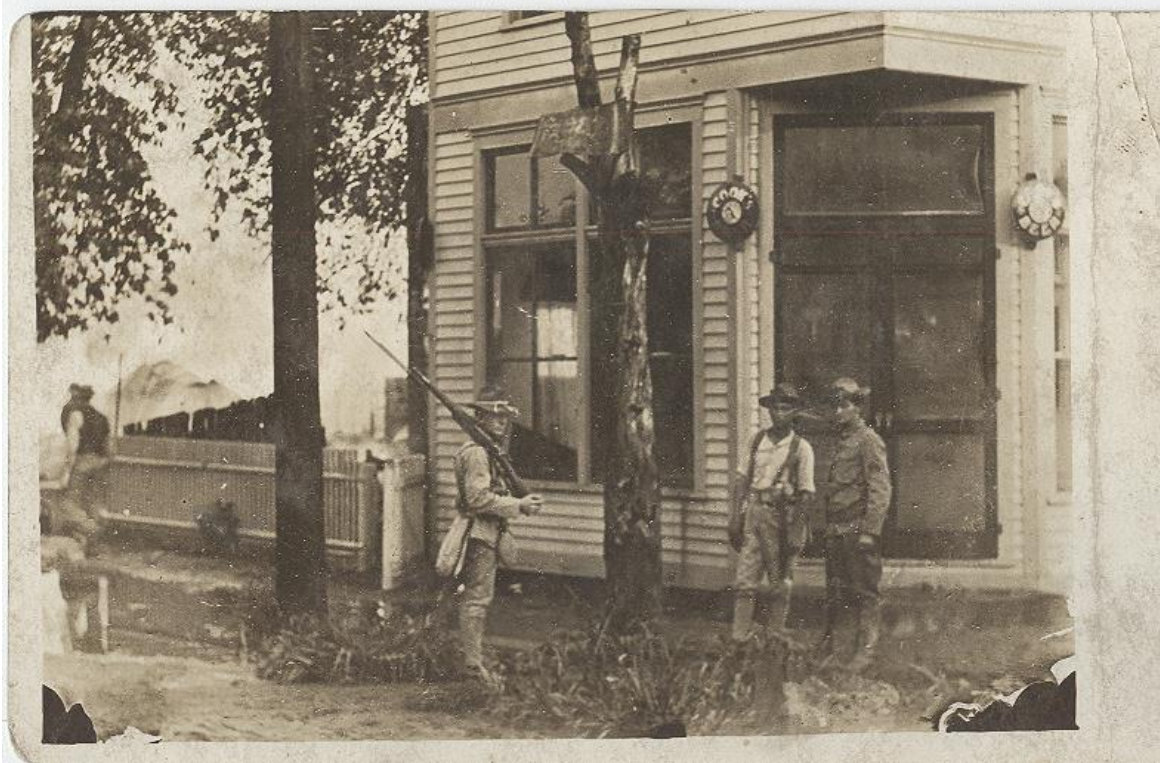


View 14a-b. Left: “A Looted Negro Saloon / Soldiers searching for dead bodies” (Walling 1908:533). Right: Postcard image of “Tree where negro was Lynched” (Smithsonian African American History Museum; Sangamon Valley Collection 90-386B002).

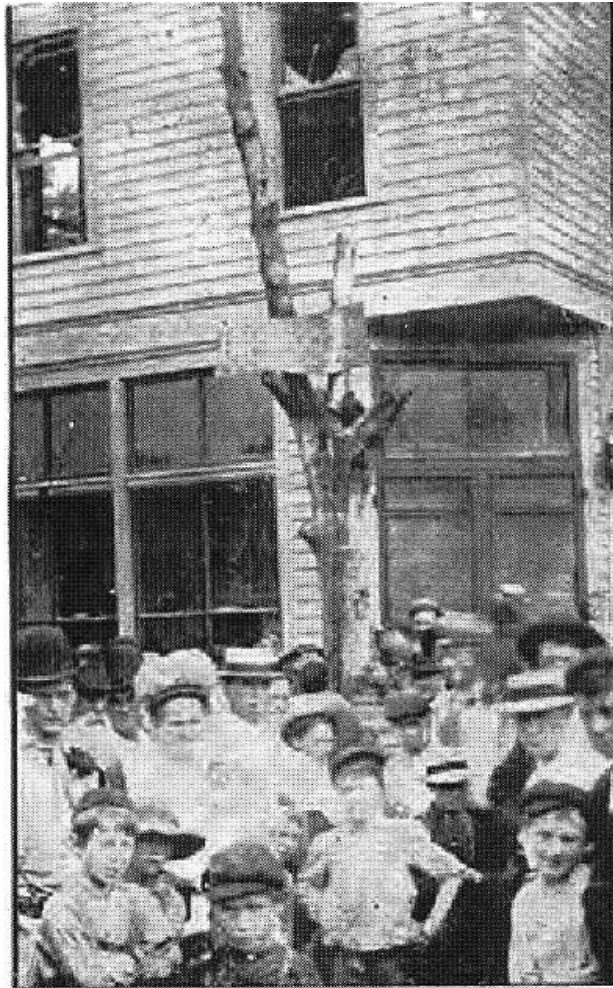


*Scene Of Lynching Of
Scott Burton Twelfth
And Madison Sts. The
Negro Was Hanged In The
Small Tree, Marked X*

View 14c. Similar view, as published in the *Chicago Tribune* (17 August 1908, p. 2).



View 14d. Another view of saloon at the northwest corner of Madison and Twelfth streets, where Scott Burton was lynched, with National Guard troops stationed in front. Top: ALPLM Ide Collection PC22 and Sangamon Valley Collection 90-386B004. Bottom: Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A002.



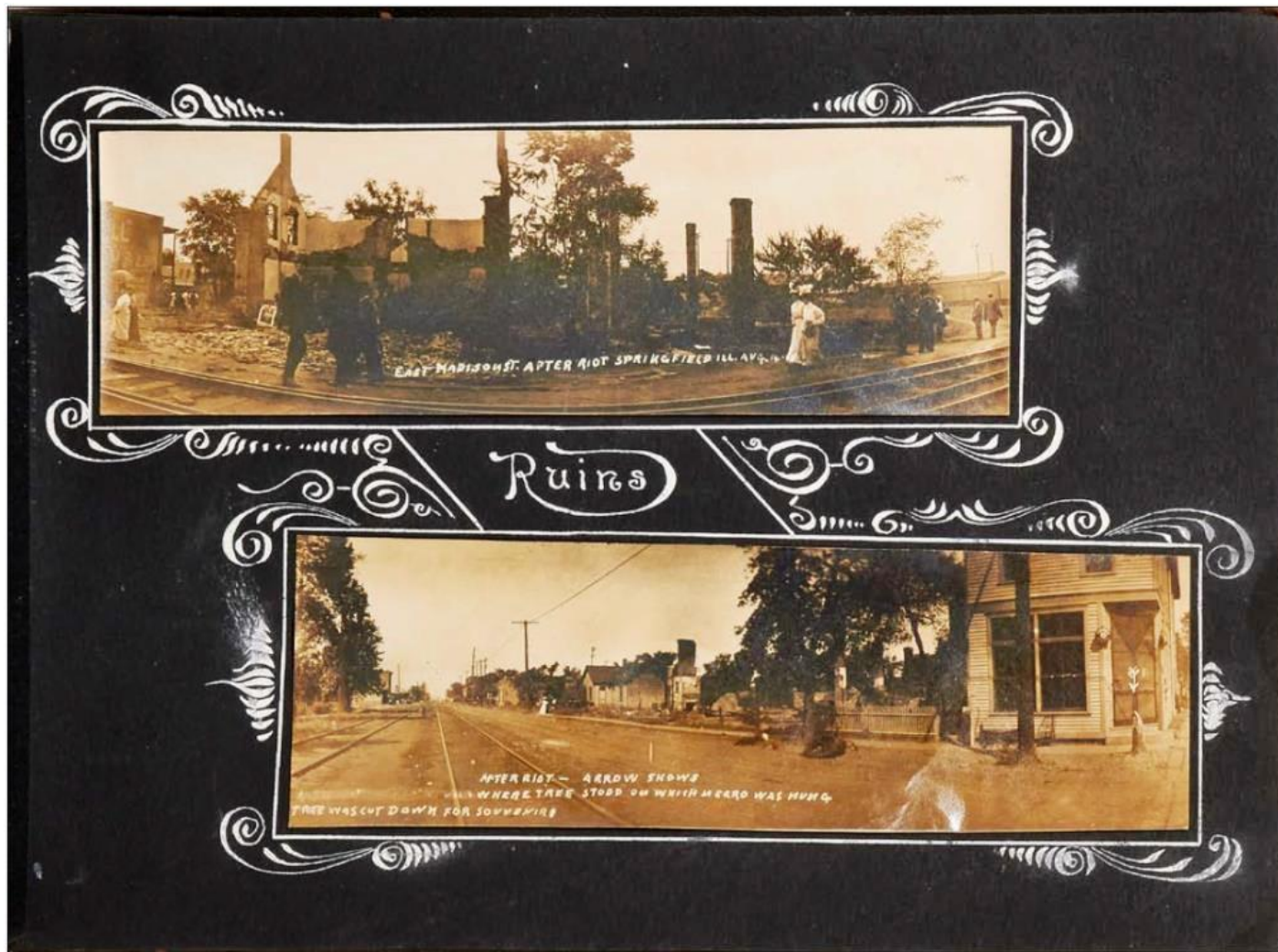
Views 14e-f. Another two views of the saloon at the northwest corner of Madison and Twelfth streets, where Scott Burton was lynched. Left: *Illinois State Register*, August 21, 1908 (see also Sangamon Valley Collection 97-346011). Right: A poor quality copy of this image, without text, is present in Scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum); this image was from an online source (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a4/Springfield_Riot_postcard.jpg/1026px-Springfield_Riot_postcard.jpg).



View 14g-h. Two views of the saloon at the northwest corner of Madison and Twelfth streets, where Scott Burton was lynched, with post-riot crowd gathered in front. Top: Postcard image labeled “X Remains of Tree Where Negro Was Hanged / Springfield Race War Aug ‘08”) (Sangamon Valley Collection 90-387A010). Bottom: Postcard (Courtesy of Richard Hart).



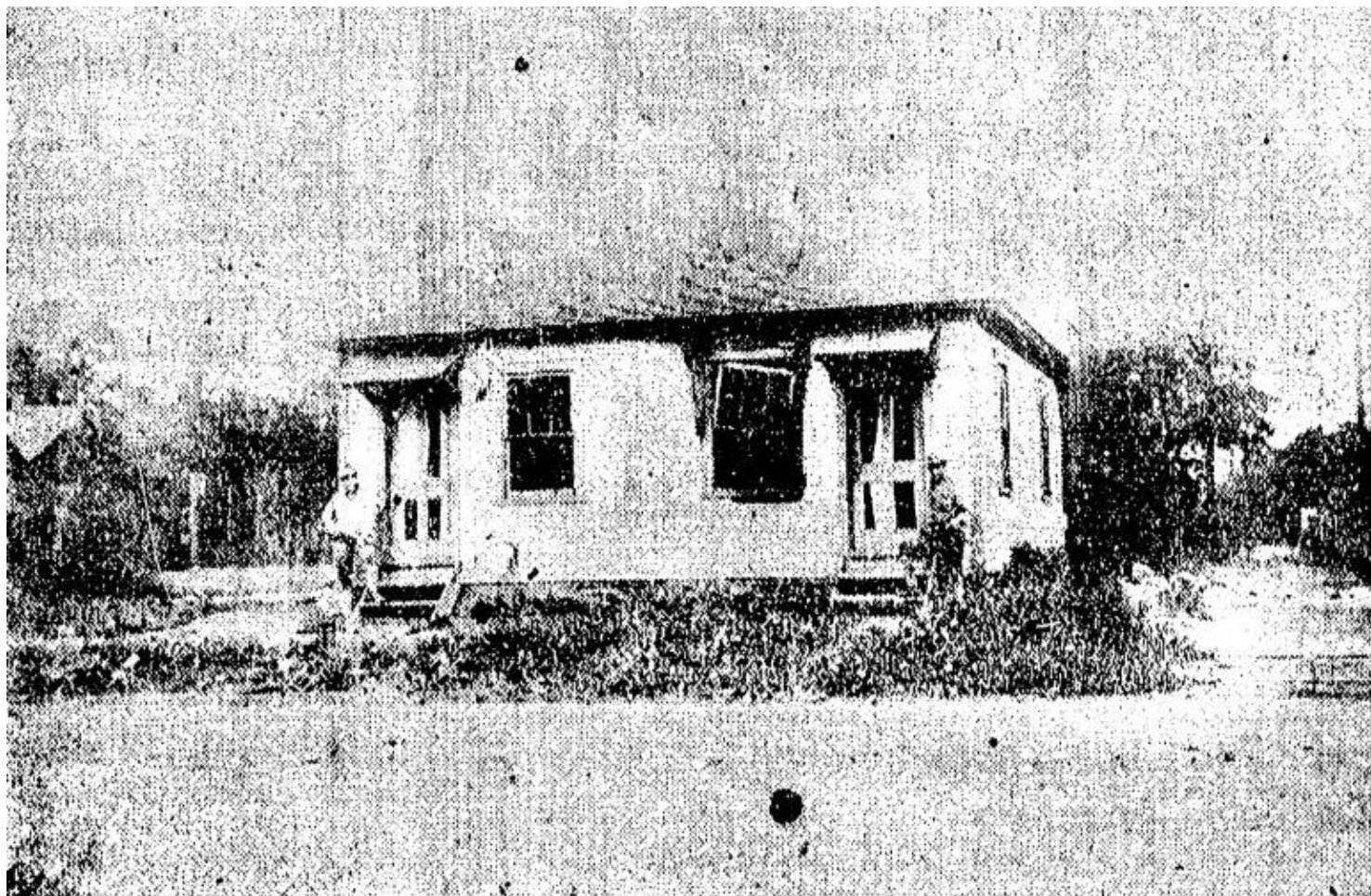
View 14i. Another image of the saloon at the northwest corner of Madison and Twelfth streets, where Scott Burton was lynched (<http://library.uis.edu/archives/localhistory/riotphotos.html>; from the Booth-Grunendike Collection, Archives/Special Collections, Brookens Library, University of Illinois at Springfield).



View 15. Two views along Madison Street from 1909 scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum). Top: View of the south side of the 1000 block of East Madison Street, looking south/southwest. This image is the same as Photo 7e, illustrated earlier. Bottom: View of the 1100 block of East Madison Street, looking west from the intersection of Twelfth and Madison streets. The saloon where the Burton lynching occurred appears at right.



View 15. Previous view enlarged, looking west down Madison Street from the intersection of Twelfth and Madison streets. The saloon where the Burton lynching occurred is shown at right (Smithsonian African American History Museum).



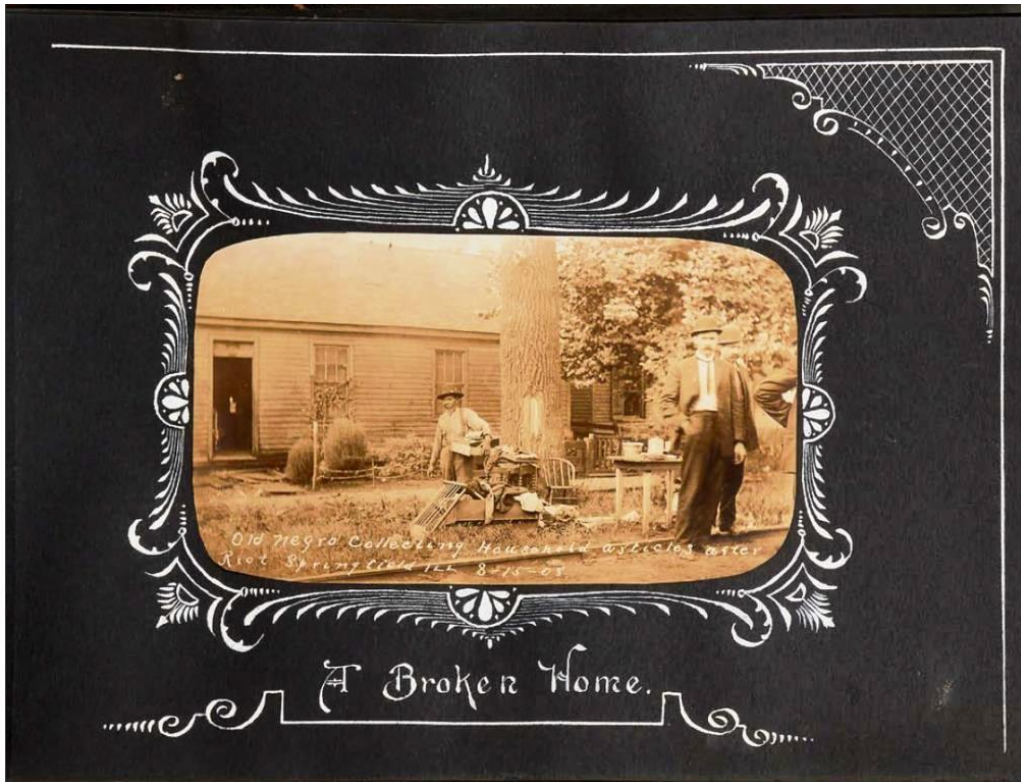
View 16. View, looking east, of the Scott Burton residence—a double house located at 320-322 North Twelfth Street (between Madison and Mason Streets) (“CITY IN GRIP OF RACE TROUBLE 20 YEARS AGO,” *Illinois State Journal*, 12 August 1928, p. 31). Note the presence of Illinois National Guard soldiers at each door.



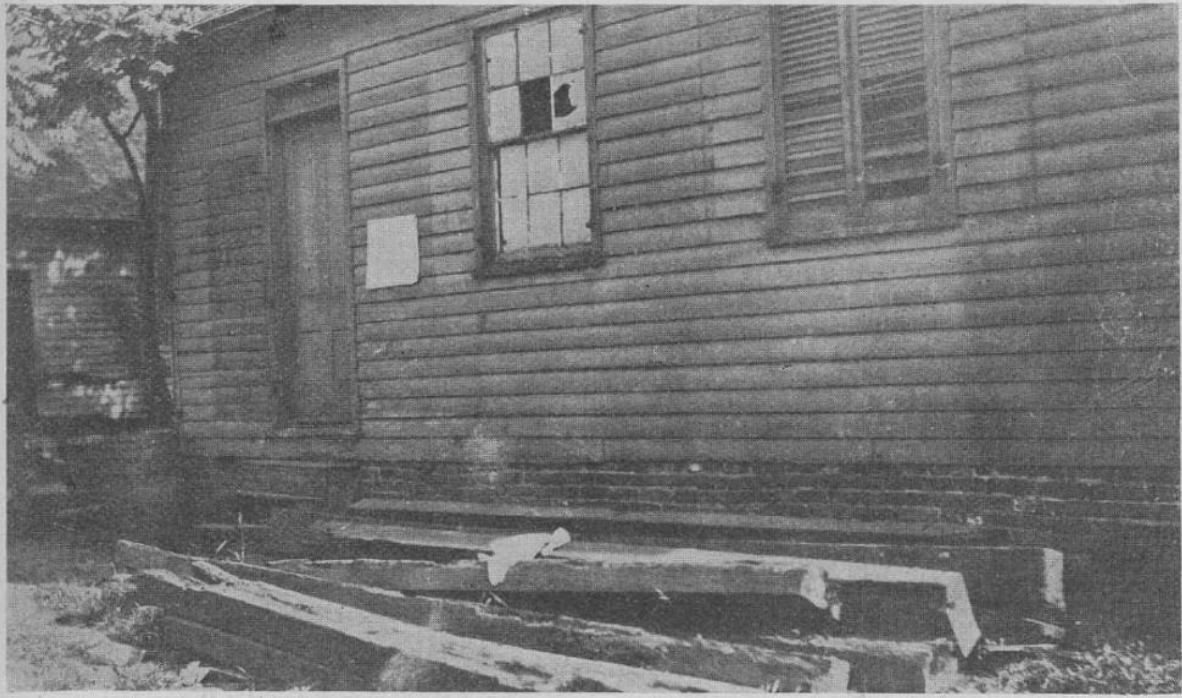
View 17a. South side of the 1100 block of East Mason Street, looking west and showing ruins of houses at numbers 1128 and 1130 in foreground and damaged house at 1126 in background. Top: From 1909 scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum). Bottom: ALPLM Ide Collection, NG5793. Two of the occupants of these homes were William Brandon, a barber, and James Caldwell, a shoemaker, both of whom were Black.



View 17b. Two views of the south side of the 1100 block of East Mason Street, looking southwest from the intersection of Mason and Twelfth Street. Top: From 1909 Scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum). Bottom: Postcard (<http://www.lib.niu.edu/1996/iht329622.html>). Labeled “12 & Madison Burnt Negro homes / Mob Violence Springfield 8-15-08.”



View 18. View of houses at unknown location, from 1909 Scrapbook (Smithsonian African American History Museum). Scrapbook page is labeled “A Broken Home.” Postcard is labeled “Old Negro Collecting Household articles after Riot Springfield, ILL. 8-15008.” The presence of the railroad tracks (seen in foreground), set tight to the street edge, suggests that this house was on the south side of East Madison Street, possibly in the 1100 or 1200 block.



MARKED HOUSES.

A white handkerchief nailed to the house indicated white people. The device of a white cross, it will be remembered, was used in the St. Bartholomew Massacre. The houses around this one were all sacked or burned and many inmates were injured.

View 19. This picture of an unburned house, with white flag, was published in Walling (1908:531). Its location is unknown. Although this house was spared from destruction, several window panes clearly have been broken—likely caused by the white mob.

Appendix VIII

Photographic Views of the Great Springfield Race War August, 1908



“Scene on East Madison Street. In the heart of the ‘Black Belt.’”

On August 14-15, 1908 Springfield, Illinois was rocked by a race riot that resulted in the deaths of nine people, dozens of properties being destroyed or damaged, and the displacement of a large segment of the city’s black population. The riot was a seminal event in Springfield’s history and is the acknowledged catalyst for the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in early 1909. The document presented here is a small (5¾” x 8¾”), 18-page, black-and-white pamphlet, printed by the *Illinois State Register* (one of Springfield’s leading newspapers of the day) shortly after that eventful weekend. This souvenir booklet was reprinted from content published in the Saturday, August 15, 1908 edition of their newspaper, which carried extensive coverage on the previous evening’s events.

As this booklet is fairly rare, and online copies of the publication were not available to view, we are reproducing it here for the public’s use. We thank Richard Hart (Springfield, Illinois) for loaning us his copy of this publication, and allowing us to scan it for presentation here.

Floyd Mansberger
Christopher Stratton

Fever River Research
Springfield, Illinois

PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEWS

OF THE

Great Springfield Race War

AUGUST, 1908

Depicting Work of Mob's Violence in the Venting
of Their Wrath on the Blacks.

PRICE, 25 CENTS


From Illinois State Register, Springfield.

SPRINGFIELD'S GREAT RACE WAR.

(Extracts from Illinois State Register of Saturday morning, August 15, 1908.)

"Mob law, implacable, inexorable, with justice as its excuse and basing its depredations upon the theory that might makes right, held Springfield in its grasp all last night while a great mob of men, thirsting for revenge for the brutal assault upon Mrs. Hallam and the cold-blooded murder of Clergy Ballard, foiled in their early attempt to get the negro prisoners charged with these crimes from the county jail, stoned the troops called out to resist them, defied police and sheriff's deputies, wrecked the restaurant and burned the automobile of Harry Loper because he aided in spiriting the negroes away from the city; fought a desperate battle with bullets and fire brands in the negro district, shattered plate glass windows, burned twenty houses before 3 o'clock this morning, and held a general reign of terror, leaving in the wake of riot a long list of dead and injured.

"The immense crowd first showed its desperation when it defied the troops and the officers and threatened to attack the jail. Sheriff Werner pleaded in vain. He declared time and time again the prisoners had been taken away.

"But the crowd would not heed advice. They demand-

ed revenge. When they found they could not succeed in gaining entrance to the jail they turned their attention to Loper's restaurant, bent upon destroying that because they had heard that Mr. Loper had aided in spiriting the prisoners away. * * *

"'On to Loper's,' was the cry that was raised by the mob last night when they heard that the negro prisoners — Joe James and George Richardson — had been spirited away from the city in Mr. Loper's automobile. And 'on to Loper's' the mob went. Bricks were hurled, Mr. Loper's automobile overturned and then burned, the entire building wrecked and furniture smashed or burned with the automobile.

"Fully ten thousand people packed Fifth street from Adams to Monroe, and across the intersections, watching the ring-leaders wreck the building and contents.

"It was while the work of destruction was at its height that Louis Johnson, a lad about 17 years old, residing at 1308 East Reynolds street, and who was employed at the Desnoyers Shoe factory, was killed. Conflicting stories are told as to his death."

The total dead to date numbers six and the wounded are innumerable. The property loss will exceed \$200,000. The cost to the county and state cannot at present be estimated. The following photographs are genuine views of the mob's destructive work.

SANGAMON COUNTY JAIL.



Where the prisoners were first confined and first mob violence was manifested.

EXTERIOR OF HARRY LOPER'S CAFE ON SOUTH FIFTH STREET.



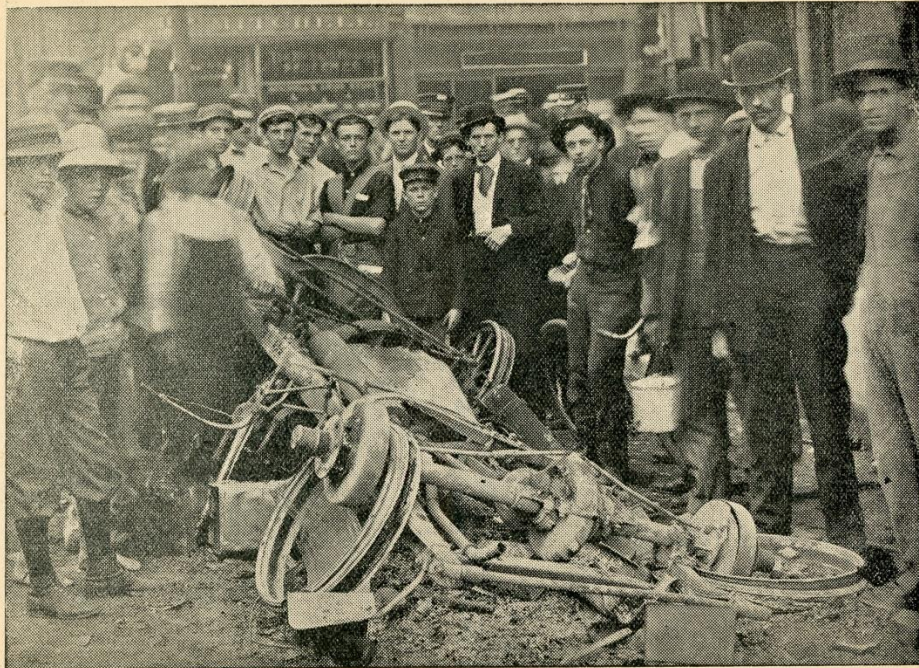
Where mob vented wrath on Mr. Loper for assisting their prey to escape their vengeance.

Interior of Loper's Cafe After Mob Had Completed Devastation.



Everything was demolished, including the handsome buffet in the basement. All furniture and fixtures were carried into the street and burned.

THE REMAINS OF LOPER'S \$5,000 AUTO.



This auto was used by Mr. Loper in spiriting the prisoners away from the jail.

FISHMAN'S PAWN SHOP AND JOHNSON'S SALOON.



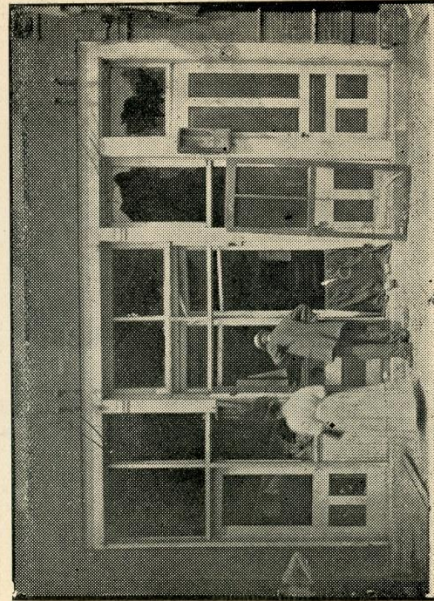
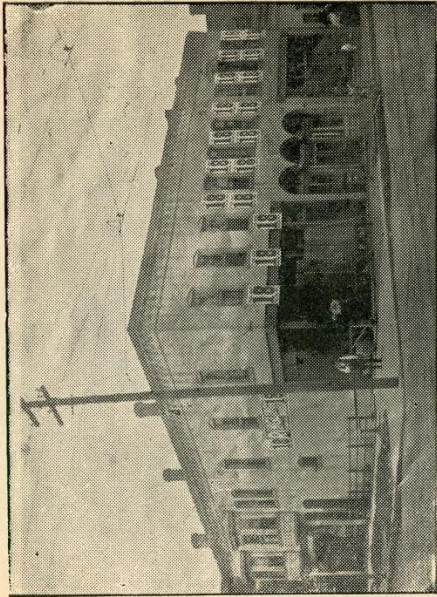
These were visited by the mob directly after demolishing Loper's restaurant. The pawn shop was completely destroyed and the saloon badly damaged.

OSBORNE'S COLORED BARBER SHOP.



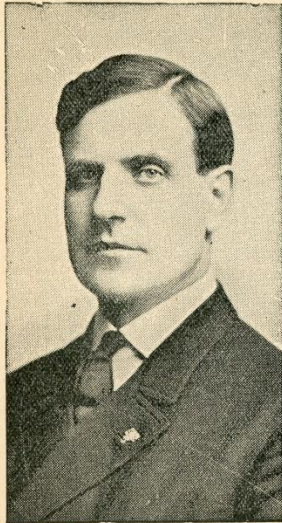
Completely wrecked and all tools confiscated.

'Dandy Jim's' Saloon at 8th and Washington.



Ed. White's (colored) Saloon.

Mayor Roy Reece.



Who narrowly escaped mob violence.

Another Scene on East Washington Street.



SCENE ON EAST MADISON STREET.



In the heart of the "Black Belt."

ANOTHER VIEW ON EAST MADISON STREET.



Where mob's violence reached its highest pitch.

SCENE OF LYNCHING.



Shows tree at 12th and Madison, on which Scott Burton was hanged.

SOLDIERS ENCAMPED ON STATE HOUSE GROUNDS.



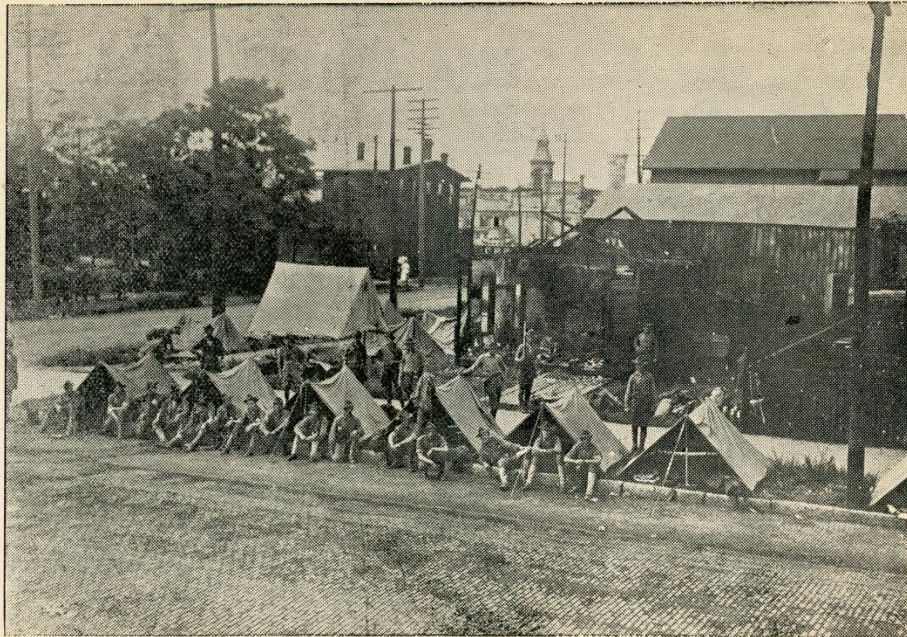
SOLDIERS ENCAMPED AT THE STATE ARSENAL.



TROOPS ENCAMPED ON CAPITOL HILL.



TROOPS AT NINTH AND JEFFERSON.

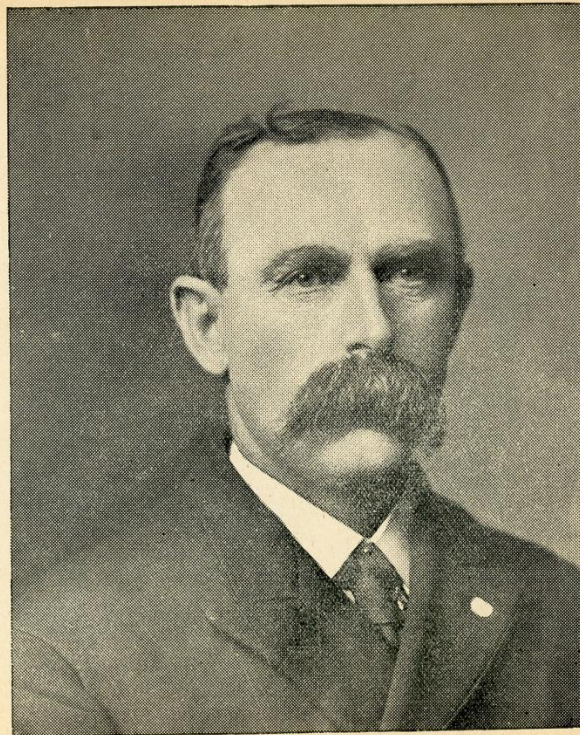


Showing barber shop of Scott Burton, who was lynched, the first building to be fired.



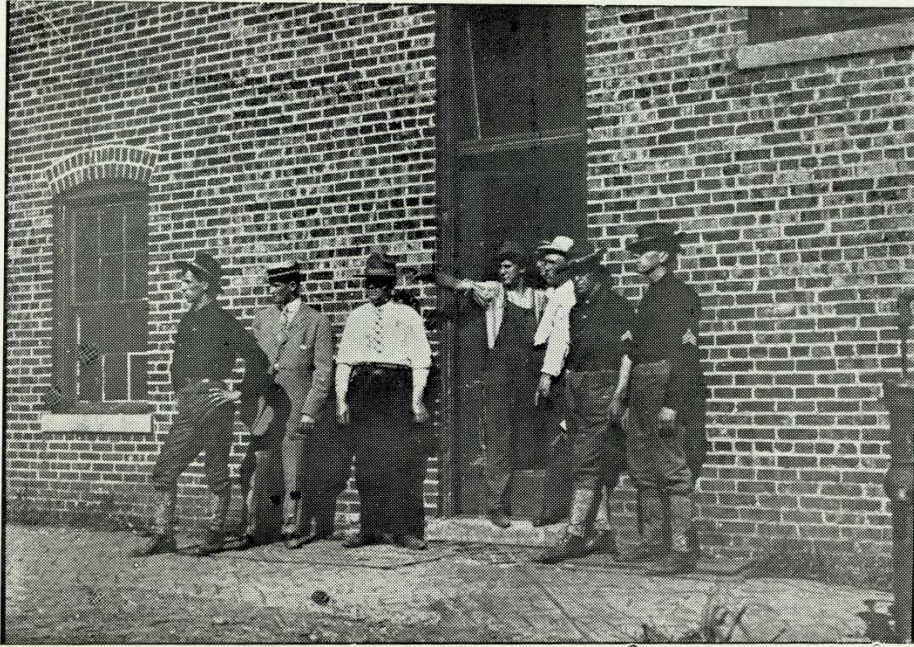
W. H. BOWE.

Deputy County Treasurer, who was shot and almost lynched by negroes.



SHERIFF WERNER.

ROY YOUNG MAKING SPECTACULAR CONFESSION.



Young stands in the doorway pointing. On one side of him stands Detective Jones, on the other, Detective Borgardus. He is pointing out a house he helped to burn.

Appendix IX

In the Wake of the Mob *An Illustrated Story of Riot, Ruin, and Rage* [A Photographic Scrapbook, 1909]



"Old Negro Collecting Household Articles After Riot Springfield ILL 8-15-08"

On August 14-15, 1908 Springfield, Illinois was rocked by a race riot that resulted in the deaths of nine people, dozens of properties being destroyed or damaged, and the displacement of a large segment of the city's black population. The riot was a seminal event in Springfield's history and is the acknowledged catalyst for the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in early 1909.

The document presented here is a 7¼" x 10" scrapbook containing a series of photographs (presumably photographic postcards) mounted on black paper with hand illustrated decoration and captions in white ink. The manuscript contains 30 images, and was "fondly dedicated" in 1909 to an unknown "Madolin."

In early 2016, while in the process of finalizing a report on archaeological investigations conducted at the site of five houses destroyed in August 1908 during the riot, we stumbled on the website Cultheritage.com, which offered for sale a scrapbook of pictures relating to the Springfield Race Riot. Unfortunately, this online source contained limited information pertaining to the manuscript, and included only a small number of poor quality images. Efforts to contact the seller went unanswered. Subsequently, we learned about the presence of the manuscript being offered for sale by the New Jersey antiquarian bookseller Between the Covers Rare Books. At this time, we were able to make screen-captured images of all pages from the scrapbook, which were presented by the bookseller in their catalog offering of the manuscript. With the assistance a third party, we contacted the bookseller and learned of the acquisition of

that manuscript by the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) in Washington, D.C. The images are presented here for their historical value relating to the current study of the Springfield Race Riot.

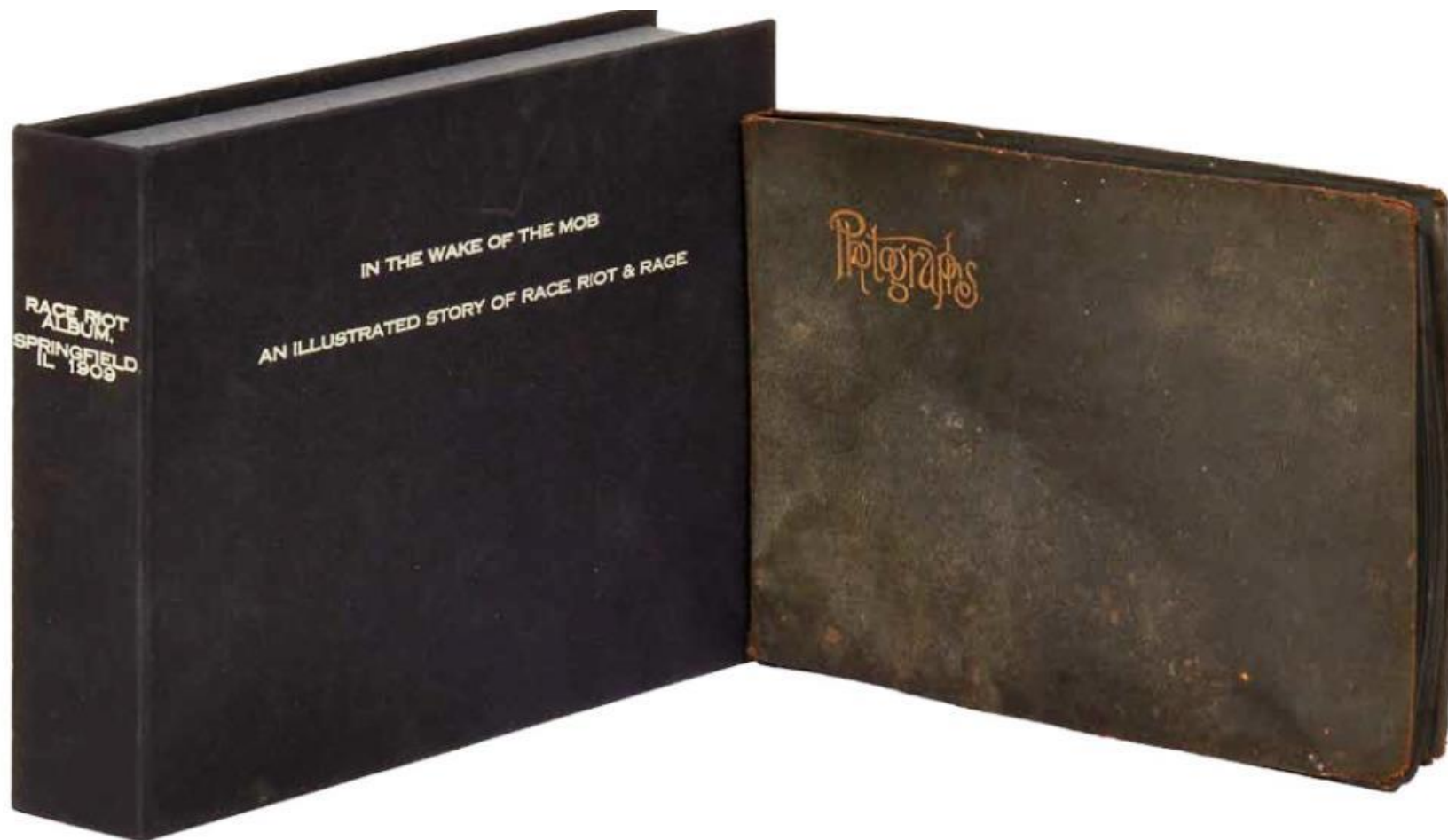
We are happy to see that the manuscript, which has such great historical significance, has been able to find such an appropriate home.

Floyd Mansberger
Christopher Stratton

Fever River Research
Springfield, Illinois

July 1, 2018

We appreciate the National Museum of African American Museum of History and Culture for access to this document, which can be viewed at their webpage at: https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?damspath=/Public_Sets/NMAAHC/NMAAHC_Slideshows/2015_139



IN THE WAKE OF THE MOB
AN ILLUSTRATED STORY OF RACE RIOT & RAGE

RACE RIOT
ALBUM,
SPRINGFIELD,
IL 1909

Photographs

IN THE WAKE
OF THE MOB
An Illustrated
Story of
Riot, Ruin
and
Rage.

Fondly
Dedicated
to
Madolin
Mc 1909

Loper's

Restaurant.



Loper's restaurant and a automobile wrecked by mob
One white boy killed-many injured Springfield, Mo. 1918
Alabama with a mob in Springfield, Mo. 1918.

Where the trouble started

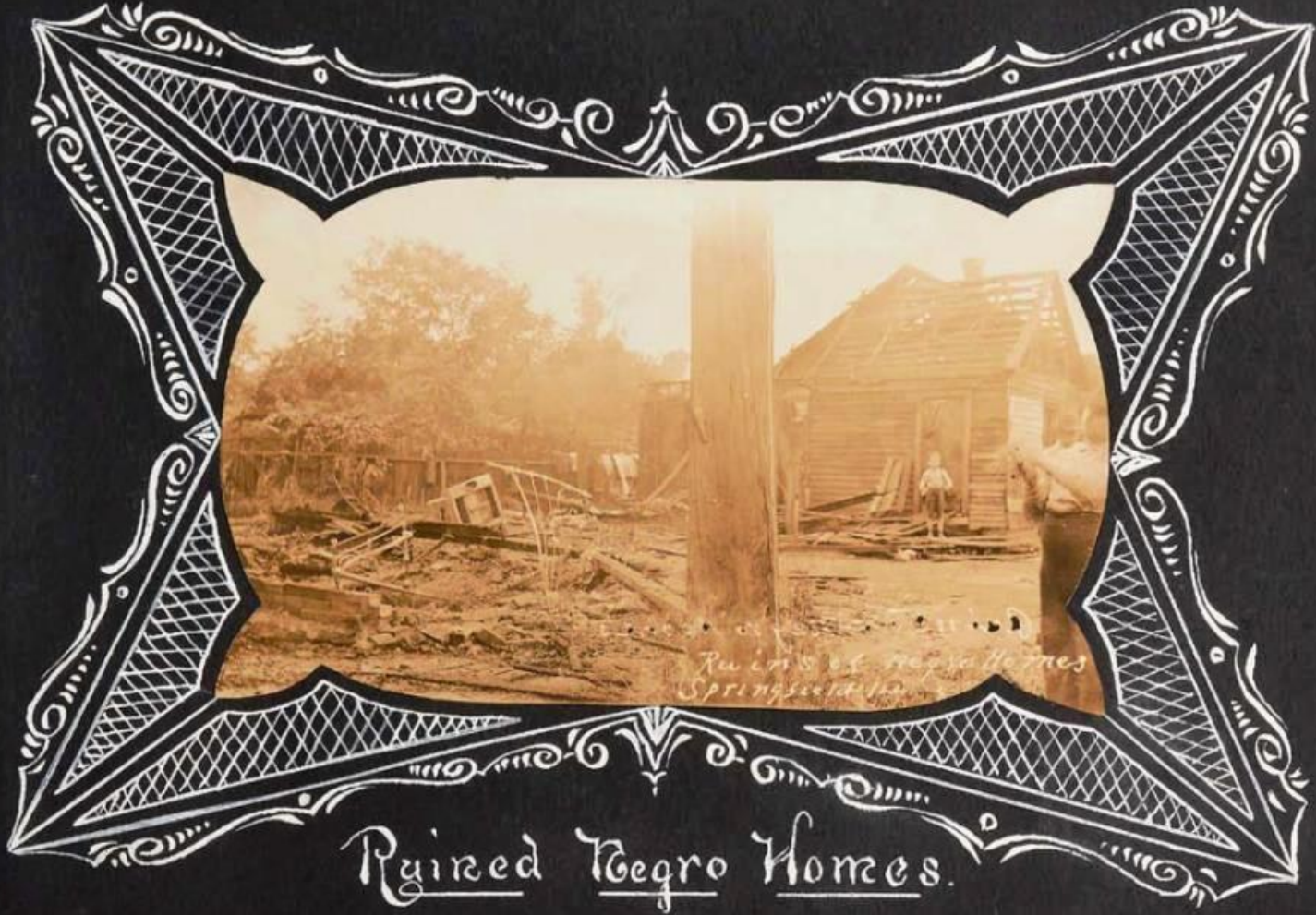


EAST HARRISON ST. AFTER RIOT SPRINGFIELD ILL. AUG. 1858

Ruins



AFTER RIOT - ARROW SHOWS
WHERE TANK STOOD ON WHICH MURDER WAS
DONE WAS CUT DOWN FOR SOUVENIR



*Ruined Negro Homes
Springfield, Mo.*

Ruined Negro Homes.

Mess Tents back of Armory.





Negro home, 9th & Madison, destroyed by rioters.
Militia on duty.

Negro Home
destroyed by the Mob.

Aug. 14. - 1908.



Ruins at 12th and Mason St.



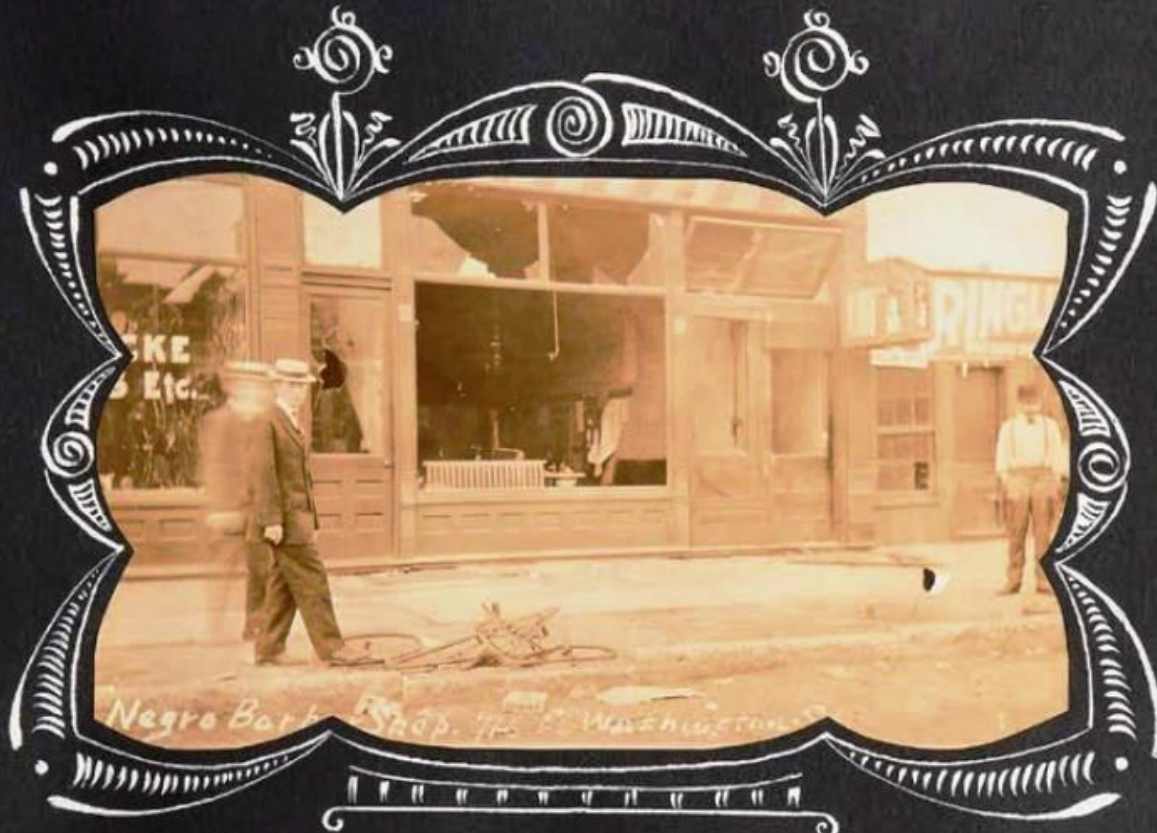
*Jew pawnshop & negro saloon destroyed by mob, in ultra
Klan, Aug. 14, 15, 1908.*

Pawn Shop and Negro Saloon
destroyed by Mob, ~ Aug. 14, 15, - 1908.

TROOP D



Scene in Court House Yard.
~On Duty~



Negro Barber Shop. W. C. Washington

*Negro Barber Shop destroyed
by Mob.*



Ruins on Madison St.



Saloon wrecked by Mob
on Madison St.



Seventh Regiment
in Camp at
Capitol Grounds

Ruins
at
Ninth and
Madison.





Old Negro Collecting Household articles after
Riot Spring Hill Tenn 8-15-07

A Broken Home.



The Morning after the Riot
at 11th and Madison.

Saloon Wrecked
and
Partly Burned.



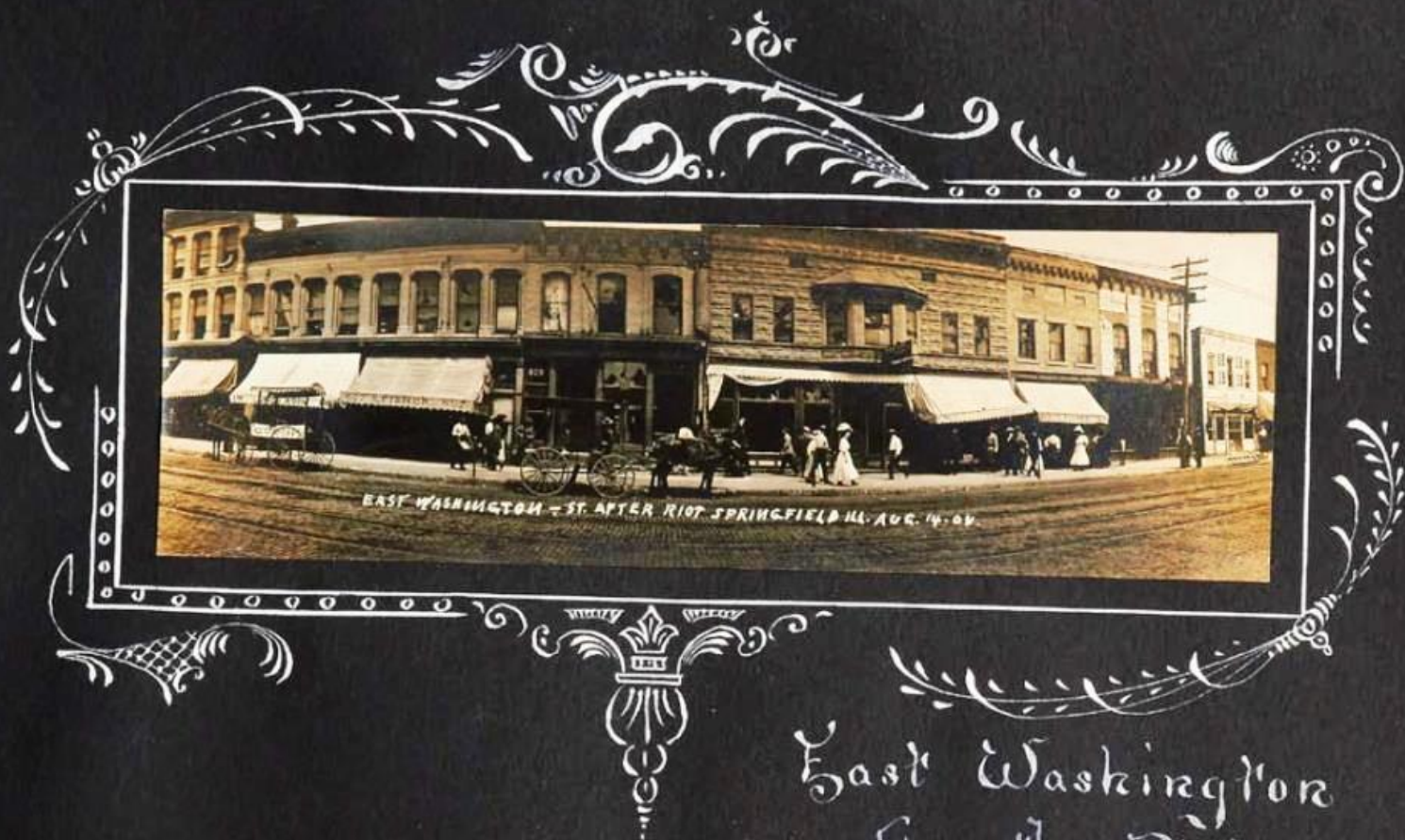
Tree on which
Negro
was hanged



Ruins of Negro Homes.
12th & Mason St.



Between
Madison and Mason on 11th St.
Negro Man and Woman eating dry bread for breakfast.



EAST WASHINGTON - ST. AFTER RIOT. SPRINGFIELD ILL. AUG. 14. 04

East Washington
after the Riot.



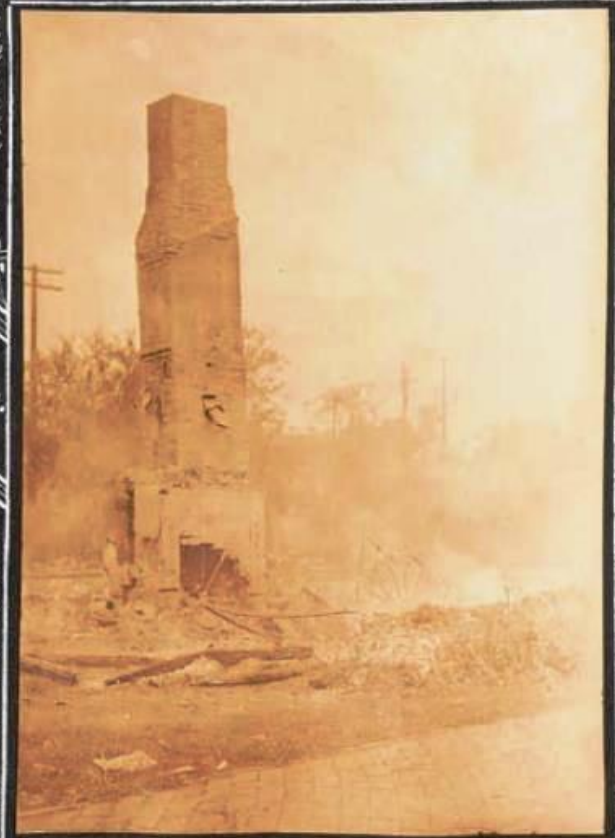
Ruins on
North Ninth Street.

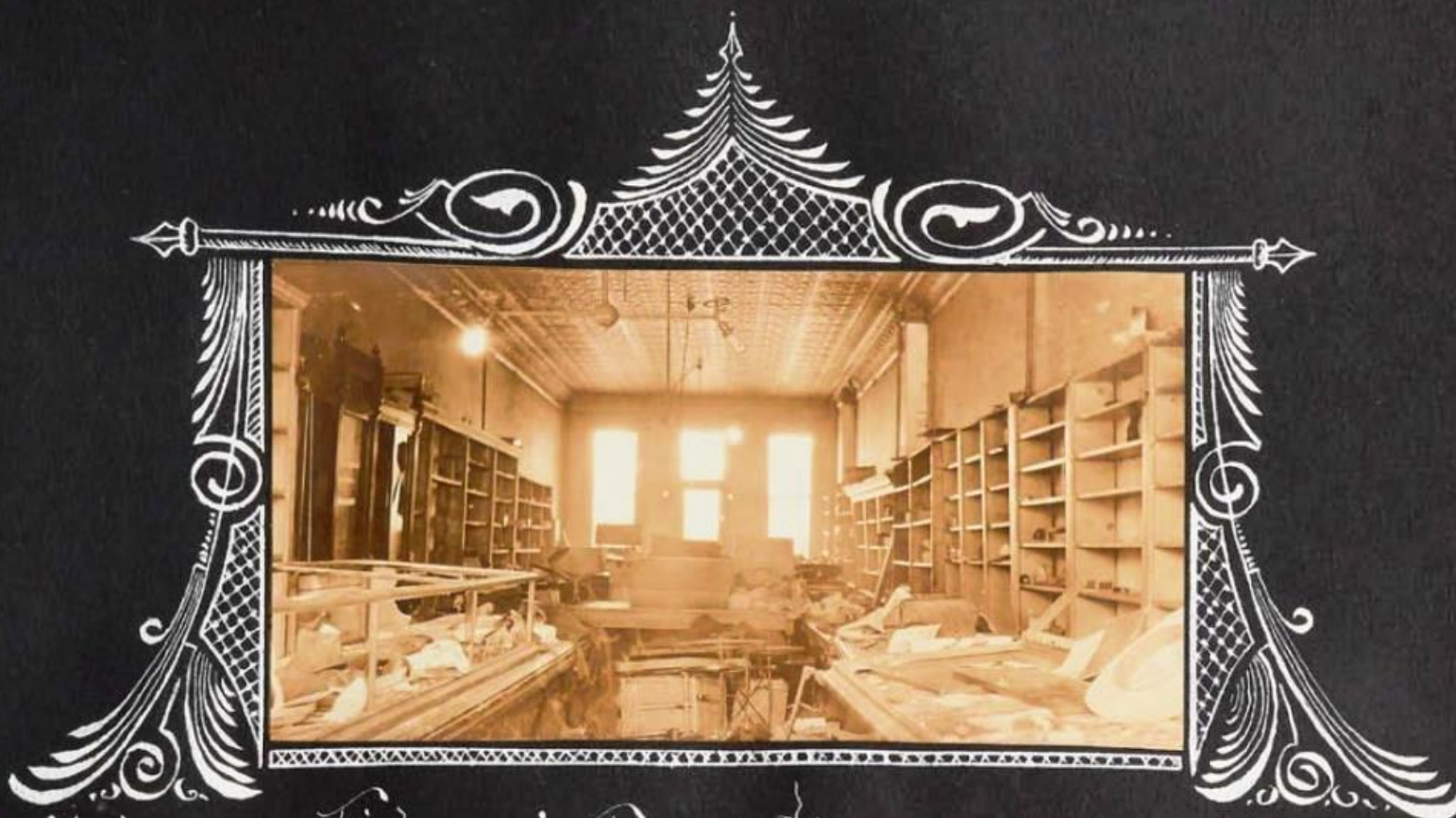


Interior negro barber shop
wrecked by rioters in Springfield,
Ill., Aug. 14, 1908.

Interior Negro Barber Shop
wrecked by the Mob.

Remains of a Negro Cabin
burned during the Riot.





Interior Fishman's Pawn Shop, Wrecked by Mob,
for alleged sympathy with Negroes.



Ruins in vicinity of 12th and Madison
Where Negro was ranged.



Interior
of
Dandy Jim's
Saloon.



Cor. 8th and Wash.



Wrecked
— and —
Plundered
by Mob.





Star Theatre wrecked by Mob, - 821- E. Wash.
Aug. 15-1908.



Daddy Jim's Saloon on
E. Wash.
Wrecked by the Mob.

Work of the Mob.



Wrecked Negro Homes,
11th and Madison.



Other Negro Ruins on 10th and Madison.