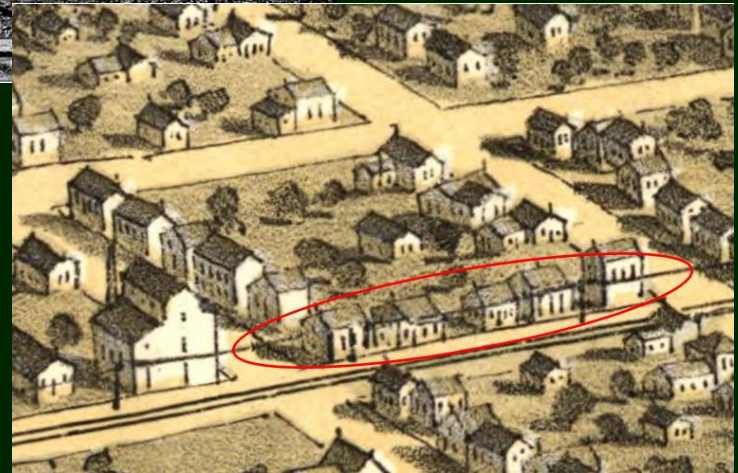
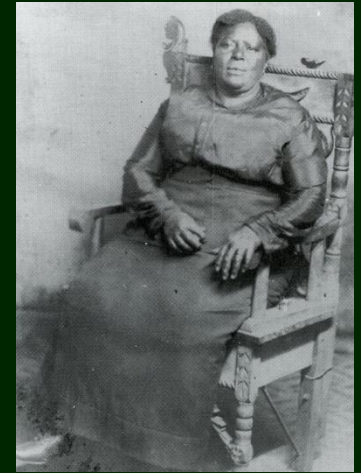
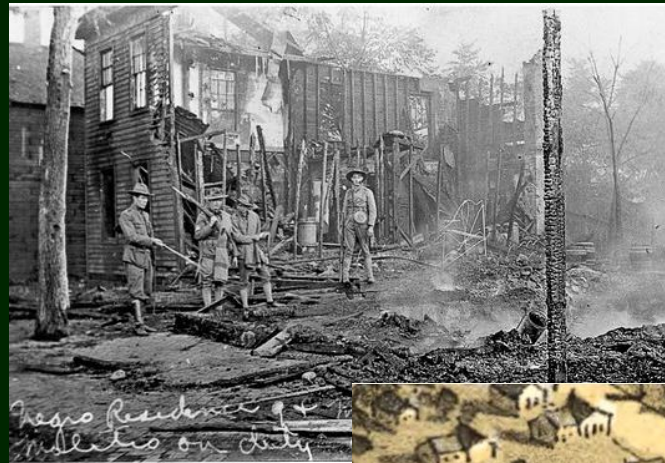
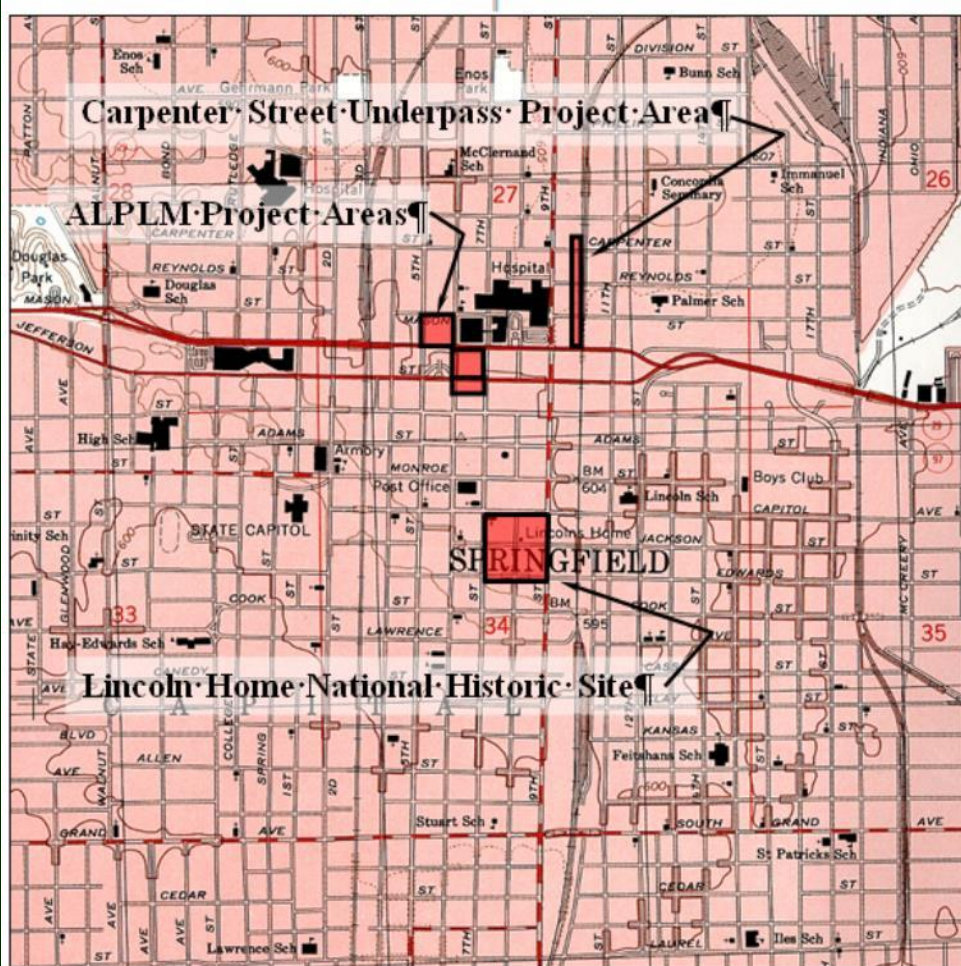


“Working-Class Housing or Shanties?”: A Historical Context for the Archaeological Investigations of the Springfield Race Riot

by
Christopher Stratton
and
Floyd Mansberger
Fever River Research
Springfield, Illinois



Conference on Illinois History
Springfield, Illinois
October 5, 2017

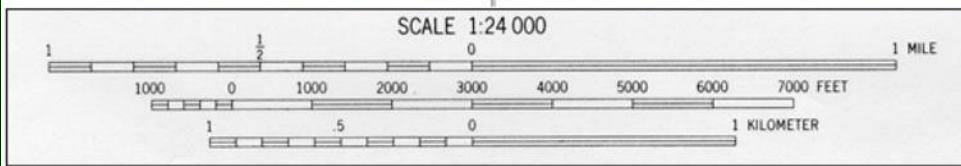


Carpenter Street Underpass Project Area

ALPLM Project Areas

Lincoln Home National Historic Site

SPRINGFIELD



The Carpenter Street Underpass project area is located immediately to the northeast of Springfield's central business district, in an area historically known as the Near North Neighborhood.

Project Location:



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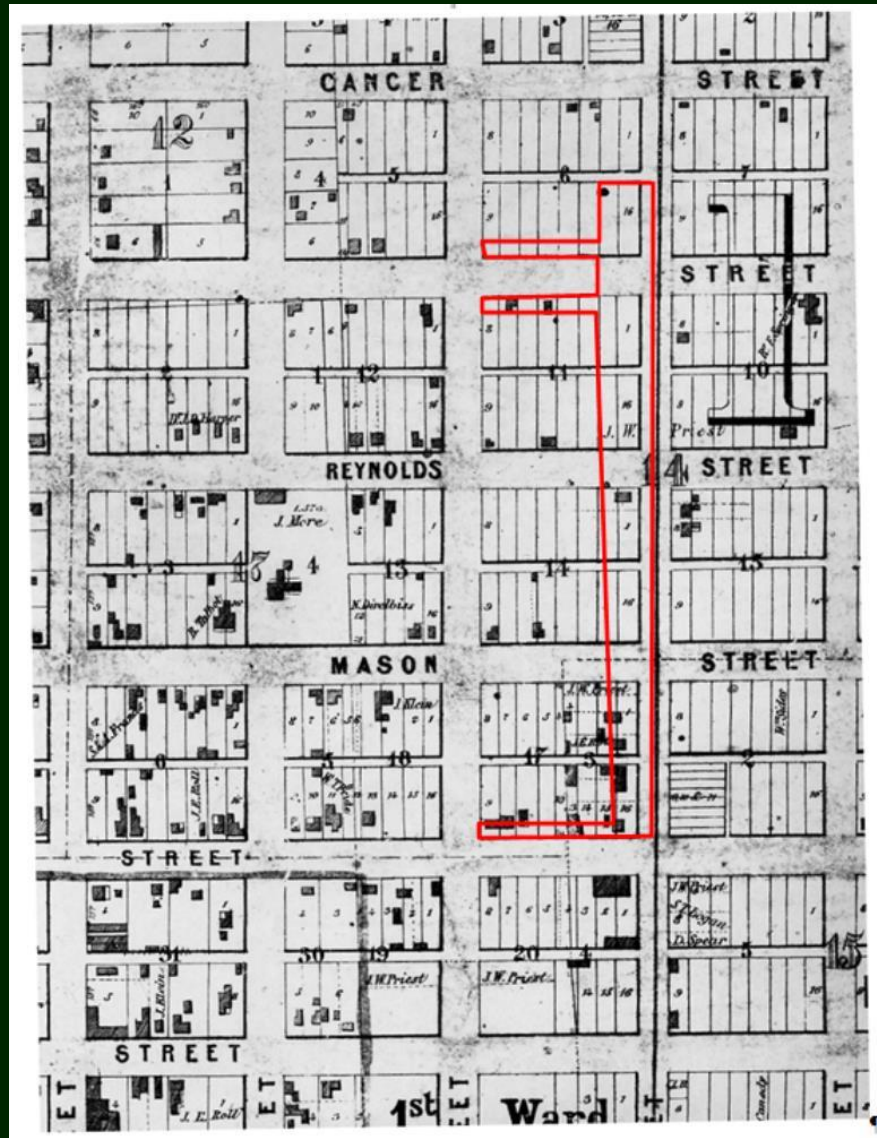
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CARPENTER STREET UNDERPASS

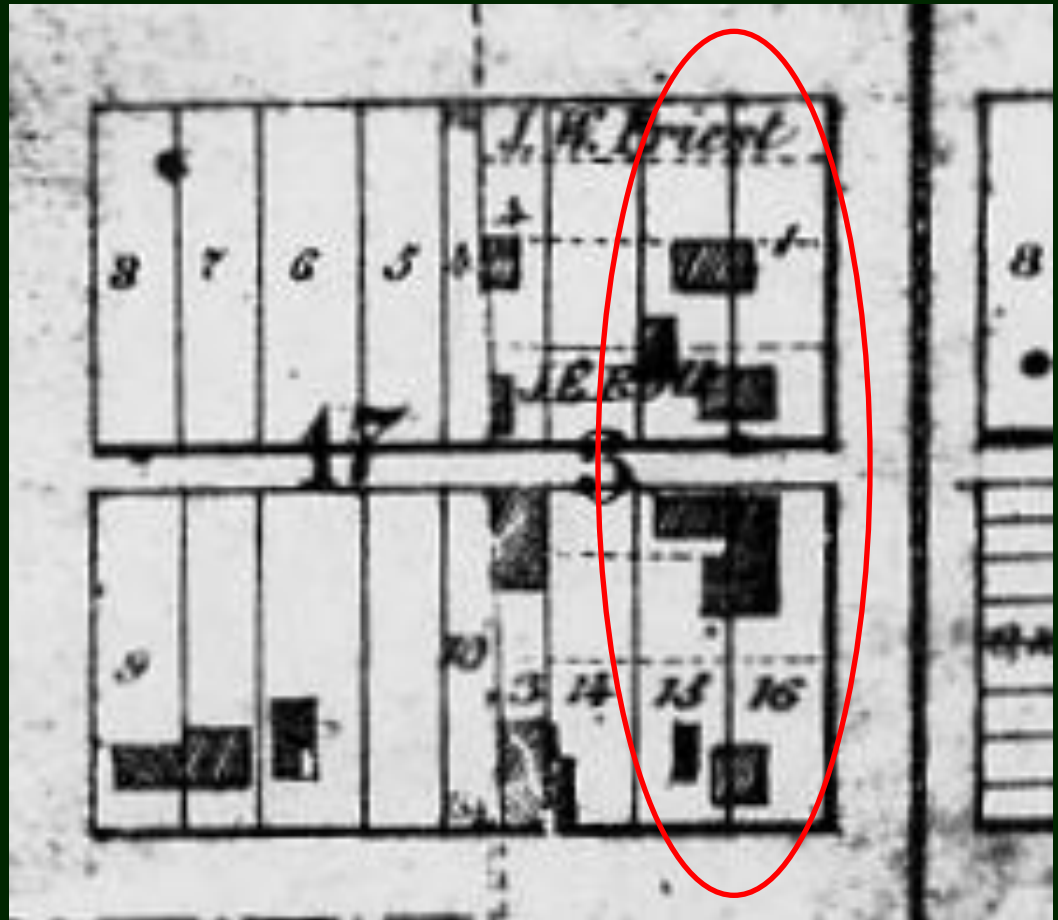
**SANGAMON COUNTY
SPRINGFIELD RAIL IMPROVEMENTS PROJECT**

EXHIBIT 1

By 1858, the majority of the project area was undeveloped. At that time, the area between Madison and Mason Streets was the most heavily developed within the immediate project area, and consisted of five houses facing Tenth Street. These houses had been constructed in the middle 1840s through early 1850s and were occupied by Euro-American working class families. The rail line had been constructed through the neighborhood only a few years earlier.



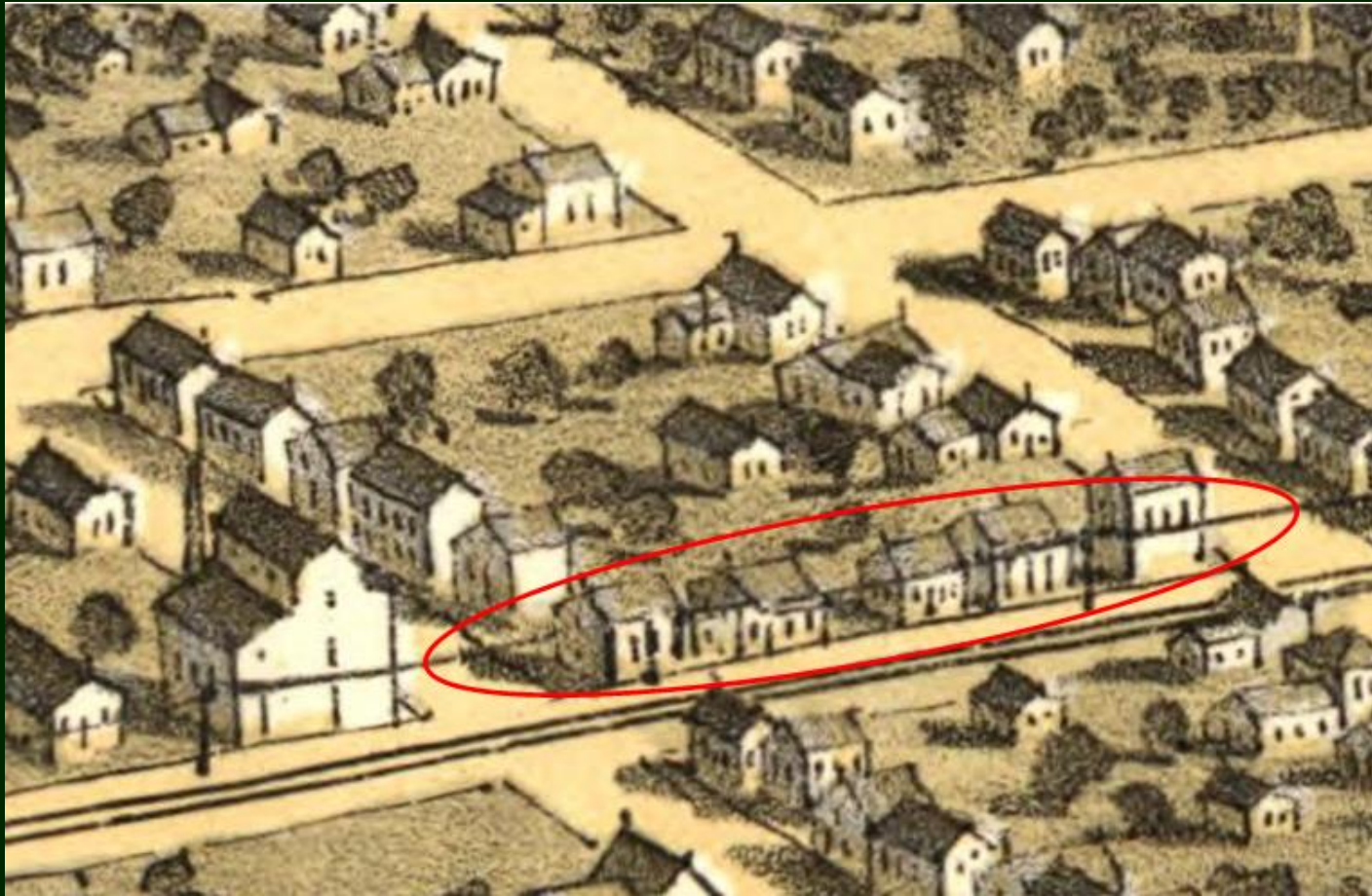
Detail of the 1858 map of Springfield, showing the five houses then present on the southernmost block of the project area. The lots associated with these homes had been re-oriented from north/south to east/west in order to front Tenth Street.



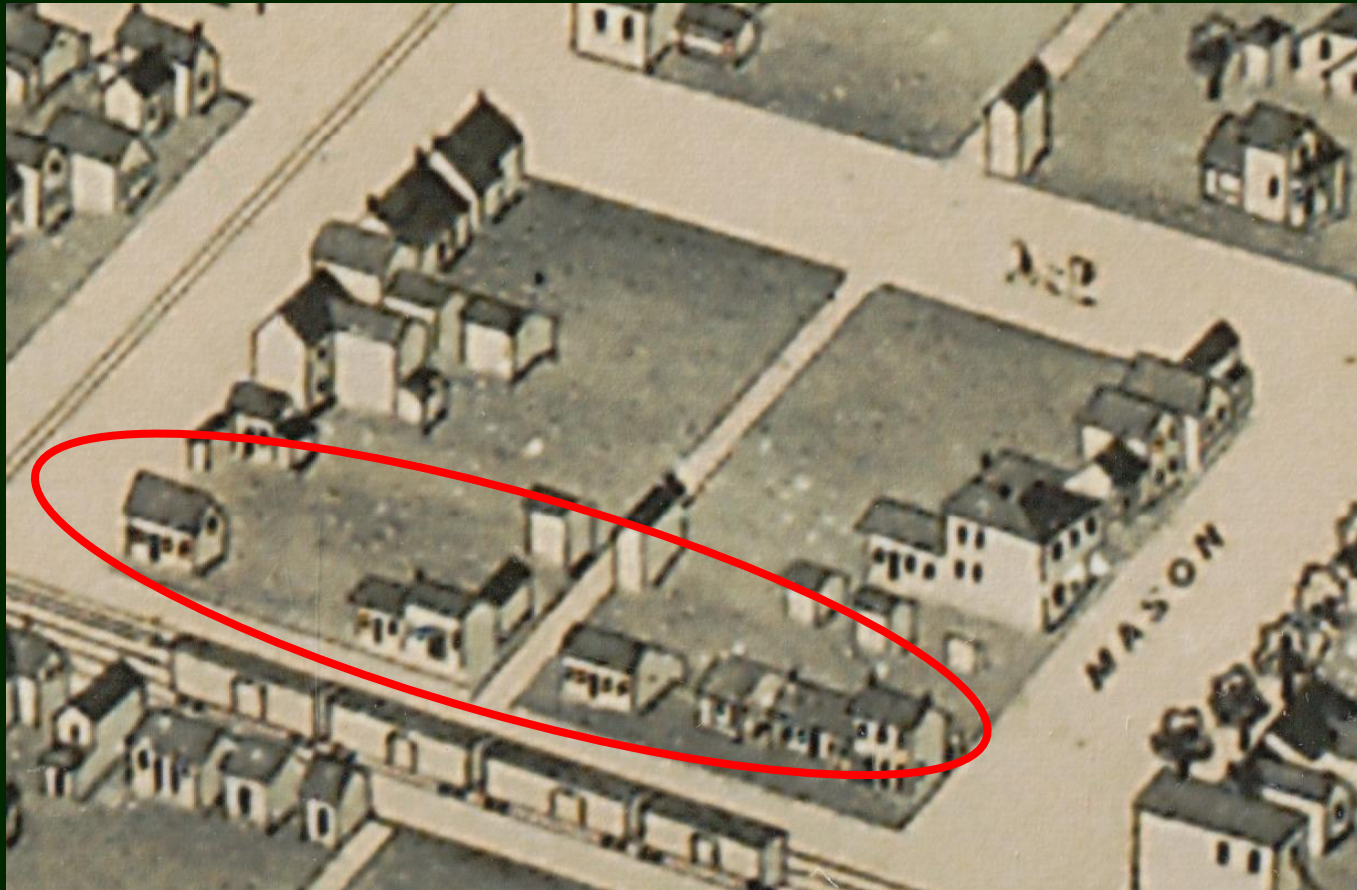
General view of Springfield's Near North Side and the Carpenter Street Underpass project area, as illustrated on the 1867 *Bird's Eye of Springfield* (Ruger 1867).



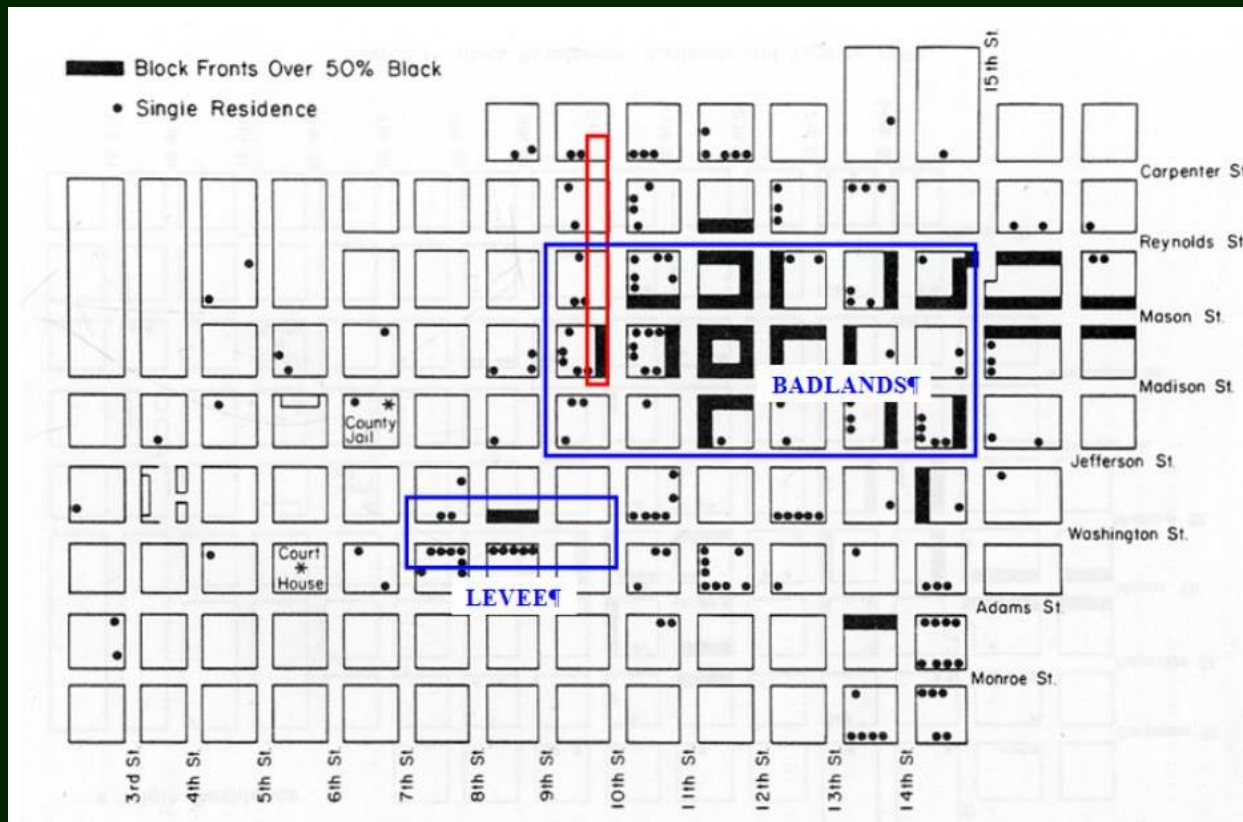
Detail of the 1867 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield* illustrating the southern end of the Carpenter Street project area. Note the large Phoenix Mill located across Madison Street to the south.



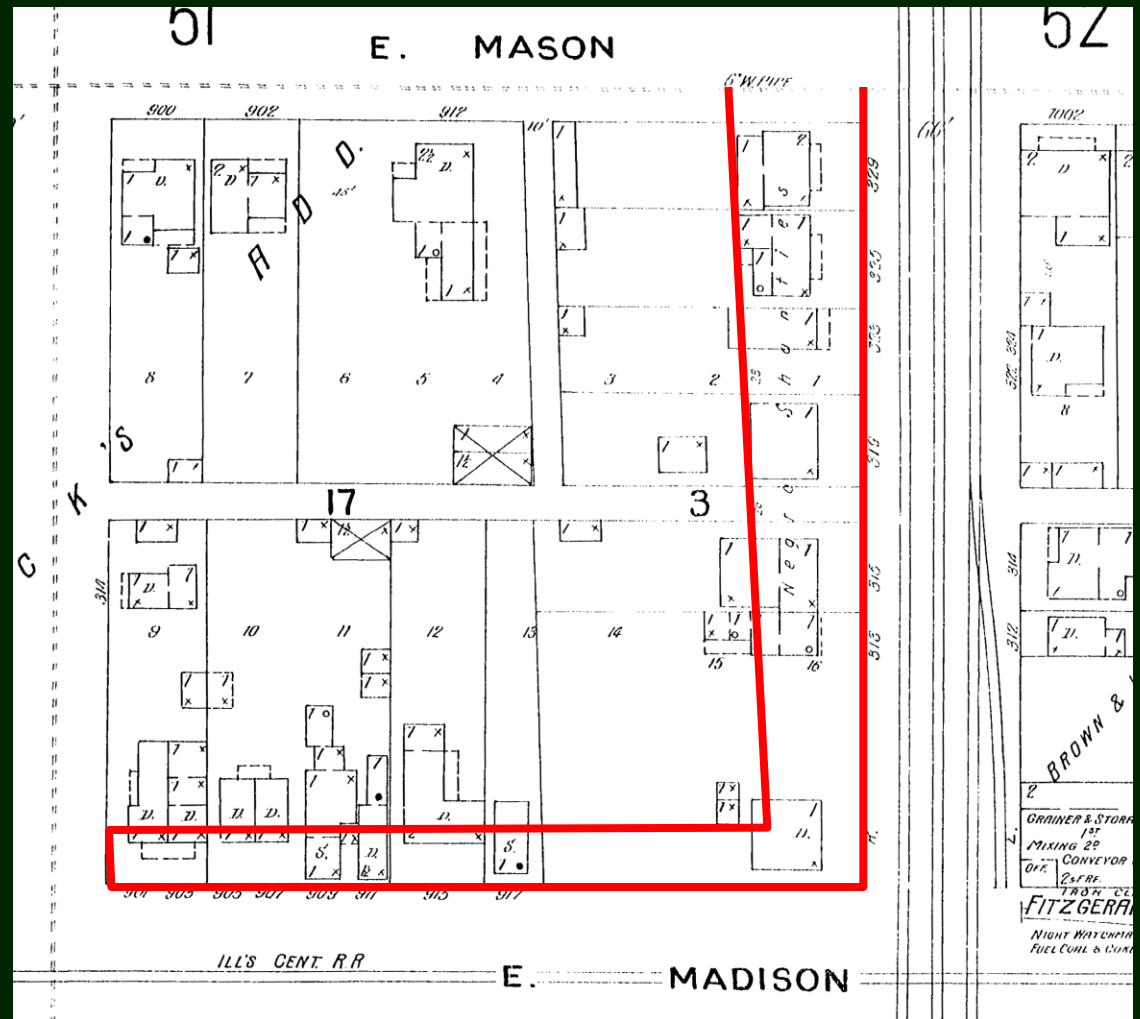
Detail of the 1872 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield* illustrating the southern end of the Carpenter Street project area. The seven houses investigated during the archaeological investigations are circled. Note the rail cars parked in front of the houses.



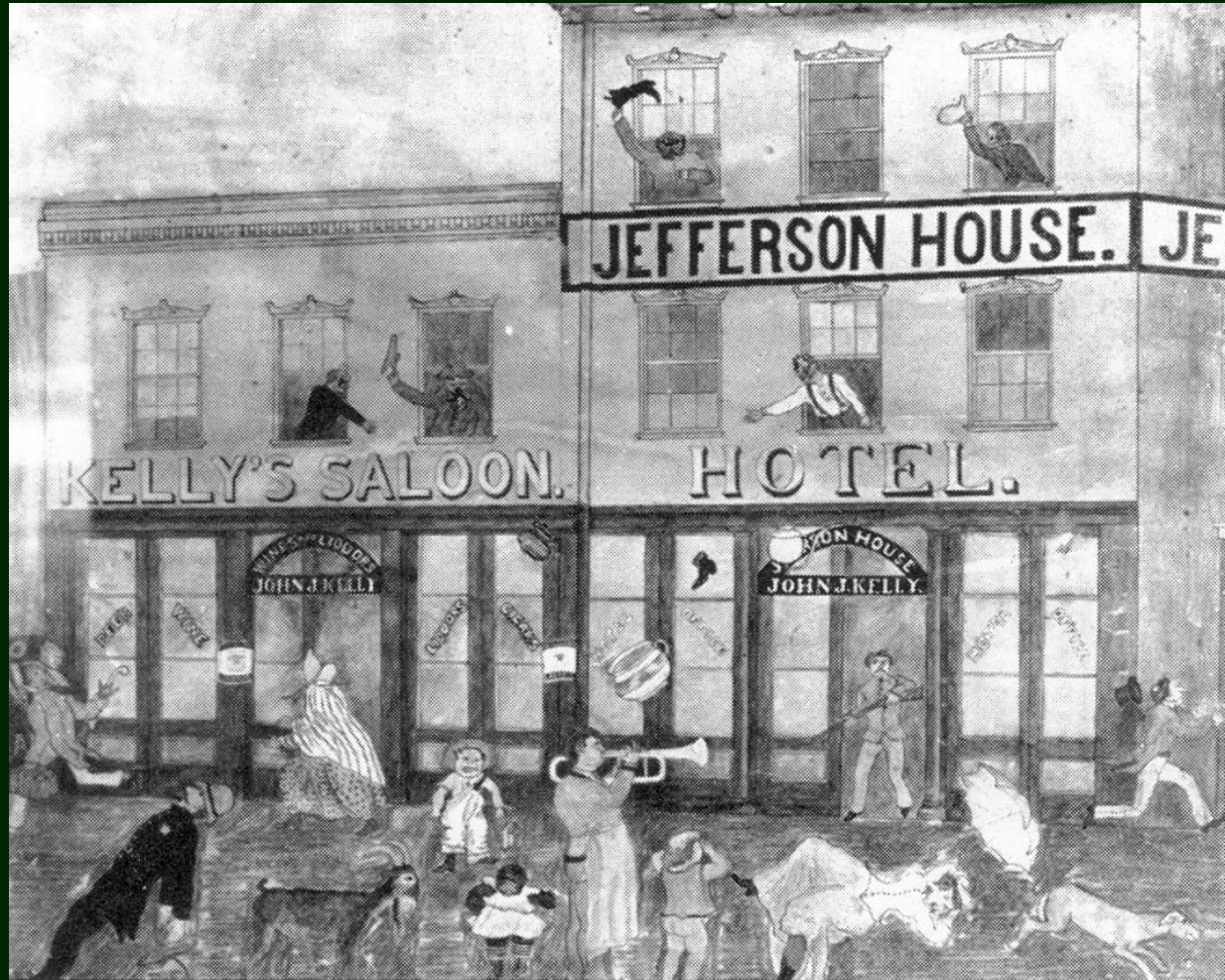
By 1900, the south half of the project area was located in a predominately African-American residential neighborhood that had become known as the “Badlands.” The “Levee” was a short stretch of Washington Street known for its saloons, gambling houses, pawn shops, and prostitution. The Carpenter Street Underpass project area is outlined in red.



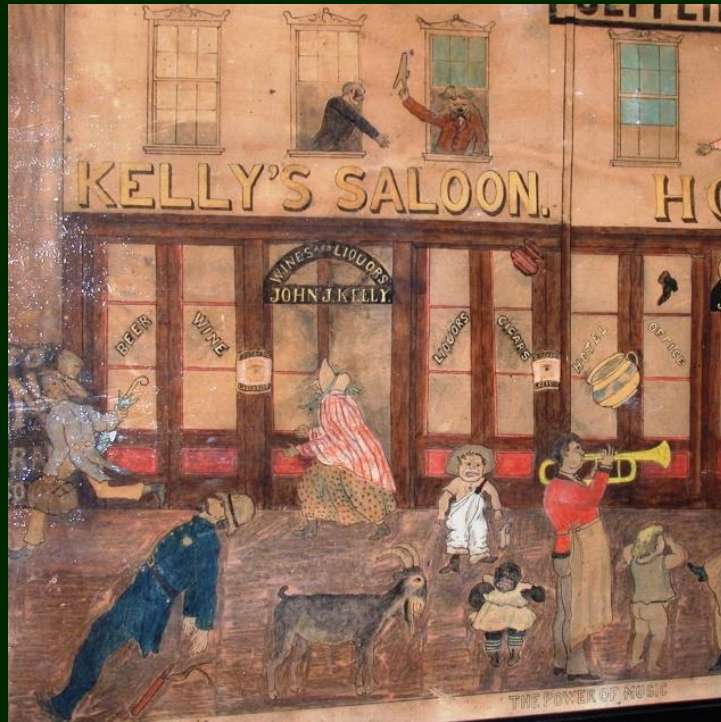
The 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map labeled the houses along Tenth Street, between Madison and Mason Streets, as “Negro Shanties.” The red line indicates the location of the Carpenter Street project area.



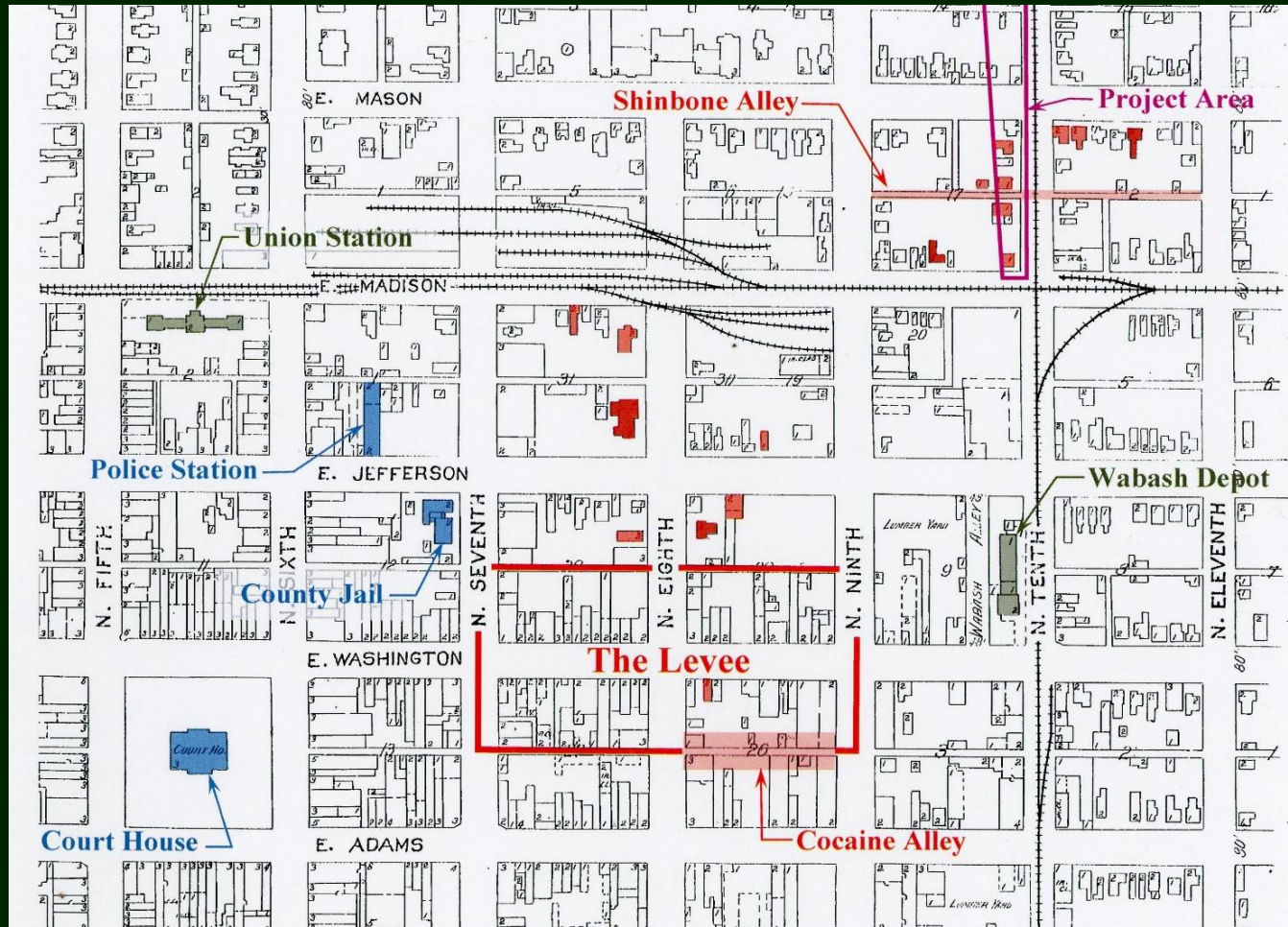
The Levee had a “colorful” reputation dating back to the Civil War, some of which is captured in this 1885 painting by John Mahony. It depicts a street scene in the Levee in front of the Jefferson House at Seventh and Washington Streets.



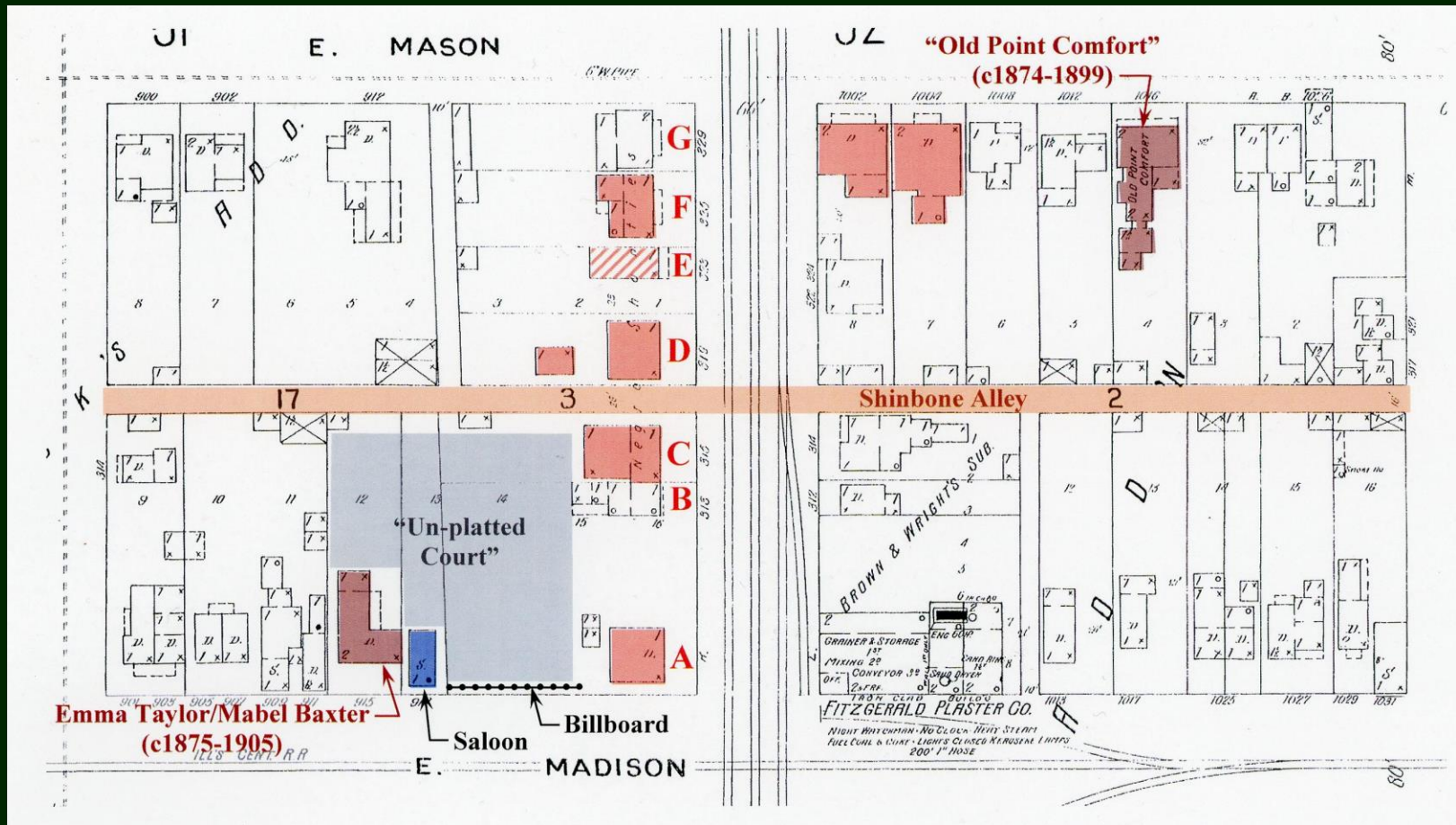
Mahony's "The Power of Music" captures the rowdy character of the Levee in the late 19th Century and the variety of people seen there.



Map illustrating the built landscape circa 1906 and showing the relationship of the project area to the Levee and the vice district. Properties marked in red represent “houses of ill fame” and/or brothels at various points in time (ca. 1860-1910).



In the 1870s, two brothels—located at 915 East Madison and 1016 East Mason Street—were established either side of the project area and remained in operation for several decades. The presence of these brothels (highlighted in dark red) attracted further prostitution and vice to the properties lying in between them. Shorter-lived “resorts” (representing more informal “houses of ill fame; highlighted here in light red) are indicated on the 1896 Sanborn map below. As such, the 10th and Madison Streets intersection became well-known by the authorities for its illicit activities.



Local newspapers contain regular accounts of prostitution in the Capital City, and those individuals involved in the “industry”. One such individual was Mabel Baxter who took over a brothel directly adjacent to the project area circa 1891. This business “house” was established in the early 1870s at this location by Emma Taylor (formerly Gladden/Nash).

C. R. Sprull, a young man who was arrested Friday night at the instance of Mabel Baxter, a keeper of a house of ill-fame on Madison street, who charged him with breaking open a bureau drawer and stealing \$90, was arraigned in Justice Carmody's court yesterday. The Baxter woman and her girls were there in the latest of the spring styles, and after a conference the complaint was withdrawn and the costs in the case paid, and Sprull was discharged. He claims to be married to the Baxter woman, and has been hanging around her place for some time. He is of a splendid family, his father being a highly respected Methodist minister at Hillsboro, Montgomery county. That gentleman came up to the city and was present at the trial, and took his wayward son back home with him.

ISJ 4/24/1892; Mabel took over the Taylor resort in circa 1891

A BOY HUSBAND GOES WRONG.

His Relatives Hunting for Him Last Night
Among Houses of Ill-Fame.

Sergeant Adam Fehr and Officers McLean and Sullivan, accompanied by two gentlemen from Auburn and Alderman George W. Stubbs, with his crutches, 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 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. Last night the officers searched her place at about 11 o'clock, but young Knight was not to be found. It was learned that young Knight was not of age, and that he was already married. His wife is a niece of Aldermann Stubbs, and she is still residing at Auburn. Young Knight has been employed on the Auburn Citizen as a printer, and Mr. Murphy, one of the proprietors of the paper, was one of the men that was in the city last night.

Shortly after 1 o'clock the police went back to the Anderson woman's house, and upon finding both Knight and the woman in bed, arrested them. They are booked as disorderly.

One of the first appearances of the term “bad lands” in the local newspapers occurred in late 1894. In that year, there were 4 “hits” in the newspapers referencing that term. In contrast, in the following year (1895), there were 35 “hits,” and the use of the term increased dramatically after that time. During these early years, the term referred to that area near the 8th and Madison Street intersection, but quickly became associated with the 10th and Madison Street vicinity.

SPICES--ISINGLASS--GROUND MUSTARD
 Coleman's Bag, mustard in large boxes, or by the
 pound--at CORNEAU & DILLER'S.
 COCAINE--BURNETT'S, FOR THE HAIR,
 at CORNEAU & DILLER'S.
 SPIRIT GAS--JUST RECEIVED AT
 CORNEAU & DILLER'S.

ISR 11/9/1859

Cocaine Becoming a Cure-All.
 [New York Tribune.]
 Cocaine is becoming one of the popular
 remedies of the day. Its functions of al-
 laying the sensibility of the nerves of
 mucous membranes and other tissues
 renders it valuable in surgical operations
 and in the treatment of throat and lung
 affections. In consequence of its remark-
 able qualities, and of the prominence
 given to it in the medical treatment re-
 ceived by Gen. Grant, it is now coming

ISJ 10 17/1885

THE COCAINE HABIT.
The Worst Slavery Known--New Revela-
tions of Power.
 [Cincinnati Times-Star.]
 When cocaine was discovered the medi-
 cal world exclaimed "thank heaven!"
 But useful as it is, it is also dangerous,
 especially when its use is perverted from
 the deadening of pain for surgical opera-
 tions, to the stimulation and destruction of

ISR 10/27/1886

Although morphine and opium use pre-dated cocaine, these drugs were not the scourge of the city like cocaine was to become.

Cocaine was incorporated early into a variety of medicines, such as Burnett's Cocaine (cf. 1859 ad). During the middle 1880s, the medicinal and pharmacological properties of cocaine became known and it received immense praise as a wonder drug (anesthesia, pain killer) during the later 1880s—even as a cure for morphine and opium addiction. Almost simultaneously, the addictive nature of the drug became known. Although the drug was first used by more well-to-do individuals who could afford it, it quickly became a drug of choice for the poorer classes.

As one source said, one could live addicted to morphine for 30 years, but one year of cocaine addiction will result in your death!

ONE MORE TRAGEDY.

Murder Recalled By the Suicide Of Gertie Harris.

She Sends a Bullet Into Her Heart at
Her Mother's Home—Amanda
White Went Insane.

Despondency, and perhaps remorse, prompted Gertrude Harris, a mulatto, to take her life yesterday morning at her home, 1022 East Madison street. Shortly before noon she fired a bullet through her heart and death resulted inside of half an hour. Her mother was in the house at the time, and at the report of the revolver, she rushed into the room just in time to see her daughter fall to the floor.

The Harris girl was 20 years old. She had, at odd times, lived with her mother. During the fall she was out of the city but returned about Thanksgiving day and has since been assisting her mother in making a living by washing and ironing. The girl did not get up until nearly 11 o'clock yesterday morning. After eating her breakfast she complained to her mother that her head was aching and that her eyes pained her. She sat near her mother while the latter was ironing and read the paper aloud. About 11:30 her mother asked her to go to the grocery store. She left the room and her mother thought she had gone to the store.

It was not until early 1897 that we first learn of a cocaine "problem" in Springfield. On February 36, 1897 the *Illinois State Journal* reported on the suicide death of Amanda White, who had shot herself while under the influence of cocaine. She lived with her mother at 1022 East Madison Street (just outside of the project area). This is one of the first local reports of cocaine use in the Springfield newspapers. Only a few weeks later, the *Illinois State Register* reported on March 25th of the attempted suicide of another woman (Mary Jane Shannon) by taking cocaine and morphine. Mary Jane had lived at 1219 East Washington Street. It is not coincidental that the Illinois Legislature sought to regulate the sale of cocaine in 1897.

Mary Jane Shannon Again.

Mrs. C. L. Bridges, formerly Mary Jane Shannon, attempted suicide last night at her home, No. 1219 East Washington street, by taking cocaine and morphine. She was pumped out and will recover. Jealousy over her spouse, to whom she has just been married, was the cause.

BARNETT, THE CARVER.

**Stranger Alleged to Have Been Sliced by
"Coke" Fiend.**

George Barnett, a lover of cocaine alley who is dreaded by all who are acquainted with him, made himself prominent among his fellow users of the "coke" by carving an unknown man yesterday morning.

It is said that the man went among the residents of the alley, not knowing where he was going, and was asked for some money by Barnett. When he said that he had no money to give Barnett pulled out his knife and began to carve him. The man went to a nearby house bleeding and asked a woman to dress his wounds. He was told that he could find a physician several blocks away. He said that the last fifty cents that he had he gave to a "woman of the district" who said she had nothing to eat for several days.

The unknown started down the street and it is not known where he went, or how badly he was injured by the "bully." Barnett has a reputation as a "carver" and for this reason it is said that the residents of the neighborhood were afraid to notify the police for fear that he would come to their homes and kill them.

By the late 1890s, the alley just south of the Washington Street Levee became known for its widespread use of cocaine, and was nicknamed "Cocaine Alley"—a name it held for many years thereafter. This article is the first to reference Cocaine Alley in the local newspapers, and is the beginning of many stories relating to the problems associated with cocaine use in Springfield after that time.

WAS IT SUICIDE?

Jack O'Hunter taken from a Madison Street Resort to the Hospital, where he Expires in a few Minutes—Indifference of the Officers.

About 9 o'clock last night, Dr. Wilcox was called to the bedside of a man, who was lying at the point of death, in a house on the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison streets. After diagnosing the case the doctor pronounced him beyond the reach of medical aid. Mollie Lynch, the landlady of the house, at once sent for the patrol wagon and had the dying man removed to St. John's hospital where he breathed his last in a few minutes. The police, in their usual indifferent way, asked no questions concerning the man, whether he had been murdered, poisoned; or if he had suicided, nor even asked his name. They seemed to feel that their duty was done when they had taken the body from the Lynch resort to the hospital. From the Lynch woman it was learned that the man's name was John O'Hunter, better known as 'Jack, and that he was blind. He gained a livelihood by writing and selling doggerel rhymes. For the past month Mollie said that O'Hunter had been drinking very hard and since Saturday morning had been decidedly drunk. A fish monger named Ross Kelly, who was in the house believed that the blind poet had taken an over dose of morphine, as he had seen him have some Sabbath evening. O'Hunter lived in Springfield off and on for nearly four years. He was about 6 feet high and wore a light mustache. Where his home was is not known, but it is believed that he has a mother living some where in the wide world. The coroner will call a jury and hold an inquest this morning.

ISJ 5/28, 1888

House A was used as a brothel by the late 1880s. It was known as the "Lynch Resort". Similarly, House C was used by Lloyd Thomas during the early years of the twentieth century for a range of nefarious activities, including prostitution.

"Lord" Thomas in Jail Again.

Lloyd Thomas, who calls himself "Lord" Thomas, King of the Bad Lands, was arrested yesterday on complaint of Emma Neubolt. Thomas is the man who induced Rosie Mitchell, a young girl recently out of the state insane asylum, into a house of ill-fame. The girl was arrested for being a cocaine fiend. The charge was later changed to insanity, but the girl was released from custody shortly afterwards. The case against King will be called for trial Monday.

ISR 9/22/1906; Lloyd Thomas quickly fell from "grace" with the criminal elements of the neighborhood, eventually being sent to Joliet for chicken theft.

On the morning of August 14, 1908, Mabel Hallam accused George Richardson of having raped her the night before.



Mabel Hallam (21; wife of streetcar motorman William Hallam)



George Richardson (36; construction laborer)

Although Mrs. Hallam was later to recant her story, absolving Mr. Richardson of any wrong-doing, her actions unleashed a fury of violent activity that was to wreck havoc with the City of Springfield.

The Illinois State Journal

SEVENTY-SEVENTH YEAR SPRINGFIELD ILLINOIS SATURDAY AUGUST 15 1908—10 PAGES PRICE 3 CENTS

Frenzied Mob Sweeps City, Wreaking Bloody Vengeance For Negro's Heinous Crime.

MOB WRECKS LOPER'S CAFE DURING RIOT

Throng Attacks Restaurant
Owned by Man Who Took
Suspect Away.

PLACE TOTALLY BURNED

FURNITURE, CHAIRS, TABLES AND
OTHER VALUABLES BURNED
IN THE STREET.

AUTHORITIES HELPLESS

VICTIM OF NEGRO ASSAULT.



MRS. J. L. HALLAM.

NEGROES REMOVED TO BLOOMINGTON

OFFICERS FEAR VIOLENCE AND
SPIRIT FUGITIVE AWAY!

Street Alarmed From County Jail by
Fleeing Alarm of Five White Deputies
Barred from Jail by Sheriff.

THE CASUALTIES

DEAD.

EDWARD STUBBS, 401 East First street, shot through the abdomen.

INJURED.

ALBERT OVERLINE, 410 South First street, shot through the left hip during street rioting.

GEORGE STUBBS, 401 North Third street, shot through the left hip during street rioting.

ANDREW ALDRAN, 101 East Jefferson street, shot through the right hip during rioting.

MURRY D. PARKING, 101 East Third street, member of the first section of the rioting mob, shot through the head while attacking Loper's restaurant.

WALTER J. WATERS, shot in one leg.

W. P. BRIDGEMAN, shot in one hand while driving.

DEAN DANIELSON, 101 Johnson street, shot in the head while driving during rioting at Loper's.

JESSE M. CAMPBELL, police sergeant, shot in back and hip while driving.

ROBERT DANFORTH, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

DAVID HALEY, shot in back and hip while driving.

WALTER BROWN, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

WILLIAM STUART, Chicago & North branch barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

THOMAS REAVEL, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

CLAUDE ANAP, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

JOHN BROWN, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

WALTER BROWN, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

ROBERT LAMBSON, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

EUGENE W. CHAPIN, prohibition candidate for governor, shot in back and hip while driving.

JESSE W. INGLE, prohibition candidate for governor, shot in back and hip while driving.

M. S. STUBBS, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

WALTER BROWN, colored barber, shot in back and hip while driving.

TWO ARE KILLED AND MANY HURT AS MOB WORNS

Springfield Helpless as
Hordes of Thousands of
Frenzied Citizens.

ASSAULT INCITED BY
State War Follows the Act
Made by Negro Cyran
Local Woman.

RESTAURANT IN RUIN

On August 14th, 1908, the City of Springfield erupted in racially motivated mob violence that lasted for several days, and resulted in the lynching of two African-American citizens, as well as the destruction of numerous houses and businesses within the city. Much of the violence was centered on the Levee commercial district and residential Badlands. The violence was subdued through the efforts of the Illinois National Guard.



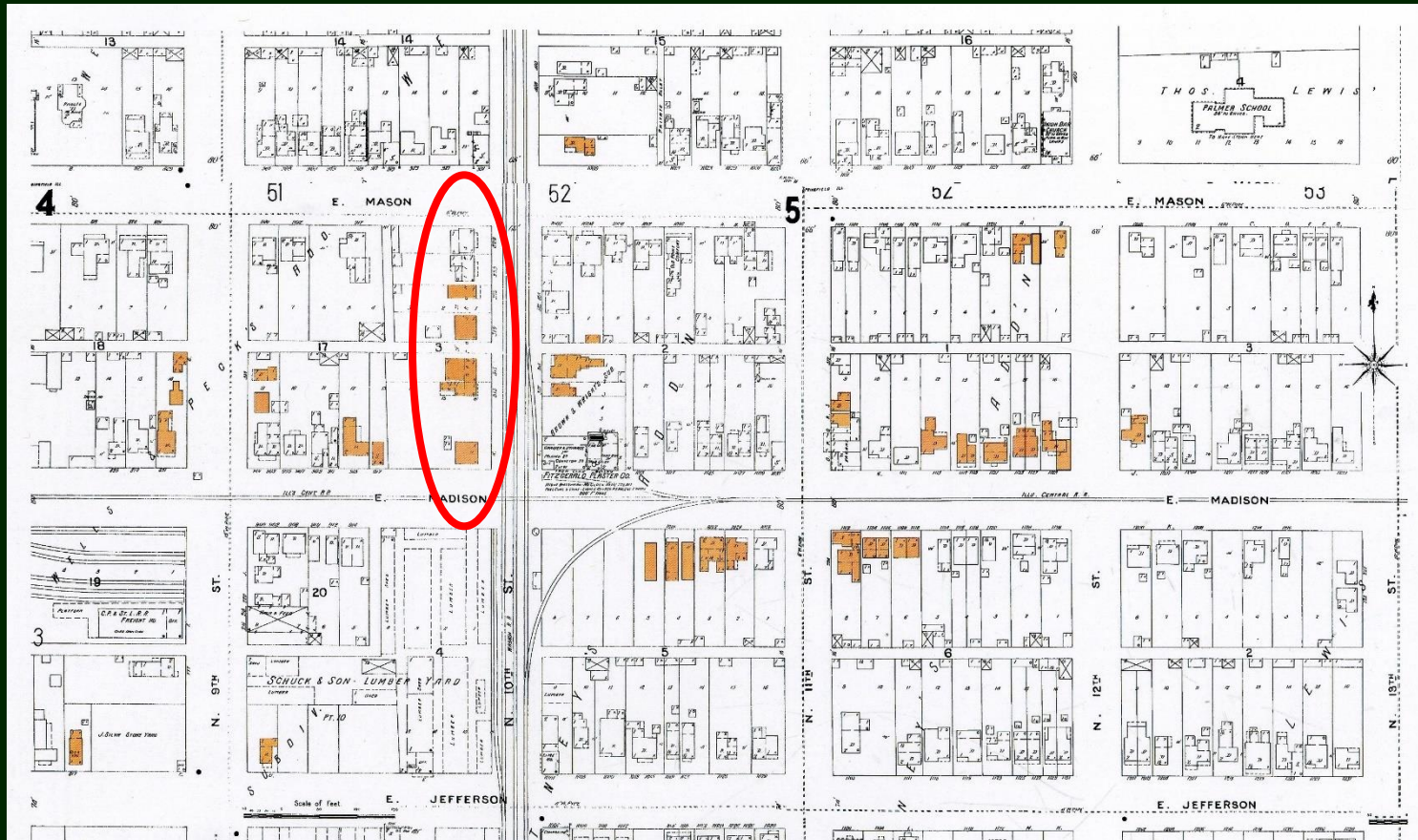
Images from scrapbook entitled *In The Wake of the Mob: An Illustrated Story of Riot, Ruin, and Rage.* (1909).



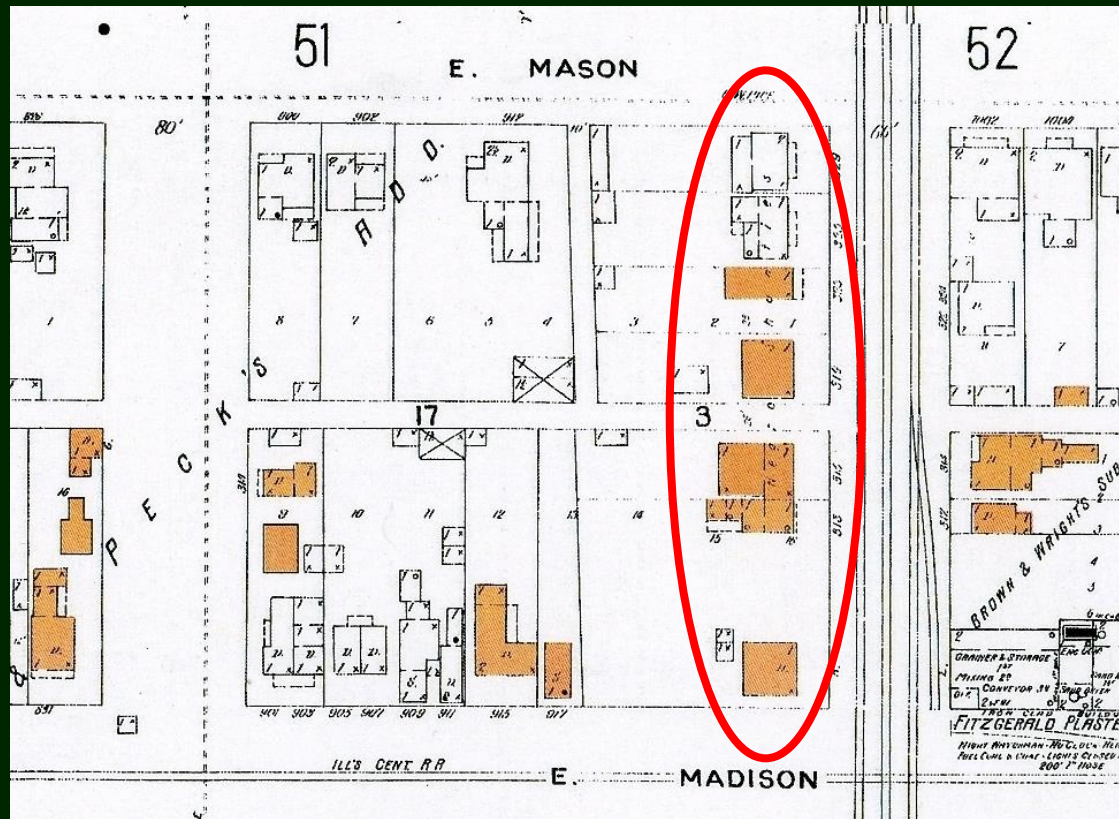
Photographs of East Madison Street, and National Guard in Springfield (August 1908).



Over 40 houses and business were destroyed in the Badlands during the August 14th-15th, 1908 riot in Springfield. This map shows the location of the houses and businesses destroyed by fire during the riots (as depicted on the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map).



Five homes within the immediate Carpenter Street project area were destroyed during the 1908 riot. An additional three residence and one business on the same block also were torched. Burned buildings are highlighted in orange below.



“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.”

ISJ 8/15/1908

One of the properties the mob targeted adjacent to the project area was the two-story frame residence occupied by Daniel Neil, which formerly had been Mabel Baxter's brothel. Neal also owned an adjacent saloon which also was torched (and completely destroyed), as illustrated here in this photograph.



RECKED NEIL'S QUARTERS - SPRINGFIELD

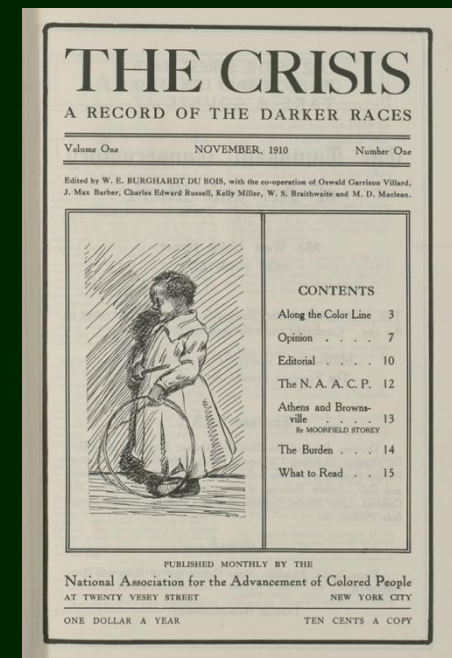
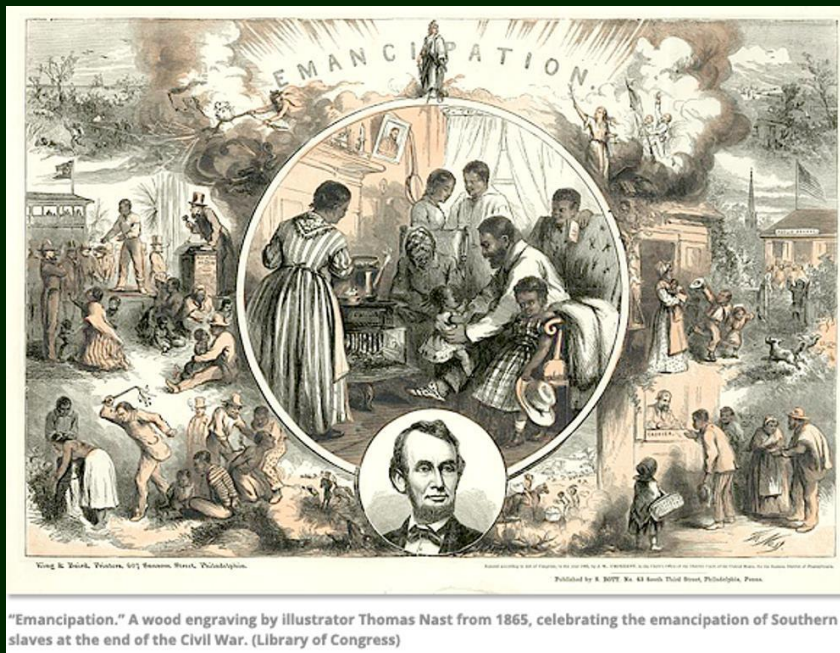
Although the areas of Springfield impacted by the riot were extensively canvassed by photographers in the immediate aftermath, the houses destroyed in the Carpenter Street project area were poorly documented. Only one image of the project area has been found to date, and that is shown below. The chimney stack shown at right belongs to House "A" on the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Streets. Daniel Neal's gutted home appears at the far left.



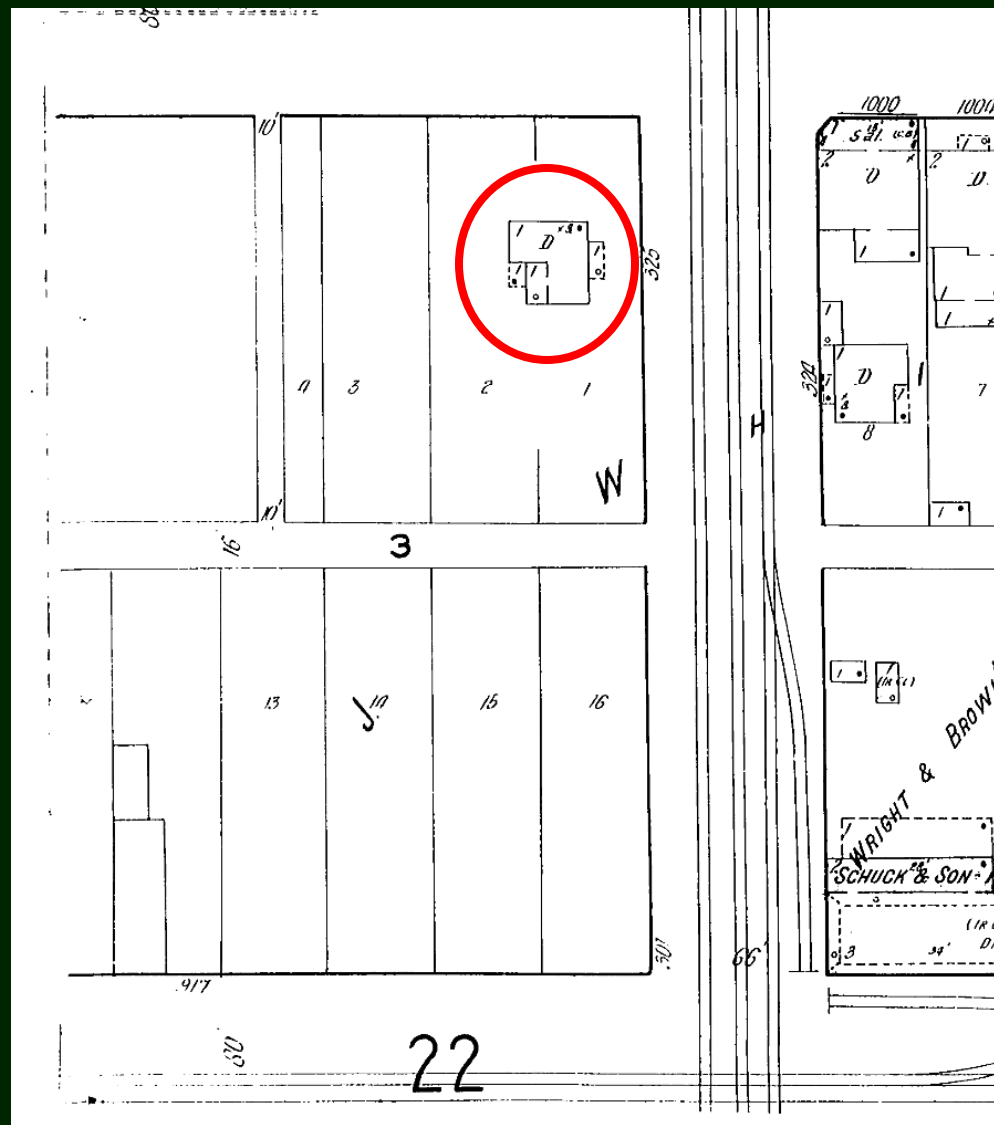
Detail of previous photograph, showing the ruins of House "A". The billboard at left would have helped obscure the illicit activities taking place within the "un-platted court" at Tenth and Madison. The furnishing advertisement is for Gerhard Westenberger, who grew up in House "A" and still owned it at the time of the riot.



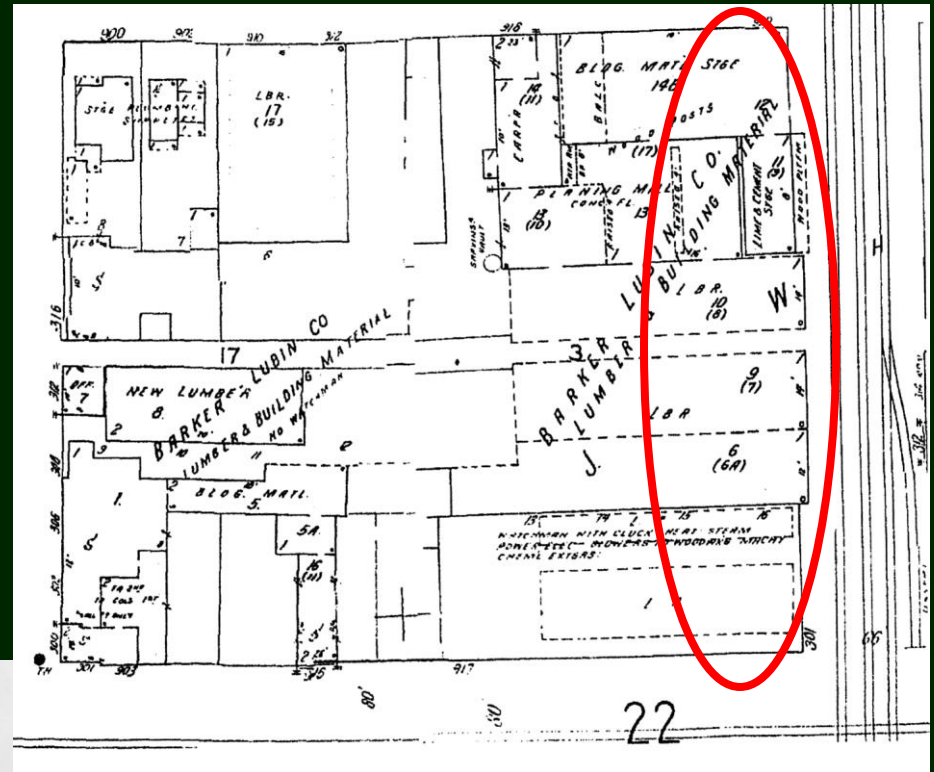
The Springfield Race Riot of August 1908 was one of the catalysts that resulted in the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). On February 12th, 1909 (in conjunction with the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's birth), the organization was formed. As quoted in the NAACP's webpage, "The NAACP was formed partly in response to the continuing horrific practice of lynching and the 1908 race riot in Springfield, the capital of Illinois and resting place of President Abraham Lincoln."



Following the 1908 riot, only one home (House “F”) still remained standing within the project area, as shown on the 1917 Sanborn map at right. This home would be demolished by 1924.



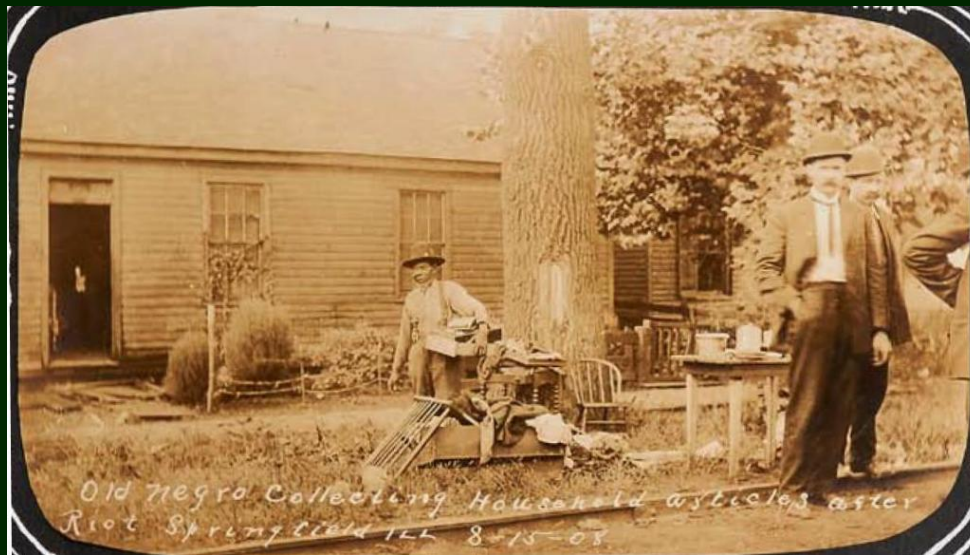
By the 1930s, the project area had been redeveloped by the Barker-Lubin Company, whose lumber and building materials business sprawled across nearly the entire block. A number of lumber sheds, similar to the one illustrated here, were erected over the sites of the houses burned during the 1908 riot.



Summary and Conclusions

- The project area was a diverse neighborhood from its earliest years, in respect to ethnicity and economic status.
- Blacks were residing in the neighborhood by the 1860s and were contributing and representative members of this solid working-class area.
- Character of the neighborhood went into decline in the late nineteenth century due to variety of reasons, including the addition of a second railroad adjacent to it (along Madison Street), increased industrialization, and the aging housing stock.
- Households within the project area became increasingly characterized by unmarried, female heads of household (both white and black)—in contrast to nuclear families of previous years.
- However, a major reason for its decline was the introduction of prostitution in the 1870s, as the vice district within Springfield expanded/relocated from the Levee to the Near North Side. The project area was soon/eventually sandwiched in between two major brothels, and this attracted other independent prostitutes to the surrounding neighborhood. This process initially was driven by whites. The prostitution attracted other criminal activity.
- The introduction of cocaine to Springfield in the 1890s significantly altered the public's attitude toward the vice district, changing from a grudging acceptance to intolerance and calls for a “cleanup” campaign.
- Black crime and substance abuse were viewed by whites as inherently more dangerous and threatening—a perception that unfortunately persists to this day.
- By 1900, the Tenth and Madison Street locale was the heart of the so-called Badlands. It's reputation was unfairly applied by the white community to the wider black neighborhood adjoining it to the east. It also made the Tenth and Madison Street location a prime target by the white mob during the 1908 race riot.

Contemporary descriptions of the black residences destroyed during the 1908 Springfield Race Riot as “shanties,” “shacks,” “huts,” or “cabins” reflected an inherent racial bias and served to diminish the devastating impact the riot had on the city’s black community. Regardless of their age and condition (or past histories) these buildings were *homes*, and their occupants were innocent victims of white rage and mob violence in August 1908.



Remains of a Negro Cabin
burned during the Riot.



Two images from the scrapbook entitled *In The Wake of the Mob: An Illustrated Story of Riot, Ruin, and Rage* (1909). Until the current research, these photographs were unavailable, and/or unknown to Springfield researchers.