INTRODUCTION

1. In 1980 the census recorded five hundred African Americans in Washington Court House, representing about 4 percent of a town population that had more than tripled over the past century. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, vol. 1, part 37, table 15.


5. Missouri had a larger gross immigration than Indiana, but I consider it a southern state because of its history of slavery.


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10. The percentage of the African American population living in the South, which had fallen by 3.8 percent during the 1910s and by 6.5 percent during the 1920s, decreased by only 1.7 percent during the 1930s. Johnson and Campbell, *Black Migration in America*, 73.

11. For a listing of historical studies on African American life in northeastern nonmetropolitan communities, see appendix B.

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14. I initially made a tentative selection of Muncie in the expectation that its prominence as a result of the Lynds’ attention would have generated a useful set of studies of its African American residents. That hope turned out to be unfounded until the publication in 2004 of the innovative ethnographic study The Other Side of Middleton: Exploring Muncie’s African American Community, ed. Luke Eric Lassiter, Hurley Goodall, Elizabeth Campbell, and Michelle Natasya Johnson (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004). A closer look, however, revealed a rich collection of oral histories of its African American community plus good grounds for comparison in its rising curve of African American population growth, industrial economy, and less violent history of race relations.


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Geography No. 8 (Melbourne: Monash University, 1974), and John R. Clark, *Turkish Cologne: The Mental Maps of Migrant Workers in a German City*, Michigan Geographical Publications No. 19 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977). For a recent attempt to reconstruct the mental maps of residents of antebellum southern small towns, see Lisa Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).


18. This conclusion is based on reading transcripts and listening to tapes of the several hundred oral history interviews of African American migrants to, and community residents within, the Lower Midwest collected for this study. The collections are listed in appendix B.


24. James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York and London: New Press, 2005). Sundown towns and suburbs are those communities that do not allow African Americans to remain within their boundaries after sunset. Loewen finds such communities, in startlingly large numbers, located across the country, but nearly all are located outside the Deep South. Violence directed against African American “interlopers” or potential interlopers, Loewen argues, has been a common means for making and keeping such towns lily-white.


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29. A considerable literature could of course be cited here, but I will refer only to the work that has most strongly influenced my thinking: R. F. Atkinson, *Knowledge and Explanation in History: An Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978).

**CHAPTER ONE**

3. Austin Andrews, interview, no date, BOHCO.
9. Adah Isabelle Suggs, interview, no date, *AS*, vol. 6: 189–91. For other examples of family migration, see undated interviews of George Taylor Burns, Matthew Hume, Henry Clay Moorman, and Billy Slaughter, in *AS*, vol. 6: 39, 109–10, 140,


17. *Orville Artis Memoir* (Springfield, Ill.: Sangamon State University, 1985). The interview was conducted in Springfield in May 1974.


30. Preston, interview.

31. McKimm, interview.

32. Jordan, interview.

33. Matheus, interview.


40. During the second half of 1886, the Cleveland Gazette had correspondents in three West Virginia and two Kentucky towns, plus one each in Maryland, Tennessee, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas. Contrast this with the number of communities represented by correspondents in the following northern states: Pennsylvania, eighteen; New York, nine; Indiana, five; Illinois, three. Cleveland Gazette, June 26–December 26, 1886. For an emphasis on the importance of illiteracy in deterring migration, see Robert Higgs, Competition and Coercion: Blacks in the American Economy, 1865–1914 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 120.

41. For an example of early northern correspondence, see Arkansas Freeman (Little Rock), October 5, 1869.

42. Studies emphasizing restricted communication as a factor in maintaining distinct northern and southern unskilled labor markets include Gavin Wright, Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War (New York: Basic


46. Travelers' Official Railway Guide for the United States and Canada (June 1893), timetables for the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia; Queen & Crescent; Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton; Yazoo & Mississippi Valley; and Illinois Central railroads.


54. Nelson, in Farm and Factory, 10, argues that “the Midwest would have no surplus of underemployed farmers until well into the twentieth century.” This may be true for the Midwest as a whole, but the consistent pattern of outmigration by native-born whites seems to indicate otherwise for Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.


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67. Thornbrough, Negro in Indiana, 68.


69. Ibid., 119–33, 160–66.


71. Ibid., 83–84. The new constitution, however, was not adopted.

72. Gerber, Black Ohio, 27–29; Thornbrough, Negro in Indiana, 185–86.

73. Voegeli, Free but Not Equal, 60–64.

74. Ibid., 119.


76. Thornbrough, Negro in Indiana, 235.


78. Gerber, Black Ohio, 36.


80. Voegeli, Free but Not Equal, 177.


82. Ibid., 182.


84. Glenda E. Gilmore, Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White

85. The data set for this analysis includes all towns in each state that reached 2,500 population by 1890 and for which the requisite data are available for both 1860 and 1890. The sources are published census data on town populations and are cited in tables A.1–A.3. Since I am interested in explaining migrant choices, I employ as the dependent variable a measure of the relative attractive power of all urban places in each of the three states across the period 1860–1890. I compute the change in each town’s percentage share of the state’s African American urban population by subtracting its share at the beginning of the period from its share at the period’s end. The same procedure will be used in later chapters for the periods 1890–1910 and 1910–1930. This measure of course includes population changes resulting from both net migration and net natural increase. Probably most of the urban population changes in the African American population of the Lower Midwest during the years between the Civil War and the eve of the Great Depression did result from shifts in the flow of migration. But in fact no measure of net natural increase on the level of the local community is available; therefore, the two components of population change cannot be separated in any study of local destination choices. The same procedure is used to calculate each town’s change in share of its state’s total urban population.

Using the census for historical analysis of African American migration presents problems as well as opportunities. First, the census missed African Americans in large numbers. Black numbers seem to have been undercounted by at least 15 percent in late nineteenth-century censuses. Worst in this regard were the census counts of 1870 and 1890 in the South, but blacks, including even property holders, were missed in the North as well. See John B. Sharpless and Ray M. Shortridge, “Biased Underenumeration in Census Manuscripts: Methodological Implications,” JUH 1 (1975): 409–39; Jack S. Blocker Jr., “Bias in Wealth and Income Records: An Ohio Case Study,” HM 29 (Winter 1996): 25–36. This is not a problem, however, for a study comparing distribution of African American populations among communities so long as it can be assumed that undercounting was either consistent across communities or randomly distributed across them.

Another problem is that the census gives us only a snapshot of mobility, hiding from view many intercensal moves and intermediate stops between census locations. The only resolution to this problem is tracking individual or family movements, for which the best source is migrant oral histories.

86. The black populations of Cincinnati and Cleveland increased by 10,114, while the number of rural dwellers expanded by 10,375. Indianapolis acquired 8,635 new African American citizens, while rural Indiana added 7,951. Chicago gained 13,613 African Americans, but rural Illinois increased by 17,997. Since the larger rural populations in each state grew more than the metropolitan populations through natural
increase, the number of migrants who chose large cities was no doubt larger in Ohio and Indiana, but probably not in Illinois.


Exodusters who remained in Kansas are reported to have settled in rural areas and small towns. Atchearn, *In Search of Canaan*, 171.

88. In this study, “metropolitan” is used to designate the largest cities within a regional hierarchy. In a national urban hierarchy, such cities would be classified according to central-place theory as second- or third-order places. For the period 1860–1930, a population size of 100,000 has been used as an arbitrary cutoff between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan urban places.


91. In none of the three states was there a statistically significant correlation between change in African American urban population share, 1860–1890, and the percentage of foreign-born white population in 1870. The analysis included forty-four towns and cities in Ohio, twenty-four in Indiana, and twenty-eight in Illinois. Analyzing sixty-nine cities over the period 1890–1950, Collins uses estimated African American migration rates as his dependent variable and the rate of foreign-born immigration as an independent variable (“When the Tide Turned,” 626). I chose the proportion of immigrants because I believe this, rather than the rate of immigration, would have been likely to matter more to an African American potential migrant.

Comparing two New Jersey towns during the late nineteenth century, Spencer Crew finds that African American occupational opportunities were better in Elizabeth, which held a larger immigrant population than Camden. Spencer Crew, *Black Life in Secondary Cities: A Comparative Analysis of the Black Communities of Camden and Elizabeth, N.J., 1860–1920* (New York: Garland, 1993), 93–95, 112.

92. Figures 1.2–1.4 show the relative size of gains and losses for all towns and cities that experienced a change in African American urban population share of more than 1 percent.

93. This conclusion is based on correlation analysis comparing towns’ changes
between 1860 and 1890 in African American and European American urban population share. These patterns are complicated in Illinois and Ohio by extreme outliers, the largest cities. In Illinois, Chicago is an outlier primarily because of its extraordinary gain in share of the state’s total urban population (18.6 percent). The share change of most communities fluctuated within the range +1 to −1 percent. With Chicago excluded from the analysis, however, the correlation between change in black urban share and change in total urban share becomes even more strongly positive ($r = +.54$, $p < .001$). In Ohio, Cincinnati is an extreme outlier primarily because of the opposite situation, its huge loss in share of the state’s total urban population (20.5 percent). When Cincinnati is excluded, the correlation between change in black urban share and change in total urban share remains positive, but becomes nonsignificant ($r = +.18$, $p > .10$). Cleveland is another outlier because of its large gain in share of Ohio’s total urban population (6.75 percent). With Cleveland excluded, the correlation between change in black urban share and change in total urban share becomes strongly positive ($r = +.51$, $p < .00001$).

94. New Albany dropped from 12 percent to less than 4 percent of Indiana’s urban population. Cincinnati fell from more than 40 percent to 20 percent of Ohio’s.

95. George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865–1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and “Legal Lynchings”* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1990), demonstrates the forms and scope of white terrorism in Kentucky, the state that provided by far the largest number of Gilded Age migrants to the Lower Midwest.

96. They were Cairo, Illinois (35.7 percent); Xenia, Ohio (25.6 percent); and Gallipolis, Ohio (20.9 percent).


CHAPTER TWO

1. “Seek Their Rights,” clipping from *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 21, 1895, Negro in Illinois File, IWP.


5. A later chapter will analyze the place of African Americans within the social structure of the fourth case study community, Muncie, after the onset of the Great Migration.

6. *Fayette County Herald*, November 5, 1874; *Cyclone* (Washington Court House,
Notes to Chapter 2

OH), July 4, August 15, 1888.


8. The statistical descriptions and analyses that follow are based upon the U.S. federal census manuscript population schedules for 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 for Fayette County. Quantitative statements made about Washington Court House population in 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 are based on examination of the entire population. The census schedules for 1890 were destroyed. An attempt has been made, however, to reconstruct as much as possible of the 1890 census through use of a city directory published in 1890—which, perhaps significantly, did not distinguish persons by “color” or “race”—the county tax assessment list for 1890, and the manuscript census schedules for 1880 and 1900. Persons whose names appeared in the directory or tax list were manually linked backward to the 1880 census and forward to the 1900 census. This procedure produced a list of 1,391 names, which was incorporated into an SPSS file with background characteristics from the census schedule(s), tax list, and directory. This probably represents a little less than one-half the adult population of Washington Court House in 1890. These data will be referred to as the “1890 census reconstruction.” Since to join this file a person had to appear in at least two lists, in 1890 and either 1880 or 1900, the reader should keep in mind that this population was distinguished by its persistence in Washington Court House.

9. Columbus’s, Cincinnati’s, and Cleveland’s African American population shares ranked well behind Washington Court House, at 6, 4, and 1 percent, respectively.

10. Among African Americans, 83.8 of males and 84.7 percent of females lived with at least one other family member, compared to 88.5 percent of males and 91.1 percent of females among European Americans. The difference among males was caused by a larger percentage of African American boarders, and among females by a larger percentage of African American servants. The percentages are lower when children are excluded from the analysis.

11. U.S. federal census manuscript schedules, Fayette County, Ohio, 1860–1880. All statements made about geographic persistence and mobility in the case study communities are based on nominal record linkage between census schedules. The linkage was done manually using information on name, sex, “color,” age, place of birth, and relations to other household members. Only definite matches were considered to reflect persistence. Manual linkage was preferred to computer linkage precisely because the
former allowed consideration of both contextual clues and more extensive background information.

12. There were seventeen Ohio-born persisters among a total 269 African American adults, and 335 Ohio-born persisters out of 1,756 European American adults.

13. Among African American adult female newcomers since 1870, 76 percent lived with another family member in 1880, compared to 86.5 percent among European American adult female newcomers. Among African American adult male newcomers, 73 percent lived with family, compared to 78 percent for European American adult male newcomers.

14. The occupational categories used in table 2.1 are the same employed with the 1900 census in Olivier Zunz, The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880–1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). See appendix 3.

15. The most common occupation of African American girls and women in 1880, domestic servant, was not likely to appear in the city directory, which was intended to list only those perceived as household heads and their spouses. A listing based on a directory therefore drastically understates the actual extent of labor force participation by African American girls and women.

16. Women holding or seeking gainful occupations, according to census designations, included 34 of 115 adult African American women (29.6 percent) and 143 of 801 European American women (17.8 percent).

17. A study of Xenia, Ohio, in 1902 found a more diversified occupational structure for African American women than Washington Court House. Most notably, 17 women worked as teachers, 5 percent of the 333 women who reported gainful occupations. The largest occupational groups were laundresses (26 percent), day workers (24 percent), cooks (10 percent), and domestic servants (10 percent). Despite the greater diversity in Xenia, a significant number of young women were unemployed and living at home, many of whom had attended high school and some of them high school graduates, because they were trying to avoid domestic service. Richard R. Wright Jr., The Negroes of Xenia, Ohio: A Social Study, Bulletin of the U.S. Department of Labor, No. 48 (September 1903), 1023–30. At 8,696 population in 1900, Xenia was larger than Washington Court House, with a larger African American population (1,991).


19. This is exactly what a U.S. Department of Labor researcher found in Xenia, Ohio, twelve years later: “[T]here is as yet no large and successful venture outside of the lines of business with which the Negro slave was familiar.” Wright, Negroes of Xenia, 1027.


21. See the use of the concept of “opportunity structure” in Theodore Hershberg, Alan

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Notes to Chapter 2


25. The power of “whiteness” may be quantitatively demonstrated by a stepwise multiple-regression analysis in which the variable “color” is allowed to compete freely with the variables “persistence,” “age,” and “origin.” For males, color is the most powerful variable in explaining variation in wealth holding in 1890, and persistence the second most powerful, adding about half as much as color to the (weak) explanatory power of the model. $R^2$ for the model with two variables is .018. For females, age was the most powerful variable, but color added about one-third as much. $R^2$ for this model with two variables is .04. The other variables were not related to wealth holding at the .05 level of significance (also known as the .95 level of confidence).


30. African Americans in Xenia, Ohio, in 1902 had a family home ownership rate...

31. Daniel McLean, the longtime president of the Peoples' and Drovers' Bank until his death in the 1880s and one of the town's wealthiest citizens, was very active in land speculation. So was Madison Pavey, president in 1889–90 of the only other bank in Washington Court House, the Merchants' and Farmers' Bank. See R. L. Polk & Co., *Directory for Washington C. H., 1889–90* (Washington Court House, OH: Sandy Fackler, 1995); Fayette County Auditor's Tax Duplicate, 1870, 1880, 1890.


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35. U.S. federal manuscript census of free population, Granville County, NC, 1860.


37. Ohio Auditor of State, *Special Enumeration of Negros Emigrating to Ohio between 1861 and 1863*.

38. The 1870 census described Whiteman as “black,” while the other household members were listed as “mulatto.”


42. The crusade in Washington Court House is described in detail by a leading participant in Matilda Gilruth Carpenter, *The Crusade: Its Origin and Development at Washington Court House and Its Results* (Columbus, OH: W. G. Hubbard & Co., 1893). For a history of the movement at the local, state and national levels, see Jack S. Blocker Jr., “*Give to the Winds Thy Fears*: The Women’s Temperance Crusade, 1873–1874” (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985).


44. The jail register has been examined for the years 1870–1875, 1878, 1881, 1884, 1887, 1890, 1893, 1894, 1896, and 1899, in addition to the records of the Fayette County Court of Common Pleas, 1868–1874, and a local newspaper that for a time printed reports of arrests, *Fayette County Herald*, May 21–July 30, 1868.

45. Blocker, “Artisan’s Escape.”


47. Doucet and Weaver, “Material Culture,” 574–76.


49. The most extended account of Andersonville is a retrospective newspaper article in Kelley, *Down Through the Golden Years*, 875–76.

50. I cannot prove that Dora Anderson was the one who paid for King’s monument. The circumstantial evidence points that way, however. She received or inherited the family property, and her sister Emily (who seems to have used “Emma”) appears to have died only two years after Dora. If it were Emma who was responsible for King’s marker, she would presumably also have purchased a more impressive monument for her sister. Emma was also under ten years old and about twenty years younger than Dora when
King and Emily separated. Possibly King bought the monument himself in a final flamboyant gesture. But since he seems to have generously provided for Dora when the marriage broke up, I surmise that he would have willed his remaining property to her and her sister.

51. Burnett, *Remember?*

52. It is possible that Lewis Chester was the first Granville Countian to travel to Washington Court House, as there was a Chester family, perhaps headed by a brother of Lewis, in that county in 1860.

53. Burnett, *Remember?* See also Duffee, *As I Remember*, 66. Duffee was born in 1880, and remembered Eugene and his sisters more than forty years after they had left Washington Court House.


55. Burnett, *Remember?*

56. A biographical sketch is in *Cleveland Gazette*, November 11, 1899.

57. Burnett, *Remember?*


59. Widows, widowers, and divorced persons were much more common among adult blacks in Xenia, Ohio, in 1900 than among whites nationally. Disproportionate numbers of widowed or divorced persons were also present among African Americans in Farmville, Virginia, and Sandy Spring, Maryland. Wright, *Negroes of Xenia*, 1019. Patterns of marital status in Springfield, Ohio, and Springfield, Illinois, exhibited a slight tendency in the same direction, but the differences between African Americans and European Americans in these two communities were not statistically significant.

60. Crude birth and death rates were calculated for three-year periods straddling or close to census years. The periods used were 1879–1881, 1889–1891, and 1898–1900. The number of white births per 1,000 population was 22.5, 19.2, and 15.9; the number of black births was 21.0, 14.9, and 16.4. The number of white deaths per 1,000 population was 7.8, 7.9, and 7.5; the number of black deaths was 8.3, 13.5, and 12.2. Figures were obtained from the annual volumes of *Ohio Statistics*, published by the office of the Ohio secretary of state. Higher death rates for African Americans were also the norm in Evansville, Indiana. Darrel E. Bigham, *We Ask Only a Fair Trial: A History of the Black Community in Evansville, Indiana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 50. Stewart Tolnay points out in his study of the African American family that death was the most common form of marriage disruption. Stewart Tolnay, *The Bottom
Notes to Chapter 3


61. African American men made up 13 percent of the males twenty years and over in Washington Court House in 1900, but represented 33 percent of the widowers.


64. Butler, An Undergrowth of Folly, 120.


CHAPTER THREE

2. Reverend Harry Mann Memoir, April 8, 1974, OHUIS, 24.
3. Mrs. Mary Blue Wynne, interview, January 15, 1987, SJOHP.
4. Edwin Smith Todd, A Sociological Study of Clark County, Ohio (Springfield: Springfield Publishing, 1904); city directories, 1870, 1892–93, 1901. In both 1890 and 1900, African Americans made up 11.1 percent of Springfield’s population.
6. The analysis that follows employs a stratified random sample drawn from the 1900 U.S. federal manuscript census schedules for Clark County, Ohio. The sample was stratified to reflect the distribution of both European American and African American populations among Springfield’s six wards and twenty-nine census enumeration districts. A quota was set for each enumeration district according to its proportion of the total European American population. To select European American members of the sample, in each enumeration district research assistants began at a line number selected...
at random. If the entry at that line number was listed as “white” and twenty-one years of age or over, that person was taken for the sample. If not, the researcher moved up the page until someone was found who fit these criteria. We then skipped ahead eighty-five lines and repeated the procedure, moving alternately up and down the page if the initial entry did not qualify. After filling the sample quota for each enumeration district, we moved on to the next district. This procedure produced a sample of 187 men and 214 women, representing in total 1.2 percent of the European American population. This sample was designed to be accurate within a margin of error of ±.05 at the .95 level of confidence in estimating the proportion of the population living in family-owned homes. For sixteen cases, data were missing on home ownership. As a result, the sample should be considered as accurate within a margin of error of ±.06 at the .95 level of confidence.

To select the African American sample members, we simply moved through the entire census schedule for Springfield, selecting every fifth person designated as “black” or “colored” or “mulatto” who was listed as twenty-one years of age or older. This yielded a sample of 270 men and 243 women, which represents 12.1 percent of the African American population (probably about one-quarter of the adult population). Data were missing on homeownership for forty-nine cases. In estimating the proportion of the total population living in family-owned homes, this sample size should be accurate within a margin of error of ±.05 at the .95 level of confidence.

The percentage of adult women living with at least one other nuclear or extended family member was 79.8 percent for African Americans and 91.6 for European Americans. Among European American men, 88.2 percent lived with another family member.

7. Among African American adult female newcomers since 1880, 79 percent lived with another family member in 1900, compared to 91 percent among European American adult female newcomers. Among African American adult male newcomers, 68 percent lived with family, compared to 86 percent for European American adult male newcomers. Given the longer time period for families to form than in Washington Court House (twenty years versus ten), this evidence for family migration is not as strong. The male–female comparison, however, is not affected by the differing periods used to measure persistence.

8. The index of segregation measures how much greater a proportion of African Americans than European Americans would have to move in order to achieve an equal distribution among wards. It is calculated according to the formula in Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, *Historian’s Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), 125–26. The index for Washington Court House in 1900 is 29, for Springfield, Ohio, 14, and for Springfield, Illinois, 35. Comparable indexes for three southern cities in 1900 show that Richmond, Virginia, was more segregated than any of the northern communities; Louisville, Kentucky, was at about the level for Washington Court House, and New

10. Ibid., 67.
11. Nineteen of twenty machinists were white, but seven of fifteen iron molders and two of four undifferentiated molders were black. The occupations of barber, teamster, and waiter were dominated by African Americans.
13. Except older southern-born African American women. In the analysis of home ownership in the 1900 samples for the two Springfields, 1880 had to be taken as the base year because of the missing 1890 manuscript census schedules.
14. The procedure used was logistic regression, employing a maximum likelihood ratio. Logistic regression is the appropriate tool when analyzing problems in which the dependent variable, in this case home ownership, is measured at the nominal level. Home ownership as a nominal variable is dichotomous (“yes” or “no”). The analysis of wealth holding in Washington Court House employed ordinary least squares regression, since the dependent variable, assessed wealth, was measured at the ratio level. For an introduction to logistic regression, see Thomas J. Archdeacon, Correlation and Regression Analysis: A Historian’s Guide (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), chap. 14.
15. Again, a stepwise logistic regression program was used. The complete model with the two variables “persistence” and “color” produced a Cox and Snell $R^2$ of .074. Color contributed nearly as much as persistence to this coefficient. Among all women, color was not a factor in home owning, only persistence and age, in that order.
19. Among the African American newcomers since 1880, 77 percent of the women and 71 percent of the men were living with at least one other nuclear or extended family member in 1900. The comparable figures for European Americans were 92 percent for women and 83 percent for men.

The analysis to follow is based on a stratified random sample drawn so as to reflect the distribution of populations among Springfield’s seven wards and eighteen enumeration districts. The samples of African Americans and European Americans
were drawn in the same manner as in Springfield, Ohio. The European American sample produced a file of 403 cases, 180 men and 223 women. This represents 1.3 percent of the European American population in 1900. The sample was designed to be accurate within a margin of error of ±0.05 at the .95 level of confidence when estimating the proportion of the adult population living in family-owned homes. Despite missing data on home ownership for twelve cases, the sample does meet that criterion. The African American sample numbers 498, 283 men and 215 women, or 22 percent of Springfield’s African American population, and probably close to half of its adult African American population. To estimate the proportion of the adult population living in family-owned homes, a sample of this size should be considered accurate with a margin of error of ±0.05 at the .95 level of confidence. The accuracy of the estimate is not affected by missing data on home ownership for 44 cases.

20. Leota Harris Memoir, February 5, 1975, 2 vols., OHUIS. Quotation is from vol. 1: 14.

21. Clarence Liggins Memoir, March 8, 1974, OHUIS.

22. Eighty-five percent of African American men and 87 percent of women were newcomers since 1880, compared to 78 percent of European American men and 84 percent of women.


24. Ibid., 63.


26. The only exceptions were older southern-born African American newcomers of both sexes.


30. The correlation is not perfect. In tiny Brooklyn, Illinois, a dormitory town for the metro-east industrial region across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, only 18 percent of African Americans lived in family-owned homes in 1910, a lower rate than in Washington Court House and the Springfields ten years before, although still marginally higher than any of the large cities. In Evansville, Indiana, a city of 59,000 in 1900, black home ownership stood at 9 percent. Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, *America’s First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois, 1830–1915* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 169–70; Bigham, *We Ask Only a Fair Trial*, 69.


33. In the late twentieth century, urban places of different size continued to vary in the risks and opportunities they presented to African Americans. “Large cities,” sociologist Seth Ovadia writes, “tend to have high levels of residential segregation and low levels of occupational segregation; smaller cities tend to have the opposite pattern.” Seth Ovadia, “The Dimensions of Racial Inequality: Occupational and Residential Segregation across Metropolitan Areas in the United States,” C&C 2 (December 2003): 313–333. The quotation is on p. 329.


CHAPTER FOUR


4. Free American (Columbus, OH), March 19, 1887.


Notes to Chapter 4


10. A federal income tax was levied in the North during the Civil War and nationally afterward, but only a tiny minority were required to pay it, and it was discontinued in 1872. It was briefly resurrected in 1894 before being ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Robert H. Stanley, *Dimensions of Law in the Service of Order: Origins of the Federal Income Tax, 1861–1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

11. For an inside look at this process from a wandering manufacturer’s perspective, see Frank Clayton Ball, *Memoirs of Frank Clayton Ball* (Muncie, IN: Privately printed, 1937).


14. Ibid.


20. Bridges, “Equality Deferred,” 94–97; Robert L. McCaul, *The Black Struggle for Public Schooling in Nineteenth-Century Illinois* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), chaps. 8–9. The school law may be found in *Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois, 1874* (Springfield: Illinois Journal Co., 1874), 983. After these changes, according to historian Robert McCaul, Afro-Illinoisans believed they had gained all the statutory support possible for equal rights at the state level, and now turned their efforts to progress within their local communities. African American efforts at the state
level did not end, however, with the schools law of 1874, nor with the civil rights act of 1885.


25. Gerber, Black Ohio, 337.

26. Ibid., 243–44.


30. McCaul, Black Struggle, chaps. 8–9. Quotation is from p. 142. The schools law may be found in Harvey B. Hurd, comp. and ed., Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois, 1874 (Springfield: Illinois Journal Co., 1874), 983.
40. *Illinois Record*, June 25, 1898; *Recorder* (Indianapolis), January 7, 1899.
42. Thornbrough, *Negro in Indiana*, 274–76.
45. I recorded all arrests during every third year beginning in 1875. In addition, I recorded all arrests in 1894 because it was the year of the lynch mob. Figure 4.1 reports the total number of jailings, not the number of individuals arrested. Some persons were arrested more than once in the same year, but the numbers generally fluctuate together. In any case, the same procedure was used for blacks and whites.
48. Pauline Parker, interview, no date, BOHCO; Geraldine Daniels, interview, October 28, 1986, SJOHP.
49. The Arnett Law repealing the law conferring power to create separate schools is House Bill 71, passed February 22, 1887, in *General and Local Acts . . . Adopted by the 67th General Assembly . . . of Ohio* (Columbus: Columbian Printing, 1887). The repealed section may be found in *Ohio Revised Statutes, 1884* (Columbus: H. W. Derby & Co., 1884), 823.


52. Squibb, “Roads to Plessy,” 188.


56. Ibid., table 1. Some of the cases are described in greater detail in Squibb, “Roads to Plessy.”


61. *Cleveland Gazette*, June 26, 1886. Other, similar incidents are described in Squibb, “Roads to Plessy,” 190–92.

62. Charles F. Bunch Sr. Memoir, August 20, 1974, OHUIS.

63. In Ohio resegregation is known to have been carried out in only one community, but the exception is a significant one: Columbus, the state capital, where gerrymandering and a new black junior high school segregated many African American students in 1911. Gerber, *Black Ohio*, 266–67.


76. For examples, see Indianapolis Leader, July 17, 31, and August 7, 1880; Illinois Record, May 21 and September 17, 1898.


78. Reed, Black Chicago’s First Century, 198–200.


81. William B. Hubbard Memoir, January 28, 1975, OHUIS.

82. Gerber, Black Ohio, 234–43.

83. Indianapolis Leader, January 17, 1880. For other examples of political independence on the local level, see Weekly Review (New Albany, IN), April 16, 1881; Freeman (Indianapolis), September 8, 15, 1888; Illinois Record, January 29, August 27, and September 10, 1898.


85. In 1888 the Freeman, normally a loyal Republican paper, reported on a series of assaults by black Republicans on black Democrats. Freeman, September 29, 1888. For an analysis of divisions within the African American community of Decatur, Illinois, during a hotly contested election with considerable salience to African Americans, see Cha-Jua, “A Warlike Demonstration,” 616–17.


87. Cleveland Gazette, July 24 and November 13, 1886, and April 16, 1887; Free American (Columbus, OH), March 19, 1887; Xenia Semi-Weekly Gazette, June 24, 1887. Tuppins was not the first African American mayor of a biracial town, as John Evans had become mayor of the village of Brooklyn the year before. Ten years after Tuppins’s election, Mason, Tennessee, elected an African American mayor, J. W. Bush. Cha-Jua, America’s First Black Town, 243n11.

88. Cleveland Gazette, April 11, 1891, and May 6, 1893.

89. Gutman, “The Negro and the UMWA.”

90. See any issue of the Ohio State Register during the period.


92. Jack S. Blocker Jr., “Give to the Winds Thy Fears”: The Women’s Temperance Crusade, 1873–1874 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 130. For other examples of African American charges of Republican betrayal, see Illinois Record, January 29, March 12, April 9, August 20 and 27 (Springfield, IL), and September 10, 1898 (Cairo).

93. My model thus differs from that of James Loewen in Sundown Towns. Where Loewen views African Americans as victims of such forces beyond their control as
white desires for reconciliation of Civil War divisions, imperialism, anti-immigrant prejudice, and final destruction of Native American resistance, I see African American actions as threatening whites’ exclusive control over local communities. Where Loewen portrays nationwide factors influencing behavior on the local level, I emphasize as well the effect of local conflicts in making white Midwesterners receptive to racist doctrines emanating from elsewhere. Racist actions in the Lower Midwest, including denial of equal rights, rejection of African American demands for change, reduction of black political influence, and antiblack collective violence, in turn encouraged white racists in other regions to push forward their offensives against African Americans’ constitutional rights.


CHAPTER FIVE

1. Recorder (Indianapolis), January 7, 1899.
2. “The Industrial and Social Conditions of the Negro,” a Thanksgiving sermon at Bethel AME Church, Chicago, November 26, 1896, Box 15, Reverdy C. Ransom Papers, WUL.
3. Illinois Record (Springfield), December 17, 1898.
7. Luther Wheeler Memoir, October 17, 1983, OHUIS.
9. I counted lynchings and other incidents of antiblack collective violence during the period 1885–1910. These years were chosen because they enclose the period when African Americans in the Lower Midwest were making the crucial locational choices that would lead them away from the nonmetropolitan places where so many of them initially settled. An act of “antiblack” violence is indicated by an intended or actual African American victim or victims; “collective” means three or more attackers. European American initiative is presupposed, except where the evidence indicates otherwise. But while casting a wider net for antiblack violence makes better analytical sense—at least for my project—it virtually guarantees the incompleteness of the catch. Violent attacks by groups of European Americans upon African Americans no doubt went unrecorded or were noted only in fugitive sources. Indeed, careful students of lynching agree that even this more commonly reported form of violence is quite likely underrecorded. See Tolnay and Beck, *Festival of Violence*, 261; Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 295; George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865–1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and “Legal Lynchings”* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 5; Waldrep, “War of Words,” 99–100; Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 229. My tally, therefore, should be regarded as no more than a minimum estimate.

The list in table A.4 was constructed by beginning with the list of lynchings compiled by the NAACP and the annual tally of lynchings published on or shortly after the first of January in each year, beginning in 1882, by the *Chicago Tribune*. Each incident was then traced to at least one local newspaper and a full description recorded, or, in the case of fraudulent reports, the listing was discarded. Violent occurrences other than lynchings were recorded from a variety of primary and secondary sources, and, where possible, reports were filled out from local newspapers.

Three attempted lynchings in Ohio were reported by Marilyn Kaye Howard after my database and analysis were completed and were not added to the database. These took place in Hicksville, Defiance County, October 21, 1894; Lorain, Lorain County, July 28, 1903; and Lockbourne, Franklin County, March 15, 1904. Marilyn Kaye Howard, “Black Lynching in the Promised Land: Mob Violence in Ohio, 1876–1916” (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1999), 144–46, 197–201.

11. Ibid., chap. 1.
Notes to Chapter 5


16. Copies of articles from the Chicago Tribune, August 5, 7, 8, and 10, 1895, and Daily Inter Ocean, October 21 and November 2, 18, and 25, 1895, in Box 27, Negro in Illinois File, IWP.

17. Copy of article from Daily Inter Ocean, October 21, 1895, Box 27, Negro in Illinois File, IWP.


19. West Union Scion, January 4 and 18, 1894.


23. State Capital (Springfield, IL), December 3, 1892.

24. Broad Ax (Chicago), September 30, 1899.

25. Broad Ax, July 25, 1903.


27. Freeman (Indianapolis), December 2, 1893.


30. Ibid.

31. Only two sheriffs were removed from office in the Lower Midwest under the provisions of an antilynching law. The first was Sheriff John Dudley of Sullivan County, Indiana, who was removed from office under the state’s recently strengthened antilynching law after failing to protect James Dillard from a lynch mob in November 1902. He was removed by Republican governor Winfield Durbin. The incident is described in Sullivan Democrat, November 20, 1902; Sullivan Union, November 19 and 26, December 3, 1902; and Indianapolis News, November 21, 1902. Dudley’s removal is reported in Emma Lou Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana before 1900: A Study of a Minority (1957; reprint, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 283.

    The second was Sheriff Frank E. Davis of Alexander County, Illinois, who was
dismissed by Governor Charles S. Deneen after failing to protect William James, who was on a train in Davis’s custody, and European American Henry Salzner, who was seized from the county jail and lynched on suspicion of a crime unrelated to James’s. The lynchings are described in Cairo Bulletin, November 10–20, 1909, and Davis’s dismissal is noted in Illinois State Journal, January 12, 1910. Davis’s successor, Sheriff Fred D. Nellis, successfully defended John Pratt, a suspected purse snatcher, from a lynch mob three months after the James and Salzner lynchings by ordering his deputies, including several African Americans, to fire into the mob, killing one man and wounding four others. Illinois State Journal, February 18–22, 1910.

32. Thornbrough, Negro in Indiana, 281–82.
33. Chattanooga Daily Times, January 29, 1901. I am indebted to Darrel Bigham for this reference.
34. Fayette County Jail Register, 1894, Fayette County Jail, Washington Court House; Ohio State Journal, October 17, 1894.
36. Cyclone and Fayette Republican, November 8, 1894.
38. Cyclone and Fayette County Republican, October 11, 1894.
39. See two documents in the library of the Ohio Historical Society: Argument of Judge Joseph Hidy Before the Judiciary Committee of the Ohio Senate On the proposed Bill to reimburse Col. Cott. . . . and Protest To the Seventy-second General Assembly of the State of Ohio. . . (by a meeting of the Board of Trade and other citizens of Washington Court House and Fayette County).
40. Cyclone and Fayette County Republican, September 4, 1889, and April 23, 1890; Fayette County Jail Register, 1881, 1884, 1887, 1890, and 1894.
41. Harry M. Daugherty to Ray Baker Harris, June 7, 1938, Ray Baker Harris Collection, Warren G. Harding Papers, OHS.
42. Cleveland Gazette, November 3, 1894.
43. Cleveland Gazette, October 20 and November 10, 17, and 24, 1894.
44. Gerber, Black Ohio and the Color Line, 254. In 1900 there were only 525 African Americans in Akron, 1.2 percent of the population.


49. Bigham, *We Ask Only a Fair Trial*, 107.

50. See, e.g., Gerber, *Black Ohio*, 249; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, introduction to *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 4. In contrast, however, James Loewen argues that the violence that played a part in creating “sundown towns” where blacks were unwelcome was more common outside the most southern parts of the South. James Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York and London: New Press, 2005), chap. 3.


59. Loewen, *Sundown Towns*. 

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60. For a recent discussion of this point, see James H. Madison, *A Lynching in the Heartland: Race and Memory in America* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 16, 156n6. On p. 72, Madison quotes a Georgia newspaper in 1930 claiming that the “only reason there are more lynchings in the South than in the balance of the country is because there are more negroes in the South.”

61. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky*, 5. My count is based on confirmations in local newspapers, but I began with the same sources used for other inventories: reports in the metropolitan press. I have not made an exhaustive search of local sources. Tolnay and Beck point out (*Festival of Violence*, 262) that inventories based on the metropolitan press overcount a significant number of lynchings (one-sixth of their initial list), but this point does not apply to Wright’s locally based tally or my locally confirmed count.


63. For examples, see *Freeman*, June 12, 1897; *Cleveland Gazette*, January 21 and April 21, 1894, August 31, 1895, July–August 1897, and September 1, 1900; *Illinois Record*, December 11, 1897, and September 17, 1898; *Broad Ax*, May 2, June 13, and August 15, 1903.


65. *Cleveland Gazette*, January 20 and April 21, 1894, August 31, 1894, and June 12, 1897.


68. *Freeman*, July 11, 1903.


71. *Conservator* (Chicago), September 8, 1883; *Recorder*, April 22, 1899; *Broad Ax*, June 6, 1899, July 4, 1903, March 26, 1904, and August 22, 1908.
72. *Cleveland Gazette*, July 17, 1897.
73. *Freeman*, March 3, 1906. For Knox’s urgings against violence, see the same issue and that of August 29, 1908.
76. For an example of reflexive and personal (and successful) armed self-defense, see Rosetta Lacey Ellis, interview, no date, BOHCO. For an incident in which the threat of violence stopped harassment, see Albert Harris Memoir, March 28, 1974, OHUIS.
78. *Leader*, August 30, 1879.
84. Quoted in ibid., 42.
85. Ibid., 73–84.
86. Ibid., chap. 4; Margaret Ferguson Memoir, February 11, 1975, OHUIS; Marie Cunningham Memoir, December 7, 1971, OHUIS; Albert Harris Memoir, March 28, 1974, OHUIS.
87. The projects were directed by Professor Cullom Davis, and the transcripts of the interviews are held at the Oral History Office, University of Illinois–Springfield.
88. *Broad Ax*, August 22, 1908.
89. See chapter 4 above.
Notes to Chapter 6


96. Freeman, August 22, 1908.

97. Ibid.

98. Mattie Hale Memoir, April 30, 1974, OHUIS.

99. Edith Carpenter Memoir, January 1975, OHUIS. For another account of armed self-defense, see the William B. Hubbard Memoir, January 28, 1975, OHUIS.

100. Rev. Harry Mann Memoir, April 8, 1974, OHUIS.

101. John and Hazel Wilson Memoir, March 25, 1971, OHUIS. Allie Hopkins, who came to Springfield in 1923, was also told that “there was quite a few white people killed.” Allie Hopkins Memoir, August 16, 1974, OHUIS.

102. LeRoy Brown Memoir, April 29, 1974, OHUIS.

103. Albert Harris Memoir.

104. Margaret Ferguson Memoir.

105. See, e.g., LeRoy Brown Memoir.

106. Springfield’s share of the state’s African American urban population dropped 1.8 percent, from 5.3 in 1890 to 3.5 in 1910. Cairo lost 4.5 percent and Quincy 3.4. See chapter 7.

107. Margaret Ferguson Memoir; LeRoy Brown Memoir.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Letter to editor, Chicago Defender, March 31, 1917, copy in IWP.


4. To examine northern migration solely from a northern perspective is “methodologically wrong,” writes Nelson Ouellet, because to do so “neglects how African Americans coped with similar situations before their arrival in cities of the North and how earlier experiences were tools to improve their condition, whether socially,


8. Urban places were one kind of transition zone to urban-industrial ways, but they were not the only such setting. As Joe William Trotter has pointed out, extractive industries such as mining and lumbering “operated at the interface between the black agricultural experience . . . and the black transition to an urban-industrial foundation.” Joe William Trotter Jr., *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915–45* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 232.

(Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 105–18. After describing the slow pace of black urbanization and the limits to black achievement in cities, however, Goldfield adds that “this restricted urban life was still better than what the countryside offered them” (117). Other treatments include Zane Miller, “The Black Experience in the Modern American City,” in The Urban Experience, ed. Raymond Mohl and James Richardson (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1973), 50; and Howard N. Rabinowitz, Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865–1890 (1978; reprint, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996).


18. My conclusions about population shifts across the urban hierarchies in the four east south central states are based on tables similar to tables A.1–A.3 constructed from published federal census data for the periods 1860–1890 and 1890–1910.


20. For an examination of African American life in Louisville, see George C.
Notes to Chapter 6


22. Between 1860 and 1890, Kentucky's African American population grew by only 13.5 percent, while its European American population increased by 73 percent. Between 1890 and 1910, the African American population dropped 2.4 percent, and the European American population grew by 27.5 percent.

23. This movement will be closely analyzed in chapter 7.


25. Ibid., 64.


30. For a discussion of Mississippi urbanization and outmigration, see McMillen, Dark Journey, chap. 8.

31. For a more detailed breakdown of migration destinations by decade for the east south central states, see William Edward Vickery, The Economics of the Negro Migration (New York: Arno, 1977), tables 49–52.

32. Goldfield, Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers, 131.

Whether life in small and midsize towns and cities provided migrants with training in industrial skills as well as exposure to urban ways of life cannot be answered without examination of the specific places through which they moved. The local economies of some nonmetropolitan urban places were heavily based on industry, but others were primarily commercial centers.

34. Calculated from sources used for the tables tracing movement across the urban hierarchies of the east south central states and from Vickery, Economics of the Negro Migration, table 37. Some of the outmigrants, especially during the early years of the period, of course traveled to other east south central states.

35. Mrs. Jimmie D. Smith, interview, no date, BMP.

36. Jack E. Martin Memoir, October 25, 1974, OHUIS.


38. Barbara J. Fields has criticized historians who picture black Southerners as “perpetually poised on the edge of migration.” She claims that “[f]reedmen and their descendants went to extraordinary lengths to gain an independent base on the land and persisted in the teeth of repeated defeats. . . . For them, . . . mass migration or emigration was the last resort when the rural economy could no longer accommodate them.” Barbara J. Fields, “The Advent of Capitalist Agriculture: The New South in a Bourgeois World,” in Essays on the Postbellum Southern Economy, ed. Thavolia Glymph and John J. Kushma (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1985), 94n37. Data from the published census on rural population changes in the four states of the east south central region furnish an opportunity to test this claim. Eight comparisons are possible: for each state during 1860–1890 and 1890–1910. If black farmers went to “extraordinary lengths” to remain on the land, then black rural populations should have increased faster or declined more slowly than white rural populations. In seven out of eight cases, however (Mississippi during 1860–1890 is the sole exception), this was not true. Black rural populations nearly always grew more slowly than white rural populations or shrank while white rural populations grew, suggesting higher rates of African American than European American outmigration from rural districts. This is a crude comparison since it may have been affected by differential fertility and mortality as well as migration. While completed families of black farm families were larger than those of white farm families, however, child mortality among rural black southern families was also higher than among rural white southern families. See Stewart E. Tolnay, The Bottom Rung: African American Family Life on Southern Farms (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 75–79; Samuel H. Preston and Michael R. Haines, Fatal Years: Child Mortality in Late Nineteenth-Century America (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), table 3.2. The comparison here at least throws some empirical light on an obscure area. I do not view black Southerners as “perpetually
poised on the edge of migration,” but rather as continually exploring the various options available to them.


CHAPTER SEVEN


10. Compare Lee et al., *Methodological Considerations*, 314, with George C. Wright,


12. Midwestern newspapers regularly reported violent incidents as well as discussing possible responses. See, for example, Freeman (Indianapolis), June 12, 1897; Cleveland Gazette, July 10, 1897; Illinois Record, September 17, 1898; Indianapolis Recorder, December 22, 1900, March 2, 1901, November 22–December 6, 1902, June 13, and July 11, 1903; Broad Ax (Chicago), August 1, 1903.


14. For a description of the population examined, see appendix C. For 1860–1930, n = 160; for the period 1890–1915, n = 30.


16. Clyde Vernon Kiser, Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centers (1932; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1967), 166–67. Joe Trotter points out that during the entire pre-Great Migration movement, African American women dominated the migration stream to the older northeastern coastal cities of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, while men were more numerous among those traveling to the newer, dynamic industrial cities of the Midwest. This differential he attributes to the greater availability of domestic and personal service jobs for women in the older cities. Joe William Trotter Jr., “Blacks in the Urban North: The ‘Underclass Question’ in Historical Perspective,” in The ‘Underclass’ Debate: Views from History, ed. Michael B. Katz (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 59. Further research is required, however, to determine whether a low sex ratio characterized the northeastern metropolitan migration consistently throughout the period 1860–1915 or if a shift took place at some point from a high to a low sex ratio.


18. John Lucas, interview, no date, BMP. For other accounts of family migrations during 1890–1910, see Elva Williams, interview, July 16, 1980, BMP; Mrs. Mayhouse, interview, July 1 and 8, 1980, BMP; Carl Boone, interview, no date, AS, vol. 6: 16; Louis Watkins, Henry Bedford, Wade Glenn, and Tap and Susie Payne Hawkins, interviews,
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all no date, *AS, Supplement, Series 1*, vol. 5: 231, 281, 348–51, 355–58; Celia Henderson, interview, no date, *AS, Series 2*, vol. 16: 42–43; Clarence Liggins Memoir, March 8, 1974, OHUIS; and Bruce K. Hayden Sr. Memoir, January 31, 1975, OHUIS.


20. Carter Woodson described northern migration during the years before the Great Migration as “mainly due to political changes.” Carter Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration* (New York: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918), 159.

21. William C. Mace, Glasgow, Kentucky, to Martha Lattimore, Noblesville, Indiana, January 9, 1880, Martha Lattimore Papers, IHS.

22. Bruce K. Hayden Sr. Memoir. For Fulton County’s lynching record, see Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky*, 72–73.


24. Ibid., 30.


26. George Wright shows that the number of legal executions of African Americans in Kentucky remained fairly steady as lynching declined. Wright, *Racial Violence*, 227. An exception, however, is the decade 1900–1909, when the number of legal executions fell.


32. As we shall see below, the biggest gainers of African American urban population share in Illinois were Chicago and East St. Louis. Other towns besides East St. Louis in the metro-east region may also have drawn African American migrants because of the pull of St. Louis across the Mississippi River. Madison and Venice may have gained African American share, although Belleville, Collinsville, and Edwardsville definitely lost share. The attraction of East St. Louis seems to allow an argument that
Illinois experienced a metropolitan shift toward its two regional centers, Chicago and St. Louis. Even when the attraction of the metro-east region is taken into account, however, the overall pattern of parallel black and white flows to places distributed across the urban hierarchy remains unchanged, since other urban places beyond the urban shadow of St. Louis also attracted significant numbers of African American migrants.

33. Compare the state totals in Lee et al., *Methodological Considerations*, 310–11, 332.


36. In her posthumously published history of African Americans in twentieth-century Indiana, Thornbrough suggests that, in addition to the factors cited above, “white hostility was also sometimes a factor.” Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century*, ed. and with a final chapter by Lana Ruegamer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 3.


39. Ibid., 16, 73–122.

40. Data on state-by-state origins of native-born African Americans are not given for any place below the state level in the federal censuses of 1890 and 1900, but they can be calculated for many large towns by subtracting the native-born whites of native parentage and native-born whites of foreign parentage from the total of native-born persons.


42. There were only 216 out-of-state newcomers in Terre Haute and 173 in Fort Wayne.

44. The dependent variable is absence from a subsequent census of individuals present in the community ten years before. Since data were not available to identify those who died, one should keep in mind that some of those who are recorded as missing did not leave the community through choice. This problem can be addressed, however, by including age among the variables to be examined.
45. Chi-square for cross-tabulation of persistence with “color” among both men and women is significant at the .05 level.
47. Chi-square for the cross-tabulation of persistence and “color” is significant at the .05 level for women, but not for men.
49. *Slave and Freeman*, 16, 133–34.
50. The list is as follows, with year of violence in parentheses, followed by the percentage share loss in black population: Coshocton (1885, –.02), Washington Court House (1894, –.61), Urbana (1897, –.59), Akron (1900, –.09), Springfield (1904, 1906, –1.01).
51. Because of this the overall correlation between violence and change in black urban share, while negative, is not statistically significant.
52. Change in share of the state’s African American urban population during 1890–1910 correlated positively and significantly with size of African American population in 1890 across one hundred urban communities; $r = +.42$, significant at the .05 level.
54. In figures 7.5–7.6 and 7.13, circles are proportional to the increase or decrease in share of the African American urban population. Only towns and cities that experienced a change of more than one percent are shown.
55. Across one hundred urban places, change in African American urban share correlated positively and significantly with change in total urban share during 1890–1910; $r = +.29$, significant at the .05 level.
56. Across thirty-five urban places for which data on manufacturing employment are available, change in African American urban share during 1890–1910 is positively
and significantly correlated with change in share of the state’s manufacturing work force during 1899–1909; \( r = +.47 \), significant at the .05 level. Among the same places, change in share of Ohio’s manufacturing work force, 1899–1909, is correlated positively and significantly with change in share of total urban population, 1890–1910; \( r = +.74 \), significant at the .05 level.


59. Ibid., 296.

60. The regional dimension is emphasized in Thornbrough, *Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century*, 2.

61. Although changes in total urban share and African American urban share varied together, the swings in the latter were much wider than those in the former. Regression analysis shows that for every change of one percent in total urban share, African American urban share changed by 2.7 percent in the same direction.

62. Change in share of the state’s African American urban population during 1890–1910 correlated positively and significantly with size of African American population in 1890 across 60 urban communities; \( r = +.45 \), significant at the .05 level.

63. For fifty-nine urban places, \( r = -.89 \), significant at the .05 level.

Stepwise regression analysis with Indianapolis included indicates the importance of the capital’s large African American population. Change in total urban share by itself “explains” 66 percent of the variance in change in black urban share. With the effect of change in total urban share accounted for, size of black population adds another 14 percent to the equation’s explanatory power. Size of black population was statistically unrelated to, and therefore acted independently of, change in total urban share. The equation is:

\[
\text{change in black urban share} = 0.19 + 2.6 \times (\text{change in total urban share}) + .0005 \times (\text{size of black population})
\]

Standard errors for \( b \) are in brackets.

64. Bigham, *We Ask Only a Fair Trial*, chap. 5.

the North, in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama; Monroe, Louisiana; Hot Springs, Arkansas; Tampa, Florida; Columbus, Georgia; Meridian, Mississippi; and Clarksville and Nashville, Tennessee.

66. Chicago increased its share of the Illinois black urban population from 42 percent in 1890 to 52 percent in 1910.


71. Chicago’s share of Illinois’s total urban population dropped from 64.8 percent in 1890 to 62.9 percent in 1910. This explains why the correlation between change in share of black urban population and change in share of total urban population is inverse for the period 1890–1910. For 75 urban places, $r = -.32$, significant at the .05 level.

72. Chicago’s increase in share of the state’s manufacturing workers, 5.26 percent, dwarfed all other places. The manufacturing census of 1910, which contains the 1909 figures, however, was less thorough than that of 1900, containing the 1899 statistics. The 1900 census counted industrial workers in seventy towns, whereas the 1910 census reported figures for only thirty-one.

73. Because of the Windy City’s much larger African American population, the number of violent incidents relative to population was actually smaller than in Illinois’s other violent communities. But because lynchings of individual African Americans was the most common form of violence elsewhere, while mob attacks on groups of strikebreakers was the usual form taken in Chicago’s antiblack violence, the likelihood of any individual becoming a target of a white mob was probably higher in Chicago. My point in noting Chicago’s violence, however, is simply that it occurred and thereby demonstrated to potential migrants that Chicago was not free from mob attacks on blacks.

74. Those that lost share are Belleville (−0.46 percent), Cairo (−4.54 percent), Pana (−0.05 percent), and Springfield (−1.85 percent). In addition, the census enumerator in Carterville, whose African American population was not recorded in 1890 since the town had less than 2,500 population, found no African Americans living there in 1910, although many had come in 1899 as strikebreakers. Furthermore, the 84 African Americans recorded in Spring Valley in 1910 are measured for this analysis as an increase over the one living there in 1890, but the 1910 figure represents a decline following the arrival of African American strikebreakers in 1894 and 1895. In 1900, 135
African Americans lived in Spring Valley. Those that gained share are Chicago (+9.43 percent), Danville (+0.99 percent), and Decatur (+0.21 percent). Virden’s African American population was not recorded in 1890, but the nine African Americans enumerated there in 1910 undoubtedly represented a decrease from the number who came as strikebreakers in 1898.


76. With Chicago excluded, change in total urban population share and change in African American urban share during 1890–1910 were positively and significantly correlated across 74 urban places; $r = +.66$, significant at the .05 level.

77. As early as 1906, the pioneer African American sociologist Richard R. Wright Jr. wrote that “few women go to the rural districts, while there is great demand for men on the farms [of the North].” Richard R. Wright Jr., “Migration of Negroes to the North,” Annals of the American Academy 27 (May 1906): 564.


79. During the 1890s, Mississippians provided about 1,700 of the 22,200 black interstate migrants to Illinois, and about 1,500 of the 17,200 during the first decade of the twentieth century. Approximately 1,500 Alabamians came to Illinois during the 1890s, followed by about 800 during 1900–1910. All figures are minimum net estimates derived from the birth–residence index. Lee et al., Methodological Considerations, 310. See also William Edward Vickery, The Economics of the Negro Migration, 1900–1960 (New York: Arno, 1977), tables 34 and 52.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Kathleen Borboza, interview, no date, BOHCO.


9. Alonzo Parham, interview, October 4, 1996, in Black, *Bridges of Memory*, 117. For another example of step migration from Georgia—Albany to Macon to Atlanta to Chicago—see Wayman Hancock, interview, September 17, 1991, in ibid., 143. For another example of the men-first, women-later pattern of migration, in this case from New Orleans, see John Levy, interview, August 12, 1992, in ibid., 194. A concern for education similar to that shown by the Parham family is noted in Mildred Bowden and Hermene Hartman, interview, July 29, 1995, in ibid., 253.


United States and Canada (June 1893), timetables for the East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia; Queen & Crescent; Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton; Yazoo & Mississippi Valley; and Illinois Central railroads; The Official Guide of the Railways . . . of the United States . . ., January 1930 (New York: National Railway Publication Co.), timetables for the Southern; Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis; Yazoo & Mississippi Valley; and Illinois Central railways.


17. For 128 urban places, the $r$ values for correlations between change in share of the state’s black urban population on one hand and change in share of the total urban population and size of African American population in 1910 on the other were +.23 and −.09 respectively. Only the first was significant at the .05 level. As in the previous periods, black migration during 1910–1930 was not deterred by the presence of proportionally large immigrant populations.

18. The Official Guide of the Railways . . . of the United States . . ., January 1930. See, for example, William H. Murdock, interview, September 19, 1986, SJOHP. In 1920 Murdock and his family traveled by train from Montgomery, Alabama, to Cleveland, changing trains in Cincinnati. So did Emma Thomas, traveling from Columbus, Georgia, two years earlier. Emma Thomas, interview, November 5, 1986, SJOHP.

19. For thirty-three urban places, the correlation between change in share of black urban population, 1910–1930, and change in share of manufacturing workers, 1909–1929, was positive and significant; $r = +.50$, significant at the .05 level. See also William W. Giffin, African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio, 1915–1930 (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005), 14–15, 90.

20. During 1899–1909, Akron increased its share of the state’s manufacturing workers from 2.7 to 3.5 percent, but its share of the African American urban population fell from 0.9 to 0.8 percent between 1890 and 1910. Springfield’s share of manufacturing workers fell from 2.0 to 1.7 percent from 1899 to 1909, while its share of the African American urban population dropped from 7.0 percent to 6.0 percent during 1890–1910.

21. Between 1909 and 1929, Akron’s share of the state’s manufacturing workers shot from 3.5 to 8.1 percent, by far the greatest gain in Ohio. During 1910–1930, its share of the total urban population increased from 2.6 to 5.7 percent, while its share of the black urban population rose from 0.8 to 4.1 percent. Akron’s boom is discussed in Jon C. Teaford, Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Urban Midwest (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 107–108. City data on manufacturing employment are in U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census, 1920: Vol. 9, Manufactures (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1923), 310, 315 (Illinois); 374, 378 (Indiana); and 1140, 1144 (Ohio); and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census: Manufactures: 1929, Vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Government Printing
Office, 1933), 139, 141 (Illinois); 161, 163 (Indiana); and 397, 399 (Ohio).


23. Between 1909 and 1929, Springfield’s share of the state’s manufacturing workers declined slightly from 1.66 to 1.62 percent, while its share of the total urban population fell from 1.8 to 1.5 percent between 1910 and 1930 and its share of the black urban population dropped from 6.0 to 3.0 percent.


25. Ibid., 163–73 and chaps. 10–11. For a biography of the founder of the Phillis Wheatley Association, see Adrienne Lash Jones, *Jane Edna Hunter: A Case Study of Black Leadership, 1910–1950*, vol. 12 of *Black Women in United States History*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1990); and Jane Edna Hunter, *A Nickel and a Prayer* (N.p.: Elli Kani Publishing, 1940). The widespread impact of these institutions is evident in the oral history interviews collected by Cleveland’s St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church during the late 1980s. See, for example, the interviews with Carrie Turner, August 27, 1986, SJOHP; and Gwendolyn Lucille Stokes Williams, September 15, 1986, SJOHP.


The rapid growth of Cleveland’s African American population, together with the lack of correlation across the state between African American population size in 1910 and change in African American urban population share between 1910 and 1930, argues against a simplistic assumption that the operation of chain migration will make a destination’s attraction proportional to the size of its black community. Instead, we must take into account the content as well as the quantity of communication.


30. This estimate is based upon patterns of net migration. See Lee et al., Methodological Considerations, 311.


32. For eighty-four urban places, the correlation between change in black urban population share and change in total urban share, 1910–1930, is positive and significant; $r = .85$, significant at the .05 level. For twenty-four urban places, the correlations are positive and significant between change in share of the state’s manufacturing workers, 1909–1929, and change in share of black urban population ($r = .56$, significant at the .05 level) and change in share of total urban population ($r = .66$, significant at the .05 level).


34. Indiana’s last lynching occurred in Marion in 1930. For an analysis of race relations focusing on the Marion lynching, see James H. Madison, A Lynching in the Heartland: Race and Memory in America (New York: Palgrave, 2001). For an account by one of the intended victims, see James Cameron, A Time of Terror: A Survivor’s Story (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1982). The Indiana Klan is described in Leonard J. Moore, Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921–1928 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

35. For eighty-four urban places, the correlation between the incidence of antiblack collective violence, 1885–1910, and change in black urban share, 1910–1930, is negative and significant; $r = .20$, significant at the .05 level.

36. Stepwise regression analysis supports the primacy of economic opportunity, as no other variable adds to the explanatory power of the equation once change in total urban population share has been entered. Change in share of manufacturing workers, 1909–1929, is too strongly correlated with change in total urban population share to exert an independent effect. The coefficient of determination is .71.

37. The changes in share of Indiana’s manufacturing workers between 1909 and 1929 were: Anderson, +1.75 percent; Muncie, +1.35 percent; Fort Wayne, +1.26 percent; South Bend, +1.87 percent. The changes in share of the state’s black urban population, 1910–1930, were: Anderson, +0.25 percent; Muncie, +0.49 percent; Fort Wayne, +1.11 percent; South Bend, +2.08 percent.

38. For the origins of Afro-Munsonians in 1920, see Jack S. Blocker Jr., “Black Migration to Muncie, 1860–1930,” IMH 92 (December 1996): 308. No data are available for Anderson, but I surmise that the origins of its African American population were similar, since the two towns were located in the same part of the state and their patterns of growth in black population were parallel.

39. The African American populations of the four cities in 1910 were: Anderson, 532; Muncie, 1,005; Fort Wayne, 572; South Bend, 604. By 1930 these figures had increased to 1,387, 2,646, 2,360, and 3,431, respectively.
40. Evansville lost 0.28 percent in share of manufacturing workers and lost 0.40 percent in share of total urban population between 1910 and 1930. These two factors combined with the race riot and the fact that few industrial jobs were open to African Americans to produce a loss of 6.62 percent in share of African American urban population.

41. Correlation analysis is of marginal utility in Illinois. This is because Chicago, when analyzed as part of the state's urban system, is such an extreme outlier in every comparison. By itself, Chicago is capable of transforming a strong positive correlation into an equally strong negative and vice versa. To include Chicago, then, means obscuring the relationships between variables that obtain among the rest of the urban system. But to exclude Chicago distorts reality even more.


43. Chicago's share of total urban population fell from 62.9 percent in 1910 to 60.25 percent in 1930, and its share of total manufacturing workers dropped from 63.1 percent in 1909 to 58.6 percent in 1929.


48. East St. Louis lost 0.36 percent of urban population share between 1910 and 1930 and its share of the state's manufacturing workers fell by 0.16 percent.

49. The populations of all-white towns ranged from 2,504 (Riverdale) to 14,863 (West Frankfort). Over the years since 1860, the number and percentage of towns reporting less than ten African Americans also steadily increased: In 1860, four towns (12.1 percent); in 1890, 12 (15.6 percent); in 1910, 39 (27.1 percent); and in 1930, 78 (40.6 percent). James Loewen argues that Illinois contained even more towns where few or no African Americans were permitted to live. James Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York and London: New Press, 2005), 59–65.


52. For Robbins, see Tyrone Haymore, *The Story of Robbins, Il.* (Robbins, IL:
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53. For the use of deed restrictions to control suburban development in Columbus, see Patricia Burgess Stach, “Deed Restrictions and Subdivision Development in Columbus, Ohio, 1900–1970,” *JUH* 15 (November 1988): 42–68.

54. For women’s part in building community in Chicago and across the state, see Anne Meis Knupfer, *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women’s Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), and Hendricks, *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest*.


59. In each of the three states in all three periods correlation analysis reveals no inverse relationship between change in African American urban population share and percentage foreign-born. This finding, as noted above, directly contradicts the argument of William J. Collins, “When the Tide Turned: Immigration and the Delay of the Great Black Migration,” *JEH* 57 (September 1997): 607–32.


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64. Rudwick, *Race Riot at East St. Louis*, 159.


69. For the procedure to use in calculating the number of African Americans born in each state, see note 40 in chapter 7, above.


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78. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census, 1920: Vol. 2: Population* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 1282. The census reported what proportion of homes were owned or rented, not what percentage of families owned their homes. Since more than one family could occupy a dwelling, the percentage of families owning their home would probably be lower than the percentage of homes owned by their occupants. Nevertheless, the contrasts drawn in the text should be sufficiently great to make the point that most migrants moved from a setting in which homeownership was more possible to one in which it was less so.

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80. Committee on Negro Housing, Negro Housing (Washington, DC: President’s Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, 1932), 81. Toledo in 1923 appears to have had a surprisingly high rate of African American home ownership, 27.6 percent. Williams, “Newcomers to the City,” 18. A sample of male and female “household heads” drawn from metropolitan areas outside the South in 1920 shows rates of homeownership ranging from 17 percent (southern-born) to 22 percent (non-southern-born). Gregory, Southern Diaspora, table A.15.

81. These processes are clearly described in such works as Spear, Black Chicago, and Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape.

82. Scott, Negro Migration during the War, chap. 14.


86. LeRoy Brown Memoir, April 29, 1974, OHUIS; Allie Hopkins Memoir, August 16, 1974, OHUIS; Margaret Ferguson Memoir, February 11, 1975, OHUIS.

87. Milton Sernett points to another advantage of large cities for African American women: “Discouraged or proscribed from holding the office of ordained minister in the mainline denominations, women exercised their spiritual gifts by establishing independent Holiness, Pentecostal, and Spiritualist churches, often of the storefront and house varieties. Women needed no male approval to set up as mediums, healers, and spiritual leaders of congregations of the dispossessed.” Sernett, Bound for the Promised Land, 195.

88. These trends are noted in U.S. Department of Labor, Negro Migration in 1916–17, 145, 150; Lyonel C. Florant, “Negro Internal Migration,” ASR 7 (December 1942): 787; Tuttle, Race Riot, 215; Phillips, AlabamaNorth, 42, 129.

89. In eleven cases, a falling sex ratio accompanied an increasing share of the state’s black urban population: Chicago, Indianapolis, Cleveland, Columbus, and Toledo in 1890–1910 and Chicago, Cleveland, Akron, Gary, Dayton, and Youngstown during 1910–1930. In three cases, a falling sex ratio appeared while the city’s urban share was falling, in Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Columbus in 1910–1930. In these periods for these three cities, urban share was being captured by more rapidly growing industrial cities, in the Calumet and northeastern Ohio respectively. In four cases, a rising sex ratio accompanied increasing urban share: Cincinnati, Dayton, and Youngstown in 1890–1910 and Toledo in 1910–1930. In one case, Akron during 1890–1910, a falling sex ratio occurred while urban share was declining. This of course was the period of Akron’s race riot.
90. As Florette Henri (Black Migration, 96) points out, census marshals probably substantially undercounted African American men in northern cities. For purposes of comparison, however, this is not a major problem, so long as we can assume that undercounting was fairly consistent from one midwestern city to another.

91. For oral history evidence on the gendered experience of women during the Second Great Migration after 1940, see Valerie Grim, “From the Yazoo Mississippi Delta to the Urban Communities of the Midwest: Conversations with Rural African American Women,” Frontiers 22 (2001): 126–44.


93. A minimum estimate of the number of Mississippi-born blacks living outside Chicago in 1910 can be obtained by comparing the number of Mississippi-born blacks living in Illinois (4,612) with the number of Mississippi-born persons living in Chicago (2,978), yielding 1,637. The maximum number of Mississippi-born blacks who could have been living outside Chicago is, of course, 4,612. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, Vol. 1: Population (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 743, 776. The number of Mississippi-born blacks living in Illinois in 1930 was 50,851, of whom 38,356 resided in Chicago, leaving 12,495 in the remainder of the state. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States, 1920–32, 30, 35–36. Subtracting the maximum and minimum estimates for 1910 from the non-Chicago number for 1930 produces the range of estimates for the increase in Mississippi-born nonmetropolitan black population between 1910 and 1930. Mississippians contributed 23 percent of Illinois’s African American migration during the 1910s and 27 percent during the 1920s.


95. [Scott], “Letters of Negro Migrants,” 436.

96. Phoebe Mitchell Day Memoir, March 25, 1974, OHUIS. A later migrant to Chicago from a small town recalled how hard it was for her to become accustomed to the “coolness”—the impersonality—of the metropolitan world. Edith Ellis, interview, June 14, 1995, in Black, Bridges of Memory, 30.

97. Jobs in coal-mining towns in western and southern Indiana were increasingly open to African Americans at the turn of the century. Thornbrough, Negro in Indiana, 350.

98. Elyria, Massillon, Middletown, and Warren all gained share of Ohio’s total urban population between 1910 and 1930, and as well increased their share of the state’s manufacturing workers between 1909 and 1929. Share changes in manufacturing workers cannot be calculated for Barberton, East Cleveland, and Niles because the census did not report their worker numbers in 1909, but in 1929 they all held a significant
share of industrial workers, in rough proportion to their growing share of total urban population.

99. The number of African American residents fell between 1910 and 1930 from ninety-nine to forty in Norwood, from seven to five in Cicero, from thirteen to nine in Blue Island, and from eighteen to five in Granite, while each city gained share of its state’s total urban population.

100. Edna Christian, interview, December 5, 1972, BOHCO.


105. James Davis, interview, June 6, 1980, BMP.


110. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*, 54, 96. Goodall and Mitchell record only one quasi-violent incident, when in 1898 a group of whites threatened to burn a tavern owner’s shed to force him to fire his black porter. It is not known if the tavern owner complied. Goodall and Mitchell, *History of Negroes in Muncie*, 6.

111. Dorothy Armstrong, interview, no date, BMP; Thomas Wesley Hall, interview, no date, BMOHP; Mrs. Mayhouse, interview, July 1 and 8, 1980, BMP; Mrs. Geraldine Springer, interview, June 17, 1980, BMP; Elva Williams, interview, July 16, 1980, BMP.

112. Henry Sims, interview, June 10, 1980, BMP. Actually, the Klan paraded twice through Muncie, in 1920 and again in 1924. Goodall and Campbell, “A City Apart,” 60. Henry Sims recalled “a kind of a race riot,” “once at the fairgrounds,” in an unknown year in response to a question about antiblack violence in Muncie. Emma Lou Thornbrough describes the advance of segregation in some Indiana cities during the 1920s, but argues that this development, while motivated by the same racist attitudes that bolstered the Klan, was not produced by Klan activity. Emma Lou Thornbrough, “Segregation in Indiana during the Klan Era of the 1920s,” *MVHR* 47 (March 1961): 594–618.
116. African Americans’ mean age was about two and one-half years less than European Americans’; 86 percent of African Americans were southern-born while 64 percent of European Americans were northern-born; and only 26 percent of African Americans had lived in Muncie for at least ten years, compared to 34 percent of European Americans. Blocker, “Wages of Migration,” 128. Some information is available on the wealth of homeowners in local tax assessment records. Among 28 adult members of home-owning families in 1917, the median value of African American real estate stood at $600, compared to $900 for European Americans. Among 73 adult members of home-owning families in 1923, the African American median was $728.50 compared to $1,680 for European Americans. Neither difference, however, was statistically significant. *Tax Duplicate and Delinquent List, 1917, Delaware County, Indiana*, vols. 1 (last names A–G) and 2 (H–O); *Tax Duplicate and Delinquent List, 1923, Delaware County, Indiana*, vols. 1 (M–R) and 4 (S–Z), Archives and Special Collections, Bracken Library, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana.

117. This is an inference from the ages and states of birth of the Blackburn children.
118. U.S. federal manuscript census, Delaware County, Indiana, 1910, 1920. The Whitely community was founded by William Whitely, the reaper manufacturer whose bitter conflict with the Knights of Labor in Springfield, Ohio, had destroyed his operation there, but the factory he built in his eponymous model town near Muncie burned in 1894, shortly after opening, and William Whitely played no further role in Muncie. The racially integrated character of the Whitely neighborhood, annexed to Muncie in 1919, is noted in Goodall and Campbell, “A City Apart,” 54–55.

CONCLUSION

1. Welton E. Barnett, interview, Toledo, Ohio, July 7, 1976, OH-TPL.


12. Phoebe Mitchell Day Memoir, March 25, 1974, OHUIS. See also the Leota Harris Memoir, February 5, 1975, 2 vols., OHUIS.


15. This is one theme, though by no means the only one, of the classic by Lewis Atherton, *Main Street on the Middle Border* (1954; reprint, Chicago: Quadrangle, 1966). The helplessness of small cities in the face of economic centralization is a major theme in Timothy R. Mahoney, “The Small City in American History,” *IMH* 99 (December 2003): 311–30.


18. I estimated these figures by applying to the 1890 and 1910 African American populations of the cities that reached 100,000 total population by 1930 the African American urban growth rate for their state during 1890–1910 and 1910–1930, respectively, then subtracting the result from the actual 1910 and 1930 African American populations. Cities whose African American populations fell below what would have been expected if the city had grown at the statewide urban rate were considered to have zero growth, rather than a negative figure.

19. These figures were estimated by comparison of tables A.6 and A.7 with tables A.15 and A.16 and by use of table A.17.

20. There is no contradiction between this conclusion and the finding that African Americans generally moved from economically lagging towns to prospering ones. As was noted above, the African American movement to the region’s cities was distinctive. Although both European Americans and African Americans responded to changing conditions, because African Americans were among the most vulnerable, they were more sensitive to economic swings.

21. Loewen, Sundown Towns.


APPENDIX C


3. I also conducted interviews, but these were with longtime residents of midwestern communities, not migrants.

4. George Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 41 vols. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972–79). Two collections of oral histories from midwestern communities have been drawn upon for qualitative evidence on migration and community life, but their subjects have not been included in the database for quantitative analysis, either because the source contains little information on the migration experience (the Wallis volume) or because it was published after the database had been completed and analyzed (the Black volume). Don Wallis, *All We Had Was Each Other: The Black Community of Madison, Indiana: An Oral History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), and Timuel D. Black Jr., *Bridges of Memory: Chicago’s First Wave of Black Migration: An Oral History* (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press and DuSable Museum of African American History, 2003).

5. The archives in which migrant interviews were found are listed in appendix B. Interviews were also collected of lifelong residents of midwestern communities, but these will not be discussed here.


7. Most of the FWP interviews took place in 1937 or 1938. The median year of migration north for the forty-nine ex-slaves who gave this information was 1869; the range was 1859–1929.

8. The range of age at migration was four to eighty-four years; $n = 39$. Age at migration was calculated by subtracting the year of migration reported in the interview from year of birth.

9. The range of age at migration north was from less than one year to forty-eight years; $n = 83$.

10. For 214 respondents the median year of migration north was 1917; the range was 1865–1930.