SHHH…BIG MOMMA AND DEM' LEFT LAST NIGHT: SHIFTING VIOLENT MEMORIES and THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CHAIN MIGRATION, ABBEVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA TO EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, 1910-1940

by

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of the 4,742 documented lynching victims, the two to three times more undocumented lynching victims, the five million African Americans who voted with their feet and left the South, Grandpa Crawford, Big Momma, Grandma Fannie, Mommy, Daddy, Marius, Tori, my husband Maurice, and especially my grandfather Daddy Brooks.

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INTRODUCTION

On July 14, 1894, a group lynched James Mason in Abbeville, South Carolina. On November 24 1895, a crowd lynched Thomas Watts and John Richards in Abbeville. On September 20, 1905, a horde of "person's unknown" lynched Allen Pendleton in Abbeville. On October 21, 1916, a mob lynched Anthony Crawford in Abbeville. The documented lynchings in Abbeville end with the public murder of Crawford. He was a wealthy planter who owned a 427-acre estate. Crawford's lynching would resonate around the country, with long lasting consequences. Afterwards, a mass exodus of African Americans would forever change his hometown of Abbeville, and America, in many ways. This lynching coincided with the beginning of the Great Migration in 1916. This thesis will argue three things; first, the mass exodus known as the Great Migration, at the very least, changed trajectory significantly because of Crawford's death. Second, the migrants journeyed with the memories of violence that they then shared with future generations and that shaped their new communities in interesting ways. Finally, the migrants' violent memories fueled the chain migration that depended heavily on women's work and their willingness to help other would-be migrants make the trip out of the South. While scholars have examined these assertions before, none have deposited the beginning of the Great Migration at the bottom of Anthony Crawford's hanging feet. I offer this lynching, the Abbeville migration, and women's reactions to impending violence as a beginning of a new conversation about the origins of the Great Migration and a lens from which we can view how African Americans in the early 20th century re-defined citizenship.

The first histories of lynching were not written to simply establish a historical record. Instead, they were intended to correct public opinion about the propensity of Black people to commit crimes, and to publicize the numbers of murders of innocent men, women and children. [1] The need for empirical studies that helped to dispel the myth of scientific racism, which often justified violence, was answered by the Black reformers who hoped that the new information about the victims and the mob, would quell lynching, attract wider public attention and provoke a legislative response from the federal government.[2]

The next set came from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching and the

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[1] The most recognized document is Ida B. Wells-Barnett 's *A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynchings in the United States, 1892-1893-1894* (Chicago: Ida B. Wells, 1895). The results of her investigations culminated in her bold assertions challenging public opinion and showing that African Americans were receiving extra-legal justice for falsified reasons. Lynching was used against those who threatened white supremacy in all aspects of society—social, economic and political. Wells-Barnett's noted the interesting timing of the ability to murder Black people, in that enslavement meant Black bodies were property, worth money, and now, as freed men and women, they represented competition with whites. Her account directly confronted the myth of Black men raping white women that permeated society at the time. This book both revealed the real reasons for lynching, but also reshaped the way the progressive reformers used their resources to help the disadvantaged, as African Americans were in need of serious intervention, as well. The white progressives generally expressed outrage at the barbaric practices of mob violence, but refused to acknowledge the hanging Black body as evidence of a societal crisis in which Black life was expendable.

[2] For example, see Frederick Douglass letter to Ida B. Wells in *My Soul Has Grown Deep: Classics of Early African-American Literature*,. Ed. John Edgar Wideman (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001),779 and *Lynching and Rape: An Exchange of Views by Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells*, ed. Bettina Aptheker, (New York: American Institute for Marxist Studies, 1977).

Commission on Interracial Cooperation. NAACP secretary Walter White published *Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch* (New York: A.A. Knoff, 1929) but the most widely quoted book from this time came from sociologist Arthur F. Raper, the research secretary of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. His book entitled *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1933) documented all the lynchings in 1930, as there had been a steady decline in the years before 1930, most likely because of the federal Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, which was never passed.[3] Some would argue the end of traditional lynchings, where a mob would encounter and murder an African American for a perceived infraction, came in the 1950's, so too did the scholarship. W. Fitzhugh Brundage, the most prominent recent historian of lynching, noted that after Raper's 1933 book, no other historian had written extensively on lynching until the late 1970's. Before then scholars had largely relied on Raper for an analysis of the subject. Even noted scholars of Jim Crow, such as C. Vann Woodward, broached the subject with only two pages in his classic *Origins of the New South*.[4] In Woodward's other classic, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow,* lynching is given

[3] Raper wrote his book one year after the stock market crash of 1929, and he also belonged to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a group formed in 1919 to study race riots after the explosive Red Summer. Raper's book is a systematic report of the facts of thirty lynchings, and while he does not hide any of the facts, his tome does not share the activist sensibilities of Ida B. Wells' writings. Also, from the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching is *Lynching and the Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933) by James Harmon Chadbourn, and while it examines the number of lynchings, the report also urges an immediate end to lynching by encouraging the use of swift and dire legal consequences against perpetrators--because a social or cultural shift in public sentiment would take too long. Similar reports by sociologists from the time offer the observation that America is industrializing during the Depression, both North and South, and the change might bring a serious reduction to mob violence and the social control that was the root cause of spectacle lynching. For other examples see: Earl Fiske Young, "The Relations of Lynching to the Size of Population Areas," *Sociology and Social Research 12* (March-April 1928), W.E. Wimpy, "Lynchings: An Evil of County Government," *Manufacturers' Record* 76 (December 25, 1919) and Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1944).

[4]Ed. W. Fritzhugh Brundage, *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 9-10.

cursory, almost trivial, attention. It appears as a description of an event, a naming activity, not a significant phenomenon discussed in detail.[5]

In the 1970's historians and psychologists' interest in other types of contemporary violent activities, such as those acts attributed to the Black Freedom Movement helped fuel new interest in the history of lynching. Despite pervasive scholarly neglect, the subject had not been forgotten in cultural representations or in American social and cultural commentaries. Black and white scholars and leaders mentioned lynching in their personal memoirs, literature, and through social and cultural commentaries.[6] White southerners, including novelist William Faulkner and activist Lillian Smith famously wrote about lynching.[7] Black scholars and leaders almost always refer to lynching in their biographies and literature.[8] It is apparent, however, that most historians, in particular, did not truly understand the pervasiveness that violence had over the cultural, social, political, and geographic aspects of Black life in modern America.[9]

Perhaps in response to the violence experienced in America in the 1960's, a growing number of historians began to consider lynching and its peculiarities. Jacquelyn

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[5] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* 3rd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974) pp 43,87, 114-15, 143, 173-4.

[6] During the silent period, many African Americans talked about and used lynching as a way to speak about Black life. Trudier Harris provides a detailed analysis and examples of Black fiction writers and poets using lynching in their narratives as a way to make social commentaries in *Exorcising Blackness: Historical and Literary Lynching and Burning Rituals* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). One Black historian who did write about violence is John Hope Franklin, see *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Knopf, 1950).

[7] Mississippi born William Faulkner had a well-known fascination with both race and lynching. For examples of Faulkner's work that deals with lynching see *Go Down, Moses* (1942) and *Intruder in the Dusk* (1948). Activist Lillian Smith wrote *Strange Fruit* (1944) and *Killers of the Dream* (1949). Of interesting note is a book entitled *Witnessing Lynching: American Writers Respond* (Rutgers University Press, 2003) which includes many essays from important American historical figures such as Frederick Douglas, Charles Chesnutt, Carl Sandburg, Angelina Weld Grimke, among many others, mostly written between 1889 and 1935.

[8] For examples of memoirs see Walter White, *How Far the Promised Land* (New York: Viking Press, 1955) and *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (New York: Viking Press, 1948) and Benjamin E. Mays, *Born to Rebel: An Autobiography Benjamin E. Mays* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1971).

[9] Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 10.

Dowd Hall's 1979 study of white Southern anti-lynching activist Jesse Daniel Ames, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jesse Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching* analyzes lynching, feminism and Southern culture, and has been widely cited because it was the first scholarly study to connect the so-called virtues of white womanhood to the objectives of the lynch mob. The mob and white society, explained Hall, maintained social dominance over African Americans through the discursive sites of white women's and Black men's bodies.[10] Following Hall's pathbreaking book, studies begin to appear which examined the social, political, and cultural implications of lynching.[11] Much of this work contemplated racial violence as a uniquely Southern phenomenon. Historians finally began to make the cultural importance of lynching, as African Americans had done for many, many years, a central component to the "Southern way of life" with roots that dated back to the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

Some recent lynching studies have examined mob violence and ritualistic racialized killing.[12] Philip Dray's *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America,* for example, is a synthesis of Southern lynching.[13] The latest scholarship

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[10] Hall's book, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jesse Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) is the first, after the silent period, to connect the complexities of violence, Southern culture, womanhood, dominance and hegemony in the context of anti-lynching activism and feminism. This study, for me, set the standard for synthetic lynching studies.

[11] For example, see Edward L. Ayers' *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) and Leon Litwack's *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Alfred a. Knopf, 1998).

[12] For example, see *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) which is a comparative analysis by sociologists Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck who believe that lynching should be studied over time and place. Case studies, as Tolnay and Beck have noted, are excellent in studying the motivations of lynch mobs, however, the comparative approach may unearth why there were ebbs and highs in lynchings and why lynchings were only in specific areas. These are important considerations as historians move beyond examining each significant case, and begin to question what is the lasting impact of lynchings on American culture.

[13] Philip Dray's *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America* (New York: The Modern Library, 2002) is a comprehensive study of lynching that attempts to posit violence against African Americans in Southern culture. Although there is not much analysis of the events that undergird lynching, its vastness is useful to historians.

has used specific case studies to illustrate larger themes about how violence and lynching affected both Black and white culture and society. According to sociologists Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck, lynchings are highly localized events that reflect a problem in the racial structure of each community where they happened. The unique footprint of each community's economics and political infrastructure, racial ratio's, culture, geographic location and many other factors makes it very difficult to study lynching simply as an act of violence, instead each lynching the community in which it happened needs to be contextualized and analyzed as its own entity.[14]

Even those historians who have examined lynching extensively have pointed to specific cases to correct widespread myths about racial violence. For example, historians have repeatedly referenced the 1916 lynching of Anthony P. Crawford, a wealthy landowner lynched by a mob because he publicly cursed a white man, to challenge the narrative that places sexual concerns as foremost in the minds of the lynch mob. As the Crawford lynching illustrates, lynchings were committed against African Americans who were economically or politically successful and therefore threatening to the white Southerner's "way of life."[15]

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[14] W. Fitzhugh Brundage explains the need for individualized analysis to understand lynching's totality. Each lynching represents circumstances that are useful for a more broad understanding; however, each lynching must be studied within its own context to better understand the phenomenon. See Brundage, "At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America by Philip Dray", *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (Aug., 2003): 725-726.

[15] For more about Crawford see Litwack, *Trouble in Mind,* 309-311, and Terence Finnegan, "The Equal of Some White men and the Superior of Others: Masculinity and the 1916 Lynching of Anthony Crawford in Abbeville County, South Carolina" in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, ed. Pieter Spierenburg, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 240-254. For other case studies see, James R. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982) which considers the facts surrounding the 1934 lynching of Claude Neal in Florida, Howard Smead, *Blood Justice: The Lynching of Mack Charles Parke*r (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) about a 1959 mob lynching in Mississippi and Leonard Dinnerstein's book about Jewish victim Leo Frank in Atlanta, *The Leo Frank Case* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

Accompanying recent scholarship interested on the history of lynching has been the use of lynching photographs and post cards in museums, universities and other public forums. Beginning in 2001, a traveling exhibition of lynching postcards opened in New York City. "Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America" was both very popular and controversial. The exhibit has traveled to the Martin Luther King Historic Site in Atlanta, Georgia, the Chicago Historical Society, and Jackson State University in Mississippi in recent years. Whether the photos exacerbate Black male victimhood or provide proof of white mob violence is at the root of the controversy. In 2000, the lynching post cards were published in a book entitled, like the exhibit, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* by antique collectors Jimmy Allen and John Littlefield. The book includes essays by several noted scholars and Black Freedom Movement leaders who agree that the photos deserve display, and subsequent public discussion.[16] The photos and postcards as presented in both the book and exhibitions are part of a public discourse which further complicates the sensitive subject of lynching. The public simultaneously desires and reviles the subject matter because of the painful memories it evokes in both Black and white Americans. The competing forces, those that want lynching exposed and remembered, and those that hope to bury the past in order to avoid a painful memory might be well-served by a new approach that examines how lynching impacted women, uniquely. Because lynching had been perceived as a

[16] For additional opinions see, "Review: On Looking: Lynching Photographs and Legacies of Lynching after 9/11" by Dora Apel, *American Quarterly, Vol. 55, No. 3* (Sep., 2003): 457-478. James Allen and John Littlefield, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe: Twin Palm Publishers, 2000).

distinctively male experience, looking at how Black women responded to racial violence can offer a new insight that have eluded previous studies.[17]

This study will help fill the void in the historiography by using a case study, the 1916 Crawford lynching. Moreover, I will use the lens of the migration the Crawford lynching spurred, namely to Evanston, Illinois, as a way to view how violence informed the so-called sudden movement of Black people. In addition, my study will also use women to further explain the overarching impact of the Great Migration on United States History.

While most historians argue that the Great Black Migration allowed African Americans to participate in the economic gains of living and working in industrialized cities, they also note that unfavorable social conditions in the South played a significant role in out-migration. Most scholars agree the first wave occurred from 1916-1918, and the second wave from 1918-1930, parallel with the First World War's demand for urban labor, with the interwar period considered a twelve-year lull during the Great Depression.[18] It is important to note that the migration was of concern to sociologists, as

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[17] Elsa Barkley Brown wrote in "Imaging Lynching: African American Women, Communities of Struggle, and Collective Memory" in *African American Women Speak Out on Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas* ed. By Geneva Smitherman (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 100-117, that Black women uniquely experienced lynching. Brown asserts that Black women were lynched too; they organized anti-lynching campaigns, and were victims of unique forms of violence such as rape by white men. They responded to the lynching of Black people by becoming very vocal supporters of federal anti-lynching legislation and worked to change public opinion about the reasons Black people were lynched. About violence, Brown asserts that Black people have always been in danger of losing their lives in America, and that we must look at unconventional ways in which African American women acted "politically" to resist white supremacy. When African American women sewed extra pockets in their dresses so that they could take food from their white employers to feed their families, or taught school, and in the case of this study migrated, they resisted and objected to unfair treatment and abuse.

[18] This study uses the 1916-1930 dates associated with the Great Migration. For example, see James Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), Peter Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks' Migration in Pittsburgh, 1916-30* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987) and Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck "Rethinking the Role of Racial Violence in the Great Migration" *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South, ed. Alferdeen Harrison* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991).

well, because of the changing nature of urban demographics and spatiality. Indeed, leading African American sociologists such as Charles S. Johnson, St. Clair Drake, Horace Cayton and E. Franklin Frazier were among the first scholars to examine the Great Migration. Historians and other scholars have often studied the push out of the South, the pull to urban areas, and how the migrants adjusted to new forms of work and living. This study is concerned with why the migrants left the South, outside of an economic push.

Several schools of thought permeate the scholarship. The first body of work observed the migration, mostly as it was happening, and asserted that irresistible economic forces drew Black migrants to their new homes. Most scholars of the Great Migration use a report issued in 1919 entitled "Negro Migration in 1916-1917" by the United States Department of Labor, Division of Negro Economics.[19] The earliest studies of migration looked at the cause and effect of the sudden movement of Southern African Americans on both the areas they left, and on the urban areas they settled in.[20] Many of the first scholars found that the migrants were displaced rural agricultural workers who

[19] The report was sanctioned by the U.S. Department of Labor as a means to study African Americans' surprising and sudden retreat from the Southern states. The Great Migration was essentially rupturing the Southern economy's labor structure by causing anxiety among Southern white planters and upsetting the agri-business infrastructure, while also creating a new and quantifiable labor competition in the North, as the new Black laborers could drive down the average wage for whites. The Division of Negro Economics was created in 1918 and led by Dr. George Haynes, a Fisk University professor of economics and sociology, a co-founder of the Urban League and first PhD graduate of Columbia University. This report is an important document for what is says about the shift of bodies, but what it implies is also important. The role of labor agents as instigators in the migration is heavily considered as part of the sudden shift, but so too is the "lynching in Abbeville, SC" although the lynching and other violent attacks are considered minor "pushes" or reasons as opposed to the supposedly more important economic "pulls." The study examines; causation, volume, labor shortage and remedy. The main conclusion of the study argues that WWI caused shifting labor needs, which affected the whole country, and the Great Migration of African Americans is one prism through which to view this after effect.

[20] For example, see George Haynes, *Negro Migration in 1916-17* (Washington D.C.:GPO, 1919), as it describes the adverse conditions in the individual states with large out migration (Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina) and the environment of the cities that received the migrants. Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North 1900-1920* (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1975) asserts that the migrants were invisible in 1900 and became visible and "audible" by 1920 because of the sheer numbers of them that appeared in the cities.

needed to find employment because of the destruction of crops caused by the southern floods of 1915-1916 and the onset of the Boll Weevil.[21] Some historians have argued that the push out of the South had more to do with the shift from agricultural work to wage work in the United States during the Great Migration from 1916 until 1930. Additionally, World War I stopped the flow of European immigrant workers into the United States, which then gave Southern Black people access to both urban industrial and domestic work in the North. Some historians have argued that the mechanization of Southern agricultural business ruptured the need for Black tenant farmers and that Southern whites thus actually welcomed the out migration. Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy in *Anyplace but Here* quote southern newspapers that encouraged migration "so that Black people can be Northern problem." Thus, the race problem was not confined exclusively to the South. [22] The push/pull paradigm of this scholarship, however, did not consider the migrants as active players, rather they appear as passive followers of the forced economic changes in industrializing America.

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[21] For example, see E. Franklin Frazier *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932) and *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). In addition, see St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945) and George Haynes, *Negro Migration in 1916-17*.

[22] The most ambitious example of this is Nicholas Lemann's *The Promised Land: The Great Migration and How it Changed America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991) which documents the field test in Clarksdale, Mississippi of the International Harvester cotton picking machine beginning in 1927. Mechanized farming in the South had replaced the unskilled laborer, thus rendering him/her expendable by 1947. Other examples include Carter G. Woodson's *The Rural Negro* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1930) which asserts that some communities even told "Negroes to go", and Neil Fligstien's *Going North: Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South 1900-1950* (New York: Academic Press, 1981) which posits that mechanized farming not only replaced Black tenant farmers, but the process of expulsion was solidified by organized white farmers after the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. Also, see Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy *Anyplace but Here* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1945) which collaborates that Southern newspapers encouraged migration so that Black people could also be problematic to Northerners, therefore the race problem was not simply/only a Southern phenomenon.

The second body of work considers the "New Negroes" as they navigated the cities, through culture, work, political and social prisms, or urban studies.[23] However, just who were these "New Negroes?" More recently some historians have discovered that the migrants first left rural areas for Southern urban areas, and finally ended up in Northern cities. Thus, when they arrived in the North they were not simply displaced rural agricultural workers, but were educated, sophisticated, experienced wage-laborers.[24]

Thirdly, some scholars have noted the Black migrants' own observations or articulated reasons for leaving; however, too often these scholars married the migrants personal motivations with social and economic forces that diminishes migrant agency.[25] Many historians admit that unfavorable social conditions in the South set up a motivation

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[23] Farah Jasmine Griffin provides a detailed synthesis by examining the migration narratives through music, visual and literary frameworks. Griffin contends there are four important moments in the migrant experience: First, an event that propels movement away from the South, second, a confrontation with the new urban landscape, thirdly, negotiation and/or resistance to urbanization and finally, the duality of the new opportunities and limitations of the cities, *"Who Set You Flowin'?": The African American Migration Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[24] For example, Peter Gottlieb's *Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks' Migration in Pittsburgh, 1916-30* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987) contends that the movement began as a series of stops in different communities where one could work, save money, and move on to another place until the migrant decided the final destination, and Kimberly L. Phillips' *Alabama North: African American Migrants, Community, and Working Class Activism in Cleveland 1915-1945* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999) contends that deliberate traditions and experiences in the Southern cities provided the framework for community development and wage work in North. Also, see Milton C. Sernett's *Bound for the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migratio*n (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), Carole Marks *Farewell, We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) and Davarian L. Baldwin's *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, The Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

[25] The most widely quoted is James R. Grossman's *Land of Hope,* as he is credited with letting the voices of the migrants come through in his study. Grossman asserts that the migrants' perceptions of the South, North, migration experience, and race all shaped the transition of the "first generation of migrants", and that the key to understanding the migration has yet to be fully synthesized. Grossman comment's that the closest an historian has come to this type of synthesis is Peter Gottlieb's *Making Their Own Way*, but, according to Grossman, it too lacks a "racially centered view." Nonetheless, Grossman uses the migrants' Southern and Northern voices to direct his study, with half of his book situated in the South *before and during* the decision to migrate and the second half in the North. The process of migration is allowed to unravel in Grossman's book, unlike previous scholarship, thus the migrant's reasons for leaving finally come alive and allow the reader to understand how and why, with agency, Black southerner's began the process of leaving for site unseen and uncertain.

to leave, but most scholars believe that the economic forces that pulled African Americans away from the South weighed more heavily in their decisions to leave than unpleasant living conditions. James Grossman boldly asserts, "Causes are not the same as motivations" thus placing the decision to leave as quite separate from the context of the economy--a key change in the previous scholarship.[26] The causes Grossman refers to are external "pull" factors such as the economic opportunities in the North and motivators or "push" factors such as lynching and Jim Crow. Other historians argued that the causation for the migrants' push out of the South had more weight than previously allowed, as evidenced by both oral histories and by case studies of areas that experienced large out-migration after a lynching or other violent racialized attack.[27]

Finally, a few historians have recently begun to examine Black women's roles in the migration process and the resettling of Black families. These studies not only

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[26] Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 14. Also see James R. Gregory's *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migration of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) who posits that labor markets are a context, not a reason people decide to move. In addition, see Bontemps and Conroy's *Anyplace But Here, which* argues that the letters of the migrants are fueled with anxiety and depression.

[27] Historian Allen B. Ballard's *One More Day's Journey: The Story of a Family and a People* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1984) is a case study of migration from a few counties in South Carolina to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The 1916 lynching of Anthony Crawford in Abbeville, SC and the Phoenix, SC race riot of 1898 figure prominently in the memories of Ballard's informants as their central reason for migrating. Sernett's *Bound for the Promised Land* opens with the Crawford lynching as an example of how economic conditions were an ancillary reason to migrate. Lynching and violence against Black people who followed the edict of Booker T. Washington by staying in the South, owning property, maintaining habits of thrift and industry, did not solve the race problem as predicted. In fact, those very attributes proved dangerous for wealthy African Americans, and the effect was a clear message to all Black southerners—it is dangerous to remain in the South *and* aspire to a prosperous life. For other examples see, Griffin's *"Who Set You Flowin'?"* whose book also opens with many violent attacks as the impetus for moving and also see Henri's *Black Migration: Movement North 1900-1920*. The most recent work is by sociologists Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck in "Rethinking the Role of Racial Violence in the Great Migration" *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South,* ed. Alferdeen Harrison (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991) who review the role of economic and social environments in the South and challenge scholarly discourse to engage in the notion of reciprocal relationships in violence in the migration. Tolnay and Beck posits that white violence will force Black people to move, however Black migration in turn also reduces white violence so that other African Americans do not move. Tolnay and Beck offer the most dynamic case for linking lynching to the Great Migration by using case study analysis of large out-migration. Their work suggests that single events did not cause the rupture; rather several events produced a large out-migration that is quantifiable. They suggest further study is necessary in order to fully understand how the migration process operated at the point of decision-making.

contemplate how women negotiated the migration, but also analyze the decision-making process, offering a more complex and inclusive view of the migration, different from previous studies. Much of this new scholarship has been shaped by historian Darlene Clark Hine's compelling questions surrounding Black women's migration: what would the migration look like if we began to examine non-economic reasons undergirding Black women's migration experience? What would historians learn as well? As scholars took up Hine's call to study the gender dynamics of the Great Migration, they found that women often controlled their own labor, their reasons for leaving the South, their roles in the chain migration process, and their organizing skills as both community leaders and activists. Prior to these studies, male and female migratory experiences were frequently conflated giving us a narrow and incomplete understanding of the Great Migration.[28]

This is not to negate the impact of economic forces, which have always worked against African Americans in the United States. However, if we continue to minimize

[28] Darlene Clark Hine's clarion call for Black women's migratory research can be found in Darlene Clark Hine in "Black Migration to the Urban Midwest: The Gender Dimension, 1915-1945," *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective*, ed. Joe William Trotter, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991) 130-131. For example see, Beverly A. Bunch-Lyons's *Contested Terrain: African American Women Migrate from the South to Cincinnati, Ohio, 1900-1950* (New York: Routledge, 2002) rightly connects women as instrumental in the decision to move because they were responsible for financing and organizing family members, even if it meant staying in the South a little longer to support the chain migration. Women uniquely state that violence played a role in their decisions to migrate, and Bunch –Lyon's informant's state, "…all shared, directly or indirectly, their personal recollections of the physical and emotional pain of violence." (pg.25) Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo's *Abiding Courage: African American Migrant Women and the East Bay Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) enters the postwar debate on post WWII poverty, and rejects the claim that migrants are responsible. Lemke-Santanglo uses oral interviews to elicit information about Black women's chain migration roles and posits them as key to the migration's strength, Additionally she focuses on Black women's Southern cultural roots to forge independent grassroots community groups, clubs, recreations centers, because of limited work opportunities, unlike white women, who did not necessarily need to establish networks to find housing, work and schools for their children. For information on domestic workers see Elizabeth Clark-Lewis's *Living In-Living Out: African American Domestics and the Great Migration* (New York: Kodansha International, 1994) who also uses oral interviews to show how women's migration was carefully planned by the family, however after they migrated the women exercised their autonomy from the South, and from their families, by refusing to stay in domestic service, as advised from family member. They would form saving clubs to move away from the dangerous close contact with whites while live-in servants into the more independent and safety of live-out work, or the even more autonomous laundry vocation.

the role of individual decision-making in the Great Migration, as well as the role of violence and gender, we will not fully understand how African American migrants made the important decision to rupture the only homes they knew for sites unseen. We also risk misunderstanding their lives, post-move. In other words, if we ignore the genesis of the decision to move via the migrants' views, and continue to exaggerate the economic push and pull factors, one of the largest movements of people in history will be miscalculated. Instead, we should explore the migrants' own words; using oral histories and traditions so that we better understand their unique ability to traverse the often violent terrain of the United States in the early 20th Century.

On Sunday, June 24, 1917 in Charlotte, North Carolina, some residents awoke to find their hometown newspaper, The Charlotte Sunday Observer, on their front lawns. As the readership sipped their morning coffee and turned to the editorial page, just under the picture of the American Flag and instructions for subscription renewals, was the headline, "The Departed Negroes." The editorial purported to engage the reader in the "negro side of the exodus problem" or the Black opinion of the Great Migration, and to help sort out fact from fiction in what was becoming a serious labor shortage in the cotton producing areas of the South. The article explained that the Negro expert they consulted assured the newspaper that southern Black people were not upset by Jim Crow laws in North Carolina, nor by political disenfranchisement or segregation, because "they do not have to use these mediums in pursuit of his[sic] daily bread." Instead, the article says:

> The trouble is on the farm, and had been dissociated, up to the Anthony Crawford incident, from lynching, it being the truthful admission that "the penalty (for a lynching for the usual cause) has never affected the industrious, property-acquiring Negro." But the Crawford Negro was killed not because he was a law-breaker, not that he had been guilty of a heinous crime, but that he had become a rich Negro and was an enviously prosperous figure in the community. It must be

> admitted that out of that revolting incident the Negro "recognized his insecurity and began to move like sheep to any land that even promised better conditions." It was the South Carolina incident that gave impetus to a movement that was then but slumbering.[29]

The Great Migration of African Americans from the South was slowly gaining momentum in 1916. However this study asserts, in tandem with the Charlotte Observer editorial, the trajectory changed with the lynching of Anthony Crawford. Because he was lynched for no lawful infraction, or for threatening the virtuous white woman, the contours of Southern life had changed for Black people, who now had to reconfigure what they wanted from American citizenship. African Americans could ask themselves, "If Anthony Crawford, a rich man, were publicly lynched like that, then how safe are the rest of us?" If we turn the lens on Abbeville, and observe the reactions of African Americans to his murder, we begin to see that the Great Migration was the largest protest march in American history. Black people protested with their feet, told anyone who really listened why they left, and African American women and the networks they controlled were central in the mass exodus. The decision to leave the South was secured for many as soon as Anthony Crawford's body was hung from the tree, and this study is the beginning of a new conversation about how the Great Migration gained momentum in the early 20th century.

[29] Editorial, "The Departed Negroes," The Charlotte Sunday Observer, June 24, 1917.

CHAPTER ONE

The events of the summer of 2005 reminded the country of many painful episodes in modern American history. For African American's in particular, another version of Freedom Summer was unraveling, as the body of 1955 lynching victim Emmett Till was exhumed for an overdue autopsy, and James Killian was finally convicted of the 1964 murders of SNCC workers James Chaney, Mickey Schwerner and Andrew Goodman in Jackson, Mississippi. In early June, many reporters converged on the small southern hamlet, Abbeville, South Carolina, curious about this historical place, with its mature elm trees, 19th century courthouse, antebellum town square, and ornate opera house. The United States Senate was about to offer a historic apology to African Americans for its inability, as a government body, to pass anti-lynching legislation dating from the late 19th century through the early 20th century, and Abbeville was ground zero. Slavery and violence, white romantic notions of genteel antebellum lifestyles, and the Civil War coexist in the fabric that weaves Abbeville history. Phillip Crawford, an African American resident whose family had been enslaved in the area several generations before, was busy fielding questions from the press. Crawford took in the atmosphere of that sunny June day, and talked about South Carolina's continued use of the Confederate flag. "Not everybody understands the meaning of flying that flag. History means one thing for some people, and for others, it means something else." [1]

The Senators, that June day, admitted that their failure to act had cost many lives, especially those of thousands of innocent African American people.[2] They also admitted

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[1] Phillip Crawford quoted in, *Lynching of an American Dream: The Life and Death of Anthony Crawford*, VHS, (New York: Rosadale Productions, LLC, 2005).

2 Avis Thomas-Lester, "A Senate Apology for History on Lynching: Vote Condoms Past Failure to Act," The Washington Post, June 14, 2005.

their failure to legislate federal intervention was particularity difficult for the families of lynching victims, and so the country's eyes focused on Abbeville that summer, and its most famous lynching victim, Philip Crawford's great grandfather, Anthony P. Crawford. Abbeville, Crawford's ritualistic killing, and the remembrances of the community and his family, if interrogated, offer an opportunity to understand the context from which a large number of southern Black people decided to move during the Great Migration.

When America achieved its independence from England in the late 18th century, the territory that became the state of South Carolina was spatially populated. It was not until the United States Constitution was ratified in 1787, that settlers began to flood into the western area of the state.[3] Located in the western portion of South Carolina, Abbeville sits south of the Blue Ridge Mountains and north of the Sandhills, in an area known as the Piedmont.[4] The settlers were a diverse group: French, Irish, Scottish and African, both enslaved and free. The frontiersmen and women were aided by a land office that opened in 1784 to provide them with parcels of property.[5] The South Carolina legislature commissioned an arsenal in 1792 in Abbeville. The building had decayed so badly by 1815, that a group of citizens signed a petition to the state requesting immediate attention. That list contained the names of twenty-three men, all white, and is the first official list of Abbeville residents.[6] By 1816, the "Grand Jury of Abbeville

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3 W.J. Megginson, *African American Life in South Carolina's Upper Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 18-20.
4 Walter B. Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Charleston: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 5.
5 Megginson, *African American Life*, 19-20. Another source is Lowry Ware, *Old Abbeville: Scenes of the Past of a Town Where Old Time Things Are Not Forgotten* (Columbia: South Carolina Magazine of Ancestral Research , 1992), 1.
6 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 1-3.

District" requested incorporation in order to keep "…the peace and happiness of the citizens in general at all times." The village was finally incorporated in 1832.[7]

Today Abbeville County still sits in a beautiful, stately area surrounded by robust forests, lush rivers and rich soil. The village of Abbeville boasts that it is the "Birth place and Deathbed of the Confederacy" because it was here that Jefferson Davis made the decision to secede from the Union in November 1860, and where he also met with his cabinet just five years later, to dissolve the Confederate Army. The "Old Ninety Six District," as it was called until it became a county in 1897, was home to some twenty thousand enslaved men, women and children, and many fewer white people by the end of the Civil War.[8] The disproportionate number suggests that the planter class was wealthy enough to hold many enslaved people on large plantations.

Currently, the descendents of roughly twenty thousand enslaved African Americans in the United States trace their roots back to Abbeville, South Carolina. William Hunter of Arkansas reported to a WPA Slave Narratives interviewer, "… My mother was born in Abbeville, South Carolina, a Negro trading point."[9] According to the 1850 census, 372 free inhabitants owned 881 enslaved people in the village of Abbeville.[10] In the 1860 census, within Abbeville County, a much larger area, there were 11,883 persons enumerated, and the slave schedule counted just over 19,000 enslaved men, women and children.[11] Thus, Abbeville, South Carolina was a comfortable place

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7 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 2-3.
8 Allen Ballard, *One More Day's Journey: The Story of a Family and a People* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984), 131. Also, see Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 49.
9 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 49.
10 Ibid, 210-211.
11 United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1860 Manuscript Census Abbeville County,* Abbeville, South Carolina.

from which Jefferson Davis could justify his desire to make the South an independent slave nation.

Abbeville was a rural town dominated by cotton plantations, populated with many enslaved laborers, even fewer slave owners and more than enough lawyers and banks to enrich the slave society's coffers. Free Black people also resided in Abbeville. In 1850, one free mulatto woman named Sarah Rous was listed. By 1860, there were twenty-eight free men and women, twenty-five of them listed as mulatto. Moreover, seventeen of the twenty-five mulatto people lived in the household of John H. Wilson, a local attorney.[12]

South Carolina's antebellum plantation economy produced, like Mississippi, a populace where African Americans outnumbered whites. The uneven Black majority produced a tense atmosphere where whites acted out, often violently, out of fear of losing control and Black insurrection. African Americans acted, as well, resisting total dominance and defending themselves. Historian Walter Edgar calls this cycle a "never ending spiral of action and reaction."[13] As the century progressed, African Americans would actively assert their political strength, which also attracted white attention, and sometimes as a reaction, white violence.

The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments were enacted to dismantle slavery and guarantee citizenship rights to ex-enslaved people. Reconstruction promised African Americans hope for independence and civil rights. First, Black man were granted the right to vote, and vote they did. In both South Carolina and Mississippi, the majority population elected in numerous African Americans officials to political offices in local, state and federal governments. Both states even had Black lieutenant governors.

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12 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 211.
13 Edgar, South Carolina: a history, 69-70.

Mississippi elected the first African American United States Senator Blanche Kelso Bruce, during Reconstruction, and South Carolinians elected Joseph H. Rainey as the first Black person in the United States House of Representatives.[14] Although these victories appeared promising to the new citizens, Southern whites did not envision an inclusive society, and often used violence to discourage Black civic participation especially at the polls. In South Carolina, C. Vann Woodward reported that race relations possessed many variables:

> Freedman and white man might turn from a back–door encounter of the traditional sort to a strained man-to-man contact of the awkward new type within the same day. Black faces continued to appear at the back door, but they also began to appear in wholly unprecedented and unexpected places—in the jury box and on the judge's bench, in council chamber and legislative hall, at the polls and the market place. Neither of these contrasting types of contact, the old or the new, was stable or destined to endure for very long, but for a time old and new rubbed shoulders—and so did black and white—in a manner that differed significantly from Jim Crow of the future or slavery of the past.[15]

According to local historian and scholar, Dr. Lowry Ware, white Abbevillians prided themselves on their "genteel life style" while simultaneously condoning horrific acts of violence, sometimes racial.[16] On October 18, 1868, African American South Carolina state senator, Reverend B.F. Randolph, was in Abbeville delivering a speech on the steps of the courthouse. As he loaded his luggage in his car, three white men shot and killed him. According to The New York Times, "…it was broad daylight, the murderers were not recognized and made their escape." [17] Randolph was a graduate of Oberlin College in Ohio, a chaplain of a South Carolina Black Regiment during the Civil War and

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14 Noralee Frankel, "Breaking the Chains 1860-1880," in *To Make Our World Anew: A History of African Americans to 1880* eds. Robin D.G. Kelly and Earl Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 249-250.
15 C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 25-26.
16 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, preface.
17 "A South Carolina Senator Murdered," New York Times Oct 19, 1868.

in charge of the state Union League. A local wealthy white man, Fletch Hodges, who promised the assassins their place in society as "patriots" for their work, hired the killers. After the shots were fired, Hodges supposedly told the dying Randolph, "You said yesterday that Negro blood ran in your veins, and you were proud of it; now, God damn you, it is running on the ground."[18] White Republicans were also targeted. In 1880, Democratic Party sympathizers murdered Penn Guffin under the guise of a lost billiards game. Guffin came from a prominent white family whose mentors were staunch Republicans and counted on the Reconstruction-instituted African American voting bloc to assure his election as county commissioner in 1870, and as sheriff from 1872 until 1876. The motive, according to the New York Times, was his confrontation with Democrats at a picnic the week before his murder. The Abbeville Press and Banner, the local white owned conservative paper, covered the subsequent trial a bit differently from the northern press. First, the jury pool included African Americans, who were thought to be sympathetic towards the victim and therefore were largely stricken from serving at trial. The racial undertones of the trial were played out in the press, with the New York Times and the South Carolina newspapers trading jabs, each accusing the other of having a slant that sided with either the Northern Republicans, or the Southern Democrats.[19] There were many other cases of racial violence within the city limits, but of particular interest were the constant attacks experienced on a school in Abbeville for African Americans, Harbison College.

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18 Allen B. Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*, 138.

19 There are many references to this murder and subsequent trial. For example, see "The Guffin Murder: About the Alleged Statements of Pem Guffin's Brother—An Account of the Crime, New York Times, October 18, 1880. Also, see "The Latest Southern Murder: A South Carolina Republican Decoyed into A Billiard Saloon and Killed", New York Times, October 4, 1880. For the Southern accounts see, The Abbeville Press and Banner, October 27, 1880 and Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 139-141.

Harbison College was a successful institution established by an African American minister with funding from the northern Presbyterian Church in 1886. One of its leaders, Reverend Thomas A. Amos, was forced out because he was active in local politics, a dangerous act for a Black man in 1906. The school was shut down for a short time, but before it could reopen a suspicious fire destroyed a girls dormitory. Just four short years later, another fire destroyed the boys' dormitory, this time with three fatalities.[20] The Abbeville Press and Banner acknowledged that there was an "…undoubtedly incendiary" nature to the fire.[21] Between thirty and forty young boys were in the dormitory at the time of the fire, which drew public outcry because it was widely assumed that the blaze was set deliberately. Kerosene was found outside of the president's home, although the inferno spared his house. The president at the time was a local minister, Reverend C.M. Young. Sensing a need to establish good will in the white community, Reverend Young sent a letter to the Abbeville Press and Banner explaining that he did not believe the fire was intentionally set, and that he wanted to ensure the community understood this important distinction.[22] Reverend Young represented one approach to race relations exercised by some leaders in Abbeville. His comments refused to publicly acknowledge that someone did not want the Black school to continue. Even more unsettling, there was a loss of life this time, not just property like in the first fire. Reverend Young hoped to keep the white community happy by deferring "…to fairness and justice", as he stated in the Press and Banner, by not taking a strong stand against the arsonist and, for that matter, against white racists.[23] Some white Abbevillians even suggested that Black

20 Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*,128.
21 Ware, *Old Abbeville*,162.
22 Ibid, 162-165.
23 Ibid, 163.

people who did not believe in the school might have set the fire.[24] Reverend Young, like Booker T. Washington, may have seen value in keeping peace, or accommodating white folks, in order to avoid any more loss of life. Reverend Amos, like W.E.B. DuBois, believed in vocally appealing for an end to segregation and accommodation and believed in political organizing to achieve an immediate end to Jim Crow. The differences in leadership between the politically active Reverend Amos and the accommodator Reverend Young underscore how different African Americans approached the problem of white supremacy in Abbeville, differences reflected in scores of Black communities throughout the country. An institution such as Harbison College, and others like it, may have been particularly offensive to the white power structure, as it was one more piece of evidence of Black people's self-determination. The fires may have signaled an upsurge in white supremacist violence, used as a form of terrorism against African Americans who encroached too closely to independence and achievement.

The end of Reconstruction brought many changes to Abbeville workers. The labor landscape was rapidly changing in both rural Abbeville and in the village. A census taker in 1871 was quoted as saying;

> …there is too strong a tendency among our colored people everywhere in the state, and perhaps nowhere more so than in our District, to leave the farm and the workshops, the settled industry and remunerative labor of the country, and to seek a precarious, hand to mouth living in the town or village.[25]

The 1880 census for Abbeville village enumerates one hundred and four washerwomen, sixty cooks, thirty nurses, seamstresses, butlers and other domestic servants.[26] There was a slight shift from agrarian to wage labor for African Americans, however, most

24 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 164.
25 Ibid, 162.
26 Ibid, 210.

Southern Black people remained in agricultural production whether as sharecroppers, tenant farmers, day laborers, or more rarely, as land-owners.

One example of a close-knit Black farming family in Abbeville's countryside was the Crawford clan. In 1880, three generations of Crawfords were living in one household--including the eldest relative, Charles Crawford, who listed his birthplace as Africa, a rarity at this time. Thomas Crawford, the son of Charles, was born enslaved around 1810.[27] After emancipation, it appears that the Crawfords lived within earshot of each other and continued to farm cotton, like in the days of slavery, only as freedmen, women and children. Thomas first purchased 181 acres of land from General Samuel McGowan in 1873, during South Carolina's Post Civil War Reconstruction.[28] After Thomas' death, his children inherited his property, and continued to live within yards of each other.[29] Anthony, his brothers Sanders and Andrew, as well as their large families, lived on adjacent lands connected to Penny Creek, the same land their had father purchased in 1873.[30]

The Crawford family seemed to embody all that Reconstruction promised—the right for freed African American's self- determination and property ownership. Anthony, in particular, proved to be the star child of the Crawford clan. He was the only one of the children who signed his name on the probate papers of his father's estate.[31] Anthony was

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27 United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1880 Manuscript Census Abbeville County,* Abbeville, South Carolina.

28 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 171. In addition, the last state to have federal troops assigned to supervise Congressional Reconstruction was South Carolina. The troops finally left in 1877, signaling the end of Reconstruction.

29 United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1900 Manuscript Census Abbeville County,* Abbeville, South Carolina.

30 Ibid. U.S. Census 1900.

31 Dr. Lowry Ware, interview with author, Evanston, IL, 06 June 1990.

a dedicated student, who walked seven miles to and from school everyday.[32] Possessing business acumen and a love of hard work, Anthony owned four hundred and twenty seven acres of the "prettiest cotton land in the county" by 1903.[33] He began by purchasing two hundred acres in 1883 for $830, when he was only 23 years old. In 1888, he purchased another hundred acres and in 1899, he purchased 170 acres. Finally, in 1903, he bought 113 acres for $800, helping to secure his standing as a relatively wealthy Black owner, and also attracting the attention of the white community.[34] While any African American who acquired as much property as Crawford had, especially at this time, was commendable, it was also perilous.

Anthony Crawford, his wife Phoebe and his family of sixteen children, attended a local African Methodist Church, Cypress Chapel AME Church, co-founded by his father. Anthony was the secretary and main financial backer allotting him some power in the church and giving him visibility in the community. [35] By 1916, he had been secretary of Cypress Chapel AME for nineteen years. According to one biographer, Crawford had opposed a pastor assigned to Cypress Chapel. The minister had tried to expel a church member and while admonishing the congregation, an angry Crawford suddenly rose from his seat, slapped the pastor, and fired him on the spot.[36]

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32 Roy Nash, "Lynching of Anthony Crawford" *The Independent* (December 11, 1916): 458.
33 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 171.
34 Terence Finnegan "'The Equal of Some white Men and the Superior of Others:' Masculinity and the 1916 Lynching of Anthony Crawford in Abbeville County, South Carolina" in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America,* ed. Pieter Spierenburg (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1998), 246.
35 Nash, "The Lynching of Anthony Crawford", 458.
36Finnegan, "The Equal of Some White Men", 247. It should be noted that the African Methodist church is Episcopal in its hierarchal organization, and that no one person can 'fire' a pastor from a church. The bishop must appoint and remove pastor assignments. However, the point remains that Crawford's power was extensive and it must have affected white and Black people, both negatively and positively.

Crawford's ascendance to wealth and power had been the subject of several local newspaper articles. The Abbeville Medium, a white owned newspaper, reported, in 1888, on his wealth, "Anthony P. Crawford has sold 3 wagon loads of splendid melons in town this season and finds that there is as much money in them as in cotton."[37] Crawford's race was not listed after his name, which was typical of newspaper reporting at the time, signaling Abbeville as a small community where everyone knew each other, especially a prosperous, Black landowner. In the 1890's, he co-founded the Industrial Union of Abbeville Country, dedicated to the "material moral and intellectual advancement of the colored people." [38] As Crawford's influence grew, some, both Black and white, began to resent him.

In 1904, The Abbeville Medium issued a much more detailed account of Anthony Crawford's prosperity:

> Anthony P. Crawford, colored, sold a load of splendid corn of his own raising in the city last week. His fat mules, good wagon and prosperous appearances led us to inquire particularly about his crop. He owns and farms the old Belcher place. He holds in his own right 500 acres of land in three tracts, paid for by his own labor. This year his corn crop was 1000 bushels, of which he sold 250. He made 200 gallons of syrup and 48 bales of cotton. November 26th he sold $662.08 worth of cotton and has made other sales. He has six horses, 12 head of cattle, 18 hogs, two good wagons, a McCormick rake, and a new top buggy. He also has a good bank account and a family of 13 children.[39]

The surveillance of Crawford's wealth proved that the white community, which controlled and owned the press, was taking stock of his holdings. This ascendance to wealth and influence by an ex-enslaved man was hardly endearing to white folks. In fact, it was an affront to the ethos of white supremacy. Crawford was not only acquiring

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37 The Abbeville Medium, August 17, 1888. Quoted in Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 171.
38 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 246.
39 The Abbeville Medium, December 15, 1904. Quoted in Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 171.

wealth, he was also perceived by most white Abbevillians as a marker of "whiteness," or affluence, and his attitude was insolent, to boot.

The white community constantly threatened Anthony Crawford because of his wealth and influence. According to his family, however, he was not easily intimidated. Even today, family members still pass stories down at family reunions about how Crawford responded to the continuous threats. One popular story recounts how he would take his cottonseed down to Penny Creek, on his property, and throw the seeds down stream, proclaiming, "I would rather throw my seed away, then let them take it." Another famous saying the Crawford family understood, as a part of their oral tradition, is his oft-repeated phrase, "The day a white man hits me is the day I die."[40] Crawford, by all accounts, was a threat to the freedman's 'natural' place in the social and economic order of the South, which called for a racial hierarchy that had all Black people at the bottom, and affluent whites at the top. In addition, the ex-slave was supposed to support this hierarchy by showing racial deference to white people, especially in their presence. Crawford refused to adhere to the prescribed role assigned an ex-slave. This refusal of Crawford to conform to white supremacy only confirmed white fears concerning emancipation and Reconstruction—they were afraid that a new class of Black people would emerge that did not understand and respect their subservient position in society. Crawford embodied their fears and was a threat to the "Southern way of life." White landowners and planters, and the Southern business class, would remain the most

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40 The author is a Crawford family member and often heard these stories as both a child and as an adult. More extensive interviews of family members occurred from 1990 through present, as the story of Crawford has been examined in both the popular media (newspapers, documentaries, network news coverage such as ABC News, CBS News, NBC News, and cable news outlets such as MSNBC and CNN) as well as scholarly discourse. Some of these remembrances have been collaborated by the 1916 NAACP Crisis article entitled "Lynching of Anthony Crawford" by Roy Nash. This article also appeared in *The Independent* in December 1916.

economically viable, and powerful people in each community, thus assuring the ethos of white supremacy. This power structure would be enforced by any means, including violence.

Anthony Crawford and his sons were the subject of another news story in 1909. One of Crawford's sons had an altercation with a family that ended in the shooting of a white man. Crawford took an ad in the local paper that thanked his white neighbors for their understanding during the conflict between his boys and the white Rogers boys. Crawford ended by expressing his ability to forgive and his expectation that others agree to disagree, as nations do, but that a legal settlement to any disagreement "…is mete and right." [41] While the exact nature of the conflict is not known, it seems Crawford understood the delicate nature of negotiating across the color line. A small argument could easily escalate into extra-legal violence with dire consequences to Black people. The disagreements with whites would only worsen for Crawford and his family, culminating in one of the most highlighted racial murders in United States history.

1916 was a tumultuous year in American history. President Woodrow Wilson had just screened the highly controversial and overtly racist film, "Birth of a Nation," at the White House. "Birth of a Nation" depicted Black men as rapists and buffoons who were looking to rape white women. The film included the Ku Klux Klan lynching Black men as a valid way to protect and uphold the virtue of white women. Despite controversy and nationwide demonstrations from groups such as the NAACP, President Wilson elected to show the bigoted film in the nation's capital and the home of the United States president. Economic troubles loomed too, especially for the South. The boll weevil, a pest that destroys cotton crops, was encroaching South Carolina,

41 Abbeville Press and Banner, September 19, 1908. Quoted in Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 171.

threatening the wealth of the planter class. Tensions in Europe had erupted into warfare in 1914 and the United States would be drawn into World War I in 1917. The landscape of the United States was changing as more and more people, Black and white, left the rural countryside for urban areas, shifting the economy from agricultural to wage work. The state of South Carolina, too, was changing and had its own unique political and economic structure that supported the white community power-base.[42]

Before 1916, the governor of South Carolina had spoken out against racialized murders, or lynchings. Democrat Ben Tillman gave a speech in 1892 that called the lynching of Black South Carolinians "a blot on our civilization." [43] At almost the same time, he declared his willingness to also lead a mob against a Black man who sexually assaulted a white woman. Tillman understood the barbaric nature of a lawless crowd, however, he justified the same barbaric behavior for the supposedly "hypersexual Black male figure"—whether the rape accusation was true or not. Tillman's point was to support state-sponsored executions, but instead he reiterated the justification for mob violence against the "Black brute." In addition, he was concerned with addressing the ascendancy of successful Black farmers like Anthony Crawford, and his white farmer constituency, whom he depended upon for votes, as they were the members of the very lynch mobs he was speaking about. [44]

The powerful and popular Coleman Blease, a staunch white supremacist, succeeded Tillman and as South Carolina governor served from 1911 until 1915. Blease and his followers were known as "Bleasites," who like their leader, openly endorsed

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[42] Walter B. Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 484-488.
43 Stephen Kantrowitz, "White Supremacist Justice and the Rule of Law:" Lynching, Honor, and the State in Ben Tillman's South Carolina" in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America,* ed. By Pieter Spierenburg (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1998), 213.
44 Ibid, 213-21

lynching. Blease once said publicly that lynching was "necessary and good."[45] Some in the state considered Blease's endorsement of lawlessness an embarrassment, as the legislators were mostly Progressives (not known for their liberal views on race—especially in the South) who understood that mob violence and vigilantism would begin with African Americans but could end with some of them as victims. For example, Blease announced that he would happily sponsor a state execution of a doctor who gave a man's daughter a physical without the father's permission. Moreover, his popularity was evident by the number of voters who showed up to cast their ballots for bigotry and vigilantism: His first election in 1910 produced a sixty four percent turn-out, and his reelection campaign gained a whopping eighty percent turnout. Bleasites enjoyed special privileges with their leader in office; he pardoned hundreds of his supporters for all sorts of infractions, including murder.[46] Blease, it would seem, helped continue the tradition of violence in the state if the white citizenry felt compelled to use it as a controlling mechanism against anyone who threatened the contours of white male supremacy.

The killing of Black people had been customary in this area, as in much of the South, for many years. The Old 96 District, or Abbeville and Greenwood Counties, in particular, have a tradition of racial violence that would become a stain on the history of the area. Violence used as a means for controlling assertive African Americans and cemented white power, especially among those whites who recalled Reconstruction, when Black men served on juries and in local, state and national governments. For instance, a race riot in an area close to Abbeville, Phoenix, South Carolina, lives in the

45 Edgar, South Carolina: A History, 468.
46 Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 468-475. In addition, when Blease abruptly resigned five days before his term ended so that he would not have to attend the inauguration of his Progressive replacement, Richard I. Manning.

memories of Black people who remain in the area, and among those who left. The South Carolina legislature passed a law in 1895 that disenfranchised Black men. The Black community of Phoenix, which no longer exists, consisted of sixty-six percent of the population of the county of Greenwood, which adjoins Abbeville County. Three years later in 1898, the same year as the Wilmington, North Carolina race riot, a white man attempted to prohibit a few Black men from voting. The white man was shot and killed by the voters, who had predicted white intimidation at the polls and hid weapons nearby, just in case.[47]

Sporadic violence and intimidation lasted for almost two months. At its height, many African American women encouraged their men to "go back and shoot the white folk" signaling the importance of the vote to the Black family unit.[48] White people attempted to banish the entire African Americans population of Phoenix declaring, "Every Republican shall leave this land. No colored people shall live on their land."[49] Taking the directive from the women folk, African American men decided to fight back against the white citizens who tried to drive them from their homes. One account claimed that Black men ambushed their attackers during the riot by stretching barbed wire across a road, so that when the attackers rode their horses at night they got caught in the wire they could not see. Their plan worked further infuriating the white community and before long, additional men came from other counties to help the white people of

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[47] Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*, 150-152.

48 Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*, 150-151. Additionally, Elsa Barkley Brown reported in "To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women's Political History, 1865-1880 in *Unequal Sisters: a Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History,* eds. Vicki Ruiz and Ellen Carol Dubois (New York: Routledge, 2000), 133-134,that Black women during Reconstruction took an active role in Black political meetings, often would guard the physical location of the meetings and the gun arsenal. Accordingly, one Black clergyman reported that 200,000 South Carolina African American women could "use a knife and light a torch" of a Winchester.

49 Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*,151.

Phoenix "defend their honor." The neighboring white communities of Abbeville, Edgefield and Columbia also joined to defend Phoenix against what they thought was a well-trained, well-armed underground Black militia led by one Black family in particular, the Tolberts. Tom Tolbert led the group as the first voter, but it was not true that he led a Black militia. Nevertheless, he and his family were the focus of a lynch mob, and their church was also subjected to rampaging white mobs. [50] Folklore has it that twenty armed Black men escorted the Tolbert's out of the area, and that white people had determined to "…kill as many Black folks as they could…They just got themselves together and rode out on horses into the fields and got every Black man they could…"[51] The standoff lasted for almost two months with Black families reporting that they moved from the area to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania specifically because of the violence in Phoenix. Historian Allen Ballard, whose family also comes from the area and migrated to Philadelphia, noted two violent incidents that fueled a large Black out-migration from the Abbeville area: The Phoenix race riot of 1898, and the 1916 lynching of Anthony Crawford. Additionally, the violent memories of the Wilmington, North Carolina riot of 1898 heavily influenced the Black migrants from Abbeville in their decision to leave, according to Ballard.[52]

On the morning of October 21, 1916, Anthony Crawford rode his horse and buggy into town to W.D. Barksdale's general store. Cottonseed was selling at ninety cents a bushel, but Barksdale, the white storeowner, offered Crawford only eighty-five cents per bushel. Carter G. Woodson observed that offering Black farmers lower prices for their crop was part of a system designed to keep their margins low and thus

50 Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*, 150-156.
51 Ibid, 152.
52 Ibid, 150-161.

hampering the profitability of the African American owned-farm.[53] Crawford's wealth prevented him from having to accept a lower price, nor did he have the disadvantage of needing to borrow money to plant his crop, as both sharecroppers and tenant farmers did. Thus he could afford to take his cottonseed from elsewhere. Crawford informed Barksdale that had already received a better offer, however, before he could gather his seed and leave, Barksdale called him a liar. Crawford cursed the white storeowner, accused him of trying to cheat him, and threatened to take his seed elsewhere. The two men's conflict spilled out into the town square. A store clerk heard the commotion and came out with an ax handle. Sheriff Burts arrested Crawford for cursing Barksdale. By the time they reached the jail, word had spread that a Negro had cursed a white man, and a crowd started gathering in the square. Once the crowd dispersed, Crawford paid his bail and the sheriff let him out of a side door, to avoid any more commotion. However, several whites spotted him as he headed for a cotton gin, a short distance away.[54]

When Anthony Crawford heard the mob behind him, he hid in a boiler room of the cotton gin. He was soon discovered and as Abbeville resident McKinney Cann led the crowd towards Crawford, Anthony picked up a four-pound hammer and crushed Cann's skull. The wound would have killed Cann, had someone not grabbed Crawford's arm. Sheriff Burts begged the crowd not to kill Crawford, and agreed to keep him in jail until everyone was assured that Cann would survive his injuries. While in jail, Crawford asked

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53 Carter G.Woodson, *The Rural Negro* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1930), 36-37.
54 The events of Anthony Crawford's lynching have been reported in numerous sources. The main facts come from, Roy Nash, "Lynching of Anthony Crawford," and a series of reports sent from J.B. Egan, a detective hired by South Carolina Governor Richard I. Manning; *Manning Papers, 1915-1919*, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH) box 15, miscellaneous—lynching. Also, Finnegan, "The Equal of Some White Men;" Ware, *Old Abbeville;* and Ballard, *One More Day's Journey* use the same sources. James Allen and John Littlefield, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe: Twin Palm Publishers: 2000).

Sheriff Burts to call a doctor, which he did. Burts and Crawford knew each other well, and what happened next, according to the sheriff's son RM Burts, was not the outcome Sheriff Burts intended. In fact, the jailer who actually let the crowd in was a Bleasite, and a white supremacist.[55] Crawford told a friend to get his coat from the cotton gin and to give his bankbook to his family. Crawford remarked, "I thought I was a good citizen." The crowd soon took over the jail, beat Anthony until he was unconscious then dragged him out onto the square where he regained consciousness and staggered to his feet. Crawford fought off the crowd for fifty feet up the road before a rock hit him in the back of his head. Two hundred white men then descended upon Crawford and kicked him, beat him, stabbed him, tied him to the back of a buggy, and dragged him through the Black neighborhoods before finally stringing him to a tree and unloading two hundred rounds of bullets into what was left of his torn and bloodied body.

The governor of South Carolina, Progressive Richard I. Manning, was furious when he heard the news of Crawford's lynching. He immediately dispatched a telegraph summoning Sheriff Burts and Abbeville Solicitor R.A. Cooper to the governor's office. Manning ordered the two men to come equipped with "all the information and evidence you have in the recent lynching that was reported in the newspapers." [56] The lynching of an affluent Black man needed some explanation, the governor felt. The press had gotten word of this brutal crime and the national press began carrying editorials condemning the horrendous murder in Abbeville. In addition, letters were flooding the governor's offices

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[55] R.M. Burts, Jr. quoted in, *Lynching of an American Dream: The Life and Death of Anthony Crawford*, VHS, (New York: Rosadale Productions, LLC, 2003).

[56] Governor Richard I. Manning, telegraph to Honorable R.M. Burts, October 27th, 1916, and Governor Richard I. Manning, telegraph to R.A. Cooper ,October 27th, 1916, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH), *Manning Papers, 1915-1919*, box 15, miscellaneous—lynching.

from influential leaders.[57] Manning ordered an investigation and promised that the lynchers would be arrested and tried. Manning sent in J.B. Eagan, a private investigator, to gather the facts. At the same time, Roy Nash, a journalist from New York City, headed to Abbeville to investigate the Crawford murder and later published his findings in two journals, NAACP's The Crisis and The Independent. Nash pretended to be interested in buying land in Abbeville so he could get close to those involved. He learned about the order given by the mob that the Crawford family leave town immediately, or be killed. According to witnesses, "a drunken and unruly mob decided to drive the Crawford children and their families from the area…if they ever started they'd shoot every nigger along that seven miles of road."[58] Several white businessmen convinced the lawless mob to stop their reign of terror by promising to hold a meeting of the white citizens of Abbeville the following Monday, October 23. There, they would decide what to do with the Crawford clan.[59]

The Monday meeting attracted white citizens from as far as Anderson County, twenty miles away. The white businessmen who had prevented further bloodshed after

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[57] See exhibit C. Oswald Garrison, Editor, NY Evening Post and grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, correspondence to Governor Richard I. Manning (November 4, 1916) and Moorfield Storey, the first president of the NAACP, correspondence to Governor Richard I. Manning (November 6, 1916) Garrison and Storey both congratulated Manning for summoning Sheriff Burts to the governor's office, and for bravely prosecuting the "lynchers of Anthony Crawford." They both ask the governor to protect the Crawford family for the proposed expulsion from the state by November 15, 1916, made by a group of citizens who ordered the descendents of Anthony Crawford to wind up business and leave Abbeville. Additionally, Cleveland G. Allen, a national newspaper correspondent wrote the governor to protest the lynching and encourage him to protect the Black people of his former state (December 4, 1916) and Wallace A. Battle, president of Okalona Industrial School in Mississippi, congratulated Manning for trying to keep law and order in the state (November 29, 1916). On November 9, 1916 Governor Manning wrote back to Garrison and Storey and offered his commitment to law and order, however, the governor was only willing to do so much, as evidenced by his letter to the Crawford family (see Exhibit A.), South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH) *Manning Papers, 1915-1919*, box 15, miscellaneous—lynching.

58 Finnegan, "The Equal of Some White Men," 250.
59 Finnegan, "The Equal of some White Men,"250.

the lynching, reported that they had met with the Crawford boys, who "took off their hats like good Niggers, and agreed they would leave the state, but their desire was to stay in the land of their forefathers."[60] The meeting was interrupted by a gunshot and angry shouts from the crowd; "Lynch the black bastards" and "Run 'em out today!"[61] After a vote the group reached a decision: The Crawford family must leave South Carolina, by November 15, 1916. Not only did most of the Crawford clan depart, but also many of the town's African American population followed suit. The mass exodus of Black folk included Ralph Ellison Sr., father of author Ralph Ellison. Four years later, the federal census reported that Abbeville had lost thirty percent (about 7,000) of its Black residents, compared with an average out migration of less than one percent for all other South Carolina counties.[62]

On December 6, 1916, the Abbeville Press and Banner reported there had been warrants sworn on sixteen men charged with the murder of Anthony Crawford.[63] This occurred a few days after the meeting with Governor Manning, indicating the sheriff and Solicitor Cooper cooperated with Manning's instructions to prosecute the mob. However, not one of the men on neither the warrant nor anyone listed in the investigation conducted by Egan would serve any time in jail for the lynching of Anthony Crawford. Egan reported that the solicitor Cooper was aware of who was responsible for the murder, however, it was he who decided that Crawford had come to his death "at the hands of persons unknown."[64] The Black people of Abbeville had experienced enough violence

60 Finnegan, "The Equal of Some White Men," 250.
61 Ibid, 250.
62 Finnegan, "The Equal of Some White Men,",251.
63 "Preliminary Hearing for Those Charged with Taking Part in Recent Lynching Held Tuesday," The Abbeville Press and Banner, December 6, 1916.
64 Egan, Manning Papers, 1916-1919.

since the days of enslavement and now with this very public lynching of a leader in their community, some felt an urgent need to leave. The decision, however, was difficult, sometimes made quickly and in secret and without the benefit of appropriate goodbyes to loved ones. In fact for some, it was dangerous to leave, especially if a Black person was an employee, sharecropper or tenant farmer and their employer felt they still owned them money or labor. The family of Anthony Crawford was ordered out by a very public proclamation issued to them specifically, but obeyed by many other African American Abbevillians. Anthony Crawford said often "the day a white man hits me is the day I die." Instead, he died for much less. So, no longer feeling they could both survive and prosper in the aftermath, many Abbeville African Americans left, often at the direction of Black women who decided that this lynching, in particular, was the last straw. Indeed, women, far more often than previously acknowledged by scholars, directed the contours and trajectory of the Great Migration because they desired to keep their families safe from racialized violence.

CHAPTER TWO

The earliest twentieth century migration of African Americans, from the southern region of the United States to the northern and western states, was one of the largest voluntary movements in the history of humankind, according to many scholars.[1] No doubt, the vast movement was important, but many scholars have explained the shift of Black people as a reactionary movement based on economic and social forces, or what became known as the "push/pull" paradigm. A changing economy in both the North and South, pushed people, turning agricultural laborers into wage workers, largely due to the industrial revolution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[2] Northern and southern cities attracted recruits because manufactured goods and services production required large numbers of laborers. In addition, rural farms were increasingly mechanized, displacing agricultural workers.[3] Many scholars have also considered the

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1 For example, see Milton Sernett, *Bound for the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 2. In addition, Carole Marks, *Farewell-We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1987), lists "four forces" that set the migration in motion (the boll weevil, Jim Crow, WWI, and the South's changing economy. Marks' assessment leaves very little agency for the migrant as her thesis posits the migration as largely orchestrated in the "board rooms of northern industrial enterprises." (2-3) Moreover, Nicholas Lemann's ethnographic study *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), is widely quoted by historians because the migrants' voices come alive and offer first hand accounts of life on both sides of the shift north to Chicago. Lemann states, "The black migration was one of the largest and most rapid mass internal movement of people in history—perhaps the greatest not caused by the immediate threat of execution or starvation." (6) The threat of execution was, indeed, on the minds of the migrants. Those that stayed behind sometimes reported near-starvation living conditions, as they often did not have enough to eat as sharecroppers, or in the tenant farmer system. For example, see Chana Kai Lee's *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

2 The strongest argument for this push is Carole Marks, *Farewell-We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* because she calls the displaced Black laborer's "mudsills" of southern industrial development. Also, Marks argues that the migration was largely orchestrated in the boardrooms of the North, because they drove the markets, which upset the agricultural economic structure of the South.

3 For example, see Neil Fligstien, *Going North: Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South 1900-1950* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), and Lemann's, *The Promised Land,* both place the mechanized farming machines as instrumental to displacing Black agricultural laborers.

unfavorable social climate of the Jim Crow South that pushed the migrants to consider the move to site's unseen.[4]

The pull, therefore, provided solutions to the migrants' concerns--the lack of available work and the ability to live in a stable, less oppressive society. If economic forces and Jim Crow were the reasons African American's moved, was their shift truly voluntary? Alternatively, was it involuntary when violence becomes central and migrating was a survival mechanism, or viewed as the only option? These proactive people and purposeful determinants took their futures into their own hands, and reshaped a new version of American citizenship. The old southern dream of someday owning a piece of land and gaining some independence had to be reconstituted and transformed into new urban visions of political, socio-economic autonomy. It is important to make violence and decision-making central in our studies of the migration, so that we can more clearly understand the migration's dynamic impact on African Americans.

Was racial violence more important in the decision to migrate compared to other Jim Crow restrictions, given that the Jim Crow system had been slowly codified following the collapse of post-Civil War Reconstruction? The trajectory of mob violence in the South, and for that matter state sponsored violence, increased following the end of Reconstruction.[5] As enslaved people, Africans had a monetary value and were victims of

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4 For example, see Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck "Rethinking the Role of Racial Violence in the Great Migration, " in *Black Exodus The Great Migration from the American South*, ed. Alferdeen Harrison (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991), 20-35. In addition, Ballard's, *One More Day's Journey: The Story of a Family and a People* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1984) is a case study of migration from a few counties in South Carolina to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Sernett's, *Bound for the Promised Land*, opens with the Crawford lynching as an example of how economics was an ancillary reason to migrate. Also see, Farah Jasmine Griffin, "*Who Set You Flowin'?": The African American Migration Narrative*, (New York: Oxford University Press: 1995), whose book also opens with many violent attacks as the impetus for moving.

5 According to another study by sociologists Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck, "Black Flight: Lethal Violence and the Great Migration, 1900-1930, " *Social Science History* Volume 14, Number 3 (Autumn,

violent attacks only if they tried to leave the slaveholder's confines, or if they refused to follow the slaveholder's orders. The contours of violence changed, even though white southerners still relied on African American labor, as Black people were no longer managed property and some southern whites meted out ritualized killings and mob violence to terrorize the un-owned, and unmanaged, ex-slave back into submission.[6]

In South Carolina, Reconstruction ended in 1877 when the federal troops left, but also after a series of battles between whites and Blacks. Many ex-enslaved men and ex-Confederate soldiers had confrontations that ended in violence. The Black men were "ill-armed" while the white men were trained ex-generals. Therefore, the confrontations were severely uneven, but it did not mean that Black people cowered to white threats and authority. [7] In 1866 and 1867 several Black militia groups were created as offshoots of the Masons and the Union Leagues, social organizations whose membership could be counted on to protect the community in the face racial violence. In 1868, Black leaders from Abbeville responded to a series of deaths of political organizers and politicians by organizing a militia with statewide membership.[8] The skirmishes happened so often it appears there was an unofficial war between the races.

In 1871 in Camden, South Carolina, a white official had to hide after the militia came after him for trying to arrest one of the members; however, the lynching of thirteen Black men followed shortly afterwards.[9] Three hundred Ku Klux Klan members attacked Captain Jim Wilkes's home in Chester County, and fifty-five militia members resisted

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1990): 347-370, between 1882 and 1930 there were 1,655 lynchings of Black Americans in the South. However, during the same period there were 1,299 African Americans killed in state executions. In the "Cotton South" where these state-sponsored executions took place, of all killings meted by the state, 90% of them were African Americans.

6 Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 285.

7 Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*, 106-107.

8 Ibid, 108.

9 Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*, 108.

successfully.[10] Closer to Abbeville, in Edgefield County, Captain Ned Tennant escaped with his family after the Klan fired at his house in 1874.[11] Whites knew Captain Jim Williams from York County as a "bold and aggressive fellow, unquestionably a hater of the white race and evidently bent on mischief" because he refused to follow an order to disarm, as several other militia members had done on advice of the state government. Williams was an ex-enslaved man, who shed his captive name as a form of resistance, and renamed himself Jim Williams. Williams said he was not a coward, like the other militia members who followed the order, but instead wanted to go to war for his 'forty acres and a mule' the government had promised him. He proposed a war with whites, "fair and square" to "go into the old field and fight it out." On March 7, 1871 sixty Klan members interrupted Williams' sleep by lynching him, and "departed as quietly as they had come." Black people fought back and threatened to kill every white man in the county. The federal government sent in troops to protect the white community from Black retaliation.[12] The violence between Black people who wanted to politically assert themselves, and the whites who felt threatened by their affront, were in constant battles that sometimes required the intervention of state and federal officials. Often, that help was not intended to save Black lives. African Americans frequently did not hesitate to defend themselves.

As African Americans asserted their citizenship, so too did white southerners, who asserted their definition of citizenship—"whiteness." Therefore, many African American who encroached "whiteness" by asserting their rights of citizenship, such as by voting or by owning property, became a target of surveillance, and ultimately violence.

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10 Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*, 108.
11 Ibid, 109.
12 Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*, 108-109.

Africans in America were supposed to provide the southerner with free or next-to-free labor, and white planters used unfair labor contracts to ensure the continued use of Black workers as field hands. A system of sharecropping and tenant farming flourished, especially among the laborer who could not purchase land. In addition, if African Americans were sentenced to jail or prison to work on a chain gang, they were forced to provide free labor, or face death. Death and violence permeated the Southern African American's daily existence.[13]

The lynching of Anthony Crawford by a white mob in 1916 reinforced the expectations of both Black and white southerners' notions of citizenship. On the one hand, Crawford was a leader in his church, a planter with large holdings and a substantial bank account, a taxpayer who demanded respect and openly claimed membership in the citizenry, as he said in his final statement to a friend, "I thought I was a good citizen."[14] On the other hand, his accuser, the white storeowner, defined his notion of citizenship by what came next. He called for the sheriff to arrest Crawford for cursing him, and he spread word that that'nigger Crawford' had gotten out of place, yet again. He provoked a crowd to offer Crawford an extra-legal punishment, by beating the citizenship out of him. Crawford, too, defined his notion of citizenship by kicking the store door, during his verbal assault, telling the owner, W.D. Barksdale, that at the very least, he had genuinely made his money through hard work, and had not gotten rich through marriage, as he accused the white store keeper of doing. Crawford, by comparing himself to the storekeeper, and challenging Barksdale's manhood by asserting that he was a self-made man, unlike the white store keeper who was rich only through his wife's coffers,

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[13] Tolney and Beck, "Black Flight: Lethal Violence and the Great Migration."
14 Roy Nash, "The Lynching of Anthony Crawford," The Independent (December 11, 1916): 458.

metaphorically, became a "white man" that day, and in doing so, his life was taken from him.[15] Moreover, Anthony Crawford's actions endangered the lives of the Black citizens of Abbeville, South Carolina, so much so, that many figured they could no longer safely remain in town, and so they left joining the Great Migration of 1916.[16]

A micro study of Anthony Crawford and the communities affected by his lynching, Abbeville, South Carolina, Evanston, Illinois, and on a tertiary level for this examination, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania inform this study's overarching argument, that the decision to leave, and violence were intimately connected. The decision to leave must be illuminated in order to understand fully the migrants' motivations to succeed in their new homes, and how their moving affected both the old community and the new ones. In addition, the roles and viewpoints of the women involved further complicate what we know about the Great Migration. How much influence did they have in the decision? What role did they play in settling in the new cities? Did chain migration originate because of women's ability to secure dependable wages? According to sociologists Tolney and Beck, racial violence produced a circular paradigm: First, a lynching occurred; then Black folk moved; then racial violence declined so that other Black folks did not leave, assuring the southern community a steady and reliable source of labor. Tolney and Beck's hypothesis is important mainly because it explains why certain southern counties experienced high levels of out-migration, and some almost none. The common theme was a large, well-publicized lynching.[17]

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15 Nash, "The Lynching of Anthony Crawford," 456-462.
16 This study uses the 1916-1930 dates associated with the Great Migration. For example, see Grossman, *Land of Hope*; Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way*; and Tolney and Beck, "Black Flight: Lethal Violence and the Great Migration."
17 Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck "Rethinking the Role of Racial Violence in the Great Migration, " in Black Exodus" *The Great Migration from the American South*, ed. Alferdeen Harrison (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991), 20-35.

Mrs. Ruby Alexander remembers Abbeville, South Carolina as a place where there was a lot of "prejudice and incidents."[18] Her family were sharecroppers and, like everyone else, would hitch a wagon and go into town on Saturdays to obtain supplies. She recalled her family leaving Abbeville, South Carolina and moving to Evanston, Illinois, because of "an incident where a black man got 'smart.' He was Annabelle Crawford's grandfather [Anthony]."[19] Alexander was only three years old when her family migrated. Her mother told her, "…all the blacks who could get train fare caught the first train North."[20] Alexander's migration narrative highlights the rupture associated with leaving the South post-lynching, and the important role of violence in the Great Migration. The fact that her family were poor sharecroppers, and probably accustomed to "prejudice and incidents," indicates some wiliness to remain 'down South.'[21] The migrants' recollections cite the Crawford lynching as the main reason they felt they had no choice but to migrate.[22] Additionally, Alexander notes that her mother had family in Evanston, Illinois; so going there was a natural choice, a nod to the chain migration where information networks established places as safe and viable to quickly relocate the family.

Born in Abbeville, South Carolina in 1919, just after the lynching of Anthony Crawford, Ollie Hunter Boyd lived with the aftermath. Her family, she remembered, felt no other choice than to leave their farm and head to Evanston, Illinois. The lynching of Crawford culminated at a "…big old pine tree. Wasn't in our backyard, but it was in a

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18Ruby Alexander, interview by George W. Williams, Conversations with Blacks in Evanston, Illinois: An Evaluation of African American Progress in this Suburb of Chicago (Baltimore: American Literary Press, 1998), 10.
19 Alexander interview, Conversations with Blacks in Evanston, 10.
20 Ibid.
21 Alexander interview, Conversations with Blacks in Evanston, 10.
22 Ibid.

little field."[23] Boyd's father, Will Hunter, was a sharecropper. Boyd placed the decision to move with her mother, who was afraid that her children were endangered, as evidenced by the public lynching of Crawford. "Just the thoughts of them hanging a man, might as well say in our backyard, just killed the spirit of everybody, and that's why the majority of the people moved away from Abbeville was because of that lynching. After we left, everybody left."[24] Boyd's recollections are part of a Black oral tradition, because she was born after the actual lynching, however they shaped her memory of her birthplace, Abbeville, South Carolina, her family unit and her final destination, Evanston, Illinois. Boyd confirmed what many Black folks know, that the mob continued its reign of terror for days. The mob closed all Black-owned businesses and many people hid out for a few days until things settled down a bit. However, when everyone returned from hiding, many planned to leave as soon as possible.[25]

Oral traditions, where the informant passes information they did not witness first-hand but heard about, and oral histories, where the informant did witness events, are important tools to better understand the Great Migration. Noted migration expert James Grossman asserts, "…neither the economic changes that made the movement possible nor the institutional developments that it either shaped or accelerated provide sufficient insight into the migrants, their values or their experiences."[26] What Grossman asserts, more than others before him, is the need to examine the decision-making process, as "a conscious and meaningful act" in order to accurately measure what African Americans

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23 Ollie Hunter Boyd interview by Jay Brakefield in *African American Frontiers: Slave Narratives and Oral Histories* ed. Alan Govenar (Santa Barbara: Abc-Clio, 2000), 123-126.
24 Boyd interview, 123-126.
25 Ibid.
26 James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope,* 5-6.

were leaving behind, and what they expected to find in their new destinations.[27] In other words, many African Americans left behind the one thing that assured them of a tangible piece of the American dream and autonomy, the hope of owning land. Historian Peter Gottlieb says that Black people did not abandon their value systems when they moved north, instead they brought their same desires with them and constructed reconstituted versions of their southern lives 'up North.'"[28] Landownership and freedom were interchangeable to both the enslaved and freedmen and women.[29] After watching how powerful the planter class was, and understanding the independence a family has if allowed to produce their own agricultural products, Black farmers desired to secure their own destiny and own property. As historian Andrew Wiese explains:

> Proprietorship symbolized hard work and ambition in a way evident to every member of the community. It provided a basis for upward mobility, shelter for immediate and extended families, and a foundation in a society that systematically marginalized African Americans. Lastly, it meant a greater degree of independence, which is to say freedom, than any form of tenancy.[30]

Why would a Black southerner suddenly abandon the chance to own property? Did the dream of southern land ownership lose value in the death of Anthony Crawford?

Ollie Hunter Boyd's mother was scared for the children of her family in the aftermath of the Crawford lynching, and felt they needed to leave the area, but in what order? Boyd's uncle first moved to Evanston, Illinois because things had gotten "bad" for African Americans in Abbeville, South Carolina. Boyd's eldest brother "Pick," worked in a steel mill in Gary, Indiana before joining Evanston's Clayton and Marx, a manufacturing company. His initiation into Evanston's wage economy provided the

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27 Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 5-6.
28 Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way*, 6-7.
29 Wiese, *Places of their Own*, 84.
30 Ibid.

means by which other family members joined him in his new, safe environment. Pick, along with two other uncles, avoided the certain precarious life in Abbeville, South Carolina, and moved to Evanston, before the rest of the family.[31] Boyd's mother, Mamie Rice Hunter, sent the remainder of the brothers and sisters as soon as each one finished high school.[32] According to writer and Abbeville county resident Jim Wilson, Harbison College's location in Abbeville may have played a part in how successful African Americans were in Evanston, and in Abbeville, "I have a feeling that it was upwardly mobile families that went into Evanston, because Evanston is not what you call a blue collar town," Wilson said. "Comparatively speaking, it's a well-to-do town."[33]

Boyd guessed that her family remained "safe" in the aftermath of Crawford's lynching because they lived on the property of an influential white Abbeville resident, a man she described as 'rich and Jewish', Saul Rosenberg.[34] Saul Rosenberg owned a general store in the town square, the central place that everyone went for supplies on Saturday mornings. According to Crawford and Rosenberg family oral traditions, Anthony Crawford had two minor children with him the Saturday he went to W.D. Barksdale's store to sell his cottonseed. Once the mob gathered on the square and became increasingly violent, the Rosenberg's grabbed the Crawford children and hid them in the cellar of their store. The children remained there all day. The Crawford family believes, to this day, the Rosenberg's intervention saved the children's lives.[35]

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31 Boyd interview, 125.
32 Ibid.
33 Marilyn Claessens, "Book Recalls Link to Abbeville, S.C.," The Evanston Review, February 15, 1996.
34 Ibid.
35 The Rosenberg story is corroborated in a few ways. One is Crawford family folklore. Additionally, Ollie Hunter Boyd's family lived on Saul Rosenberg's property. She believed her family was spared because they lived in a house owned by Rosenberg, who was influential in the town. Finally, Rosenberg's son, was interviewed by director Carol Devoe for a unfinished documentary on Anthony Crawford where he proudly remembered the story of the Crawford lynching and the role his family played that day in

Boyd's family remembered that some of Abbeville's white citizens had closed the Black businesses in town just after the lynching. Ollie Hunter Boyd reported how the Black business owners "all just left—gone for several days." Boyd says, "Mama was just so scared for us. They just packed them up and started sending them north."[36] There had been lynchings before in Abbeville, South Carolina County, however this rich landowner's lynching, and subsequent terror, may have sent a message to African Americans who aspired to someday own their own land. However, Abbeville County, South Carolina proved that it could not accommodate a Black man who dreamed too big, or who wanted to fully enjoy self-defined citizenship rights.

The Boyd family understood the acute need to leave an undesirable place such as Abbeville, South Carolina. As a result, the whole family eventually made the journey to Evanston, Illinois, and brought along their violent memories. Ollie Hunter Boyd recalled that her mother made the decision to leave because she felt they could no longer guarantee the safety of their children in Abbeville. Ollie left in 1934 with her mother, leaving behind her father and two younger siblings. The family also facilitated the departure of many others from Abbeville by offering the new transplants a place to live, as did many other new migrants already in Evanston. The transplants lived with the Boyd family until they secured reliable employment. Her mother Mamie, Boyd says, sometimes cooked for eighteen people, proving her commitment to making sure their old neighbors had a safe alternative to Jim Crow.[37] The short stays with these families must have eased the transition, because the newly minted migrant found not only new

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helping to save the children. The story has become a part of Rosenberg family oral tradition, as well, and the has passes the story down through generations. See, *Lynching of an American Dream,* 2005.
36 Boyd interview, 125.
37 Ibid, 125-126.

opportunities for work and safety, but they lived with someone familiar who could help them adapt to a very different setting than their old home. This relationship, known as the chain migration, accounted for the vastness of the Great Migration. It also helps us understand the kinds of communication networks that African Americans had used since enslavement days. Good news travels fast, some say, and for those whose lives depended on it, the reliability of that news was paramount to the old and new communities.

Did African Americans progressively devalue land ownership as more violent attacks happened? The one thing Black people wanted after Emancipation was a piece of land, which they equated with freedom. Like Captain Bill Williams referred to before his lynching, he and other ex-enslaved people believed the promise of "40 acres and a mule," a promise for which he was willing to go to war.[38] Land ownership meant that one could cultivate cash crops like cotton and vegetables, keep livestock, build a home and maintain a sense of independence, meaning they could live outside of the scrutiny and surveillance of their ex-enslavers. Some African Americans, like Anthony Crawford, built large landholdings and wealth, some acquired smaller farms, and some were tenant farmers or sharecroppers, such as the Boyd family. The Great Migration challenged the importance of landownership for the ex-bondmen and women, and/or their descendants, because migrating ruptured the traditional road to freedom for the southern Black farmer—land ownership. The lynching of Anthony Crawford re-arranged the route to independence because landownership no longer guaranteed freedom--it sometimes equaled death. For

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38 Ballard, *One More Days Journey*, 109. Also, see Gloria J. Browne-Marshall *Race, Law, and the American Society: 1607 to Present* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 48, which explains the 1862 Homestead Act gave white ex-confederate soldiers prime land. Williams was referring to the Special Order #15 issued by Union Army General William T. Sherman, which set aside a portion of Charleston, SC and the Sea Islands for ex-enslaved people and each African American Union soldier was to receive 40 acres and a mule. The order was quickly rescinded by President Andrew Johnson, who issued another order reinstating the land promised to Black people back to ex-Confederates.

some, migration was the answer to the problem of self-defined freedom for the ex-enslaved people and their descendants (whether they desired to own property, or usurp the tenets of white supremacy.) The white community sometimes responded with violence to loosen Black folks' grip on self-determination. Sometimes, like the Crawford family, the costs of leaving was enormous, as they never again owned the land that Anthony Crawford spent his lifetime acquiring.

Annabelle Crawford-Frazier, granddaughter of Anthony Crawford, was the first of her siblings born outside Abbeville, South Carolina. Her eldest sister Fannie was born in 1915; she was one of the fifteen grandchildren of Anthony Crawford living on the homestead at the time of the lynching. Frazier remembered that her mother and father rarely talked about the event the propelled them off their four hundred and twenty seven acre plantation, but she was well aware of the "trouble."[39] She knew her mother, Annabelle Washington-Crawford, had attended the old Harbison College, before arsonists burned the facility several times prior to the school closing its Abbeville location. After several of her classmates were injured or lost their lives in the fires, the leadership of the college decided Abbeville, South Carolina was too dangerous to house the educational facility for African Americans, and moved it ninety miles east to Irmo, South Carolina in 1910.[40] The facility may have moved, but the dangerous atmosphere remained palatable in Abbeville, South Carolina.

Annabelle Frazier's parents, George and Annabelle, left Abbeville, South Carolina in November 1916, after the lynching of their father and father in law, and

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39 Annabelle Crawford Frazier, interview by author, Evanston, IL, June 29-30 2001. Follow-up interviews were conducted in August and November 2001. Annabelle was the most vocal family member to speak publicly about the lynching in her community of Evanston, Illinois.
40 Ware, *Old Abbeville*, 165.

especially at the urging of the townspeople who demanded the Crawford family "quit the state by November 15th."[41] The Crawford family initially did not want to leave, and fought to stay in the "land of their father, and father's father."[42] The eldest of Anthony Crawford's children, Walter C. Crawford, wrote to South Carolina's governor, Richard I. Manning, asking the state for assistance and protection of the Crawford clan.[43] While the governor did send in a private investigator to sort out the facts of this widely reported lynching, he could not assure the family of state protection.[44] George and Annabelle wrapped themselves and little Fannie in newspaper, in preparation for the autumn cold of Chicago, and began their trek North to Evanston, Illinois.[45]

Annabelle Crawford Frazier did not know which of her mother's family members moved to Evanston first or why; however, she knew her mother felt the area was safe, so she, George and Fannie moved there. Meanwhile, most of Anthony Crawford's children moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, like some Black people with roots in Abbeville had done. It is not clear why this family, in particular, chose Evanston over Philadelphia, as both locations contained family members. It appears, however, that Annabelle's influence affected the family's destination choice since some of her family members had already migrated to Evanston. Like Ollie Boyd's family, the woman's choice of future locale seemed to be favored, or weighted more heavily, in the difficult decision to

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41 Ware, *Old Abbeville*,168.
42 Walter C. Crawford to Governor Richard Irvine Manning, December 1916, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH), *Manning Papers, 1915-1919*, box 15, miscellaneous—lynching.

43 Ibid.
44 Governor Richard I. Manning to Walter C. Crawford, December 11, 1916. Richard Irvine Manning (1915-1919), General correspondence, box S 534005 Exhibit B. *Manning Papers, 1915-1919*, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH) box 15, miscellaneous—lynching.
45 Eleanor Crawford-Hill and Lucille Crawford Babb-Boone, interview by author, February 2008 and April 2009. They are the sisters of Fannie Crawford and Annabelle Frazier. Born after the lynching and move to Evanston, they are acutely aware of the lynching of their grandfather, Anthony Crawford, and the hardships encountered by the family subsequent to their shift to Evanston, Illinois.

migrate. Women even vetoed potential places, and aggressively chose the cities they wanted to live in.[46] Additionally, Boyd description of her family's decision-making process never referred to her father involvement, signaling the chain migration as largely centered around women.[47]

Chain migration consisted of many components. Black women, according to Gottlieb, did more than help choose the destination. Their unique positions as urban wage laborers and "housekeepers" gave them the ability to offer both information about the new cities, and a place for new migrants to live.[48] When they could, each family carefully planned the order in which family members would leave, particularly women, according to historian Elizabeth Clark-Lewis.[49] Southern men often were older than their wives, and exercised a position of authority over them and the whole family. Accordingly, men represented the family in negotiated tenant farming and sharecropping contracts, or at the general store. Women, however, were important to the family economy, as they often earned more cash as domestics. It was still the male head of household who determined how the money would be spent, and he also purchased the supplies needed to make the household work.[50] Even a disastrous event, such as a lynching, did not negate the need for the family to financially operate as a unit. Women needed the ability to support remaining family members in the South, and the pioneers often made the case for family members' migration order by assuring the male head of

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46 Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way*, 49.
47 Marilyn Claessens, "Book Recalls Link to Abbeville, SC", The Evanston Review, February 15, 1996.
48 Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way*, 49.
49 Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, *Living In, Living Out: African American Domestics in Washington, D.C., 1910-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 63. For other examples see Darlene Clark Hine in "Black Migration to the Urban Midwest: The Gender Dimension, 1915-1945," *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective*, ed. Joe William Trotter, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 130-131. In addition, the next chapter here address women's unique role in chain migration process.
50 Clark-Lewis, Living In, Living Out, 61.

household of each potential migrant's ability to locate jobs in the new cities.[51] Therefore, the family was assured of the stability and survival of both the transplant, and the remaining family.

The father's voice may have played a role in the ordering of the migrants, but the evidence suggests that women influenced the trajectory of the family's permanent destination. As previously discussed, women decided where the family would go, but they also decided when it was time to move. Ollie Boyd's mother was concerned about keeping her children safe from the violence of Jim Crow and began sending her children to Evanston, Illinois shortly after the Crawford lynching.[52] Women sometimes organized the family's migration by staying in the South longer to support the chain migration, sacrificing something, sometimes their own security, to assure other's safety.[53] Violence, both domestic and racial, for women, played a significant influence in their decisions to migrate. Historian Beverly A. Bunch-Lyons interviewed thirty nine women migrants who "…all shared, directly or indirectly, their personal recollections of the physical and emotional pain of violence."[54] Women experienced sexual abuse at the hands of family members, Black men and southern white men. In addition, the economic abuses that women faced in the South, as underpaid domestic help was equally troubling.[55] The constant threat of violence and keeping the family safe was paramount to the women of the migration, and these forces heavily influenced their behavior during the decision-making process of the resettlement.

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51 Clark Lewis, *Living In, Living Out*, 57.
52 Claessens "Book Recalls Link to Abbeville, S.C," The Evanston Review.
53 Beverly A. Bunch-Lyons, *Contested Terrain: African American Women Migrate from the South to Cincinnati, Ohio 1900-1915* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 11, 25-26.
54 Ibid. 25.
55 Darlene Clark Hine, "Black Migration to the Urban Midwest: The Gender Dimension, 1915-1945," 130.

The unique positions of women as mothers, daughters, and integral components to the household economy, affected the family in the north and south. Mothers had to choose whether to send their minor children "up north," or to leave them "down south," as indicated by several migrants. Mothers did not want to separate themselves from their children, but they also understood the need to sometimes get away quickly. One of historian Beverly A. Bunch-Lyon's informants, Alice Rich, admitted that she leaned at an early age the violent consequences of "stepping out of line" with white people, as her father had done with his employer. After her father refused his employee's demand that he work on Saturday, his employer struck him. But her father fought back and hid in the woods for a few days, fearing for his life. As soon as he could, he left for Atlanta, and eventually the entire family moved to Cincinnati, Ohio.[56] Rich added, "Mama always got things together and come on up behind Dad and we got settled."[57] Women not only managed the chain-migration by selecting the final destinations, but some sacrificed their own safety, by staying behind longer and having to answer for those who snuck away, in order to shelter their children and sometimes, their men.

It was not an easy decision to leave the old homestead where families had lived for multiple generations, even if their lives were encroached by Jim Crow. Ex-enslaved people and their children found a way to work within the confines of the South's racial caste system, while trying to build a level of independence by owning land, or aspiring to own land.[58] Those who did not own land certainly tried to keep up with the rules of

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56 Peter Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way*, and Darlene Clark Hine, "Black Migration in the Urban Midwest" both acknowledge that migrants often worked their way to their final destinations, often taking odd jobs and then moving, or working in one location for a few years, saving money and then traveling on to the next stop.
57 Bunch-Lyons, *Contested Terrain*, 25-26.
58 James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migration of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 21.

unfair tenant farmer and sharecropping contracts and hoped to make a little something for themselves at "shore up time," or the end of the contract year. The planter, or owner, would tally the tenant's bill for the land lease, supplies, and whatever else the planter deemed appropriate, against what the tenant was able to produce. Mostly, the tenant would end the year owing the planter, which kept them virtually indebted and employed for their lifetime. The contracts were unfair for the tenant farmer or sharecropper, who sometimes was non-literate, so that many did not have the ability to examine the contract. Even within this never-ending cycle of debt and exploitation, and with very little prospect of owning property, some Black people felt at home in the South. One migrant expressed this sentiment in 1917 in a letter to his former home- town pastor stating:

> I like the money O.K. but I like the South betterm for my Pleasure this city too fast for me they give you big money for what you do but they charge you big things for what you get and the people are coming by cal Loads every day its just pack out the people are Begging for some whears to sta.[59]

African Americans wanted to remain in the South, as expressed by Walter Crawford's letter to South Carolina's governor Manning in 1916, but many felt they could no longer tolerate the excruciating social and political landscape of the segregated South. Even in the wake of the horrific, public ritualized killing of their family patriarch, the Crawford family expressed a desire to remain in Abbeville, South Carolina.[60] The warm climate and wide-open spaces were appealing to many Southern Black people. Despite the constraints of Jim Crow, they felt they had some control over their situations. As

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59 Emmett J. Scott, "Additional Letters of Negro Migrants'" *Journal of Negro History*, Volume. 4, Number. 3. (July 1919), 459. It should be noted that the cities the migrants wrote from appear in this collection of migrants' letters, but the letters destinations are not revealed.

60 Exhibit A. Walter C. Crawford to Governor Richard Irvine Manning, December 1916, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH), *Manning Papers, 1915-1919*, box 15, miscellaneous—lynching.

experienced agriculturalists, they could produce their own sustenance, as did most southern African Americans. As Ollie Boyd recalled, "When we lived in the South we raised everything we ate but sugar. We didn't want for nothing."[61] It is within this context that some African Americans made the difficult decision to uproot themselves and their families, pack whatever they could carry, and slip away to the promised land of the North and West. They took with them their violent memories, and these too helped shape their new lives. The promised land did not encompass all that they expected, but the migrants carefully reshaped America forever as they spread out and made the southern race problem a national issue.

61 Claessens, "Book Recalls Link to Abbeville, S.C " The Evanston Review.

CHAPTER THREE

Between 1880 and 1920, Abbeville, South Carolina's Black population declined by nearly 10,000; with the largest decrease occurring between 1910 and 1920 (see Table 1 below.)[1] While the majority of Abbeville African Americans migrated to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a significant number selected Evanston, Illinois as their final destination. Whether they settled in Evanston or Philadelphia, migrants felt their lives were in danger if they remained in Abbeville and many specifically mention the 1916 lynching of Anthony Crawford as the reason they left.

The bedroom community of Evanston, in the meantime, was growing. Between 1880 and 1900, the population of Evanston's residents expanded rapidly. Between 1910 and 1920, the total population increased by 49.1%, and between 1920 and 1930 by 68.8%.[2]

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1 United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1880 Manuscript Census Abbeville County,* Abbeville, South Carolina.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1900 Manuscript Census Abbeville County,* Abbeville, South Carolina.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1910 Manuscript Census Abbeville County,* Abbeville, South Carolina.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1920 Manuscript Census Abbeville County,* Abbeville, South Carolina.

These figures do not include data from the 1890 census; it was mostly missing due to a fire at the Commerce Department in Washington, DC in January 1921.

[2] United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1880 Manuscript Census Cook County,* Evanston, Illinois.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1900 Manuscript Census Cook County,* Evanston, Illinois.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1910 Manuscript Census Cook County,* Evanston, Illinois.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1920 Manuscript Census Cook County,* Evanston, Illinois.

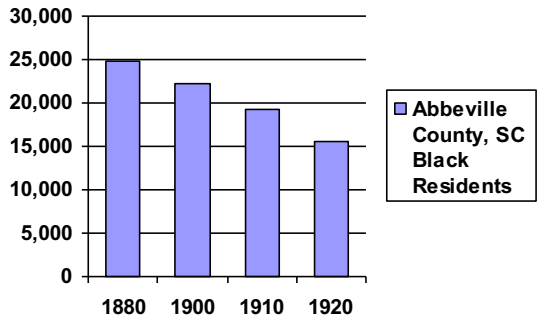

Table 1.

Historian Allen Ballard grew up in Philadelphia but after his family migrated from Abbeville. Ballard loved the stories his grandfather told him about Abbeville, although they mostly scared him. He admitted feeling ashamed that his family was from a place where "evil held sway," yet, he also wanted to "open a long festering wound and drain it of the violence" that haunted Philadelphia's South Carolina migrants. He thus decided to write a micro-history of the early 20th century Abbeville to Philadelphia Black migration.[3] The migrants who chose Evanston, Illinois, including Anthony Crawford's family, bypassed the urban metropolises of Philadelphia and Chicago, because of the information that flowed from the north to the south through the chain migration.

Evanston, Illinois borders Chicago's chic north side. Originally settled by wealthy aristocrats wanting to avoid the city's rapidly overpopulating neighborhoods, Evanston became home to some of Chicagoland's most influential people and their stately mansions. Ninety miles separate Chicago from Milwaukee, Wisconsin and along the way a series of suburbs sprang up--largely because of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad, which opened in January 1855.[4] For Evanston, its most important attraction

3 Allen B. Ballard chronicled his family's history in the context of the migration from the Abbeville, South Carolina area, which includes Greenwood and McCormack. Many people use the three cities interchangeably as they are connected physically, and in memory, and therefore often considered one area—Abbeville.

4 Michael H. Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 21.

was Northwestern University, chartered in January 1851 by the board of trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, although they did not require any religious affiliation from its students or faculty.[5] Evanston's namesake, Dr. John B. Evans, was a physician, politician, entrepreneur and pioneer, who is credited with negotiating Northwestern's physical site (on the western shore of Lake Michigan) and articulating the need for a private, intellectually stimulating university set in the safety of a Methodist community.[6] Urban areas often had public institutions of higher learning that lost their ability to influence their cities as the areas surrounding them experienced rapid change and expansion. Private institutions, like Northwestern, filled the void because they were located in "specialized communities of intellectual discourse" and they influenced their communities with "social prestige and intellectual security."[7] In addition, the Methodist organizers found the university's location comforting, as they originally were the very demographic who established suburbs like Evanston.[8]

There was a rash of university openings around the country before 1850; some boosted the local economies, and some brought a "missionary spirit." Northwestern and Evanston brought the latter.[9] The Methodist influence affected the town and the university in tandem, as they both prohibited the sale of liquor for four miles outside the university.[10] Historian Perry R. Duis called the four-mile radius "the triumph of moral geography."[11] This moral geography would affect Evanston for over one hundred years, as it became home to the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1879, led

5 Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore*, 23.
6 Ibid, 23-24.
7 Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore,* 24.
8 Ibid.
9 Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore*, 25.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.

by former Northwestern Dean of the Women's College, Frances E. Willard. Arguably, Evanston's most prominent resident ever, Willard's public campaign for temperance and woman's suffrage made her highly sought after as a speaker, and her influence was felt throughout the country, as well as in her hometown.[12] Willard desired to get the local Black women involved in the WCTU, but she met both accommodation and a degree of resistance. Willard observed in her book entitled A Classic Town in 1891:

> It has been the latest work of the W.C.T.U. to organize the colored women of Evanston into a local auxiliary. They were invited to belong to the original society, but preferred to form one by themselves, and they have been kind enough to name it the Willard W.C.T.U.[13]

Evanston remained dry until the nineteen seventies, largely due to her lasting input. While Willard's sway was vast, she wisely understood that the Black women of Evanston had built a thriving, independent community, populated by the chain migration, but often cooperated and built alliances with white women, which could emerge from very different motives. Historian Glenda Gilmore reports both Black and white women saw temperance as a women's issue, because alcohol abuse destroyed "family support systems." White women felt that working with Black women solidified their cause as central to women, with the added prize of interracial cooperation. However, interracial cooperation and "racial boundaries melted ever so slightly" in the WCTU because Black women were still required to adhere to a "segregated structure" and report to white women. [14] Evanston's Black women rejected this arrangement and instead offered the

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12 Ebner, Creating Chicago's North Shore, 94-95.
13 Kevin Barry Leonard, "Paternalism and the Rise of A Black Community in Evanston, Illinois: 1870-1930, " Master's Thesis, Northwestern University, 1982 26.
[14] Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, "'A Melting Time: Black Women', White Women, and the WCTU in North Carolina, 1880-1900," in *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South*, eds. Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Theda Perdue and Elizabeth H. Turner (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 153-155. For other examples, see Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim*

WCTU an alternative solution where they would remain in charge, and could formulate unique alternatives and self-directed solutions to their own problems, within their own communities. Black women needed to remain in Evanston but desired to keep their own clubs and support systems, controlled by them, so that they could continue the trajectory of independence and autonomy the migration afforded them.

Despite the interracial cooperation among Evanston's temperance women in the late 19th Century, the sudden increase of African Americans between 1910 and 1920, created tensions with Evanston's white population. As the country approached World War I, the influx and movement of migrant African Americans attracted hostile attention, especially if the Black population exceeded ten percent of any urban area. Once Black people hit the ten percent threshold in Chicago, whites considered them threatening.[15] According to sociologist Allan H. Spear, northern whites became nervous when the African American population increased because they "sought more and better housing."[16] African Americans also competed for jobs and services with other new European immigrant whites. Additionally, crime and vice rates were rising in the cities, mainly because of the influx of all kinds of people to the urban areas; however, Black people were usually blamed for the increased lawlessness. The ten percent markers were significant in many urban areas and culminated in a series of "race riots." For example, racial insurrections occurred in New York in 1900, Evansville, Indiana in 1903, Springfield, Ohio in 1904, and Springfield, Illinois in 1908. Between 1917 and 1921, the

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Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 31-61.

15 David W. Southern, *The Progressive Era and Race: Reaction and Reform 1900-1917* (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 2005) 134.

16 Allen H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of the Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967) 8.

country experienced over twenty-five riots, Chicago exploded in 1919. The racial violent eruptions coincided with Black migration into these emerging urban areas.[17] Evanston adverted a race riot, but the city was un-prepared for the sudden influx of southern African Americans who needed housing, jobs, and social services. In previous years, the Black community had existed alongside the white community because they were not yet "visible."

African Americans had resided in Evanston since the 1850's and 1860's, when there were two Black families--the family of Daniel Garnett, a shoemaker and Corporal Andrew Scott, a Civil War veteran. Dr. Isabella Garnett, daughter of Daniel Garnett, credits her family as the first Black pioneers. There is evidence that the first African American was Maria Murray, a live-in servant of the Allen Vance family in 1855. Murray married George Robinson, also a live-in servant with another family. [18] The Black community grew slowly over the next thirty-five years and in 1882, the first African American churches were founded, Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal Church and Second Baptist Church.[19] Some African Americans came to Evanston to escape the Chicago race riot of 1919, because they experienced some level of security in a friendly atmosphere. Many stayed on after the rioting stopped.[20] There are no known records that quantify how many African Americas escaped the violence in Chicago and made

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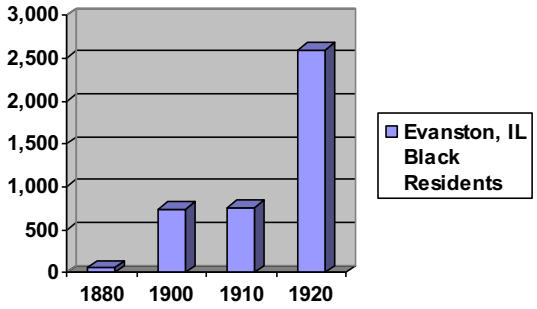
17 Spear, *Black Chicago*, 134. Also, 1919 was named "Red Summer" because over twenty-five race insurrections occurred that summer.
18 David Kenneth Bruner, "A General Survey of the Negro Population of Evanston" (senior thesis, Northwestern University, 1924), 17-18. Morris "Dino" Robinson, *A Place we can call Our Home: The Emerging Black Community Circa 1850-1930* (Evanston: Robinson Communication Services, 1996) 13. Robinson is a local independent historian, who investigated and documented African Americans in Evanston after he visited the Evanston Historical Society and found only one folder that contained information about Black Evanston. Robinson wrote *A Place we can call Our Home: The Emerging Black Community Circa 1850-1930* and founded an organization, Shorefront, to dedicated to documenting all African American history on Chicago's North Shore.
19 Robinson*, A Place we can Call Our Home*, 18.
20 Robinson, *A Place we can Call Our Home*, 20.

Evanston their permanent homes, but the largest increase of Black residents occurred between 1910 and 1920 (see Table 2.)[21] Nonetheless, the influx of African Americans moving to Evanston, from either Chicago because of the 1919 race riot, or from Abbeville because of the Crawford lynching, were escaping racial violence.

Table 2.



Several institutions helped migrants adjust to life "up North" and provided African Americans with medical care, social services, employment agencies and childcare. In Chicago's Black Belt neighborhood, Provident Hospital opened in 1891, years before the Great Migration's beginning. The renowned African American physician, Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, founded the facility because of his concern that Black doctors and nurses had nowhere to hone their skills and receive training for their profession. It would be the only facility, at the time, to always welcome Black patients,

[21] United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1880 Manuscript Census Cook County,* Evanston, Illinois.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1900 Manuscript Census Cook County,* Evanston, Illinois.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1910 Manuscript Census Cook County,* Evanston, Illinois.
United States Census Office, Population Schedules, *1920 Manuscript Census Cook County,* Evanston, Illinois.

as well as those of other ethnicities.[22] The Black infrastructure provided services that the white Progressive movement failed to address for African Americans. The white Progressives set their sights on helping European immigrants, largely ignoring Black migrants who also needed services to help them adjust to urban living.

Black women have a tradition of working and directing community self-help organizations. Anti-lynching activist and journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett, was herself a migrant to Chicago because three of closet friends were lynched in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1892. In 1890, Wells-Barnett was employed an editor of the Evening Star, was a contributor to Living Way, co-owner of the Free Speech as well as wrote a regular syndicated column. Once her friends were lynched she began to more openly confront lynching, and the more frequent reasons behind the objectives of a lynch mob. Wells knew that most white Americans believed Black male lynch victims were perpetrators of a crime, namely raping white women. Wells-Barnett wisely began to write editorials, which quantified the reasons behind lynching—a form of violence used to exert social, political and economic control to ensure white supremacy, and retard Black progress. Wells-Barnett began to encourage African Americans to leave the south, and as a result, her printing press was destroyed, and her life was threatened. Having experienced migrating because of violence Wells-Barnett became as advocate for the new migrants.[23]

Wells-Barnett opened a settlement house in 1910 called the Negro Fellowship League (NFL), also located in Chicago's Black Belt neighborhood. Wells-Barnett learned from her Sunday school class attendees that migrant men were ending up in jail

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22 Spear, *Black Chicago*, 97-98.
[23] Jacqueline Jones Royster, "To Call a Thing by Its True Name: The Rhetoric of Ida B. Wells" in *Reclaiming Rhetoria: Women in the Rhetorical Tradition* ed. Andrea A. Lunsford (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), 167-171.

or prison because they lacked information about employment or they had no assistance from family or friends and left migrants vulnerable to vice, or arrest. Without an established personal network or available social services available for African Americans, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) had previously admitted African Americans, but with the influx of migrants, they changed their policy and excluded them. The NFL sought to alleviate the "idleness" of Black men and provided a space where they could live until they were on their feet. It also housed a job placement center, similar to agencies across the city that welcomed Italians, Poles, and other immigrants, but excluded Black people.[24] White philanthropists tried to help. However, much to Wells-Barnett's dismay, they set up segregated facilities to provide services for Black people only, such as separate YMCA's. The Black YMCA, according to Wells-Barnett, was only necessary because whites refused to associate with African Americans in the same facility.[25] According to Darlene Clark Hine, Black women have built these institutions since before the end of slavery in the tradition of self-help and within the framework, for this study, of domestic Progressive feminism. Black people in the new metropolis understood that they did not enjoy the same resources available to other immigrants and began to build their own institutions and infrastructure to help them adjust to urban living.

African Americans in Evanston found they too needed to establish institutions to provide their community with social services, medical care, employment agencies, and

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24 Paula Giddings, Ida, *A Sword among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008) 3, 488. Also, see Darlene Clark Hines's "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: The Philanthropic Work of Black Women" *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), which discusses how Black women have, sometimes *without* the funds of the Progressive philanthropists Rockefeller, Rosenwald and Carnegie, built hospitals, libraries, gymnasiums, sanitariums, elderly homes, and shelters for young migrants.
25 Giddings, Ida, *A Sword among Lions*, 498.

childcare. Like neighboring Chicago's Black Belt migrants, Black Evanstonians would invent and fund their own benevolent institutions to answer the needs of its citizens, sometimes designed specifically for women migrants. The white press did not fail to take note of the activities and developments within the burgeoning Black community in its midst. In 1925, The Evanston Review, a white-owned weekly newspaper reported simply, "Dr. Garnett, colored, dies."[26] In 1926, an article entitled "Helping the Colored Girls" appeared:

> An unpretentious social enterprise which has proved its place in Evanston…This provides a home with wholesome surroundings for working colored girls. The backers of the home discovered the need here less that 2-years ago, and straight-way set about filing it. 200 girls have been given homes while they earned their living. The support of the home is interracial. Its usefulness in the community is unquestioned. Its needs are moderate. It should never have to ask a second time for what little it require.[27]

The benevolent institution that granted the funds for the North Shore Community House provided perhaps the most important support Black working girls needed according to the white community—a stable environment in "wholesome surroundings" situated in the vicinity of the stately mansions where they were employed. Evanston and the wealthy North Shore inhabitants welcomed their servants into the community, but not in their hospitals, YMCA's or churches.

The paternalistic concern of the white community regarding the "Negro problem" is evident in the white press. In 1926, articles began to appear in The Evanston Review advocating the need for a Negro hospital. A white women's club boasted Evanston Hospital's capabilities as a state of the art institution, and at the same time emphasized the need for a Colored hospital. The article also credited the white clubwomen for their

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26 The Evanston Review, December, 17, 1925.
27 "Helping the Colored Girls," The Evanston Review, January 14, 1926.

extraordinary efforts to secure a Black hospital.[28] Another piece entitled "What the Colored Folks Need," tried to garner public support for a separate Black hospital.[29] A week later, it appears that Blacks were overtaxing the system so that the hospitals became overcrowded and were forced to turn patients away.[30] The tone of the articles appears to show genuine concern for the African American community's needs, alongside a growing sentiment among whites for segregated facilities. In the meantime, the migrants were busy building their own institutions without much apparent desire to frequent the white institutions, thus avoiding the paternalism of white folks, who felt they knew best how to direct the trajectory of Black folk's lives.

The burgeoning Black community built its own infrastructure, supported by its cohesiveness, developed in the South well before Emancipation. The migration opened new opportunities to build institutions, like medical facilities, outside of the restrictions of southern Jim Crow, and controlled and constructed largely by efforts of the African American community's women. In 1914, Dr. Isabella Garnett, daughter of pioneer Daniel Garnett, and Dr. Arthur Butler opened the Evanston Sanitarium, in the heart of Evanston's Black Westside neighborhood.[31] In 1930, Community Hospital opened. Both institutions had an interracial board of directors, a nod to the white community's encouragement to construct separate hospitals for "Negroes." Dr. Elizabeth Webb Hill organized the Woman's Auxiliary of Community Hospital in 1939. She also became Illinois' first Black woman hospital chief of staff in 1943. Dr. Hill led the accreditation efforts with the state and successfully raised the funds to build a new hospital, which

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28 The Evanston Review, February 18, 1926.
29 "What the Colored Folks Need," The Evanston Review, February 25, 1926.
30"Overcrowded Hospitals—St. Francis and Evanston Hospitals Turning Patients Away," The Evanston Review, March 4, 1926.
31 Robinson, *A Place to call our Home*, 48-49.

became the central institution serving the medical needs of Evanston's Black community until 1975.[32] Literally thousands of Evanston's African Americans were born, and died, in Dr. Hill's care.

Evanston, according to historian Andrew Wiese, was a domestic service employment suburb, and was similar in design and nature to other affluent suburbs around the country.[33] Domestic service suburbs, Wiese argues, sprang up along the railroad and trolley lines around major cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Atlanta and Baltimore. The cities' most wealthy and elite white citizens preferred these chic addresses, as opposed to cramped city life. These suburbs, with their sprawling mansions, and manicured lawns were accessed only by rail, which made it difficult for white residents to obtain much-needed goods, services, and servants. As a result, these suburbs conveniently contained "bustling communities of shopkeepers, mechanics, industrial workers, and the servants who made it possible to live comfortably in the palatial homes that made these places famous."[34] The sheer numbers of the Great Migration allowed African Americans access to these service jobs, and increasingly, Black laborers provided the workforce. Evanston became both work and home to the low-wage service workers, but their post-migration experiences would be somewhat different from their counterparts just eleven miles away in Chicago's "Black Belt." Evanston's Black community began to build and own their homes at three times the rate of Chicago's Black Belt, a reflection of their ability to use their North Shore affluent location, job stability, higher incomes and access to better educational facilities to their

32 Robinson, *A Place to Call Our Home*, 49-51.
33 Andrew Wiese, *Places of their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 25.
34 Wiese, *Place of Their Own*, 25.

advantage.[35] Wiese contends that the white power elite, and real estate brokers, allowed Black homeownership in Evanston namely for two reasons; first, Black people were relegated to specific areas, and secondly, whites enjoyed the cushion of segregation which shielded them from potential Black neighbors, and shielded their high property values from depreciation.[36] The availability of vacant land, coupled with no concerted effort by the white community to prevent Black homeownership, allowed African Americans to own homes at the same rates as whites. Wiese continues that although the bulk of Evanston's African Americans were service workers and domestics, the desire to own their own homes began in the South, and they carried the desire with them to the North.[37] Moreover, the dependable domestic worker economy of Evanston's Black women certainly supported homeownership among Black families.

It is difficult to ascertain the first Abbevillian to migrate to Evanston, and plenty of current residents lay stake to that claim. Many residents boast that not only did their family come first, but also that they offered a link of the chain that facilitated many other families' arrival. Most will admit, however, that their grandmothers and great grandmothers "did day work," meaning they worked as domestics and service workers in

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35 Andrew Wiese, "Black Housing, White Finance: African American Housing and Home Ownership in Evanston, Illinois, Before 1940," *Journal of Social History* (Winter, 1999): 431-432.

36 Ibid. Wiese admits that high Black home ownership in Evanston is unlike other suburban areas. In addition, white elites supported African American's living in Evanston, and Evanston's Black population took advantage of their positions and began to build homes. Another important component was the bankers who financed the mortgages, albeit for land that was not desirable to whites in Evanston. The author's childhood home was built in 1927 by great grandfather Joseph S. Brooks, a Pullman Porter. The home sloped slightly at the foundation and had to be torn down in 1995, signaling the undesirable condition of the original land upon which the home was constructed.

37 Wiese, "Black Housing," 435. Wiese reiterates how James Grossman's argument in *Land of Hope* that northern industrialization may have supplanted home ownership aspirations, but Peter Gottlieb in *Making Their own Way* implied thwarted opportunities to own their own homes made migrants ambivalent about the North. Anthropologist Carol Stack has shown how the reverse migration of African Americans returning to the South since the 1970's proves that the migrants never severed their desire to own property and their own homes in *Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South* (New York: Basic Books: 1996), 17-44.

white folks' homes throughout the North Shore. The Evanston Review printed an obituary in September 1925 of Mrs. Sarah Crump, born in Abbeville in 1881, who came to Evanston in 1901.[38] Records indicate other early migrants from the Abbeville area, such as M.D. Morris, a Black minister who died in 1911, and whose body was taken to Abbeville for burial. When Mrs. Louis White passed away in 1912, her body was also returned to her former home in Abbeville.[39] The migration of African Americans from the South did not begin with the Great Migration, for scores of Black people left the South in the post-Civil War years. However, most historians agree that the momentum certainly picked up in 1916.[40] Evanston's in-migration was no different.

The railroad commuter suburbs, in the United States, grew rapidly from 1910-1940, both in population and in building construction. Therefore, ten years is a long time during the development of the suburbs in the United States in this period.[41] The population of African Americans increased significantly, so much so, that the 1920 census only really provided a snapshot of the actual days it was enumerated in Evanston. People were moving in daily. Already, the Black populace had more than doubled from the 1910 census and the city was "startled and surprised" by new "racial problems the Polish and Negro populations present."[42] The Black population continued to grow and by 1924, the U.S. Post Office reported 8,000 Blacks in Evanston; the Chamber of Commerce reported 5,000 and the Evanston Associated Charities estimated 7,000—up significantly

38 The Evanston Review, September 9, 1925.
39 Leonard, "Paternalism in Evanston", 40.
40 Ibid, "Paternalism in Evanston", 37.
41 Andrew Wiese, differentiates between railroad suburbs and automobile suburbs as tied to the expansion of each mode of transportation. Automobile suburbs experienced their own unique expansion and growth after World War II. See, *Places of Their Own*, 25-29.
42 Bruner, "Negro Populace of Evanston", 38

from 2,522 enumerated in 1920.[43] Exact numbers aside, it is safe to say that African Americans were approaching the magical ten percent ratio that made white citizens both concerned and nervous. In Evanston, Black women's residency was disproportionate to Black men in the early century, and by 1920, women were 55 percent of the African American populace. This lopsided balance was typical of domestic service suburbs.[44] Black women's employment secured the stability of Black migrant families and their determination to continue to support the familial unit was evident with the sheer numbers of women that appeared on the North Shore.

African Americans established a stable Black community on Evanston's West Side, constructed purposely within the framework of the lessons they learned in the South. They would be best served, they felt, if they could inculcate purchasing "in the community," leaving themselves less vulnerable to surveillance and violence and at the same time, supporting Black businesses. They could build their own institutions that would provide life and death essential services, such as medical care. In addition to Black churches, they opened businesses, such as Madame H.M. Taylor's Hair Dressing salon, Twiggs print shop, and Hansom's Cab.[45] They also attended Evanston's integrated schools, and offered services, such as Laura Owens' dressmaking service, that provided much of what they needed, besides employment.[46] For example, in 1926 The Evanston Review reported the opening of a "colored" nursery. Many of Evanston's Black women did "day work" and needed childcare, so women formed a Black co-operative, The

43 Ibid, 38-39. Bruner's numbers differ slightly from those in Table 1; however, Bruner's count is from 1924, and therefore may be less accurate than those currently available from the United States Census Bureau.
44 Wiese, *Places of Their Own*, 51.
45 Robinson, *A Place we can call Our Home*, 31-32.
46 Ibid, 33.

Community Union.[47] Mrs. Martha Twiggs, a wealthy African American woman and wife of Twiggs print shop owner, William Twiggs, became the group's president and probably was the chief financial backer of the daycare center.[48] Located in the heart of Evanston's Westside, domestics could drop off their children as they headed east towards the train that would take them to their jobs as domestic workers throughout the North Shore. One resident commented that the main thoroughfare, Emerson Street, looked as if Black women were walking in a parade each weekday morning as "Big Momma and 'dem" made their way to cook and clean in white folk's homes.[49] The women domestic workers on the North Shore shared an occupation that many Black migrants found available to them upon their arrival in their new urban homes. They used their wages to bring remaining family members to safety "up North", and perhaps as a stepping-stone to something better.

For the Black women of Evanston, domestic work was plentiful and dependable. White people in the affluent suburbs, such as Evanston, purchased more than their majestic abodes, they bought a way of life.[50] The elite desired leisurely lifestyles that called for many caretakers, and domestic laborers were the answer. The wealthiest employed a whole staff, but the middle class also employed some form of domestic assistance.[51] This insatiable need for maids and chauffeurs helped to create large African American neighborhoods in suburbia, and women were disproportionably service workers. In 1920, Black women were one-third of the workers nationwide, but in the

47 "Opening of Colored Nursery," The Evanston Review, February 4, 1926.
48 Yvonne Seawright, interview by author, by telephone February 3, 2009. She is the granddaughter of William H. Twiggs and Martha Twiggs.
49 Lucille Crawford Babb-Boone, interview by author, February 2008.
50 Wiese, *Places of Their Own*, 42.
51 Ibid, 54-55.

elite suburbs they represented between 40 and 50 percent of laborers, thus their work was more dependable and could support the family, if necessary.[52] The informal network, known as the chain migration, depended on women and their work both inside and outside the home and played a large role in facilitating the migration of African Americans from the South.[53]

Domestic work was far more dependable than the work available for African American men. For Annabelle Washington Crawford, the daughter-in-law of Anthony Crawford, life as a domestic was hard, but she always had work. Her husband George found work as a teamster in a neighboring affluent suburb but he died just thirteen years after the family's banishment from Abbeville. George passed away in 1929, some say of pneumonia, some say of a broken heart coupled with the stress of watching his father lynched, and relinquishing the family business to a white lynch mob. Left with six children and the Great Depression looming, Annabelle decided she could no longer leave her children all day, and instead became a washerwoman from her home, an arrangement that many Black women preferred.[54] In addition, she felt compelled to allow other new migrants from Abbeville to share a room in her home until they could get on their feet. One migrant, George Williams, often told the story about how grateful he was that Annabelle opened her home to him, and let him live there rent free until he got "settled." He left Abbeville after high school in the 1930's, and lived with the Crawford family for

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52 Ibid, 55.
53 Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 132-133.
54 Eleanor Crawford Hill and Lucille Crawford Babb-Boone, interview by author, February 2008. Also, see Tera Hunter, *To Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 104-107 where she explains that some women who lived-in only saw their children occasionally on the street as passersby, so when they could, they choose to work from home. In addition there was an added layer of autonomy and safety with not working in close proximity to whites and especially white men, who often raped Black women domestic workers.

almost a year.[55] The security of having a safe place to begin their new lives and the added benefit of living with people that they knew made the transition a bit easier on the new migrants. The pattern repeated itself so often that the children could not remember the names of everyone that passed had through their home, except for their relatives, but they understood the responsibility their mother felt to help lift others out of the Jim Crow South. According to historian Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, women who lived in the South, as children, experienced a close-knit Black community that instilled both personal and collective identities, so that it was satisfying to extend a sense of kinship and belonging to other members of the same group.[56] The chain migration was more than information sent from the pioneers back home about life and opportunity "up North," with it came a sense of obligation to the family and community left behind. Women, and their stable work, plus their ability to stretch supplies, meant they were the link that made the chain migration work.

The migrants' children remember their mothers fondly. They admit their mothers were hard workers but they often point towards more cultural markers, such as cooking, as indicative of their skills as women and major breadwinners. Eleanor Hill says of her mother, "Big Momma could take a little and feed a multitude."[57] Every morning they shared elaborate breakfasts, such as a skillet of potatoes and hamburger, and the family always had either a pot of collard greens or mustard greens, a delicacy in the African American community. On Sundays, extended family stopped by for dinner, or to share conversation. "I don't know how Momma did it, when I think back on it now and see

55 Eleanor Crawford Hill and Lucille Crawford Babb-Boone, interview by author, February 2008.
56 Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, *Abiding Courage: African American Migrant Women and the East Bay Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 11.
57 Eleanor Crawford Hill, interview by author, February 2008.

homeless people digging through the trash for food, 'that should been us,' I think to myself, because Momma was alone and we were in the midst of the [Great] Depression."[58] One way her mother may have "done it" was by unconventional income. Her brother-in-law, Albert Crawford, was a well-known numbers-runner in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He was devoted to Annabelle and her children, and sent her money from time-to-time. Black families often supplemented their income by taking in boarders, or renting rooms in less conventional or "respectable" ways. Crawford family lore has it that Annabelle rented out rooms, by the hour, for amorous rendezvous, which her children still deny.[59] Nonetheless, she used both formal and informal means to support her family, and her position, as a widowed woman did not deter her; in fact, her gender may have helped her. Women's domestic work did not have to occur on site; elite and middle class households produced tons of dirty laundry every year, and Black women became the designated cleaners.

The laundry business was important to Black women's economy. Many African American laundrywomen worked in commercial wash centers that ran like factories. The days were long and stressful and women were required to run several machines at once, or press shirts all day long.[60] If they could, most women laundresses preferred to work from their own homes where they could combine work and child care duties. Annabelle Crawford would take her children with her to pick up "sacks of dirty clothing" and sometimes her children remember someone delivering work to the house. Nevertheless,

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58 Eleanor Crawford Hill, interview by author, February 2008.
59 This story is oral tradition passed down by Annabelle and George's oldest child Fannie (1916-1962) who told the to her children, but Eleanor and Lucille will not admit this or have no knowledge of the arrangement.
60 Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 192.

they knew she worked very hard.[61] Picking up laundry was arduous work because the loads were physically heavy and the women had to sometimes transport the loads on their own, but the autonomy one earned from this arrangement made the weight a bit lighter.

Working from home also added a layer of protection from the sexual violence that often came with live-in domestic arrangements. The live-out arrangement was a new concept to northerners, who had traditionally employed live-in help. Southern women migrants are credited with constructing the live-out arrangement because they understood how dangerous it was to stay in employers' homes, after having experienced both physical violence and rape while providing domestic help to white folks.[62] Living-out also allowed the women to work multiple jobs, or change jobs when they found something better. This allowed for more flexibility in their schedules and some control over their wages and household economy. Evanston's women, like urban women elsewhere, appeared to move from live-in to live-out domestics as their tenure in the North continued, especially if they were married.[63] Living-out was therefore a form of resistance, deliberately constructed and used by women to gain control over their earning ability, working hours, and the ability to personally raise their own children.

Women who remained live-in often organized to resist unfair working conditions against the private households that took advantage of their labor. The migrant women were determined to "transform a master-servant relationship into an employer-employee

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61 Eleanor Crawford Hill, interview by author, February 2008.
62 Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 30.
63 Ibid. In addition, see Elizabeth Clark-Lewis', *Living In, Living Out: African American Domestics in Washington, D.C., 1910-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 141-142. Clark-Lewis reports that a "washerwoman" was usually married but did laundry in her home to supplement the family income, and was very different from a "laundress" who picked up and dropped off clothing from house to house.

relationship."[64] Some domestics formed cooperatives or joined the American Federated Labor's hotel and restaurant charter in Glencoe, another affluent Illinois suburb.[65] Some formed Penny Clubs, which were savings clubs that offered each member a chance to cash-out their investments in order to financially support them while they terminated their live-in employment, and looked for better opportunities as live out, or day workers. Penny Clubs were also benevolent institutions that provided funding for social activities, and paid illness and death benefits to its membership.[66] The process of moving from live in to day work was termed "getting set" by the women. "Getting set" would cost about one month's worth of wages to ensure each woman had enough funds to financially support herself during the search process. [67] Some women used the money to send to their former homes in the South, or to assist other migrants. Nevertheless, they sought to become independent determinants of their own futures, having learned lessons in the South. Those lesson's taught the women about depending solely on white employment for survival, which left Black workers vulnerable to the whims and moods of white employers, who did not always treat them fairly, physically and economically. Day workers had more mobility than live-in help, and could often physically shop around to determine better working conditions and wages, and enjoy a sense of autonomy.

The social networks and Black infrastructure became the cornerstone of the nascent African American community. The churches and clubs were the formal institutions the migrants used to secure their social and spiritual foothold in the North.

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64 Clark-Lewis, *Living In, Living Out*, 5.
65 Elizabeth Ross Haynes, "Negroes in Domestic Service" *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Oct., 1923): 435. In an earlier movement, Tera W. Hunter's *To 'Joy My Freedom* reports on women laundry workers forming a collective, "the Washing Society" in Atlanta, Georgia in 1881. The Washing Society organized a strike and demanded fair wages, and better working conditions. See pages 75-97.
66 Clark-Lewis, *Living In, Living Out*, 135-140.
67 Clark-Lewis, *Living In, Living Out*, 134.

Women's clubs and church clubs often provided social, cultural and spiritual support. "It was like homecoming," reported Barbara Lee Wood, "when I joined Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal Church shortly after my arrival in Evanston to find that one-third to one-half of the congregation was from Abbeville and surrounding areas."[68] Wood, like many others, felt an added layer of relief to meet other migrants from the same area, folks that had moved for the same reasons, had the same motivations to stay "up North" and could share resources and information. The church provided much more than spiritual guidance, it was also the source of social functions and meeting spaces. For the migrants with violent memories of their Jim Crow experiences, it was also a safe space for them to fellowship with other ex-Abbevillians who too, just could not remain in the South.

The violent memories affected Dorothy Phillips whose parents left Abbeville after the Crawford lynching and headed to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Her father had family in Pittsburgh, but because of the encouraging reports about jobs and Abbeville networks in Evanston, the family eventually moved to Illinois. Phillips' father had attended the old Harbison College in Abbeville, with the dream of becoming a doctor. His dream was short lived; he died shortly after moving the family to Evanston, during Dorothy's first year at school. Her grandmother, America Ann Williams, moved to Evanston, and filled Dorothy's head with "all the stories of Abbeville."[69]

Many women migrated for better opportunities for themselves and their children. Cora Watson migrated from Greenwood, South Carolina in 1914 as a way to expose her offspring to Evanston's mixed schools, as the early school system educated white and

68 Claessens, "Book Recalls Link," The Evanston Review.
69 Claessens, "Book Recalls Link," The Evanston Review.

Black children together.[70] Barbara Lee Wood, whose mother graduated from the old Harbison College in Abbeville, came to Evanston to further her education after her father lost his money during the stock market crash of 1929.[71]

Blanche Octavia Hunter, was born in Abbeville, and moved to Evanston at a very young age. Her funeral on Saturday April 25, 2009, well attended by young and old, was a large requiem, as some folks might describe it. She and her sisters had been well-respected and active members of Springfield Baptist Church, as choir members and choir directors. They also enjoyed a celebrity status in Evanston because they formed a singing group, The Hunter Sisters, which traveled the country on the gospel circuit. One fact of her life, as reported in her obituary, stood apart from the others: Abbeville's wealthy farmer, Anthony Crawford, was hung in her back yard in 1916. Additionally, her mother decided in the aftermath of the lynching and the terror from the white mob, that the only way to keep her family safe was to move them across the country to Evanston.[72]

The lasting effects of violence play out in contemporary Black America. The Great Migration, and the Crawford lynching happened almost one hundred years ago, but are recognizable and tangible to the collective Black Evanston community today.[73] The lasting effects of racial violence and lynching are not fully understood by scholars, and we need to more carefully consider how violence affected the migrants behavior, patterns of migration, collective community memory (by the re-telling of tragic stories), and how it affected women. Clearly, the lynching of Anthony Crawford, and others like it, helped

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70 Wiese, *Places of Their Own*, 38-39.
71 Claessens,"Book Recalls Link," The Evanston Review.
72 Obituary, Blanche Octavia Hunter, April 25, 2009.
[73] This author was not in Evanston on April 25, 2009 for Blance Hunter's funeral, but an usher ran out of the church during a lull in the service to call and ask whether this was my ancestor mentioned in the funeral program. This communication implies how the memory of this lynching lives in Evanston, even across multiple generations.

to fuel the movements of African Americans, namely the Black Migration of the early twentieth century.

CONCLUSION

The lynching of Anthony Crawford in Abbeville, South Carolina in 1916 was devastating to his family, his community and perhaps to the nation's African Americans. The publicity surrounding his public extra-legal execution came at a time in America where industry was growing, both on the farm and in the cities. Farming was becoming increasingly mechanized displacing rural agricultural workers, and America's cities welcomed large factories that depended on wage-laborers. The onset of WWI slowed the flow of European immigrant laborers into the United States, leaving a void that Black southerners could fill—that of wage industrial laborer. Moreover, as African Americans had more choices readily available to them, they could envision something better, something safer in perhaps a new locality. The very public lynching of Anthony Crawford, and others forms of southern violence against African Americans, was the nail on the coffin for Black people, and its timing was key to the trajectory of the Great Migration.

The Great Migration has been the subject of many discourses—including the federal government, newspapers, city officials, scholars and Southern employers. The sudden shift of Black people was a shock to the nation, and people tried to stop, encourage and/or understand the migration, depending on where their interests lay. Those who tried to stop it were sometimes concerned with over-crowding in the cities, with the depletion of labor in the South, or with competing labor in the North. Those who encouraged the move were the migrants who envisioned a better life for themselves, their families, and their neighbors. Some northern industrialists welcomed cheap Black labor and some southerners even welcomed out-migration so that their "Negro problem"

would become a national issue. Scholars, the government and cultural critics tried to understand the migration because the changes were happening largely in their midst—the migration of Black people out of the South occurred, on some level, from 1916 until 1970, therefore a lot was written *while it happened*. Unsurprisingly, folks tried to figure out why it was happening, sometimes for no other reason that to warn southerners about the real cost of allowing lynching to continue--cheap African American labor. Arguably, migrants had lynching on their minds as they made the decision to move. Thus, lynching and migration are particularly tied to one another.

Many people would argue that racial violence was part of the culture of America. Mostly white planters and business owners used violence on African enslaved people to ensure their adherence to providing free labor from the 17th through the 19th centuries. During slavery violence performed a tertiary function; first, it was a sort of last resort tactic, offered to only the most serious infractions because the body of the African was an income-producing commodity that required it to remain as healthy as possible. Additionally, slaveholders inflicted violence as a form of terrorism, so that other enslaved people who viewed the cruelty would be terrified to repeat the original infraction. Women experienced an additional layer of violence, often experiencing sexual assault at the hands of their male enslavers. Overall, racial violence became as American as apple pie, and remained a custom that was embraced by many members of the dominant culture to ensure they continued in power over other races, especially African Americans.

Violence against ex-slaves took on several forms after the end of slavery in 1865; however, none was more visible than lynching. Lynching was a mechanism used to subvert any aspirations Black people had that relieved them of the need to work for white

people, to sever any political aspirations, to terminate Black competition, and in very few cases, to rid the community of "the black brute." The image of African Americans as threatening to white women or to the sanctity of the white community was sometimes inaccurately central to the reasons behind a lynching. Occasionally, as in the case of Anthony Crawford, his effrontery offended the white community, and so he was lynched in a very public way. His corpse was the discursive site—left hanging as a reminder to the African American community that they too could end up at the end of a rope, tattered with bullet fragments, and left to be eaten by animals if they dared to accomplish what Crawford did—own more property than most white farmers in Abbeville, according to the NAACP. Most African Americans desired autonomy, and so they desired property. That reality of that dream died with Anthony Crawford. Thus, they chose to leave, one by one and family by family. The familial matriarch fondly known as Big Momma, aptly named because her role defied traditional motherhood, often directed the move. African Americans depended on intricate networks of information, women's economy and boarding services, to lift those left behind out of the South, and away from a lifetime of stifling and dangerous Jim Crow.

Historians should begin to study lynching equipped with our new understanding of the South. There is no monolithic southern community, and so emerging is the need to contextualize each as its own entity. Tolney and Beck have argued that some counties experienced high out-migration of African Americans, and some none, and historians need to understand why these inconsistencies in migration happen. What was it about these particular violent attacks that made Black people say "enough is enough?" In addition, if women are central to the migration how does our understanding change?

Women speak openly about the decision to migrate, and about their mother's decisions to depart, almost as if it were a badge of honor that they had the courage to leave the dangerous South for the unfamiliar new areas.

What does it tell us that most members of Evanston's Black community still talk about the lynching of Anthony Crawford from cradle to grave, as the story is repeated in the obituary's of the migrants, who were not Crawford family members? The 2005 United States Senate apology focused national attention to Abbeville, the Crawford lynching and Evanston's Black community. The migrants, their descendents, and remembrances of their association with this lynching tells us that this murder, in particular, had many victims, outside of the immediate family. These victims physically and mentally reacted to the lynch mob's deed, as evidenced by their leaving Abbeville, sometimes in a hurry, and by their violent memories. Furthermore, the story of Crawford's brutal lynching did have far reaching impact that exceeded the time and space of 1916 Abbeville, it was literally in the hands of the many of those community members who attended Blanche Octavia Boyd's funeral in Evanston in April 2009. Crawford's murder was a community's murder, the hopes and dreams of the community died that day in 1916, and so they left. One by one, family by family and they resettled, and began again, in this case, in Evanston, Illinois. Big Momma brought them to safety, so they could tell the story of Abbeville, and Crawford and of Evanston so that future generations would not forget what happened.

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