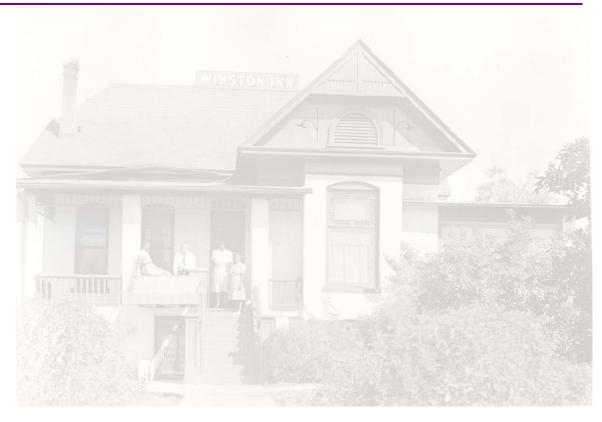
City of Phoenix

AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORIC PROPERTY SURVEY



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October 2004

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This historic context of African Americans in Phoenix is a product of the efforts of many. First of all, it was the City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office that initiated this study in order to preserve the cultural history of Phoenix as much as its physical buildings. The City of Phoenix funded this study in part with a grant from the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office. Without these resources, a study of this type would not be possible. Secondly, there were a number of individuals that were instrumental in the successful completion of this project. In particular, James Boozer, Mildred Moore, and Marcus Wright served as valuable liaisons between the project team and the African American community. Through their efforts, the project gained access to individuals, materials, and institutions that provided essential information and feedback throughout the project. Additionally, they led most of the efforts to promote the project within the community through the distribution of questionnaires at cultural events and various institutions.

Second, the project benefited from the expertise of two academic professionals, Dr. Mary Melcher and Dr. Matthew Whitaker. Dr. Melcher provided an important segment of the archival research and conducted some of the oral interviews for the historic context. Professor Whitaker served on the project as a reviewer ensuring both academic rigor and cultural sensitivity were maintained at each step of the process.

Third, the African American Historic Property Survey could not have been accomplished without the collaboration of Kevin Weight, the Lead Historic Preservation Planner and Project Manager for this study, and the experience brought to the project by Historic Preservation Officer Barbara Stocklin. From the beginning the City of Phoenix set a collegial tone for project that freely shared information, exchanged ideas, and reasoned through the findings in this report. Additionally, Athenaeum Public History Group would like to thank the professional staff at the Arizona Historical Society, Arizona State University — Luhrs Reading Room; Arizona Historical Foundation; City of Phoenix, Burton Barr Library, Arizona Room; Arizona State Archives, Libraries, & Public Records; and the Maricopa County Assessor's Office and the County Recorder's Office. If there are any errors within these pages, the responsibility is fully ours.

Finally, the project would not have been successful were it not for members of the African American community that stepped forward to answer questions, fill out surveys, pose for pictures, and share their memories. Many offered family photos and valuable primary source materials for our use. Of particular note, Councilman Michael Johnson, District 8, provided a number of materials from his personal collections and arranged the roundtable interview with members of the Elks Lodge. On behalf of Athenaeum Public History Group, thank you for your enthusiasm, comments, and insights with regards to this endeavor and for partnering with us to preserve the history of African Americans in Phoenix.

ATHENAEUM PUBLIC HISTORY GROUP

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INTRODUCTION

In order to broaden the city's historic property designation program, the city of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office contracted this historic property survey focusing on the theme of African American heritage. The purpose of this survey identifies the number and location of African American historic properties citywide and documents their significance to the community. Information is needed on the extent, distribution, and potential significance of those properties associated with Phoenix's Black community. This survey will not only assist in prioritizing historically eligible properties for the designation process but it will further the goals and responsibilities of the city Historic Preservation Commission to 1) identify, protect, and enhance properties of historic significance, 2) provide the basis for compliance review, 3) identify areas for future study, 4) aid staff in responding to requests for information, and 5) provide an example for other community-focused historic context studies.

The survey was funded by city of Phoenix Historic Preservation Bond funds as well as a Certified Local Government grant received from the National Park Service through the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office.

METHODOLOGY

In order to accomplish this survey Athenaeum Public History Group followed three general principles:

- 1) The project adhered to the standards of research and scholarship established by the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation* and recognized practices of the historical discipline.¹
- 2) The project involved the African American community of Phoenix in significant and meaningful ways. This went beyond soliciting community members for information and participation in oral histories; to include educational outreach activities to promote historic preservation, review and

¹ Theodore J. Karamanski, Ethics and Public History: An Anthology (Malabar, Fl: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1990).

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commentary on project reports via institutional participation², and transmitted project materials (e.g. oral history tapes/transcripts, copies of the final report) to community accessible repositories.

3) The project goes beyond the typical architectural survey and recommendations for eligibility. This report identifies other means for preserving and presenting (e.g. publications, exhibits, commemorative markers) the history of the African American community in Phoenix.

While the National Register Criteria would indicate a historical context study that concentrated on the development of the African American Community in Phoenix prior to 1955, the period of significance must take into account the struggle for civil rights and equality that defined and shaped the community today. Therefore, the project includes the struggle against discrimination and the community institutions that helped them to survive and eventually break down segregation.

Finally, this context study examines the development of the African American community in Phoenix through its evidentiary remains on the built environment. This study identifies African American neighborhoods which were restricted to the southern section of Phoenix until the 1970s, as well as commercial, religious and institutional properties. The project includes familiar properties like Booker T. Washington Memorial Hospital, the Matthew Henson Project, and George Washington Carver High School (now museum).

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² The project used experts and professionals from Arizona State University, George Washington Carver Museum and Cultural Center, and community leaders identified through the project to review and comment on the work.

STUDY AREA BOUNDARY

While the general study area boundary is designed to encompass the city as whole (in its present day annexed boundary), the actual study area was narrowed by the concentration of African American populations as determined by census data and those areas found significant through interacting with the community (Figure 1). Specifically, the study concentrated on three regions (Figure 2):

East – the region south of Van Buren to the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks, east of Central Avenue to 24th Street;

West – the region south of Grant to the Salt River, west of 7th Avenue to 19th Avenue;

South - the region south of the Salt River to Southern, east of 16th Street to 28th Street.

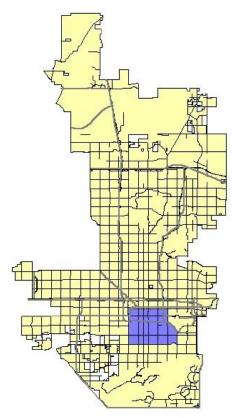


Figure 1
African American Historic Property Survey Study Area

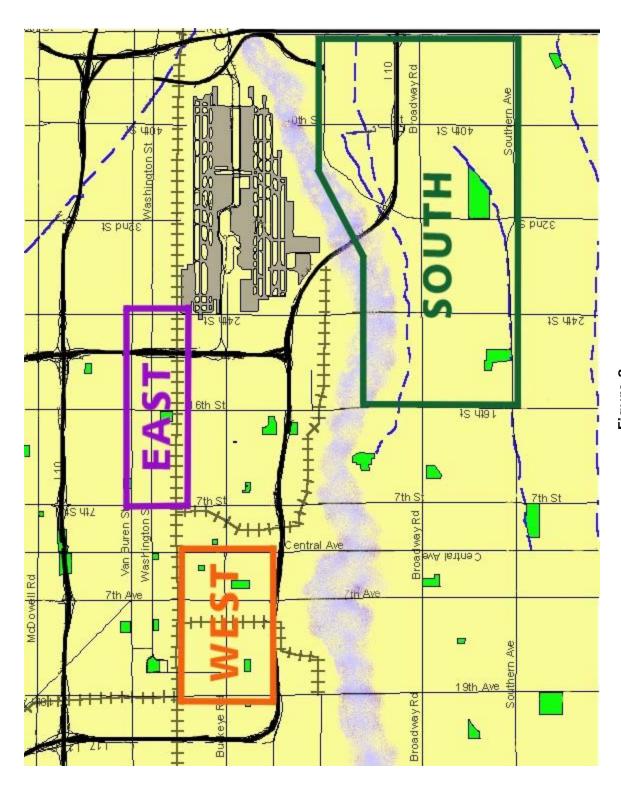


Figure 2
African American Historic Property Survey
Study Focus Areas

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Archival research for this project included research at the Arizona Historical Society; George Washington Carver Museum and Cultural Center; city of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office; Arizona State Libraries, Archives, and Public Records; Phoenix Public Library; Maricopa County Office of the County Assessor; Arizona Historical Society; Arizona State University Hayden Library; Luhrs Reading Room; and the Arizona Historical Foundation. A bibliography of sources is provided under its own heading.

ORAL HISTORIES

Research for the historic context narrative includes the use of oral history interviews with long-time African American residents. Oral history interviews in conjunction with written historical sources can provide a more thorough understanding of the past. Because the history of minority communities is often difficult to locate in traditional sources, oral history is an important tool to uncover its stories. Interviews allow individuals to talk about daily life as well as historical events through their own experience, expressing their thoughts and feelings in their own words and on their own terms. Doing so helps to validate the stories of those whose lives do not appear in conventional historical texts. Individuals like George Brooks, Cloves Campbell, Opal Ellis, Calvin Goode, Eugene Grigsby, Thomasina Grigsby and Lincoln Ragsdale were previously interviewed and those records were examined for this project. In order to avoid duplication of earlier efforts, this project selected interview candidates who could convey a breadth of information on a variety of subjects within the community. As a result, researchers conducted oral interviews with Winstona Hackett Aldridge, Mary Boozer, Garfield Hamm, Laura Harris, Goldye Jones Hart, Travis Williams, Gussie Wooten, and a roundtable with members of the Elks Lodge.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

The project team gathered information from the community through various outreach strategies. Historians and community liaisons attended the *Brown vs. Board of Education* commemoration event May 16, 2004, and handed out survey questionnaires. They attended the George Washington Carver High School Alumni Reunion, May 29-30, 2004, and handed out questionnaires, talked with alumni, and scanned photographs and other ephemera. The team distributed over 500 questionnaires to local churches, community centers, and other public places, as well as providing them to members of the African American community for distribution at private functions. The project received media attention via Phoenix Channel 11 program DiverseCity, newspaper articles on March 22, 2004 and again on September 8, 2004. The project was also featured on NBC1190 KMYC radio program "Reggae Oasis," June 11, 2004. Finally, team members promoted the project at the annual Juneteenth basketball competition at Eastlake Park, June 15, 2004, and conducted a roundtable discussion with members of the Elks Lodge #477, July 24, 2004.



Jim Boozer & Marcus Wright collect surveys at Eastlake Park's Juneteenth Basketball Tournament.

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FIELD SURVEY

In order to obtain an indication of the extent and location of properties considered field work consisted of a series of reconnaissance surveys and intensive field surveys. Project historians, teamed with community liaisons, drove through specific study areas "talking through" the places encountered and making notes for further research. Subsequent reconnaissance surveys and intense field studies were conducted to take photographs and gather pertinent property level information.

EXPECTED RESULTS

As noted before, this project is unlike most surveys previously conducted by the city of Phoenix. This survey is a community based survey that focuses on a particular cultural community in Phoenix. Unlike a traditional architectural survey driven by National Register Criteria C – Architectural significance, this survey examines the significant events and people that are associated with African American history in Phoenix from 1868 to 1970. It is the expectation of this study that there will be a number of properties that meet National Register Criteria A – Association with events that have made significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; and Criteria B – Association with the lives of persons significant in our past. Additionally, many properties identified will have integrity issues. Still this does not diminish their importance under criterion A and B.

³ Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties [National Register Bulletin 38]* (Washington DC: Department of Interior, 1990; revised 1992; 1998), 11. Additional discussion may be found in Antoinette J. Lee, <u>Cultural Diversity and Historic Preservation</u>. *CRM* Volume 15, Number 7. (Washington DC: Department of Interior, 1992).

HISTORIC CONTEXT

"We were all together and we came up together, through all the hardships"



Cloves C. Campbell, Sr. collection

INTRODUCTION

African Americans played a significant, role in the social, economic, and political history of Phoenix. African Americans remained only a small percentage of Phoenix's population, growing from three percent of the total population in 1900 to only five percent in 1970. Nevertheless, this community's story is an integral part of the development of the city. African Americans established long-standing neighborhoods and institutions and after much struggle were instrumental in affecting social and political change in the city. Mary Boozer, who moved into the Okemah community in 1948, echoes the sentiment of many community members: "We were raised up in this area. We met a lot of beautiful families. We were all together and we came up together, through all the hardships."

The following historic context narrative provides an overview of the development of Phoenix's African American community from 1868 until 1970. The narrative

⁴ Interview with Mary Boozer and Gussie Wooten by Jean Reynolds, May 20, 2004.

focuses on significant people, places and events. As such, the specific individuals, locations, and events discussed are both significant and representative of Phoenix's African American community. This history is a rich tapestry, visible through the many stories gathered and places surveyed. The report seeks to provide a general overview rather than give extensive detail. The specific examples discussed in the report may translate into selecting properties recommended for historic designation; however, the intent of the narrative is to develop a context from which associated properties may be identified. As such, the omission of specific individuals or places within the narrative does not exclude them from consideration within the historic context. Rather, it is the association with the broad theme of African American history in Phoenix, 1868-1970, that becomes the basis for any consideration.

The narrative provides an overview of the development of the African American community in three time periods and three distinct regions where their lives and experiences unfolded. The first period, 1868 to 1929, represents the period in which this community was beginning to form. During this time, African Americans settled each of the three regions and established their foundational institutions. The second time period, 1930 to 1950 follows the expansion of the African American community despite the dominant culture of segregation, restriction, and economic exclusion. The final time period from 1951 to 1970 occurs when the Civil Rights Movement blossomed in Phoenix and the African American community successfully elected their first representatives to the Phoenix City Council and to the State Senate.

The following narrative traces three distinct regions where Phoenix's African American community in Phoenix lived, worked, and played. The story begins with the earliest community east of downtown where African Americans moved into already established subdivisions and subsequently developed businesses and cultural life along east Jefferson Street. The narrative then turns to west Phoenix in the 1920s, an area with a mix of less expensive older housing occupied predominantly by Mexican Americans, and undeveloped land on which many African Americans built their own homes. Businesses and cultural life expanded in the area along west Buckeye Road. The final region is South Phoenix, annexed into the city limits in 1960. This area's Black community also has its roots in the 1920s and was highly rural until the late 1940s when new subdivisions were created specifically for African Americans. The area along east Broadway Road became the main corridor for businesses and cultural life. Within the narrative, also are included are the events associated with the Civil Rights Movement in Phoenix between the 1940s and the 1970s, when the entire community underwent major social change.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, 1868-1930

The First Arrivals

The first African American woman to arrive in Phoenix was Mary Green, "a domestic, along with her two children," who came with the Columbus Gray family from Arkansas in 1868. Over the next three decades, more African Americans trickled into the tiny settlement of Phoenix, and a small Black community formed. Many in the early Black community came from Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, and other Southern states.



Mary Green, extreme right, was the first African American resident in Phoenix.

Harris, The First Hundred Years

These early settlers, some of whom may have been on their way to California, came to escape the deep-seated racism, oppression, and violence of the South in the post-Reconstruction era. Many came in search of new economic opportunities or due to health reasons. As historian Matthew Whitaker describes, "African Americans were pushed by circumstances and pulled by hope, eventually finding their way to Phoenix, where they believed social, economic, and political betterment awaited them."

⁵Bradford Luckingham, Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), p. 132; Matthew Whitaker, In Search of Black

Promotional efforts of newspapers or literature attracted some. Others came because family had already settled in Phoenix. One 1919 promotional article in a Black newspaper, the *Phoenix Tribune*, stated rather optimistically: "Phoenix is the best city in the U.S.A....The most friendly relations exist between the Caucasians and the Colored people. Now and then an antagonistic individual bobs up, but the good overwhelms the bad until you scarcely realize any evil has been done... If you know all the real joy of living in a land that abounds with figs, olives, peaches, apples, grapes, honey and all the good things that were promised to the children of Israel if they obeyed God, you must come to Arizona." Newcomers certainly soon found this assertion to be less than accurate.

African Americans arriving before 1920 primarily came from urban centers. As agricultural production grew in the Phoenix region, farming associations such as the Cotton Growers or Farm Bureau often recruited and transported African Americans to the area. After 1920, newcomers were from a mix of urban and rural places. They came to pick cotton, work in other crops, or care for livestock after the 1920s. During this period many African Americans were leaving the South to find better employment and living conditions in the Midwest and West.⁷

<u>Population</u>

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, growth in Phoenix was slow but steady. From a population of 3,152 in 1890 and 5,544 in 1900, the city grew to 11,134 in 1910 and to 29,033 by 1920.⁸ The city was also growing in area. From its original area of 0.5 square miles, the city expanded to 5.1 square miles in 1920, and 6.4 square miles in 1930.⁹

In 1900, African Americans composed three percent of the town's population. By the 1920s, Phoenix's Black community had developed fledgling communities in three regions of the city. These areas in chronological order of development were:

East – the region south of Van Buren to the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks, east of Central Avenue to 24th Street;

Phoenicians: African American Culture and Community in Phoenix, Arizona, 1868-1940. (M.A. Thesis, Arizona State University, 1997), p. 17.

⁶ Keith Crudup, African Americans in Arizona: A Twentieth Century History, (Dissertation, Arizona State University, 1998); Phoenix Tribune, 22 March 1919.

 $^{^7}$ Geoffrey Mawn, "Blacks of Phoenix, 1890-1930," manuscript, Arizona Historical Foundation, p. 16-17.

⁸ Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: A History of a Southwestern Metropolis*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), p. 48, 78.

⁹ City of Phoenix Planning Department, *Annexation and Growth 1881-1987*. Note: Population information for African Americans in Phoenix, 1880 and 1890 is not available.

West – the region south of Grant to the Salt River, west of 7th Avenue to 19th Avenue;

South - the region south of the Salt River to Southern, east of 16th Street to 28th Street.

After arriving and settling, African Americans founded churches, small businesses, social organizations; their children attended separate schools from children of other races, since both *de jure* (legal) and *de facto* (socially accepted) segregation existed in the state. African Americans made up four percent of the population in 1920 while Anglos composed 87 percent, Mexican Americans eight percent, and Chinese Americans, less than one percent. It is important to note that these Black communities were often interspersed with Mexican American families, Chinese American entrepreneurs who owned small corner markets, and a few White families, although social interactions may have been limited.

Table 1
African Americans in Phoenix population 1880-1930¹⁰

			<u> 1 1 </u>			
	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Total	1,780	3,152	5,544	11,134	29,053	48,118
African Americans	*	*	150	328	1,075	2,366
% of Total			2.7%	2.9%	3.7%	4.9%

^{*}Information not available

Residential Development

With limited funds and limited opportunities, members of the earliest Black community concentrated around Jefferson and Madison Streets, between Central Avenue and 7th Street. This east Phoenix area also contained Block 41, bounded by Jefferson, Madison, 5th and 6th Streets, the center of prostitution activities in the city. This illustrates that Anglos probably considered this area of town less desirable, which allowed African Americans to settle without much notice or protest. As the community expanded after 1900, Black residents spread out east of 7th Street to 16th Street, from Monroe Street to Jackson Street; a smaller number of African Americans were interspersed with other racial groups between Central Avenue and 7th Street, south of Jackson Street to Buckeye Road. One African American realtor, Marshall H. Shelton, developed the Portland Tract and Acre City subdivisions, "selling hundreds of homes and farms to colored people." The community flourished

¹⁰ Department of Commerce, U.S. Census of Population, 1880-1930.

until the 1930s when the Great Depression brought economic hardship and the end of this development.¹¹

The early African American community tended to own their own homes rather than renting. This trend would change over time to favor rentals over home ownership. Estimates from the 1910 and 1920 censuses place home ownership among African Americans at 90 percent and 75 percent respectively. The headline of the first issue of the *Phoenix Tribune* proclaimed that "Over \$500,000 in Property Owned by Colored Citizens." Most of these homes, primarily located in the eastern section of Phoenix, were valued between \$1,000 and \$3,000 although some ranged as high as \$10,000 to \$15,000. Lola Warren, mother of future city councilman Morrison Warren, recalled that in the 1920s, "Most colored people had fairly nice brick or frame houses, and some were adobe with plastered outsides. We didn't have dilapidated homes like they have in some areas now. Even some of the homes in the section where they later built the housing projects weren't as bad as some we see now."

Long-time resident Winstona Hackett Aldridge was born in east Phoenix in 1917. She grew up near 13th and Jefferson Streets and describes her neighbors: "This area was more or less made up of professionals. Mr. Crump (a business owner) lived right across the street from me, the principal of Carver (High School) lived right next door, and his wife was the librarian at Booker T. Washington School." Another early resident is Garfield Hamm, who, at the age of seven, moved to Phoenix with his family in 1925. They lived on Madison Street between 11th and 12th Streets. Hamm remembers that in his neighborhood, most of the houses were built of brick, probably in the early 1900s. His community was mixed racially: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and a few White businesses. It was also composed of a mixture of apartments and houses. Many of the apartments were actually three- or four- bedroom houses that had been split in half to create duplexes. He remembers that in the eastern neighborhoods, most houses had indoor bathrooms rather than outhouses.¹³

Another community developed in the west Phoenix area. The initial area for this African American settlement began in the present-day Grant Park neighborhood, located between Central and Seventh Avenues, from Harrison Street, south to

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¹¹ Luckingham, *Phoenix*, p. 61; Luckingham, *Minorities In Phoenix*, p. 129-151; *Phoenix Tribune*, February 1926.

¹² Mawn, Blacks of Phoenix, 1890-1930; Phoenix Tribune, 28 March 1918. Richard Harris, The First 100 Years: A History of Arizona Blacks (Relmo Publishers, Apache Junction, AZ, 1983), p. 134.

¹³ Interview with Winstona Hackett Aldridge by Mary Melcher, April 29, 2004; Interview with Garfield Hamm by Jean Reynolds, May 8, 2004; *Phoenix Tribune*, March 1931.

Buckeye Road. This neighborhood began as a section of a 160-acre homestead purchased from the U.S. Government by Bryan P.D. Duppa in 1873, five years after settlers established the small town of Phoenix. The area was later sold to John and Alabama Montgomery. In 1887 the Montgomerys recorded the Montgomery Addition, which included the area from Harrison Street to Buckeye Road, from Central to Seventh Avenues. In 1894 an additional plat extended the subdivision from Buckeye Road south to Apache Street. With the subdivision platted, the land was divided into blocks and parcels, and the lots were sold.

The development of this area shifted during the 1890s, when a number of large-scale floods brought water from the Salt River as far north as Washington Street. As a result, the city's more affluent residents abandoned the southern area and its suburbs and moved to new residential districts on higher ground north of the city along Central Avenue. This northward migration marked a permanent change in the direction of the city's development. Members of the working class and minority families populated the southern portions of the city as property values and the price of homes decreased. By the 1920s and 1930s, the Grant Park area became a core area for the west side Mexican American community, interspersed with African American and Chinese American families.¹⁴

While some African Americans lived in the Grant Park area in the 1920s, others began to settle more predominantly in the area between 7th Avenue to 15th Avenue, Jackson Street south to the Salt River. Many of these new arrivals worked in the burgeoning agricultural industry. Their homes were typically of frame construction, although some were of concrete block. In 1929 Robert Williams' family moved from Texas to Phoenix and settled at 1121 W. Tonto Avenue a year later. They lived in a three-bedroom house with a screened porch and basement. The family spent the evenings on the screened porch, avoiding mosquitoes from a nearby irrigation ditch and taking advantage of cooler evening temperatures.¹³ This west side area was mixed racially with Hispanics, African Americans and others. Garfield Hamm recalls about six or seven Asian American-owned corner stores in the area, usually with a home behind the store where the owners' family lived. When Hamm first moved to the area south of Buckeye Road, the primary characteristics of the area included open desert and mesquite trees. Eventually the area became residential, with the majority of people in the area coming from other states. In many cases, housing in its most rudimentary form was created for the rapidly growing minority population congregating southwest of the city. Indeed, during this

¹⁴ Jean Reynolds, We Knew Our Neighbors, and It Was Like One Family: The History of the Grant Park Neighborhood, 1880-1950, (Phoenix: Phoenix Historic Preservation Office, 1999), p. 1-2.

¹⁵ Garfield Hamm Interview 2004; Interview with Travis Williams by Jean Reynolds, May 20, 2004.

period, some of the worst slums in the region developed just outside the city limits between 9th and 15th Avenues south of Harrison Street.¹⁶

A third African American community, known as "Okemah," developed in the 1920s in the South Phoenix area, between 32nd and 40th Streets, from the Salt River south to Roeser Road. This area was developing agriculturally at the same time the Phoenix town site was forming in the 1870s, north of the river. The first recorded land owner was Noah Broadway, who homesteaded 160 acres, the Broadway Ranch, near 15th Avenue and Broadway Road. Mexican farmers also owned small farms, mostly growing grain crops. By 1896, land speculator Michael Wormser had purchased land from 7th Avenue to 48th Street, from the Salt River to the South Mountain foothills. In 1901, Wormser sold over 6,000 acres in South Phoenix to Dwight B. Heard and Adolphus Bartlett, who established the Bartlett-Heard Land and Cattle Company. In 1910, Heard hired the Colored American Realty Company to recruit African Americans from Texas, Oklahoma, and other states to work on the ranch. Hoping for better economic opportunities, many African Americans left their home states to escape undesirable conditions in the South. These families with deep agricultural roots worked in the fields, helped raise hogs and poultry, and tended to dairy cattle. By 1913, Heard had subdivided and sold nearly 2,500 acres to various White farmers and ranchers. His somewhat smaller ranch now extended from 16th to 40th Streets, from Southern Avenue to the Western Canal.

By 1925, small subdivisions for Anglo families had developed in South Phoenix, especially between the Salt River and Broadway Road, 7th Avenue to 16th Street. Like most areas of Phoenix, these homes included race restrictions that barred minorities from living in the area. By the late 1930s, South Phoenix had transformed from a large, single-owned ranch to hundreds of specialized farms, each forty to sixty acres in size; and several adjacent residential suburbs. During this early period, the primarily White farmers tried their hand at raising dairy and beef cattle, poultry, bees and even ostriches. South Phoenix farmers, like others in the Valley, grew alfalfa, truck crops, and cotton. By 1920, cotton was grown on a commercial scale with three-fourths of all farmland in the Valley planted in this crop. Cotton grew primarily from 24th to 40th Streets, north of Baseline Road.

Early African American settlers labored alongside local Yaqui Indians and migrant Mexican workers in these fields. By the 1930s, Mexican workers and farmers had settled in large numbers in the South Phoenix area. Most Mexican Americans lived and worked on the Bartlett-Heard Ranch, and some settled in the San Francisco barrio south of the Highline Canal between 28th and 32nd Streets. Settlers of Japanese

¹⁶ Garfield Hamm Interview 2004.

and Chinese descent also moved into the area - Japanese farmers along Baseline and Chinese entrepreneurs opening small businesses in residential areas. ¹⁷

The Okemah community grew in the late 1920s, extending north from Broadway to University Drive between 32nd and 40th Streets. Many African American workers from Oklahoma settled in this area and began calling the unnamed area "Okemah" after a well-known American Indian chief of the Kickapoo tribe in their home state. Other early residents came from Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, as well as other parts of Arizona. In 1927, the Marshall Mortgage Company transformed this agricultural camp into a residential subdivision, and African Americans purchased lots to build their homes. The area had no water, electricity or gas. Families hauled water from nearby farms for drinking and cooking or used water from canals for washing clothes. These early families used oil lamps and wood burning stoves. The community finally obtained water, electric, gas and phone service in the early 1940s. ¹⁸

In each of these areas, African Americans in Phoenix founded churches, social organizations, small businesses, newspapers, and even a hospital. The earliest of these institutions were located in the east Phoenix region. As in many other parts of the country, segregation pushed African Americans into certain neighborhoods, schools, and public facilities. They were barred from many places frequented by White Phoenicians. In this hostile environment, African Americans developed their own communal life, one that nurtured and protected them in the face of segregation and discrimination.

¹⁷ Don Ryden, South Mountain Agricultural Area: Historic Resource Survey. (Phoenix: City of Phoenix Planning Department, 1989), p. 14-68.

¹⁸ William Burt, Arizona History: The Okemah Community, unpublished manuscript.

Commerce

Between 1890 and 1930, the Black community in Phoenix had a small middle class and a larger working class. Members of the middle class were often marked by higher education and professional status, such as lawyers, teachers, doctors and business owners. Laborers and domestics were considered working class. An examination of the census for Arizona reveals that most African Americans held working class jobs by 1920. 90 percent of Black women counted in the labor force were in domestic or personal service while only three percent held professional positions. Among Black men in 1920, only one percent held professional jobs in Arizona while many were engaged in agricultural jobs, manufacturing, and domestic and personal service. Very few African Americans held municipal jobs. An exception was W.H. Williams, a who was hired by the Phoenix Police Department in 1919 as the first African American police officer. ¹⁹

Commercial development was a key part of the African American community's development in the early 20th century. The earliest businesses opened primarily in the downtown area and along Jefferson Street; by the 1930s commerce had expanded along Buckeye Road in west Phoenix. As long as segregation endured in Phoenix, African American businesses mainly served the Black community. This limited the growth of businesses because the community was small; nevertheless, businesses provided a living to their owners and valuable services to the community. Some of the earliest barber shops did serve a White clientele, but this later changed. ²⁰

African American businesses expanded in terms of geographical location as the population moved into new areas. Several businessmen established themselves throughout Phoenix such as Charles Smith, "the only colored blacksmith in Phoenix," who ran a blacksmith shop at 1441 E. Van Buren Street. Another example is barber William Jones, who opened his Kenilworth Barbershop in the Gold Spot Marketing Center at 226 W. Roosevelt in 1925. The 1915 Phoenix Colored Directory listed a shoemaker, printer, blacksmith, embalmer, barbers, beauticians, a hospital, and two hotels. As time went on, both professional and service-oriented businesses grew.²¹

¹⁹ Charles Banner-Haley, *To Do Good and to Do Well: Middle Class Blacks and the Depression, Philadelphia, 1929-1941* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), p. 47-48; Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), p. 77-79.U.S. Department of Commerce, *Fourteenth Census of the U.S., 1920; Phoenix Tribune*, 21 June 1919.

²⁰ Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 43-46.

²¹ Mawn, Blacks of Phoenix, 1890-1930, p. 23; Phoenix Tribune, 22 March 1919; Arizona Republic, 5 September 1925.

Some individuals became prominent businessmen and social figures. William P. Crump came to Phoenix in 1897 and started as a waiter in the Ford Hotel. In 1907 he opened the Crump Hay and Grain Company, a successful fruit and produce business located at 29 E. Jefferson Street. He sold citrus, vegetables, eggs, barley, and hay in Arizona and as far away as New York and San Francisco. In 1913 he opened a retail market outlet near 4th Street and Jefferson Streets. The Crump family lived at 1103 E. Jefferson from 1910 until the late 1930s. Crump spoke out in 1900 when African Americans were overlooked as delegates to the territorial convention and later became a delegate. Crump's daughter, Emily, was one of the first Black students to graduate from Saint Mary's High School. Crump lobbied against inequality and took part in social issues such as Prohibition.²²

One of the earliest businessmen in Phoenix was Frank Shirley, who ran the Fashion Barber Shop at 19 N. Center Street (now Central Avenue), providing service to both African American and Anglo customers. He arrived in Phoenix in 1887 and over time located his barber shop in downtown office buildings alongside White businesses. One location was in the Switzer's building at 39 E. Adams. His business grew from haircuts and shaves to removing bunions and warts. One rancher even paid Shirley to remove the bunions from his ostrich! Shirley founded social groups like the Blue Blood Society and Afro-American Society. Shirley's small business allowed others to get their start. One barber who worked under Shirley, John Bolton, operated the Hotel Adams barber shop before becoming a mail carrier. John E. Lewis, another former barber in the Fashion shop, opened the Lewis Apartments at 5 W. Adams in 1911, a hotel for African American travelers. This was in a building that he purchased from Frank Shirley. Shirley lived at 615 S. 2nd Avenue. ²³

Professionals in the late 1910s and 1920s included realtors, teachers, ministers, dentists, doctors, and newspaper publishers. African Americans started several newspapers, especially since these local papers allowed African Americans to speak for themselves, and to accentuate the positive in their community. One newspaper editor was teacher Arthur Randolph Smith, who in 1918 founded *The Phoenix Tribune*, which was the first African American newspaper in the state. Smith wrote editorials urging African Americans to create their own businesses so as to provide better working conditions and more jobs for members of the community. He also encouraged African Americans to support Black businesses. The *Tribune*'s office was located at 923 E. Jefferson Street and was in operation from 1918 to 1931.²⁴

²² Mawn, Blacks of Phoenix, 1890-1930, p. 23; Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, 21-23; Phoenix City Directories.

²³ Mawn, Blacks of Phoenix, 1890-1930, p. 18-19.

²⁴ Whitaker, *Black Phoenicians*, p. 45-46.



Arthur Smith, Editor, and staff of the Phoenix Tribune newspaper in the 1930s. Harris, The First Hundred Years

In 1919, Ayra Hackett founded the weekly newspaper, *The Arizona Gleam*, from her home at 1334 E. Jefferson. She was the only African American female newspaper owner in the state and one of a few in the United States. She did very well in the competitive environment. This paper began with a workforce of only women and featured news relating to church and school events. Hackett also served as president of the First Colored Baptist Church's Baptist Young People's Union (B.PY.U.), and members gave her the honored title of "Church Mother" for her service. Mrs. Hackett died in 1932 but publication of her newspaper continued until 1937.²⁵

Other businesspeople moved into retail and other service-related industries such as boarding houses. Since African American travelers could not stay in most hotels in Phoenix due to segregation, places of lodging were an important part of this community. The Swindall Tourist Home is the only remaining example of public hotel accommodations for African Americans in Phoenix during the era of segregation. Originally constructed as a private home for the Steyaert family, by 1920, Mrs. Steyaert began to take in African American boarders. Located in an area Phoenix that was home to many African Americans, Mrs. Steyaert provided needed accommodations as a means to supplement her income. In 1940, Golden and Elvira Swindall purchased the home and continued to use it as a boarding house for African Americans. The Swindall House served an important function as temporary residence for African American visitors to Phoenix. The Swindall house continued to

²⁵ Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 45-46, 82, 85; Winstona Hackett Aldridge Interview, 2004.

provide needed housing for African Americans until well after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which outlawed discrimination in public accommodations.

A second boarding house owner, Hugh H. "Hughie" Rice, started the Rice Hotel in 1919 at 35 S. 2nd Avenue and later at 535 E. Jefferson. He also worked as a construction contractor and as a realtor. The Rice Hotel was well-known; in fact famous people like Lionel Hampton, Louis Armstrong, and Jackie Robinson stayed there in later years. ²⁶ The St. Louis Hotel, operated by Mrs. E. L. Lewis from 1923 until at least 1970, was located at 607 E. Jefferson. George S. Rodgers operated the Western Mutual Benefits Association Insurance Agency in the lobby of this hotel. ²⁷

Other African Americans operated cafes and restaurants such as J.W. Snell, whose restaurant at 27 S. 2nd Street also sold Black newspapers from around the country. African Americans in Phoenix who frequented the restaurant could keep up with national news as well as local news from their former homes, where they had family ties. Other businesses significant to the east Phoenix community included shoeshine stands, cafes and restaurants, barbecue counters, tailors, hatters, shoemakers, and small grocers. African Americans frequently shopped at the small corner stores owned by Chinese American families. In the 1920s and 1930s, these types of neighborhood grocery stores expanded in many residential areas in Phoenix. ²⁸

The growth of cotton, citrus, grains, produce, and dairy and beef industries around the Salt River Valley increased industrial activity around the railroads and provided several sources of employment for the African Americans in the working class. They worked in the fields, picking cotton and other crops. Others worked in the warehouses, cotton gins, cottonseed mills, slaughterhouses, and processing plants established near the railroads. Others worked in industries scattered in the neighborhoods south of the Southern Pacific Railroad, such as the Phoenix Linen and Towel Supply at 3rd and Grant Streets, the Phoenix Soap Company, the Munger Brothers Olive Oil and Pickling Works, and a vinegar plant on 7th Avenue and Sherman Street. There were also several hay warehouses in the area. Those with building skills worked in the construction industry as laborers. Some found jobs in service industries located downtown, and many women worked as domestics. ²⁹

²⁶ Arizona Gleam, 25 September 1936.

²⁷ Harris, *The First 100 Years*, p. 137-8; Mawn, *Blacks of Phoenix*, *1890-1930*, p. 20; Whitaker, *In Search of Black Phoenicians*, p. 43-47; Letter, Lincoln Ragsdale, Jr. to Traci Pete, 21 October 2002, Phoenix, Arizona; Phoenix City Directories.

Whitaker, In Search of Black Phoenicians, p. 44-45; Phoenix Tribune, 21 June 1919; February 1926; The Phoenix Tribune.
Reynolds, History of the Grant Park Neighborhood, p 2; Interview with Laura Harris by Mary Melcher, July 16, 2004;
Interview with Tommie Williams by Mary Melcher, August 27, 2004; Mary Boozer and Gussie Wooten Interview,

Religion

Churches historically have formed the nucleus of African American communities. Here community organizations formed; people met for fellowship and relied on its familial structure for support. Residents listened to lectures and speeches, enjoyed plays, and celebrated special events. Besides providing spiritual services, African American churches also educated children and provided food to the poor. During the first decades of the 20^{th} century, African American churches helped to orient new arrivals to Phoenix. Ministers and parishioners from the middle and working classes welcomed new arrivals to the area and helped people locate jobs and housing. Historic churches that remain in the older areas of the city currently draw their congregations from all parts of the city and valley as family ties and tradition remain strong, regardless of where members live. Former State Senator Cloves Campbell described the importance of Black churches in Phoenix: "We are loaded with Black churches. Once you remove yourself from the Black church, you have really cut the umbilical cord—you have no connection whatsoever. No matter where you live, you can always drive to a Black church."30

Various denominations with primarily African American congregations formed churches in Phoenix prior to the 1930s. Tanner Chapel, the most well known African American church in the Phoenix area, was organized in 1887 when early members purchased property for an African Methodist Episcopal Mission. Tanner Chapel is affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church denomination, which was the first Black denomination organized in North America in 1816. In 1899 members moved the church to 2nd and Jefferson Streets, renaming it the Tanner Chapel A.M.E. Church after Bishop Benjamin T. Tanner, a prominent East Coast bishop active in the A.M.E. Church in the late 19th century.³¹

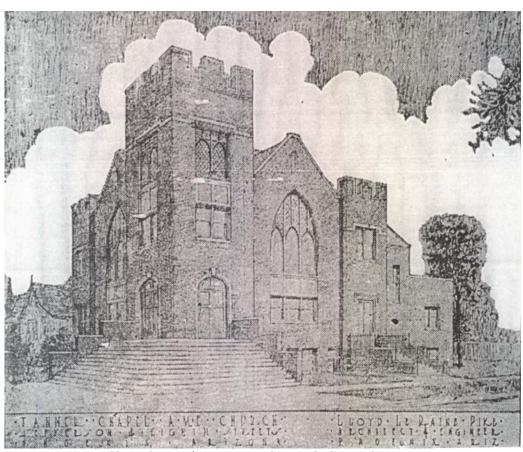
In 1929 the church sold the property on 2nd and Jefferson Streets and purchased land at 20 S. 8th Street. Here they constructed the impressive Norman and Gothic Revival style church still seen today. The building was designed by architect Lloyd Le Raine Pike at the cost of \$25,000. The *Phoenix Tribune* noted the opening of Tanner Chapel as a remarkable achievement that "stands as a monument to African Methodism in the west."32

African American Historic Property Survey

³⁰ Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, 155; Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 29, 34-35; Tanner Chapel Church History

Grudup, African Americans in Arizona, 169-170, 193; Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 35-36; "Church Dilemma: History vs. Future," Arizona Republic, 27 February 2003.

³² Phoenix Tribune, May, 1929.



Tanner Chapel cost \$25,000 and was dedicated May 26, 1929

Phoenix Tribune, May, 1929

The Second Colored Baptist Church first began meeting at the home of Allen Smith in 1905 at 21 E. Madison. Three years later, Richard Rosser, an African American farmer and merchant, donated land at 501 E. Jefferson where the congregation built a new church under Reverend W.R. Burgess. Rosser, who was active in local social organizations, came to Phoenix in 1893 from Georgia and purchased a farm on the outskirts of town.³³ In 1911 the Second Colored Baptist Church hosted a speech by Booker T. Washington. Members of this church included William Crump and Hugh H. Rice. After several location changes, a new building was constructed at 1141 E. Jefferson in 1951 and renamed the First Institutional Baptist Church. This church eventually expanded on this site becoming the largest African American church in the state. Here, Black leaders addressed issues important to the community while political candidates of all races tried to reach African American voters by speaking there as well.³⁴

³³ Mawn, Blacks of Phoenix, 1890-1930, p. 23; Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 21-23; Phoenix City Directories.

³⁴ Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 170-171; Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 36-37.

Other churches bloomed on the east side between 1910 and the 1920s. The Colored Methodist Church, organized in 1909, was a small congregation that worshiped in a White church until they built their own building in 1911 at 647 E. Jefferson. Reverend Z.Z. Johnson was the pastor at the time. Around 1925, it was renamed the Lucy Phillips Memorial C.M.E. Church in honor the wife of the first presiding Bishop, Reverend Charles Henry Phillips. In 1947, the church constructed a new building at 1401 E. Adams Street.³⁵

Churches also developed on the west side of Phoenix. The earliest African American church may have been Grace Baptist Church, located at 822 S. Montezuma from 1915 until 1922 and pastored by Reverend J.H. Jones. One of the most significant churches on the west side of Phoenix is Greater Shiloh Baptist Church, located at 901 W. Buckeye Road. After seeing the need for a Baptist church in the area, Reverend John Whatley started this outreach in 1924. The congregation grew quickly as more Black families moved to the west side. By the 1930s, Reverend Eugene J. Jacobs became a well-known and well-loved minister at Greater Shiloh. The congregation grew under his leadership until he left in 1938. Greater Shiloh was especially known for local revival meetings "in the old Baptist style." Members in the early years did not have songbooks, so the congregation sang by "striking a chord;" where one individual led the worshipers in a song. Greater Shiloh baptized members on Sunday mornings in the Salt River. ³⁶



Shiloh Baptist Church, 1924 Shiloh Baptist Church

In the South Phoenix community of Okemah, the first informal church services began in 1929 with the arrival of Reverend W.M. Hardison from McNary, Arizona. The

³⁵Phoenix City Directories; Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 37; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 171.

³⁶ Phoenix City Directories; Reynolds, *History of the Grant Park Neighborhood*, p. 17; "Shiloh Baptist Church History" folder, 2004; Garfield Hamm Interview 2004; Travis Williams Interview, 2004.

first services of the Willow Grove Baptist Church were held outside under a willow tree located on the San Francisco Canal at 36th Street and Superior Road. The small congregation held outdoor services in several other locations untill they built an adobe church at 39th Street and Miami in 1936. The 125 church members dedicated their final church building in 1950 at 3244 S. 40th Street and adopted the name Willow Grove Missionary Baptist Church. The minister baptized members of the congregation in the nearby San Francisco Canal. This was the largest African American congregation in the area for many years. In 1980, the congregation moved to a new location on 24th Street due to industrial development and residential loss in Okemah.³⁷

Education

African American schools, established by local school districts, played a significant role in the education and socialization of children in the community. In March of 1909, the Territorial Legislature passed a proposal to segregate schools when "they (school districts) deemed it necessary." Governor Joseph H. Kibbey vetoed the law; but within days the legislature overrode his veto. Governor Kibbey stated that he felt it was unfair to give African American students an education that was "less effective, less complete, less convenient or less pleasant ... than those accorded to pupils of the white race in the same district."

Prior to the opening of Phoenix's first segregated school in 1910, African Americans hired Kibbey, who had gone back to private law practice, to initiate an injunction against the local school board. The plaintiff, Samuel F. Bayless, contended segregation imposed an unfair burden on his children. Bayless, who mainly held working-class jobs, lived at 938 W. Grant. He and other African American parents protested that the proposed location for a segregated school would force their children to cross railroad tracks to reach it; they further worried that the school would be substandard. Kibbey argued that "separate could never be equal." When District Attorney George Bullard claimed that African Americans in Phoenix supported segregation, local businessman William Crump replied,

We fight it because it is a step backward; because there are not enough colored children here to enable them to establish a fully equipped school; because it is an injustice to take money from all the taxpayers to establish ward schools and then force the colored children to walk two miles to school...

³⁷ Burt, Arizona History: The Okemah Community.

Unfortunately, their challenge eventually met with failure, and when Arizona became a state in 1912, segregation in schools was constitutionally mandated. In 1919, Samuel Bayless moved to California.

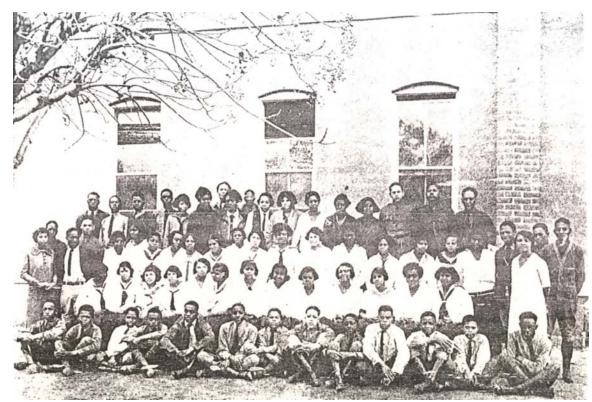
The Phoenix Elementary School District opened the Frederick Douglass Elementary School for "colored children" at 520 E. Madison in 1910. The first principal was J.T. Williams, and the first teacher was Lucy B. Craig. The majority of the population for this school lived east, south, and west of the Douglass School. At this time, there were only about 328 African Americans in the Phoenix area. In 1921 the Douglass School, under principal P. Landry, was renamed Booker T. Washington Elementary School. In 1928 the school district built a new school at 1201 E. Jefferson Street. This school remained in operation until 1984. ³⁸

Eastlake Elementary, also called Jefferson School, was another segregated school that opened in 1924 at 1510 E. Jefferson. The school consisted of two small cottages that held classes for grades one through three. Teacher Laura Wells was in charge of educating the children. Students used Eastlake Park as the school playground. Winstona Hackett Aldridge attended this school in the 1920s. She fondly recalled playing in the park and watching the alligator that made its home in the park's lake. The school closed in 1928 after Booker T. Washington School opened its new building. ³⁹

In relation to high schools, the law stated that whenever 25 or more African Americans matriculated to a high school, 15 percent of the district residents had the power to call an election to segregate Black and White students. In 1914, Phoenix Union High School District voters chose to segregate its student population. At first, African American students attended classes in the basement of the Phoenix Union High School. In 1919 the *Phoenix Tribune* counted only 14 Black students attending high school although Phoenix Union remained segregated. In 1923 students attended classes in a two-room cottage at the corner of 9th and Jefferson Streets. Three years later, students were moved again to another house on the south side of Jefferson Street between 8th and 9th Streets. By this time, over 80 students attended these separate classes.

³⁸ Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, p. 133-137; Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*; p. 233-236; Phoenix Elementary School Board Minutes, 1910, 1911, 1922-26; Samuel Bayless died in 1936.

³⁹ Phoenix Tribune, 1926; Winstona Hackett Aldridge Interview, 2004.



Phoenix Colored High School students and teachers, 1926
Phoenix Tribune, March, 1929

In 1926 the district finally constructed the Phoenix Union Colored High School at 415 E. Grant (later renamed George Washington Carver High). Over the protest of some parents, the school board selected a location in an established industrial district. George Washington Carver Highs School was designed by Fitzhugh &Byron and built by Pierson & Johnson contractors at the cost of \$110,000. Roy Lee was the first principal and the first African American administrator of this rank in the district. ⁴⁰

In 1922 the Phoenix Elementary School District built the small 9th Avenue Colored School to serve the west side Black community. This school had an enrollment of over 60 students in 1924. The following year, the district constructed the Paul Laurence Dunbar School, located at 701 S. 9th Avenue, to accommodate the growing African American student population. Dunbar Elementary was designed by local architects, Fitzhugh & Byron, and cost \$34,000 to construct. When Dunbar Elementary first opened, it only offered classes for grades one through four. Travis Williams started there six years after the school was built. He attended the school until 7th grade. He later rode the bus to Booker T. Washington School to complete

African American Historic Property Survey

⁴⁰ Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 260-261; Melcher, "Blacks and Whites Together," Journal of Arizona History, Summer 1991, p. 196; Phoenix Tribune, 22 March 1919, and 1926. George Washington Carver High School National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1990.

8th grade, because Dunbar Elementary did not have facilities for that grade. He remembers Dunbar:

The main building without the addition was a 7th grade school, and it was a nice building.... I remember the teachers, and it was kind of a community meeting place.... The principal was Mr. Aldridge. I thought he did well; he was out in the community, and he visited homes and the churches.... We had an excellent playground, we had plenty of space. Basically where the fence is toward Seventh Avenue, we had swings, and monkey bars, sand boxes, and softball.... The school did not have a cafeteria. We bought our lunch. At that time, right at 7th Avenue and Hadley was a small restaurant, and for ten cents you could get a bowl of chili or a cup of soup. For a nickel you could get a pop, and a quarter was about what I imagine most parents could afford to give their kids, who managed to save a nickel or so out of that for the movies!⁴¹

In South Phoenix, African American children attended various schools between 1912 and 1930. As in other parts of Phoenix, these students went to separate schools from Anglo and Hispanic kids. After 1912 Roosevelt School District #66 established a segregated school at 27th Avenue and Southern Avenue called the "West Ward" of the Roosevelt School, or the 27th Avenue School. African American children in the South Phoenix area, as well as outlying areas like Laveen, attended this school when they lacked a local school.⁴²

African American educators played a significant role in their community. This group of dedicated, college-educated men and women worked diligently to teach the children and improve their schools with limited resources. They believed that education was a tool for racial uplift, and they also "believed in the unlimited potential of their students. They were determined to provide quality education despite difficult circumstances." Although there were a number of notable African American educators in the early period from 1910 to 1930, few of these individuals' stories have been documented. Teacher Lucy B. Craig and Principal J.T. Williams stand as the first known educators in the all-Black school, Douglass Elementary. Teacher C.B. Caldwell became the first to educate African American high school students at the "Colored Department" of Phoenix Union High. She taught from 1912 to 1932. Roy Lee came to Phoenix Union Colored High School as the first official

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⁴¹ Travis Williams Interview, 2004; Phoenix Tribune, 1926; Phoenix Elementary School Board Minutes, 1922-26.

⁴² Burt, Arizona History: The Okemah Community; Ryden, South Mountain Agricultural Area: Historic Resource Survey.

principal in 1932. Aubrey Aldridge served as the first principal of Dunbar Elementary. 43

Health Care

The first African American doctor to arrive in Phoenix was Dr. Winston Hackett, who moved to the area in 1916. He was the first Black physician in the area until Dr. A. McDonald arrived in 1923. These doctors helped patients of all races. Dr. Hackett was a graduate of the Tuskegee Institute and Meharry Medical College in Tennessee. He ran a private practice on the second floor of the Ellis Building at 2nd Avenue and Monroe. In 1921 Hackett opened Booker T. Washington Hospital at 1342 E. Jefferson. During its first three years, the hospital saw over 300 patients. This structure soon proved too small, so Hackett purchased three adjacent lots on which he built cottages for tubercular patients. He first lived at 729 W. Sherman. In 1925 he and his wife, Ayra Hackett, moved to 1334 E. Jefferson Street, the former residence of Governor Joseph Kibbey. 44

Hackett recruited African American nurses who had been educated at colleges in the South. At this time, there was no training school for Black nurses in Arizona. The dedicated work of Hackett and his staff caught the attention of writers at the *Arizona Republican*, who reported that the Booker T. Washington Hospital was among the finest and best-equipped hospitals for people of color west of the Mississippi. Hackett charged \$12.50 to \$35.00 per week for a hospital stay. Despite the hospital's strengths, many patients could not pay their bills. Dr. Hackett closed the hospital in 1943 when his sight began to fail. Members of the community in need of medical services went to Saint Monica's Hospital (later called Phoenix Memorial Hospital) in west Phoenix. After closing the hospital, Dr. Hackett converted the facility to the Winston Inn where he housed African American war veterans. His daughter Winstona became a teacher, first at Dunbar School and then at Booker T. Washington School. She married Dunbar School principal Aubrey Aldridge. They built a home at 1326 E. Jefferson in 1951 where she still lives. 45

One of William P. Crump's sons, Thomas, became a dentist. Dr. Thomas Crump began his practice at 238 E. Washington Street. In 1956 he moved his office to 808 E. Jefferson, now Mrs. White's Golden Rule Café. He maintained his practice

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⁴³ Karen Vanae Carsen, Black Phoenician Women as Educators During the Era of Jim Crow, 1896-1954, (M.A. Thesis, Arizona State University, 2000) p. 2; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 260-261.

⁴⁴ Phoenix City Directories; Mawn, Blacks of Phoenix, 1890-1930, p. 25; Phoenix Tribune, 20 June 1925; February 1926.

⁴⁵ Crudup, African Americans in Arizona; Winstona Hackett Aldridge Interview, 2004; Arizona Gleam, 1935.

⁴⁶ Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 23-24; Winstona Hackett Aldridge Interview, 2004.

there until 1963. Another well-known dentist was Dr. Robert Phillips. A native of Texas, Phillips began practicing as a dentist in Phoenix in 1926, with an office at 1217 E. Washington Street.

Recreation and Leisure

A number of social groups formed in the Black community as early as the 1900s, holding their meetings in various locations. For men, some of the organizations included the Colored Masonic Lodge, Knights of Pythias, Oddfellows, Knights of Tabor, and the Shriners. Women became involved with groups such as the Order of Calanthe, Sisters of the Mysterious Ten, Eastern Star, Daughters of Tabor, and the Household of Ruth. Women also joined literary, charity, self-improvement, and other social clubs such as the Phoenix chapter of the Arizona Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, organized in 1915. In 1919 the *Phoenix Tribune* admiringly noted that the Women's Club had "succeeded in keeping that obnoxious play, The Birth of <u>a Nation</u>, from showing in this city three years ago. On its return this year, the ladies got busy and succeeded in having the most objectionable features omitted. They took part in Liberty Loan drives and other home front campaigns, and are deserving of the highest commendation." Clubs and organizations provided a forum where both African American and Anglo civic leaders spoke as well as visiting dignitaries. One organization, the Phoenix Advancement League was formed in 1919 to tight against segregation and racism. That same year, the group officially became the Phoenix chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).47

Some of the earliest recreational activities enjoyed included concerts at the Opera House, located at 16 S. Center, and participating in a baseball league. One entrepreneur, Roy Lucas, started the short-lived Irvine Park in 1919 at 9th Avenue and Grant. This "pleasure, picnic, and amusement park" was billed as a "genuine, upto-the-minute rest resort for the colored people of the community." City directories only list this park from 1919 until 1923.⁴⁸

Eastlake Park, located at 1501 E. Jefferson, was where the majority of recreational activities took place on the east side. This park was a gathering place for neighborhood meetings, picnics, concerts, sports and other recreational activities. In the 1890s, Moses Sherman developed this park, originally known as "Phoenix Park,"

⁴⁷ Whitaker, *Black Phoenicians*, p. 75-76; *Phoenix Tribune*, 14 June 1919. More about the Women's Clubs are discussed in the *Phoenix Tribune*, 26 March 1921.

⁴⁸ Mawn, Blacks of Phoenix, 1890-1930, p. 7; Phoenix Tribune, 14 June 1919; Phoenix City Directories.

as an area for residents to enjoy while waiting for a car on the trolley line which extended to the park. As early as 1903 the park was renamed "Eastlake," in reference to the lake that existed there. The lake was one of the park's most interesting aspects, and a few menacing alligators called it home. The park provided boats to take out on the lake but people avoided them, wary of the alligators. Eventually, the lake was replaced by a swimming pool everyone could enjoy. The city purchased this park in 1914.⁴⁹

Several significant events occurred at Eastlake Park in the early 1900s. Booker T. Washington spoke there on September 22, 1911 at the Great Emancipation Jubilee. He was a nationally recognized African American leader who urged African Americans to lift themselves up but did not actively attack racism as did another national spokesperson, W. E. B. DuBois. Washington arrived at the Santa Fe Depot and attended a reception held in his honor by members of Second Colored Baptist Church before going to Eastlake Park. In his speech, he expounded the theme of racial advancement by practicing thrift, working hard, and starting businesses. ⁵⁰

In June of 1921, the community celebrated Emancipation Day or Juneteenth for the first recorded time at Eastlake Park. The Juneteenth Celebration marked the anniversary of rural African Americans in Texas learning that slaves had been emancipated. Although President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation in January of 1863, it was not until June of 1865 that Union soldiers announced that all African Americans in Texas were free. The celebration spread from Texas to other parts of the Southwest. During the 1921 celebration, over 500 African Americans went to Eastlake Park to participate in parades, hear speeches, listen to music, and enjoy picnics. Games included the 50-yard dash, for which the winner of the women's race received a sack of flour, and the winner of the men's race received a box of cigars. Attendees could also participate in an apple pie eating contest and a "catch the greasy pig" competition. Local African American churches and voluntary associations sponsored this event. The feature attraction was a baseball game between the Western Giants and the Fort Huachuca 10th Cavalry teams. ⁵¹

Phoenix resident Sara Smith, who was born in 1905, described the importance of the park: "All of our social and recreational activities were at Eastlake Park: dances, lectures, and baseball." In 1928, Boy Scout Troop 17, the Knights and Daughters of Tabor, and the William F. Black American Legion Post brought a carnival to Eastlake

⁴⁹ Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 100; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 401-402.

⁵⁰ Matthew Whitaker, *Black Phoenicians*, p. 44; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), p. 287-289.

⁵¹ Phoenix Tribune, 18 June 1921; Luckingham, Minorities, p. 146-147.

Park. Lasting five days and nights, the event was a fundraiser for the scout band, the American Legion post community fund, and a convention. During the Great Depression, the park sponsored a summer softball league for African American, Hispanic and Asian American youngsters. The park also hosted semi-pro baseball games, and the YMCA ran a softball league there. ⁵²

⁵² Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, 47-48; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, 401-402.

COMMUNITY EXPANSION, 1930-1950

Population

Between 1930 and 1940, the African American population nearly doubled from five to nearly seven percent of the overall population. Although the numbers of African Americans increased in the 1930s, the community experienced further marginalization due to economic hardships of the Great Depression and an influx of newcomers escaping impoverished conditions in other areas. Segregation in housing also placed limitations on the choice of areas where African American could live. Local Black schools swelled with students, placing stress on teachers and facilities. People from rural and urban areas migrated into Phoenix seeking work or a respite from tuberculosis or other ailments. Some families moved to Phoenix from McNary, Arizona, a lumber mill town that had attracted many African American families. During the 1930s, African Americans from Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma came to Arizona to pick cotton. 53

Although the Great Depression slowed the pace of economic progress, the city continued to grow. During the 1930s, the population of Phoenix increased by 36 percent, from 48,118 to 65,414. New Deal banking policies and construction programs helped to sustain expansion.

By 1940 residential and business construction was moving forward at the fastest pace ever, exceeding even the boom days prior to 1930.54



Unidentified migrant family, typical of many coming to Arizona during the Depression Harris, The First Hundred Years

World War II was a significant catalyst of growth and expansion in Phoenix during the 1940s. Military training bases and defense industry manufacturers created new jobs, and federal investment opened new housing and opportunities for advancement. For the African American community this was a time of influx and ferment as the population grew, businesses prospered, and cultural life gained momentum.

⁵³ Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 101; Garfield Hamm Interview, 2004.

⁵⁴ Luckingham, Phoenix, p. 106-107.

Table 2 African Americans in Phoenix population 1930-1950⁵⁵

	1930	1940	1950	
Total	48,118	65,414	106,818	
African Americans	2,366	4,263	5,190	
% of Total	4.9%	6.5%	4.8%	

Residential Development

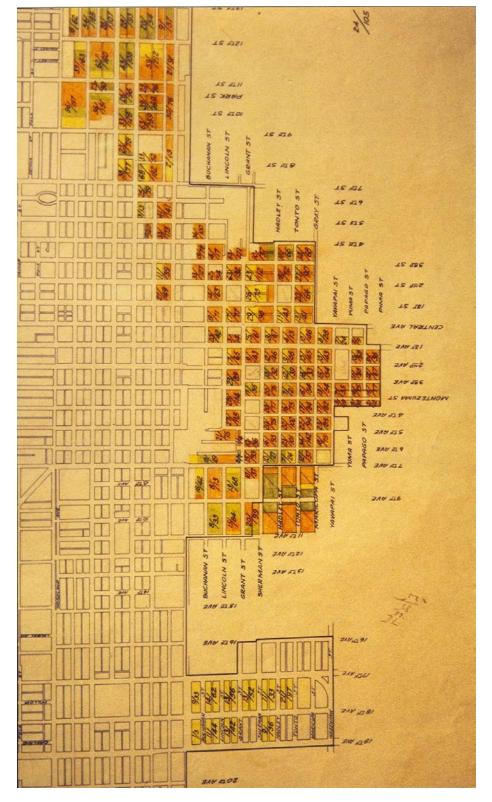
Most residential areas in Phoenix expanded north from the downtown area; however, restrictive covenants and real estate codes kept African Americans out of these areas. Segregated housing was strongly supported in Phoenix by Anglo institutions. Banks and other lending agencies refused to offer mortgages to African Americans on homes in Anglo areas; building and real estate industries would not sell homes to African Americans outside Black neighborhoods. Firms vied with one another to offer "exclusive" property with the most rigid racial deed restrictions. After 1924 the Phoenix Real Estate Board barred local realtors, with threat of penalties, from selling homes to "members of any race or nationality, or any individuals detrimental to property values." Some developers capitalized on this segregation. In 1931 the *Phoenix Tribune* announced an "exclusive subdivision for colored people" located on east Jefferson Street between 19th and 20th Streets, created by Anglo jewelry store owner Benjamin Funk. ⁵⁶

On the other hand, development (other than industrial) in the areas where minorities lived became difficult as banks viewed these areas as a risk. A 1935 *Phoenix Realty Map* which rated the "security" of various real estate areas in Phoenix placed the neighborhoods where minorities lived under the heading of "hazardous." Some lending institutions did not grant mortgages to minorities in any case. Since banks would not lend African Americans money, families often used "lumber-yard loans," where families paid installments for the building materials to construct their own homes. Those with no resources collected scrap materials, building shacks out of discarded lumber and pasteboard. ⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Department of Commerce, U.S. Census of Population, 1930-1950.

⁵⁶ Michael Kotlanger, *Phoenix Arizona 1920-1940*, (Dissertation, Arizona State University, 1983), p. 445-446.

⁵⁷ Jean Reynolds, We Made Our Life as Best We Could With What We Had: Mexican American Women in Phoenix, 1930-1949. (Thesis, Arizona State University, 1998), 33; Home Owner Loan Corporation Phoenix Realty Map, 1937, State Archives; Milo Hardt, The Racist Southwest: Blacks in Phoenix, 1945-1950, Manuscript, Arizona Historical Foundation, 10; Interview with Travis Williams by Jean Reynolds, May 20, 2004.



1937 map shows ethnic neighborhoods. African American neighborhoods are shown green Home Owner Location Corporation Phoenix Realty Map, Arizona State Archives

By the late 1930s, the poor condition of these homes and lack of affordable housing was a serious issue. In 1940 most African Americans rented rather than owned homes, a major reversal from just a few decades earlier. A 1937 editorial in the Arizona Gleam urged community real estate dealers to be prepared for the influx of people predicted by Phoenix's Chamber of Commerce and to invest in land and build affordable homes for African Americans. It commented, "Already the housing facilities for this group have reached the saturation point. For Negroes to secure decent places to live is almost an impossibility. Because of this shortage, only the most squalid places are available and then only at a rental or purchase price which is ridiculously high." An Arizona State Teacher's College student, Mattie Hackett, surveyed 100 Black families throughout Phoenix in 1939. She found that 61 percent of the families rented, and 39 percent owned homes. Of those surveyed, 66 percent lived in frame houses, 12 percent in brick homes, and 22 percent in homes constructed from adobe. Fifty percent of these homes lacked an indoor bathroom, and 43 percent did not have running water. Tommie Williams, whose family has lived on the west side since the 1920s, remembers carrying water from an outside pump for drinking and washing and that they had no indoor plumbing or electricity until after 1943.⁵⁸

By the 1940s, African Americans remained concentrated in the east and west sections of the city south of Van Buren Street, living in older housing that was beginning to deteriorate or in homes built from scrap materials. In 1940 federal census workers canvassed the neighborhoods in which African Americans lived and found "only a few modern homes, and many wood shacks, trailers, tents, sheds, and abandoned stores." They reported most homes were one- to four- room structures without the benefit of running water or sewage. ⁵⁹

Some of the most significant developments happened on the west side of Phoenix during this time period. Father Emmett McLoughlin, a Catholic priest based at Saint Mary's Church, began advocating for modern, safe, and low-cost housing for African Americans and other low-income residents. Living conditions for many residents "south of the tracks" had deteriorated significantly. Following a survey, the Arizona State Board of Health called the area south of the city "The Shame of Phoenix." Father McLoughlin worked among the poor and described the area as a "cesspool of poverty and disease." Overcrowded, unsafe, low-cost shacks were common. Homes

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⁵⁹ Luckingham, *Phoenix*, p. 116-117; Luckingham, *Minorities*, p. 158.

⁵⁸ Arizona Gleam, 14 May 1937; Mattie Hackett, Survey of Living Conditions of Girls in the Negro Schools of Phoenix Arizona, (Thesis, Arizona State Teacher's College, 1939), p. 17-50; Tommie Williams Interview, 2004.

often lacked heating and plumbing and were constructed of the flimsiest materials including tin cans, cardboard boxes, and wooden crates. Much of the area lacked paved roads, sewage, and electricity. Poor housing conditions and lack of medical care caused high infant mortality rates. The Citizens' Survey Committee of Metropolitan Phoenix described it as a miracle that the area had not produced an epidemic of major proportions. The overcrowded shacks and lack of sanitation prompted federal officials to call the area one of the worst slums in the country. ⁶⁰

Father McLoughlin recognized that the need for public housing and government involvement in cleaning up substandard living conditions had reached a critical point. Led by McLoughlin, reformers joined together in a group called the Phoenix Housing Project. According to McLoughlin, Phoenix had more than 8,000 substandard dwellings in 1938. In one block he found only one house with an indoor toilet and 24 families sharing one outside lavatory. Only seven houses on the block had electricity. In another area, a horse stable on a 50-foot lot had been converted to one-room shelters for 20 families. To convince the city that public housing was necessary; McLoughlin described the effort as a "crusade." Groups such as the Phoenix Real Estate Board, however, continued to resist "socialistic" public housing. To receive federal aid for public housing, states had to pass an enabling act, and Father McLoughlin spoke before a number of organizations to persuade them to support such legislation. In a speech to the Phoenix Lions Club, he outlined the federal plan for slum clearance, noting that the federal government would pay up to 90 percent of the cost of public housing, to be repaid over 60 years from rentals of the property. The municipality would provide the remaining 10 percent. 61

The eventual passage of the Arizona Municipal Housing Act allowed for the creation of the Phoenix Housing Authority in April 1939. Father McLoughlin was appointed the chair. The act reaffirmed the need for slum clearance and adequate housing for all state residents. The Phoenix Housing Authority petitioned the United States Housing Authority for federal funds for public housing and received a positive recommendation for the city to file a formal application. The city conducted a survey of housing in the southern section of Phoenix and found a critical need for new housing units. A follow-up survey found that of 4,065 homes inspected, only 289 met minimal standards. The Phoenix Housing Authority requested \$3 million from the federal agency to build 1,000 new units. The number of units was later revised to 500. According to McLoughlin, at the time of the city's survey in 1939,

⁶⁰ Judith Breen, Jean Reynolds, and Robert Graham, *Matthew Henson Housing Project Historic Property Documentation*. (Phoenix: Logan-Simpson Design Inc., 2003; City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office), p. 11.

⁶¹ Breen, et. al., Matthew Henson Housing Project Historic Property Documentation, p. 14

1,520 families in Phoenix earned only \$40 to \$90 per month; however, federal regulations would not permit building more than one-third of the total need at any one time. ⁶²

In October 1939, a \$1,613,000 federal grant was approved to build three housing projects with a total of 510 units. The Matthew Henson Public Housing Project, with 135 units, was one of three racially segregated complexes. The Housing Authority designated the Frank Luke Project for Anglos, and the Marcos de Niza Project for Mexican Americans. The Authority selected and acquired the building site for Matthew Henson by spring of 1940 at a cost of \$43,000. The Matthew Henson Public Housing Project was located in the area bounded by 7th Avenue, 11th Avenue, Grant Street and Buckeye Road. The Del E. Webb Construction Company won the contract to build Matthew Henson on a base bid of \$232,257. Lescher & Mahoney were the supervising architects. Groundbreaking for the project took place on July 15, 1940; it was the first of the three projects completed. The Phoenix Housing Authority carefully controlled costs with competitive bidding and completed construction with the lowest cost in the nation for public housing at \$1,684 per unit. One hundred and thirty two families began moving into the new housing units on May 1, 1941.⁶³



Matthew Henson Housing Project move-in day, 1941

Arizona Republic, May 3, 1941

The housing project is closely tied to the development of the west side African American community. Although the image of public housing has an unfavorable connotation, these new, well-built units provided a step up for many families. The new dwellings were one-story brick units that included a living room, dining room, bathroom, one or more bedrooms, gas stove, heat, electric lights, and a refrigerator. The average monthly rent was \$13.15 and was a vast improvement over the squalid conditions families often paid \$20 or more a month for with no amenities. Additionally, the project became a focal point for the small but vibrant African

⁶² Ibid, p. 14

⁶³ Ibid, p. 15

American community in Phoenix and produced a nurturing environment for nascent politicians, civil rights activists, and community workers during the long struggle for civil rights.

In 1949 Congress passed the National Housing Act, which called for the elimination of slums and blighted areas. Even though Matthew Henson and the other two public housing projects were successful accomplishments, the need for additional public housing in Phoenix had not subsided. These projects served to stabilize the area from further slum encroachment. With this new legislation, the Phoenix Housing Authority had the power and procedure for slum clearance. With the Housing Act as a mandate, the Phoenix Housing Authority asked the Phoenix City Council to request \$256,000 in federal funds for a survey to determine the feasibility of additional low-income housing. The Council, despite opposition, complied and approved \$3 million for low-income housing construction. In addition, the Phoenix Housing Authority received a \$730,800 federal loan from the House and Home Finance Agency in November 1950. This allowed the city to purchase land adjacent to Matthew Henson and other public housing projects for construction of 500 new units. The Matthew Henson Addition, built in 1951, consisted of 194 units built in a style similar to the original development. 64

While reformers planted new housing in the west side area, industrial expansion pushed farther south and into African American neighborhoods. The construction of a Santa Fe Railroad spur on south 11th Avenue in 1947 angered many people, hindering further development of better homes and property values. The *Arizona Sun* bemoaned this change: "A community of potential beauty was being divided and damaged without the knowledge of the property owners. Hence, South Eleventh Avenue which was destined to become a progressive Negro residential section is tail spinning into what is certain to become a section for warehouses and factories.... A few blocks across the So[uth] 11th track, there has been recently constructed one of the finest Negro Schools to be found anywhere—try to picture small school children dashing across the track to beat a 'packing house' steam engine." This image was not unlike the argument used by concerned parents in 1909 against segregated schools. ⁶⁵

In South Phoenix, the African American community was also expanding, with a big push in development after the close of World War II. When future homebuilder Travis Williams and his parents moved to the South Phoenix area in 1941, his father purchased eleven acres and built a home. Williams remembers that prior to the

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 15

⁶⁵ Arizona Sun, 30 July 1948.

development of postwar subdivisions, African Americans lived along Broadway Road from 16th Street east to 24th Street. One family had purchased twenty acres and subdivided the land into half- acre lots. Some African Americans lived scattered in workers' housing on the farms. Both African Americans and Hispanics primarily worked in the fields, irrigating, planting, chopping and picking cotton, and harvesting fruit orchards. Williams estimates that between 300 and 500 African Americans were scattered between Central Avenue and 48th Street. He doesn't remember African Americans living west of Central Avenue.

In Okemah, the Marshall Mortgage Company extended the neighborhood through the creation of the Okemah Acres subdivision in 1944, located between Broadway to Elwood Streets, between 32nd and 38th Streets. A portion of the San Francisco Canal extended through the northwest corner of this subdivision. The Okemah Haven subdivision was platted in 1947 by the Phoenix Title and Trust Company (as trustees); this subdivision extended from 40th to 45th Streets, between Tempe Road and Fifth Street. These roads were extensions of University Drive (Transmission Road) and Fifth Street in Tempe, located to the east. Mary and James Boozer, Sr. purchased one acre of land in Okemah in 1948 and built a home at 3050 E. Superior Avenue. Their son, Jim, recalls how the Okemah area looked:

The area was very rural. They had chickens, cows, hogs, rabbits, and horses. It wasn't a violation of anything because it was out in the county. [There were] dirt roads. The mail was a rural route. You talk about rural USA—that was it. Open canals ran through the community. No city water, no sewer, no city collections. It was a private water company. We didn't have natural gas; in fact, we had to have butane tanks, and the butane guy would come every so often to deliver the gas to this big steel tank that you had in your back yard. [There were] cotton fields. And because of the cotton fields, the airplanes used to come over and periodically spray insecticide. 67

The Second World War was a social turning point for African Americans across the country and in Arizona. It also marked the time when a unique development occurred in the Phoenix area: new postwar subdivisions with modern ranch style homes. In the African American community, these were built *by* Blacks *for* Blacks. By providing modern and affordable housing that rivaled other new subdivisions in the northern parts of the city, homebuilders played a large part in the overall development of South Phoenix and in the expansion of its relatively small African

⁶⁶ Travis Williams Interview, 2004

⁶⁷ Okemah Haven and Okemah Acres Plat maps; Mary Boozer and Gussie Wooten Interview, 2004.

American community. Traditionally, most African Americans purchased lots and built their own small houses, or they rented. Like other families in the Valley, African Americans benefited from postwar prosperity and experienced a postwar baby boom. Many wanted to move into new homes, and now had the means to buy.

Faced with the reality that African Americans would in all likelihood be denied loans by lenders and steered away from all-White neighborhoods, a group of local African Americans decided to chart their own course. They determined to build the first postwar subdivisions in South Phoenix. In 1945, members of the community met at the First Institutional Baptist Church and formed the Progressive Builders Association (PBA). Local homebuilder Travis Williams recalls,

They were reacting to the fact that veterans returning from World War II were not able to buy houses through the G.I. Bill or under the Federal Housing Administration [in White neighborhoods]... My oldest brother [B.W. Williams, who was President of the PBA] and my brother-in-law, J.B. Jones, were former G.I.s, and once the subject came up, I think they provided quite a bit of leadership. They came up with the idea of buying land and subdividing it and qualifying it for VA and FHA financing—they had to meet the standards. They really didn't look south of the river at first because they were more a part of [the community] north of the river. They tried buying land there [north of the river], but either they wouldn't sell them the land or the price was inflated. So they looked south. They had gone to Del Webb and a couple other homebuilders to try to get them to build a Black subdivision. He (Webb) said there weren't enough African Americans to make it feasible, and he was tied up with what he was doing. They decided that if they were gonna have houses that would qualify for FHA and VA for African Americans, they were gonna have to do it themselves. So they pooled their money, and they formed a cooperative and sold stock, and they got the down payment to buy the land."68

The Progressive Builders Association purchased 160 acres from Kemper Marley, in an area that had formerly been his cattle ranch. The acreage was located between 20th and 24th Streets, and Roeser to Broadway Roads. Travis Williams' father, Robert, knew Del Webb because he had worked for him on some of the Japanese Internment Camp construction sites in the early 1940s. Webb suggested that Robert Williams start his own construction company and build the homes since he had already built some homes on the west side as an independent contractor. Robert Williams and D.W. Williams, along with John and J.B. Jones, formed a partnership

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⁶⁸ Interview with Travis Williams by Jean Reynolds, February 8, 2002, Arizona Historical Society.

in 1946 called Williams and Jones Contracting. The PBA subdivided a portion of this land on April 5, 1946, calling it the East Broadway Addition. This small subdivision of 150 homes stretched from 20th to 22nd Streets, Broadway Road south to Carver Drive. The Progressive Builders sold this subdivision to Williams and Jones Contracting. They built small Ranch-style brick houses, which gave many African American families their first opportunity to buy a brand new home. Another developer, W.H. Nelson, subdivided land at 40th Street and Broadway Road, selling a 16' by 16' home and half-acre lot for \$950.

In December of 1946, long-time dentist, Dr. Robert Phillips and his wife Louise created another subdivision west of the Broadway Addition, called Carlotta Place. This tiny neighborhood lay between 18th Place and 19th Street, between Wier and Broadway Roads. The following year, the Phillips extended their subdivision east and filled in lots on the east side of 19th Street. They sold two-bedroom homes for \$5,350 each. The Phillips family lived in the Carlotta Place Subdivision in a home at 4417 S. 19th Street. Both Dr. and Mrs. Phillips were involved in the school desegregation effort in the early 1950s, and Louise was president of the Maricopa branch of the NAACP until 1960. The property of the NAACP until 1960.



Carlotta Place advertisement Arizona Sun, 1950

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⁶⁹ Travis Williams Interviews, 2002 and 2004; Arizona Sun advertisement, 11 October 1946.

⁷⁰ Travis Williams Interview, 2004; Arizona Sun, 1950.

Some Anglo and Hispanic families bought homes in these early subdivisions as well, but it became a primarily African American neighborhood. In 1947, the *Arizona Sun* proudly reported that "Negroes are buying land, building homes, real homes, homes that anyone would be proud to own and live in.... At the present trend, in 5 years there will be a population of 20,000 Negroes in Okemah and Broadway districts alone." The newspaper urged African Americans to buy homes in South Phoenix, calling the east Broadway Road area "the Harlem of Arizona." Garfield Hamm, who grew up in west Phoenix, bought a lot for \$700 in 1948 in the East Broadway Addition subdivision. Construction of a small Ranch-style home cost him \$5,600. He financed his new home through an FHA and VA loan. Hamm had a personal connection to his new neighborhood because he knew the Williams family and had attended the same school as Travis and his brothers. ⁷¹

Commerce

Willing to do whatever it took to support their families, men during the Depression years primarily found labor-type jobs in the city like cars washing, construction, landscaping, street sweeping, or garbage collecting for the city. After 1935 the WPA helped some men obtain jobs. Newly arrived residents traveled to nearby fields to pick cotton because they had prior experience in this kind of work. Many of Phoenix's African American families worked in the fields picking cotton or laboring in other areas of the agricultural industry.⁷²

By 1940 only two percent of African American men in Arizona were employed in professional and managerial occupations. In Mattie Hackett's survey of Black families in Phoenix, she found that of 100 families, 96 were unskilled laborers, while four were in the professional class. As a whole, these families earned an average of \$826 per year, well below the \$1,000 median income considered the poverty line nationally. Most African Americans continued to work as laborers, service workers, and as operatives in manufacturing. Often, though, African American women found work more readily than their husbands, and provided a larger part of the income for the family. During World War II, some African American women found higher paying jobs in local manufacturing industries. Laura Harris, who grew up in east Phoenix, worked at the Goodyear Manufacturing plant, where she helped others learn to rivet.⁷³

71 Travis Williams Interview, 2004; Arizona Sun, 14 November 1947 and 7 May 1948; Garfield Hamm Interview, 2004.

Garfield Hamm Interview, 2004; Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 98-99.
 Mattie Hackett, "A Survey of Living Conditions," p. 1, 7-50; Whitaker, Black Phoenicians, p. 77; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 97-100; Laura Harris Interview, 2004.

In the 1930s and 1940s, a variety of businesses continued to operate on the east side of Phoenix, primarily along Jefferson Street. Gordon "Reddy" Fritch opened a café and store in 1944 called Reddy's Corner, located at 1602 E. Jefferson Street. This establishment served the community for several decades. Fritch, who was White, was active in the African American community. In the late 1940s he sponsored a local youth baseball team (called Reddy's Boosters) and soap box derby racers. He also published short letters in the *Arizona Sun*, which usually featured the store's latest sale items. Another frequented business was Norman's Drug Store, located at 1402 E. Washington Street.⁷⁴

Madge Copeland operated a beauty shop from the 1930 to the 1960s at 1318 E. Jefferson, where she also resided. Copeland came to Phoenix in 1919 but was widowed in 1929. During the 1930s, her shop was the only one serving African American women on the east side of Phoenix. During her spare time, Copeland was active in politics and civil rights. She served as precinct committeewoman for the Democratic Party, campaigning for Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s. She worked with other Democrats to push for change in the legislative boundaries, so African Americans had better representation in the State Legislature. Copeland also worked with others to integrate the only café at the airport in 1953. She belonged to the Tanner Chapel A.M.E. Church and regularly delivered food to shut-ins. In 1970 she worked in the office of the Maricopa County Recorder.⁷⁵

The African American newspaper business continued during this era; two of which began at this time. *The Phoenix Index* was founded by Reverend W. Gray in 1936 and operated until 1942. The *Arizona Sun*, edited by Doc Benson, was published from 1942 to 1962. The *Sun*'s office was located at 1149 E. Jefferson. Under its title mast in 1952, the editor stated: "Read the Sun—the Voice of 60,000 Negroes in Arizona." The newspaper discussed all of the hot topics of the day. ⁷⁶

Although not as prolific as in the more middle-class area of east Phoenix, African Americans owned some small businesses on the west side. In the 1930s, small businesses operated along Buckeye Road between 11th and 15th Avenues. These included a restaurant, service station, drug store, and a pool hall. The Davis family's drug store included a small ice cream parlor in the back. D. Worth Brown owned a club on west Buckeye Road where men went to play dominoes and cards. Robert

⁷⁴ Arizona Sun, 20 June 1947 and 9 April 1948

⁷⁵ Mary Rothschild and Pamela Hronek, *Doing What the Day Brought: An Oral History of Arizona Women*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).

⁷⁶ Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 97-100.

Tate operated a club called Tate's Rose Room at 943 W. Watkins in the 1950s and 1960s. The Durham Barbershop was at 615 S. 7th Avenue, and the Jordan family owned a liquor store. Some of the women in the area did hair in their homes for other women during this time. One movie theater that catered to African Americans and Hispanics was the Westside Theater, a Black-owned business opened at 1203 S. 11th Avenue in 1948. When the theater premiered, owners Pearl Cook and Roger Laws stated, "For the first time in the history of the Valley of the Sun, Colored citizens have at their service a theater owned and operated by our own group."

Most movie theaters that the Black community attended were not owned by African Americans. Prior to the 1960s, African Americans were required to sit in the balcony to watch a movie downtown while some theaters barred them altogether. However, a few showed programs that attracted an African American audience such as the Rialto Theater (37 W. Washington). In 1936 it showed the film Harmony Lane, starring Clarence Muse, the "World Famous Colored Singer."

On the east side, the Ramona Theater drew both African American and Hispanic patrons. The theater, located at 313 E. Washington and owned by Martin Gold, primarily showed Spanish-language movies and offered some "all Black cast" movies as well as a African American newsreel. In the 1940s, the *Arizona Sun* ran advertisements for the Ramona Theater as well as for the Azteca Theater, another cinema that catered to a primarily Hispanic audience. ⁷⁹



Azteca Theater advertisement Arizona Sun, August 22, 1947

⁷⁷ 1955 City Directory; Travis Williams Interview, 2004; Arizona Sun, 14 May 1948.

⁷⁸ Travis Williams Interview, 2004; Garfield Hamm Interview, 2004; Hardt, *The Racist Southwest*, p. 11-12; *Arizona Sun*, 9 April 1948.

⁷⁹ Hardt, *The Racist Southwest*, p. 11-12; *Arizona Gleam*, 18 September 1936; Janus Associates, Inc., "Commerce in Phoenix, 1870-1942," State Historic Preservation Office, p. 12; *Arizona Sun*, 22 August 1947.

In South Phoenix, prior to the 1940s, very few African American businesses existed. In Okemah, families provided beauty shop and barber shop services in their homes. As the community grew, more African American businesses opened. In the Okemah area, small businesses such as stores, gas stations, and cafes existed on Transmission Road (University Road) and along 40th Street. By 1950 other businesses such as restaurants, bars and music clubs developed along Broadway from 16th to 40th Streets. Long-time residents remember businesses along Broadway between 19th and 24th Streets: Goldy's Beauty Shop, Help-Ur-Self Laundromat, Broadway Café, the Trott Inn, and the Sky View Roller Rink. The Davis family, who had lived in the Phoenix area since 1925, opened the Mountain View Grocery Store on Broadway in 1945.

Religion

As the Black community expanded, more congregations formed to meet their needs. Pilgrim Rest Missionary Baptist Church organized at 1417 E. Madison in 1930. The church grew slowly between 1930 and 1950 and endured instability as five ministers came and went. In 1950 Reverend H. Y. Stevenson became the sixth minister and under his leadership, the church expanded. The congregation completed a new structure in 1968 at its present-day location of 1401 E. Madison. The church continued to grow in the 1970s through the 1990s, opening a new 2,500-seat sanctuary at 1401 E. Jefferson in 2000.

Wesley Methodist Church was the first African American church of this Methodist denomination organized in the state in 1946. In 1948 under the leadership of Reverend Allen Johnson, the members built the church at a cost of \$30,000 at 1802 E. Washington. That same year, Wesley Methodist Church sponsored a mission church in South Phoenix, which included a co-op grocery store. Another church founded in the area during the 1940s was Greater Friendship Missionary Baptist Church at 1901 E. Jefferson. The building was constructed in 1949 where the congregation continues to meet. ⁸⁰

The west side saw the most church development during this time period. One important institution is the present-day Saint Pius X, located at 801 S. 7th Avenue. This Catholic mission began under the moniker of Sacred Heart but was renamed Saint Monica's Mission in 1936 through the efforts of Father Emmett McLoughlin,

⁸⁰ The "Pilgrim Rest Missionary Baptist Church History: A History of Blessings" booklet; *Arizona Sun*, 6 August 1948; *Arizona Sun*, 11 October 1946.

prior to his involvement in the public housing movement. After raising money to buy and remodel a former grocery store at Sherman Street and 7th Avenue, Father McLoughlin opened the Saint Monica's Mission. This church provided a worship space for African American Catholics who were not allowed to attend other churches such as Saint Mary's Church. The mission also had a social hall, in which Father McLoughlin installed a jukebox.

This church became a community center for African Americans living in the area. It was a place without discrimination where congregants enjoyed social activities like other Phoenicians. Marguerite Blaise, who lived for a time in the Grant Park neighborhood at 1010 S. 2nd Avenue before moving into the Matthew Henson projects in the 1940s, recalls the church and social hall:

The church was always packed with people. Not standing room only, but it was crowded. There might have been a few seats left but not that many. We used one side of the building for a church and one side for the recreation hall. They showed movies every week for those who wanted to go to a movie. So we had movies right in the area, once a week. We [used] to go downtown to see movies, and we didn't want to... What was showing at the theater downtown, we got here. 81

Although Father McLoughlin's church was built and run by a White priest, it had all the characteristics of other African American churches, incorporating community and social services to provide for the needs of a segregated and economically marginalized community.

Mount Calvary Missionary Baptist Church, founded August 8, 1938 and located at 1246 S. 11th Avenue, was formed after the Shiloh Baptist Church congregation split. Mount Calvary began under the leadership of Reverend Eugene J. Jacobs, former pastor of Shiloh. The congregation purchased the lot on 11th Avenue and Yuma where members built the first building, an adobe structure. The family of long-time resident Tommie Williams was one of the members who broke away from Shiloh and joined Mount Calvary. He remembered that,

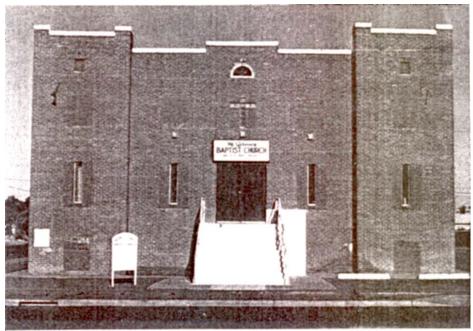
"just about all families in the neighborhood attended church. People would kind of look at you strange if you didn't attend... The church was really the center of activity in the neighborhood. Even in the early days, if politicians

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⁸¹ Reynolds, *We Knew Our Neighbor and It Was Like One Family*, p. 18; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, p. 153. Early city directories list this church as "Sacred Heart."

had something they wanted to say, they'd make sure they visited the church. Years ago they had picnics...hayrides...different activities at the church."82

About the same time that Saint Monica's Mission developed, Bethel Colored Methodist Episcopal church was started. In 1932 a small congregation for African Americans on the west side was founded by Jennie Tannehill, Reverend G.W. Miekens, Reverend A Morton and Oscar Chambers. They held their first services in a rented place on 12th Avenue and Buckeye. Reverend Miekens became the first pastor. In 1944 the members built their own building at 998 S. 13th Avenue, where it continues to serve the congregation today.⁸³



Mt Calvary Missionary Baptist Church, ca 1988 Mt Calvary Missionary Baptist Church Golden Church Anniversary Booklet

In 1945 Reverend W. A. Washington led the congregation of Mount Calvary. Under his tenure, the congregation demolished the adobe structure and held services under a temporary brush arbor until they completed their red brick, Norman Revival-style church in 1946. During the 1940s, Mount Calvary grew to become one of the most prominent churches in the area with a membership in excess of 300. In 1950 pastor C.N. Hall served as a moderator of the Salt River General Association

⁸² Tommie Williams Interview, 2004.

⁸³ Tommie Williams Interview, 2004; History of Bethel C.M.E. Church, Carver Museum Collection.

and president of the local NAACP chapter in Phoenix. Due to structural problems, the building at $1246 \, \text{S.} \, 11^{\text{th}}$ Avenue was demolished in $2004.^{84}$

Other churches built during this period were the Church of Christ at 1101 W. Tonto in 1938; Saint John's Institutional Baptist Church, located at 1428 S. 13th Avenue and founded in 1946; and, The Old Ship of Zion Missionary Baptist Church established in 1946 at 1145 W. Hadley.⁸⁵

Education

From the 1930s to the early 1950s, Black students on the east and west side continued to attend the segregated Dunbar Elementary, Booker T. Washington Elementary, and Phoenix Union Colored High Schools. Dunbar Elementary had strong ties to the community, especially to the newly built Matthew Henson project. Teachers knew students' parents, and did not hesitate to walk over to the projects to talk with them about their children. In the early 1940s, the school was small, with only two bathrooms and no cafeteria. People remember the routines of their school day. Elva Nuñez, who grew up in the Grant Park neighborhood and attended Grant School, known as the "Mexican school," remembered that a lunchroom at 1st Avenue and Grant Street supplied lunches to students from nearby schools that did not have cafeterias. "We had the north sidewalk on Grant when they used to line us up to go to lunch, and then the students from Dunbar School would be on the south side of Grant... There [were] no remarks or anything like that; it was just a very routine thing, you know, that we accepted." "86"



Dunbar Elementary children, 1943

Carver Museum collection

⁸⁴ Arizona Sun, 13 December 1946; Tommie Williams Interview, 2004; "History of Mount Calvary Missionary Baptist Church," City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office file.

⁸⁵ Phoenix City Directories.

⁸⁶ Breen, et. al., Matthew Henson Housing Project Historic Property Documentation, p. 33-34; Reynolds, The Grant Park History, p 2.

In 1947 the school district opened another segregated school, the Mary McLeod Bethune Elementary School, located at 1510 S. 15th Avenue. Built to provide for the rapidly expanding Black community on the west side, the \$403,000 school opened with ten classrooms, a kindergarten, music room, art room, shop, homemaking room, library, cafeteria, and auditorium. Aubrey Aldridge moved from Dunbar Elementary to be the first principal of Bethune School.⁸⁷

There were many well-known and active teachers at Dunbar Elementary and Booker T. Washington Schools from 1930 to 1954 such as Dr. Juanita Favors Curtis; her sister, Charlsetta Favors Banks; Mary Bishop; and others. Irene McLelland King, who grew up in Laveen, began teaching at Dunbar Elementary School in 1937 and retired 20 years later. She remembers that at times her classes had as many as 45 to 50 children in them. She set up the school library and later worked as a consultant with the State Library Association at Arizona State University. She helped organize the Phoenix Head Start program along with Morrison Warren, Sr. King served on community organization boards and was involved in the local Civil Rights Movement. Irene McLelland King resided at 1510 E. Adams. ⁸⁸



Carver High School ca. 1946
Carver Museum collection

The staff at the Phoenix Union Colored High School renamed the building in 1943 George Washington Carver High in honor of the famous African American educator and scientist. Two years later, a new principal, W.A. Robinson, reorganized the school and heightened its educational standards. Robinson, a native of Atlanta, was principal at Carver High until it closed in 1954. He had a B.A. from Atlanta

⁸⁷ Arizona Sun, 19 September 1947.

⁸⁸ Karen Carson, Black Phoenician Women As Educators During the Era of Jim Crow, 1896-1954," (Thesis, Arizona State University, 2000), p. 64-81.

University and a B.S. and M.S. from Columbia University. He wrote education-related articles in journals and was active in the community. Robinson was one of the first members of the Phoenix Urban League, organized in 1943. He was a "gogetter" who refused to accept cast-off equipment, books, and supplies from the Phoenix Union High School District. In a diplomatic, but persistent, way he pushed to improve the facility and supplies at Carver High in order to build the best possible school.⁸⁹ W. A. Robinson resided at 1314 E. Jefferson.

Robinson began recruiting African American teachers for Carver High School from throughout the nation. Some of these outstanding teachers, who all held Master's degrees included Arlena Seneca, Gussie Wilson, Mattie Hackett Moore, Alice Marriot, Bettye Fairfax, Deloris Adkins, Thelma Shaw, and Estelle Burnette. Educators like Arlena Seneca, a science teacher, also became active in the community. Seneca founded Careers for Youth; re-started the Urban League Guild, which was the women's auxiliary for the Phoenix Urban League; and joined other professional and activist groups. In 1967 she was the first African American woman to receive the Phoenix Woman of the Year award. ⁹⁰

The school also boasted some of the best athletic teams in the Phoenix area. In 1948 the men's basketball team won the state championship in a stunning upset of perennial powerhouse schools like Phoenix Union. The very next year district officials restructured the school divisions placing Carver High among "B" class schools from rural areas. Carver High athletic teams dominated sports in their division until the school closed. 91

In South Phoenix, the Roosevelt School District closed the 27th Avenue School in 1938 and opened Roosevelt #2, Okemah School, located at 40th Street and Miami. All African American students in the South Phoenix area moved to this school, which consisted of two small buildings. The change may have occurred because the Okemah community was growing during the 1930s, and more Black families lived in that area. Leatha Slaughter taught grades one through eight in this small school. ⁹²

During the early 1940s, the African American community continued to expand. In response to the influx of more children, the school district created more segregated spaces for education, purchasing army barracks to create three more classrooms.

⁸⁹ Mary Melcher, "Blacks and Whites Together," p. 197.

⁹⁰ Carson, Black Phoenician Women, p. 59-60; Arizona Sun, 12 September 1947 and 15 November 1946.

⁹¹ Conversation with Carver 50th Anniversary attendee Jesse Long, May 30, 2004.

⁹² Burt, *Arizona History: The Okemah Community*; Ryden, *South Mountain Agricultural Area: Historic Resource Survey*; "History of the Roosevelt School District," in Roosevelt School District Information Packet.

Students also attended classes in a church building across from the school. The Okemah School located at 3316 S. 40th Street was also known as the 40th Street School and as the Roosevelt Ward School. Gussie Wooten, who arrived in Okemah with her family in 1947, attended Okemah School. She remembers Dr. Curtis Greenfield and the strict Mrs. Slaughter, who drilled the students and required them to exercise every morning. Like other high school age children from Okemah, Gussie traveled on the city bus north up Central Avenue to attend Carver High School.⁹³

In response to the overcrowded conditions at Okemah in 1946 and to create a more "central location for new inhabitants who are building new homes," the district opened the Percy L. Julian Elementary School. The school was named after an African American chemist who synthesized cortisone for arthritis, discovered a treatment for glaucoma, and created a foam that extinguished oil fires, which was used by the American military during World War II. This new African American school was built at 2149 E. Carver, next to the recently opened East Broadway Addition. The school consisted of four classrooms and cost \$45,000 to build. The school's namesake, Dr. Julian, paid for the landscaping and awarded \$25 to the student making the highest grade in the graduating class. Julian School served grades five through eight while the $40^{\rm th}$ Street School continued to provide classes for grades one through four. Curtis Greenfield served as principal for both the Okemah School and Julian School. One long-time and well-known teacher at Julian Elementary was Senoma Smith, the daughter of early Carver High teacher Myrtle Rodgers. ⁹⁴

Early Civil Rights Activity

After World War II ended, African American veterans, who had served courageously in defense of American ideals of freedom and justice, returned to their hometowns across the nation. They found that racism and prejudice were alive and well, regardless of the uniforms they wore. Many of these veterans and the following generation of African Americans began to struggle harder for social change and an end to unequal treatment. In Phoenix, African Americans, in collaboration with concerned Whites, began the effort to dismantle the barriers of segregation and prejudice.

⁹³ "History of the Roosevelt School District," in Roosevelt School District Information Packet; Mary Boozer and Gussie Wooten Interview, 2004.

⁹⁴ Department of Commerce, U.S. Census of Population, 1940.; "New Broadway Ward School Named for Dr. Percy L. Julian," *Arizona Sun*, May 27, 1949; "Percy Lavon Julian," *Crisis*, Sept/Oct 1999; *Arizona Sun*, 16 April 1948.

Protests against segregation emerged in the mid 1940s. These generally involved sitins and picketing of stores that refused to serve African Americans. Community activist Opal Ellis remembers a coffee shop on Adams near 1st Street, where she and five other high school students in 1945 sat at the counter for several weeks every Sunday even though they were refused service. When they were identified, the principal of Carver High School notified their parents and made them stop.⁹⁵

The Communist Party of Arizona also became involved in early efforts for equality, attracting members of the African American community with its slogan, "A Communist Vote is a Vote Against Jimcrow" (sic). In 1946, the party held an event at the Phoenix Union High School auditorium at which an audience of 500 listened to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn describe how "anti-Semitism and discrimination against Negroes had to be reckoned with seriously and combated vigorously." Party members also organized a picket consisting of fifteen African American and White participants in front of the Woolworth's 5 and 10 Store, which refused to serve African Americans at its lunch counter. The protesters passed out leaflets that stated, "No Discrimination at the Lunch Counter" and "Hire Negro Girls as Clerks in Proportion to the Negro Population." This store, located at 36 E. Washington, was a major target for civil rights activists in the 1960s. ⁹⁶

The Communist Party, led by local leader Morris Graham, continued to be active in the civil rights issues. In 1948 African American activist Claudia Jones spoke to a crowd of 1,000 people at Eastlake Park about equal rights for African Americans. The *Arizona Sun* reported, "Her militant words were eagerly absorbed not only by the crowd; but also by people living near the park." Participants carried signs reading "End Jim Crow" and "End Police Brutality." That same year a sit-in at Walgreen's Drug Store (2 W. Washington) involved NAACP student committee members Rosemary Phillips, Thomas Dickey, and Justice Hall. Students from Phoenix College and Arizona State College became involved in the fight against segregation, some through the influence of Communist Party organizers. Soon, though, the political pressure of strong national anti-communist sentiment would lessen their influence. Other organizations such as the Phoenix/Maricopa Chapter of the NAACP, founded in 1919, and the multi-racial Greater Phoenix Council for Civic Unity, organized in 1948, rose to the forefront of the movement. 97

95 Opal Ellis Interview, 2001.

⁹⁶ Hardt, The Racist Southwest, p. 30-31; Luckingham, Minorities, p. 158; Arizona Sun, 17 May 1946.

⁹⁷ Travis Williams Interview, 2004; *Arizona Sun*, 16 May 1948 and 21 May 1948; it was probably these activities which led Civil Rights opponents to charge groups such as the NAACP with collaborating with Communists. See the *Arizona Sun*, 9 March 1961.

Health Care

Father McLoughlin, who had worked for better low-income housing in Phoenix, continued his passion for helping the poor by establishing Saint Monica's Maternity Clinic in 1937, located at 809 S. 7th Avenue, in a former barbershop that the owner donated to the church. Registered nurses and hospital interns offered free services to women in the neighborhood. This maternity clinic evolved into a new hospital by 1944, which was desperately needed by residents who lacked nearby access to health care. ⁹⁸

In the early 1940s, the board of Saint Monica's Community Center, under Father McLoughlin's leadership, began planning for a 50-room hospital. In an attempt to provide more hospital facilities for soldiers during World War II, the federal government funded some of the hospital construction in 1942. Through barbecues, bazaars, newspaper subscriptions and personal donations, community residents and other interested individuals raised \$9,000 to purchase a 14-acre cotton field south of Buckeye Road and east of Seventh Avenue.

Saint Monica's Hospital, designed by architects Lescher and Mahoney and constructed by the Del Webb Company, was completed in February of 1944, providing care for the primarily African American and Hispanic families in the area as well as in the South Phoenix region. After the closure of the Booker T. Washington Memorial Hospital in 1943, much of the former hospital's medical supplies and technical equipment went to Saint Monica's Hospital. In the fall of 1946, Dr. Trevor Browne expanded the maternity clinic to include an outpatient children's clinic. Father McLoughlin renounced the priesthood in 1948, and concentrated fully on running the new hospital, located at 1200 S. 5th Avenue. In 1949 Saint Monica's changed its name to Phoenix Memorial Hospital in honor of World War II veterans. ⁹⁹ After leaving the priesthood, Father McLoughlin moved to a new residence at 355 E. Thomas #208B.

The hospital also created an important facility, Saint Monica's Nursing School, which opened in October 1944. The school was the first interracial nursing school west of the Mississippi River. African American, Anglo, Hispanic, Native American and Asian American young women all trained there. In 1946, former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt visited the first graduating class and later wrote, "I was particularly

⁹⁸ Luckingham, Minorities in Phoenix, p. 153.

⁹⁹ Reynolds, The History of the Grant Park Neighborhood, p. 17-18; Arizona Sun, 7 July 1944

interested in the training school for nurses. Here they have eliminated all discrimination of race and color."¹⁰⁰

Recreation and Leisure

A major park that African Americans on the west side frequented was Grant Park, located at 3rd Avenue and Grant Street. Grant Park existed as an empty lot with grass and trees until the city Parks and Recreation Department renovated it in 1934 through Civil Works Administration funding. In 1937 Works Progress Administration funding provided for the construction at Eastlake Park of a bathhouse, showers, and dressing rooms for the pool. Two years later, the city added lights, swings, sandboxes, sports facilities, and equipment. The park added a bandstand, tennis courts, and a recreation hall where teens in the 1950s met to dance and socialize. The Grant Park and Eastlake Park improvements are examples of the many types of projects funded through New Deal federal agencies in the Phoenix area. ¹⁰¹

By 1944 Grant Park had many amenities including a swimming and wading pool, a bathhouse, an indoor center, ball courts, a football field, a softball diamond, a piano, and a radio phonograph. Teams from each of the parks citywide competed against each other. Grant Park sponsored girls' teams of volleyball, tennis, track and field, and softball. Boys' sports included touch football, basketball, baseball, track and field, softball, and tennis. The park had many of the same amenities as Eastlake Park but did not have tennis courts or a bandstand. ¹⁰²

Some racial conflict, however, occurred over the use of the Grant Park pool. The Spanish American People's Organization, headed by P.G. de la Lama and headquartered in the Grant Park community, brought a petition before the city Parks and Recreation Board in 1935. Since African Americans also used the park facilities, the organization requested that the Grant Park pool be designated for Hispanics only. Like many Anglos in Phoenix, some members of the Mexican American community did not wish to share facilities with African Americans. Although minorities may have patronized other parks in the city, they could not swim in pools in the predominantly White neighborhoods, such as University Park at 1100 W. Van Buren. ¹⁰³

 $^{^{100}}$ Reynolds, The History of the Grant Park Neighborhood, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Reynolds, The History of the Grant Park Neighborhood, p. 18; Arizona Gleam, 16 July 1937; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 401-402.

Reynolds, *The History of the Grant Park Neighborhood*, p. 12; Janus Associates, Inc., "Commerce in Phoenix, 1870-1942," State Historic Preservation Office, 11.

¹⁰³ Reynolds, The History of the Grant Park Neighborhood, p. 13

Garfield Hamm remembered that before Father McLoughlin began his services in the neighborhood, African American children went to Grant Park to play:

At that time Grant was the only park on the west side. Then they built Harmon Park, but they didn't have anything on it. We went over there and played baseball, but the baseball field didn't get built until after the war... Grant Park was the only one that had a pool in it that anybody could go in. At that time, Mexicans and African Americans dominated the west side.... At that time, they let everybody go in (to the pool) for free, during the Depression. ¹⁰⁴

African American residents also used Harmon Park, located at 5th Avenue and Yavapai Street. The City of Phoenix bought land for the park in 1927 from the Harmon Foundation of New York but did not develop it until the 1930s. The city purchased the land for the amount of one dollar, with the condition that it was to be used for playground and recreational purposes. Interestingly, the deed came with a clause that stated, "The land shall be open to all, except that with written consent of the Harmon Foundation, reasonable racial restrictions may be imposed." The Phoenix Rotary Club's Boys Work Committee helped fund programs and donated playground equipment to Harmon Park during the 1930s. Much sparser than Grant Park, Harmon had two swings, one tennis court and two horseshoe courts, a wading pool, and a roofed sandbox. In 1937 some upgrades at the park were completed. In 1950 the city built a recreation hall and a gym. Next to the park, the Harmon Public Library was built in 1949, providing the first library services to southwest Phoenix neighborhoods. ¹⁰⁵

Father Emmett McLoughlin again played a role as an important advocate for African American youth by providing recreational opportunities for them. He helped form a softball team in 1938 called "Father Emmett's Mission" that competed with the Eastlake Park team. Originally the team played at Grant Park, using second-hand equipment. In 1939 their baseball team won the state championship. Next to the health clinic, in a shotgun house, Father McLoughlin also opened a clubhouse for boys and girls in the late 1930s at 815 S. 7th Avenue. Saint Monica's social hall provided a place for African American residents to gather and watch movies, socialize, and play basketball on the small court behind the church. In 1946 McLoughlin offered his mission and facilities as site for one of the State's first Boys' Clubs. The club added handball, basketball, and volleyball courts, built a softball

¹⁰⁴ Garfield Hamm Interview, 2004.

¹⁰⁵ Reynolds, The History of the Grant Park Neighborhood, p. 13-14.

diamond, and created a small library, classroom and game room addition to the aforementioned clubhouse. 106

The local African American community boasts a few sports players who went on to national status prior to 1950. John Ford Smith, born in Phoenix in 1919, is the only Arizonan known to have played in the national Negro Baseball Leagues. As a teenager, Smith gained a reputation as an outstanding pitcher, hitter, and fielder for the Phoenix Union Colored High School Monarchs. Smith attended Phoenix College in the 1930s and then joined the all-Black Arizona Compass team, part of a semi-pro league competing statewide and nationally. In 1941 Smith joined the Kansas City Monarchs, a team that won its third straight pennant in the Negro American League that year. At age 22, Smith played with such pitching greats as Satchel Paige, Chet Brewer, and Lefty Bryant.

Smith entered the army during World War II and then returned to the Kansas City Monarchs in 1946. He finally returned to Phoenix in 1952, playing for local teams such as the Phoenix Senators and the Arizona Cotton Kings. He made his home at 5025 S. 21st Street. Smith worked for Phoenix Union High School, served as director of Eastlake Park, and eventually became assistant vice president of human resources at the Arizona Bank. He was active in civil rights issues and served as director of the Arizona Civil Rights Commission. Smith died in Phoenix in 1983. ¹⁰⁷

Besides recreational facilities available to the community, several centers opened on the east side to provide social services during the 1930s and 1940s. One such place was the Phyliss Wheatley Center, which opened in 1927 under the Phoenix chapter of the Arizona Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and closed in the late 1940s. The center functioned as a day care center in 1930. Located at 1335 E. Jefferson, it later expanded to include other activities. For example, in 1936 the Phoenix Colored Players performed at the center, and a year later, the *Arizona Gleam* reported that African Americans met there in 1937 to discuss incidents of police brutality in Phoenix, and to "register a protest to the city authorities." A few years later, in 1946, the center, also known as the Community House, advertised non-partisan "How to Vote" classes, sponsored by the Maricopa County Democratic Committee. The next year, members of the Women's Division of the Urban League opened a teenage canteen in the center, to provide "wholesome recreation" for local youths.

¹⁰⁶ Garfield Hamm Interview, 2004; Arizona Sun, 13 September 1946.

¹⁰⁷ Arizona Historical Society "Negro Leagues" exhibit research file.

Another important recreational center was the Colored Servicemen's Center, opened at 1406 W. Washington in 1942. Since other canteens for soldiers did not grant entrance to African Americans, the center served these soldiers as they came through Phoenix. It provided a place for servicemen to relax, dance, listen to music, and buy everyday necessities. ¹⁰⁸

Social venues on the west side offered a variety of entertainment for local residents during the 1930s and 1940s. One of the most significant institutions on the west side got its start in 1922 – the William H. Patterson Elks Lodge #477. This lodge was named after a Buffalo Soldier from Pennsylvania. Grand District Deputy Randolph James of Fort Huachuca helped establish the fraternal organization's lodge. The Elks Lodge also formed the Grand Canyon Temple in 1926, which was the women's auxiliary organization. In 1936, the Elks Lodge moved into the former Chinaberry Garden Inn at 1007 S. 7th Avenue and boasted 300 members. The Chinaberry had existed earlier as a club owned by Zach Durham, an African American man from California.

In 1943 Father Emmett McLoughlin helped the Elks chapter negotiate financial arrangements with the Valley National Bank for the construction of a new lodge building. Wartime restrictions on steel slowed their efforts to build, but in 1946 the new building was finally completed. The basement of the Elks Lodge was designated as an official fall-out shelter site. The Chinaberry remains, adjacent to the east. Members of the Elks Lodge included many of the significant African American Phoenicians like Dr. A. McDonald, Doc Benson, and Aubrey Aldridge. Members came from all walks of life, from educators, attorneys, doctors, and prominent businessmen to members of the working class with more humble occupations. To be accepted into the lodge was a social honor. Although the lodge was established for African American residents, a few Anglos joined, such as former Phoenix Mayor Ray Busey, Father Emmett McLoughlin, and some local politicians.

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¹⁰⁸ "Colored Men Given Center," *Arizona Republic*, August 23, 1942; Oral History interview with Laura Harris by Dawn Nave, Arizona Historical Society, 1999; Phoenix City Directories; *Arizona Gleam*, 20 March 1936, and 11 December 1937; Luckingham, *Minorities*, 145; *Arizona Sun*, November 1947.

Long-time member Virgil Turman, whose father served as Exalted Ruler in 1945, recalls,

Back at that time, you had only a few places to go, if you were somebody. You basically came to the Elks. If you were a little bit different, you had West Buckeye Road, you had east Broadway from 24th Street to 26th Street, and on the east side of town you had 16th Street and Washington. Those were your people that just did drinking and maybe other things that weren't exactly tolerated. So your upper class Black people came to the Elks. ¹⁰⁹

One group that started at the lodge was the Desert Mashie Golf Club, formed in 1947 to provide opportunities for African Americans to play golf in tournaments and to teach minority youth to play golf. The organization also had a women's auxiliary that planned tournaments. Some of the first members were Bill Dickey, Thomas S. Crump, Dr. Lowell C. Wormley, and Aubrey C. Aldridge. They played at the Encanto Park and later at Maryvale because these courses were integrated. This club is still in existence and helps minority youth learn to play golf. The club provides golf bags, cut-down clubs, and golf balls, along with lessons and low-cost or free clinics. ¹¹⁰

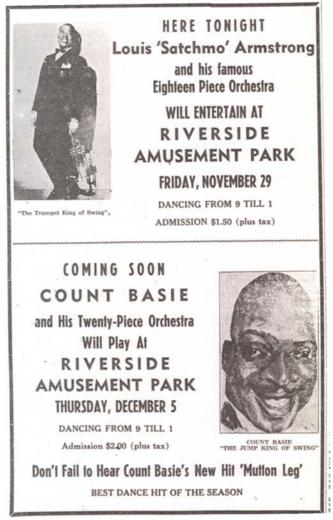
Music and dancing were also important to the community. In the 1930s and 1940s, dance halls became popular places to hear local and national bands. Here, Phoenicians danced, socialized, and many met their future spouses. Some dance halls catered only to one racial group while others were segregated by nights for specific groups. For example, one of the most well-known dance halls was the Riverside Ballroom & Supper Club which was located at 1975 S. Central near the Salt River. Built in 1919, the outdoor ballroom could hold up to 3,000 people. Owner Harry Nace (and later, Buster Fite) presented some of the biggest headliners in jazz and popular music during the 1940s and 1950s.

In 1946 when Buster Fite took over ownership of the Riverside, the *Arizona Sun* reported, "Mr. Fite wished to inform Colored dance-goers, he highly appreciates their past patronage, [and will] go all out in making Riverside Park a place of pleasure for them as well as anybody else." This did not include allowing racially mixed audiences, and for many years, the ballroom was segregated. Thursday was Blues

¹⁰⁹ Elks Lodge Group Interview by Jean Reynolds, July 24, 2004.

¹¹⁰Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*, p. 421-422; Phoenix City Directories; Garfield Hamm Interview 2004; Hardt, *The Racist Southwest*, p. 26; "50 Golden Years," Commemorative Booklet for the William H. Patterson Lodge, #477; *Arizona Republic* clipping in Elks Lodge scrapbook, n.d.; Elks Lodge Group Interview by Jean Reynolds, July 24, 2004.

night, which brought in African Americans. Wednesday and Saturday were Western nights that mainly attracted Anglo crowds, who danced to the sounds of the house band: Bob Fite and the Western Playboys. Mexican night on Sundays featured Pete Bugarín and his orchestra as well as other Latin bands. 111



Riverside Ballroom advertisement Arizona Sun, November 29, 1946

¹¹¹ Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*, p. 402-403; Arizona Historical Society "Desert Cities" exhibit files; *Arizona Sun*, 22 November 1946.

COMMUNITY PERSISTENCE: 1951-1970

Population

In 1950 African Americans composed five percent of the overall population of Phoenix, Anglos 80 percent, Hispanics 15 percent, and Chinese Americans less than one percent. As shown in Table 3, the African American population increased significantly between 1950 and 1960, partially due to the annexation of South Phoenix into the city's boundaries. By 1970 African Americans remained at less than percent of the city's total population.

Table 3
African Americans in Phoenix population 1950-1970¹¹²

	1950	1960	1970		
Total	106,818	439,170	584,303		
African Americans	5,190	20,919	27,896		
% of Total	4.8%	6.8%	4.7%		

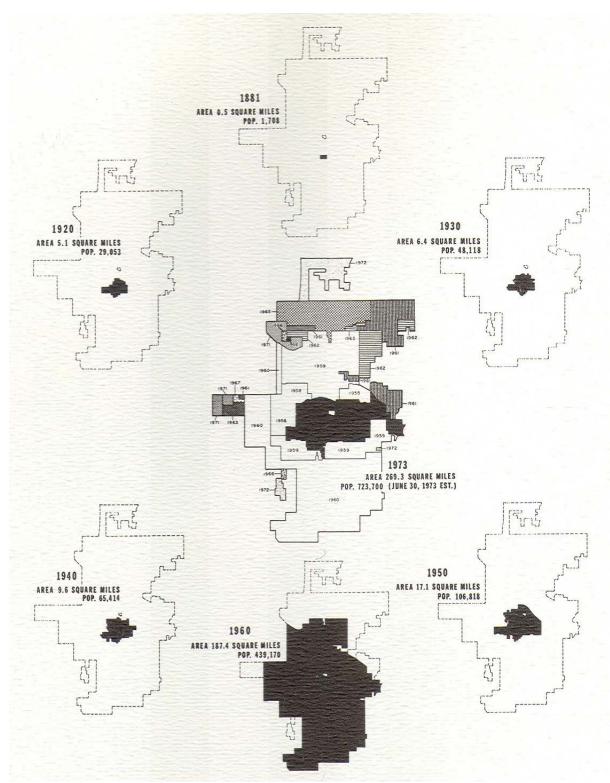
In 1960, the African American population reached 20,919. According to the local chapter of the Urban League, at least 95 percent of all African Americans in 1960 still resided south of Van Buren Street in the worst housing areas in the city. "Of the 21,000 Negroes in Phoenix 19,000 live in 9 of the city's 92 census tracts, with 7 of these south of the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks. Three of these tracts contain roughly one-half of the city's Negro population." African Americans often lived in crowded housing, attended substandard schools, and held low-paying jobs. Few realtors would sell FHA-financed homes in areas north of Van Buren Street to African Americans. 113

The City of Phoenix annexed the South Phoenix area into its boundaries in 1960. Five years earlier, the City Council's 75th Anniversary Report declared that Phoenix was "in danger being a relatively small city surrounded by a number of 'bedroom' towns benefiting from a number of city facilities and services but making no financial contributions toward their costs." In May 1956 the city approved a basic plan for the growth that included a "stepped up year-round program of annexation."

¹¹² Department of Commerce, U.S. Census of Population, 1950-1970. The annexations between 1950 and 1960 explain the significant population jump from 5,190 in 1950 to 20,919 in 1960

Luckingham, Phoenix, p. 175; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 128.

¹¹⁴ Luckingham, Phoenix, p. 161.



Phoenix Annexations, 1881-1973 City of Phoenix Planning Department

In 1960the Maryvale area and South Phoenix were annexed into the city's boundaries. Not all residents of South Phoenix supported this move. One group, the South Phoenix Municipal Association, pushed for incorporation as their own town rather than annexation into the City of Phoenix. African Americans may have favored this view in hopes of better political representation and job opportunities considering that in 1960, African Americans composed 20 percent of the population in South Phoenix as opposed to just five percent of the entire city population. With the annexation, the city more than doubled in area and added over 100,000 people to its population; by December 1960 Phoenix contained a population of 439,170. That year approximately 75 percent of the people living in the city were residents of areas that had been annexed during the previous decade. Through these actions, Phoenix increased its physical size in square miles from 17.1 in 1950 to 187.4 in 1960, and the city limits reached 67th Avenue on the west, Cactus Road on the north, Papago Park on the east, and South Mountain Park on the south. 115

Table 4

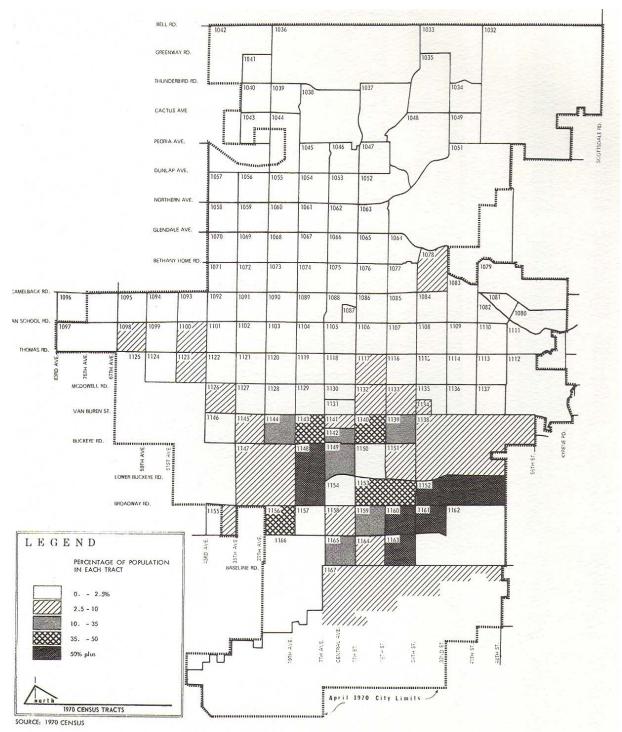
<u>Ethnic Characteristics of Census Tracts with Greater than 50% African American Population</u>

116

Tract	% Black	%	% Native	% All
		Hispanic	American	Other
1148	58.5	26.7	1.0	13.8
1152	87.1	17.8	.2	5.1
1160	71.3	27.7	.7	.3
1161	78.3	11.0	.4	10.3
1163	61.3	18.8	.8	19.1

¹¹⁵ Luckingham, *Phoenix*, p. 163; Fred Amis, "Community in Transition: South Phoenix and Annexation, 1950-1960," Arizona Collection, Hayden Library, Arizona State University, p. 15-16.

¹¹⁶ City of Phoenix Commission on Housing, *Housing in Phoenix*. (Phoenix: City of Phoenix, 1974), p. 686. Note: The figure for Tract 1152 exceeds 100 percent because of sampling (20%) for Hispanics.



Percent distribution of African American Population, 1970 City of Phoenix Planning Department

Residential Development

The historic east side African American neighborhoods along Jefferson Street changed by the 1960s, especially after the city built the Civic Plaza and expanded downtown development eastward to 7th Street. Many businesses and homes were destroyed in the process. Further east and south of Jefferson Street, airport expansion and manufacturing related development also resulted in the loss of residential areas. In addition, urban renewal programs changed the look of the area. In response to these changes, many African Americans moved to the west side or to South Phoenix. Later, some with higher incomes relocated throughout the metropolitan area as segregation broke down.¹¹⁷

On the west side of Phoenix, new housing developments were constructed during the 1950s between 15th and 19th Avenues south of Pima Street, beyond the now established Matthew Henson housing project. In 1950 Clint Thomas and Stephan Rayburn opened a subdivision of 114 "low-cost FHA homes" at 15th Avenue and Cocopah Street, adjacent to the Bethune School. Although these were modest Transitional Ranch-style homes, their materials and uniformity clearly pointed to the era of planned postwar housing developments. Rayburn sought to build homes specifically for African Americans who desired "beautiful home sites within walking distance of the city." The neighborhood was advertised in the *Arizona Sun* with a full page advertisement that touted paved streets, curbs, FHA financing by Arizona Savings and Loan; and amenities like tile baths, tile kitchens, masonry construction and city water and gas. In 1960 the construction of six two-story concrete apartment buildings called the Sidney P. Osborn Homes added 28 units along Buckeye Road to the southern border of the original Matthew Henson development. In the early 1960s, the city built another public housing project, the A.L. Krohn homes, near Buckeye Road and 16th Avenue. 118

At the Matthew Henson Project, changes occurred which impacted the system of public housing for the city. A major player in this change was Vernell Coleman, known as the "mayor" or "mother" of the Matthew Henson Projects. Born in 1918, she moved to the Matthew Henson Housing Project as an adult. She is known for renewing in 1968 the yearly Juneteenth Celebration, which had fallen by the wayside in Phoenix in the 1950s. These celebrations began at Dunbar School and later moved to Eastlake Park. Coleman is also known for her participation in the Matthew

¹¹⁷ Luckingham, Minorities, p. 129-151.

¹¹⁸ Breen, et. al., Matthew Henson Housing Project Historic Property Documentation, p. 1; Arizona Sun, 30 November 1950.

Henson Neighborhood Council, the tenant group which confronted the Housing Authority in 1969 with charges of neglect. The situation stemmed from tenants' complaints, which they had voiced as early as 1962, about deteriorating apartments, roach infestations, lack of maintenance, inflexibility of rent fees, lack of racial integration, and racial prejudice of housing staff.



Vernell Coleman, center, negotiating tenant issues.

Arizona Republic, March 26, 1970

The tenants, under Coleman's leadership, staged a rent strike that forced improvements in maintenance and other issues. The city decided to create more tenant representation for all of the housing projects and created the city's Housing Department, relegating the Housing Authority to an advisory board. In 1970 Coleman was a driving force behind the creation of the Matthew Henson Community Center, which the city later named in her honor. Coleman helped organize the Saint Mary's Food Bank, received the Arizona Senate's Spirit of Arizona Award in 1988, and was the first African American woman inducted into the Arizona Women's Hall of Fame. She died in 1990. 119

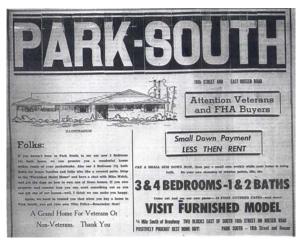
¹¹⁹ Breen, et. al., Matthew Henson Housing Project Historic Property Documentation, p. 15-17; Arizona Sun, 29 March 1962.

The final phase of community development on the west side can be better characterized as a reversal rather than development. For example, in 1960 44 percent of the housing in the area between 11th and 19th Avenues south of Van Buren Street to Lower Buckeye Road continued to be identified as "deteriorating" or "dilapidated." At the same time, the corresponding Census Tracts 1143 and 1148 were designated 30 to 40 percent or 40 to 50 percent "blighted" respectively. From the 1960s to the 1980s, many of the properties in the area were neglected, abandoned, and later razed. ¹²¹

In South Phoenix during the 1950s and 1960s, the community expanded through a number of new subdivisions attracting primarily African American homebuyers. In 1950 the original group of men in Williams and Jones Contracting moved to California to pursue opportunities there. Travis Williams and his brother D.W., now managing their father's company, finished the East Broadway Addition #2, which was begun in 1949.

In the late 1950s, the company began their affordable 250-home Park South development, located between 17th and 20th Streets and extending south of Broadway to Roeser. The prices of these homes ranged from \$500 to \$1,500 dollars each. Families could buy lots for \$300, with a \$50 down payment and payments of \$10 a month.

The Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration readily insured and guaranteed loans for African Americans moving into these areas.



Park South subdivision advertisement Arizona Sun, November 29, 1956

The Williams and Jones Construction Company developed Princess Jean Park in 1958, located between 21st and 22nd Streets just north of Roeser Road. That year, Williams and his family moved into their present Ranch-Style home in this

¹²⁰ City of Phoenix Commission on Housing, *Housing in Phoenix*. (Phoenix: City of Phoenix, 1974), p. 70-72. The survey is based on 1806 housing units identified. 1960 Census Tract 1143 includes the area between Van Buren and Buckeye Road between 7th Avenue and 19th Avenue. Census Tract 1148 includes the area between Buckeye Road and Lower Buckeye Road, 7th Avenue and 19th Avenue.

¹²¹ City of Phoenix Commission on Housing, *Housing in Phoenix* (1974), p. 561.

subdivision, where they still live. In 1961 the company expanded the Park South subdivision west another 40 acres, offering two, three, and four bedroom houses. Soon many African American professionals moved into the area. The typical home was priced from \$11,000 to \$22,000 and included three or four bedrooms, two bathrooms, central heating and cooling, a carport, and landscaping.

These homes were a far cry from the run-down housing associated with older Black neighborhoods like nearby Okemah or the aging neighborhoods in east and west Phoenix. Although these homes were built equally well as those subdivisions spreading out in other parts of the Valley, the property values in this area decreased, lowering the value of these new homes over a relatively short period of time. By 1965 owners who sold their homes received little equity or only 92 percent of the original value. In the late 1960s, Williams and Jones also completed a subdivision started by homebuilder Ralph Staggs. This subdivision, located at 19th Avenue and Southern, opened another section for African American settlement. In 1965 the company built Sheraton Park, from 22nd to 24th Streets, between Mobile and Roeser. 122

By the time South Phoenix joined the city limits in 1960, the area's African American community mostly resided between 16th Street and 40th Street, from the Salt River (Transmission Road) south to Roeser Road. The area in South Phoenix outside of these boundaries generally consisted of agricultural fields and a scattering of Anglo and Hispanic neighborhoods. According to a 1965 study, 62 percent of the residents were African American in the area between 9th and 24th Streets, from Roeser to the San Francisco Canal. In the area east of 24th Street to the southeastern border of the city, 85 percent of all residents were African American and living in older, more substandard housing. In these neighborhoods, rents averaged from \$29 to \$48 a month, and houses ranged from \$5,000 to \$9,000 in value. By the late 1960s, the area of Okemah was experiencing drastic changes as industrial developers, taking advantage of the proximity of the newly constructed Interstate-10 freeway, bought out homeowners and cleared the land for warehouses, junk yards, and other industrial uses. Today, very little remains of the Okemah community. ¹²³

Like the neighborhoods on the east and west side, by 1969 African American communities in the South Phoenix area were labeled as the "Inner City," a popular phrase used to describe minority communities in large cities like Detroit, Chicago,

African American Historic Property Survey

¹²² Travis Williams Interview, 2004; Warren M. Banner, *Economic and Cultural Progress of the Negro: Phoenix, Arizona* (New York: The National Urban League, 1965).

¹²³ Banner, Economic and Cultural Progress of the Negro, Phoenix, Arizona, p. 67-68; Burt, Arizona History: The Okemah Community, p. 68-70.

and Los Angeles. Before the 1960s, the South Phoenix area lacked adequate social service agencies, health facilities, public transportation, as well as industries or retail stores needed to supply jobs and a tax base. Travis Williams recalls the negative image of the area that developed over time. Financial institutions marked the area as a place for low-income residents and minorities, and encouraged development northward.¹²⁴

Commerce

The number of African Americans involved in professional and managerial work grew slowly in the 1960s and 1970s. Arizona and the entire nation began the slow process of embracing civil rights and equal opportunity during this time. By 1960 seven percent of African Americans in Maricopa County held professional and managerial jobs while 27 percent worked in manufacturing and 17 percent in private home service. In 1970 12 percent were in professional and administrative jobs, 10 percent in private home service, and 29 percent in manufacturing.¹²⁵

Small businesses continued to open along Jefferson in the 1950s and 1960s. Mrs. White's Golden Rule Café, located at 808 E. Jefferson Street, is one of the longest running African American businesses owned by a woman. Mrs. White's Café has been operating since 1964. Her first location was at 1029 E. Jefferson, then she moved her business to the present building in 1976. Another small business was the *Arizona Informant* newspaper, owned by Doyle Carr in the 1960s and later published by Cloves Campbell at 9th Street and Van Buren. The *Informant* now operates from 1746 E. Madison. ¹²⁶

Lawyer Hayzel B. Daniels grew up at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and in Nogales, Arizona. He came to Phoenix in 1945 then attended the University of Arizona on the G.I. Bill and received his law degree. He was the first African American in Arizona to pass the state's bar exam. He established a law practice in Phoenix, located at 216 E. Washington – the only Black lawyer at the time. Between 1950 and 1960, he lived at various locations in the east Phoenix area but moved to 2801 N. 5th Avenue by 1960. He lived at this address until at least 1970. 127

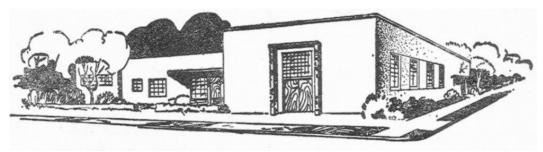
 $^{^{124}}$ Harris, The First 100 Years, p. 111; Travis Williams Interview, 2002.

¹²⁵ Department of Commerce, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Census of the U.S., 1960 and 1970.

¹²⁶ Winstona Hackett Aldridge Interview, 2004; Cloves Campbell, *I Refused to Leave the 'Hood*, (Phoenix: Cloves Campbell, 2002) p. 108, 142-144.

Hardt, The Racist Southwest, p. 52; Harris, The First 100 Years, p. 139-141.

One of the most well-known family-run businesses is the present-day Universal Memorial Center at 1102 E. Jefferson. Lincoln Ragsdale and his brother, Hartwell, founded the Ragsdale Mortuary in 1947. Their family had been in this business since 1891; their grandfather, Will Ragsdale, was the first African American mortician in the state of Oklahoma. Architects Harry Herrscher and Mel Ensign designed the building, which included a reception room, business office, operating room, and chapel.



Ragsdale Mortuary ca 1949 Elks' Lodge collection

In 1964, the Ragsdales remodeled the mortuary and changed the name to Universal Memorial Center. When Lincoln Ragsdale changed the name, he also brought in non-Black employees to try to attract a wider clientele. He commissioned a statue of the Universal Woman and put it outside the mortuary to symbolize women of the world. The Eastlake Mortuary started in 1935 at 1641 E. Jefferson and provided services at this location for over 65 years. Later, the name changed to Webber's Eastlake Mortuary. ¹²⁸

Ragsdale ran several other businesses that provided important services to African Americans. His Universal Ambulance Company operated 24 hours a day while the Ragsdale Valley Life Insurance Company sold insurance to African American families, many of whom found it difficult to pay the prices charged by other insurance carriers. Ragsdale and his brother-in-law, Bill Dickey, also operated the Century Skyroom at 1140 E. Washington, featuring a restaurant, cocktail lounge, and dining. It became a gathering place for Black professionals in the 1960s and 1970s; hosting entertainers like Duke Ellington, and became known as a fine jazz club. After Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination in 1968, members of the community met here to discuss the events and mourn his passing. This club remained in operation until 1984. 129

¹²⁹ Melcher, "Blacks and Whites Together; Interview with Lincoln Ragsdale by Mary Melcher, April 8, 1990, Arizona Historical Foundation.; Matthew Whitaker, "Creative Conflict": Lincoln and Eleanor Ragsdale, Collaboration, and

¹²⁸ Arizona Sun, 2 January 1947.

Another well-known businessman and community activist is Calvin Goode. He moved to Phoenix as a teenager in the 1940s. He graduated from George Washington Carver High and then attended Arizona State College (now ASU). From there, he returned to Carver High and worked as an accountant. Goode, with his wife Georgie, contributed to the community in many ways. Georgie was active in both the Phoenix Elementary School Board and served on the Phoenix Union High School District Board for four years. They purchased a duplex at 1510 East Jefferson in 1955. Calvin Goode operated an accounting business from his one side of the duplex while his family lived in the other. 130

During the 1960s, more African Americans moved into positions of employment within the City of Phoenix government. Some used their positions as city employees as an avenue to provide assistance to their communities. Opal Ellis came from Oklahoma in 1942 and moved into the Matthew Henson Project at the age of thirteen. She lived in the housing projects until her marriage in the late 1940s. During her career, she became involved in the Valley Christian Center as a Neighborhood Action Specialist (a city-funded position) and helped the Matthew Henson Housing Project tenant council members in their 1969 rent strike. She worked in Project LEAP (Leadership and Education for the Advancement of Phoenix), the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), and organized the Phoenix Black Coalition, which worked to bridge differences between different African American organizations who had conflicts. In 1970 she was appointed as the first African American member of the city Parks and Recreation Board. Finally, she worked in the Phoenix Housing Department for nineteen years before retiring. ¹³¹

By the 1950s, more small businesses flourished in the west side African American community. A scattering of Chinese American owned corner markets spread throughout the area, including the popular New State Grocery at 1036 S. 7th Avenue, known as "Popeye's Store" by local residents. Young W. Fung operated this store from 1932 until the 1960s. By 1970 his wife Soo ran the store. It remained in that location until its demolition in 2004. As in the past, Chinese American owned stores were important places to do grocery shopping for the local African American and Hispanic communities. A few African Americans owned corner markets such as Love's Friendly Grocery, which was operated by James Love at 1853 S. 7th Avenue.

Community Activism in Phoenix, 1953-1965," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34 (Summer 2003), p. 183; Interview with Opal Ellis, May 3, 2001, Arizona Historical Society; Phoenix City Directories; *Arizona Sun*, 2 January 1948.

130 Interview with Calvin Goode by Mary Melcher, Arizona Historical Society, 2000; Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*, p. 376.

¹³¹ Opal Ellis Interview, 2001

There were barber shops and beauty salons such as Gray's Barber Shop/Bales Shine Parlor at 10th Avenue and Buckeye Road and Deloris Moore's beauty shop at 732 W. Grant. Various small restaurants opened along Buckeye Road in the 1950s and in other sections of the west side. For example, Cole's Bar-B-Que, owned by Leon Cole at 18th Avenue and Pima. Other service businesses grew along Buckeye, including Willie Albert and Son Plumbing, Lincoln Liquor Store at 1124 W. Buckeye, and Moore's Garage at 1217 W Buckeye.

Other small businesses spread out on west Buckeye Road in association with America's automobile lifestyle in the mid 1950s. There were trailer courts between 17th and 18th Avenues that attracted travelers along State Route 80 (17th Avenue). Auto-related businesses also located along Grant Street between 7th and 13th Avenues as well as some along south 7th Avenue, such as Anderson Tire and Gray's Service Station.

In 1965 the Tate family owned a dry cleaning business on south 15th Avenue. By the mid 1960s, a few African Americans operated businesses outside of the neighborhood such as Lafayette Barr, who ran the Royce Service Station at 3831 N. Central. Another company was a small landscaping and gardening company owned by Ralph Edwards at 23rd Avenue and Adams Street. In addition, the Progress Plaza strip commercial center was built by African American owners in 1971 and located at the southwest corner of Buckeye Road and 7th Avenue. ¹³²

In South Phoenix, the development of neighborhoods stimulated the growth of a variety of small businesses along Broadway Road in the 1950s and 1960s. Professional businesses opened such as insurance agencies, real estate offices, accounting services, and the office of the short-lived newspaper, the *Arizona Tribune*. The Williams and Jones Construction Company operated as the only African American homebuilders in the Phoenix area between the 1940s and the 1960s. The company helped many in the community to get their start in the skilled construction trades since unions would only permit African American unskilled laborers to join. Willey Albert, who owned a plumbing repair business in west Phoenix, got his start with Williams and Jones in doing underground and house plumbing.

African American Historic Property Survey

¹³² The 1955 dates were culled from the 1955 Phoenix City Directories. The 1965 dates were established by the National Urban League report *Economic and Cultural Progress of the Negro: Phoenix, Arizona* by Warren M. Banner (New York: The National Urban League, 1965).

In 1953 Travis Williams formed a partnership with Clyde Webb and Virgil Berry, dealing in real estate, insurance, and new-home construction. In the early 1950s, Clyde Webb operated a real estate office at 2055 E. Broadway, and Jonathon "Jackie" Berry, who started with Lincoln Ragsdale, was vice president of the Valley National Insurance Company at 23 E. Monroe. Hoping to break into the larger commercial market, they and Travis Williams decided to create a corporation. Their office was located at 2019 E. Broadway, which was built in early 1950s and housed the former office of the Progressive Builders Association. They sold homes in East Broadway Addition, Park South, Princess Jean, and Sheraton Park. Webb and Berry handled real estate sales while Williams focused on development. Their company also offered insurance services. They worked together from 1953 to 1963, until the market slowed down, and they chose to liquidate.

As a well-known community leader, Williams left the construction company in his brother's management in 1964 to work for the City of Phoenix. He eventually became director of the city's Leadership and Education for the Advancement of Phoenix (LEAP) program, which worked to fight poverty and create opportunities in employment and education. The Williams and Jones Construction Company continued to operate, adding commercial and apartment development to its endeavors until 1990. ¹³³

John S. (J.S.) Jones moved to Phoenix in the mid 1940s with his brother, J.B. (who was married to Travis Williams' sister, Letha), to begin a partnership with the Williams family. He initially helped form the Progressive Builders Association and later went into partnership in the Williams and Jones Contractors Company. In 1948 Jones, his brother, and his sister Goldye, along with her husband Alcee Hart, started the Sun Valley Life Insurance Company. This was the first African American owned life insurance company chartered in the state of Arizona. The company began in the former home of Kemper Marley but moved to the office building at 2019 E. Broadway in 1950. Later, the family established the Sun Valley Trust and Management Company. J.S. Jones was active in the community and made an effort to help others to establish themselves professionally. In 1956 he became the first African American from Arizona to serve as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. The family's life insurance company lasted until 1996, and the management company continues to prosper. Goldye Jones Hart recalls the beginnings of their venture:

¹³³ Travis Williams Interview, 2004; Luckingham, *Minorities*, p. 175. The Family Service Center in South Phoenix is named after Travis Williams in recognition of his work with LEAP and the City of Phoenix.

The idea of the insurance company more or less related to the fact that my brothers had been insurance salesmen for many years before they became involved the business here. It was a natural thing to think about....We had salespersons located here in the main office. My brother Ezel, and my husband, Alcee, had policyholders in McNary, Chandler, Yuma, Prescott, and different places around the state where they had a considerable number of Black residents.... It was different than in Dallas. There we had a lot of customers that were domestic workers. Here, we found a lot of teachers. Also, a lot of the people we got were cotton contractors. 134

Other entrepreneurs opened women's clothing, cosmetics, and jewelry stores. Several families operated small corner markets along Broadway although Chinese American proprietors owned the majority of smaller markets that served the community. Other businesses included services such gas stations, a laundromat, an upholstery cleaner, a refrigeration and heating repair shop, and Moore's Ice Company. A few Black-owned industrial businesses also began such as trucking, auto wrecking, and construction companies. As in other African American neighborhoods in Phoenix, a number of beauty salons and barbershops opened in the area. One example is OK Barbershop opened under Tommy Hale in the late 1960s at Southern and 16th Street. It is now located at 5825 S. 16th Street, next door to the original shop, and Hale's business has expanded to include a restaurant. ¹³⁵

Another business venture in South Phoenix was the African American owned and operated radio station KCAC. Located in the current Rancho Grande shopping center at 20 E. Broadway Road, the station hired well-known disc jockeys including Jim Titus, King Bee, Eddie O'Jay (former O'Jays group manager), and Hadley Morell. Titus, a native of Ohio, worked for local radio station KRIZ in 1958 as the first African American staff announcer and DJ in Phoenix. The station KCAC only lasted from 1961 until 1965. The radio station then went on to other management and was eventually purchased by Dwight Tindell, who moved it to Mesa and began what would later become KDKB. 136

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¹³⁴ Arizona Sun, 7 May 1948; Goldye Jones Hart Interview, 2004.

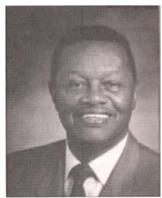
¹³⁵ Travis Williams Interview 2004, Banner, Economic and Cultural Progress of the Negro, Phoenix, Arizona.

¹³⁶ Banner, *Economic and Cultural Progress of the Negro, Phoenix, Arizona*; telephone interview with local music historian John Dixon; *Arizona Sun*, 19 February 1960.

Religion

In South Phoenix, as neighborhoods developed, African American churches continued to form and become an integral part of the community. The Southminster Presbyterian Church, established in 1953 by Reverend Dr. George B. Brooks, had its first services in a small building at 18th Street and Broadway. The next year, and with permission from the Roosevelt School District, the small congregation moved their services to the cafeteria of a nearby school. In 1954 the Southminster Presbyterian Church was formally organized with 52 charter members; the congregation purchased land at 20th Street and Broadway and used the building on the site for a church. In 1956 they built a new church at the site, located at 1923 E. Broadway. ¹³⁷

Reverend Dr. George Brooks was a significant individual in the community. A native of Philadelphia, Reverend Brooks came to Phoenix in the early 1950s, and from 1956 until 1970, he lived in a home adjacent to his church. He felt that his church should be a "social force" in the community, and he helped begin a well-baby clinic that provided infant health care for free. Between 1956 and 1959, the church provided afternoon activities for local students as well as sponsoring Cub Scout and Boy Scout troops.



Reverend Dr. George Benjamin Brooks Southminster Presbyterian Church collection

Reverend Brooks also began the "Project Uplift" program for pre-school age children, which eventually became a Head Start Program. Reverend Brooks not only focused on the local community but became very active in the Civil Rights Movement in Phoenix as well, often partnering with Lincoln Ragsdale. During the 1950s and 1960s, as a member and officer of the local NAACP, Brooks approached Phoenix employers to advocate for integration of their workforce. Reverend Brooks retired from the Southminster Church and social services agency in 1996. 138

Other churches grew in the Okemah area after 1950 including the S.A. Dabner General Baptist Temple, the Saint Stevens Missionary Baptist Church at 4316 E. Winslow, the Church of God in Christ, the House of Jacob, and the Broadway Baptist Church. Several churches grew within the east Broadway neighborhoods.

¹³⁷ Southminster Presbyterian Church 50th Anniversary Booklet, 2004.

¹³⁸ Southminster Presbyterian Church 50th Anniversary Booklet, April 2004; *Arizona Sun*, 15 April 1960.

The Union Institutional Baptist Church, pastored by Reverend Lenten Jackson, was organized February 24, 1946 at 2849 E. Chipman. The congregation constructed a new church at 2760 E. Mobile in 1975. Another church, the Lewis Chapel C.M.E. Church, was organized in 1947 under Reverend L. V. Smiley. Members eventually renamed this small church the Amos Metropolitan Christian Methodist Episcopal Church located at 2804 E. Mobile. The South Phoenix Baptist Church at 2006 E. Broadway was organized in 1958 under Pastor Willie B. Smith. ¹³⁹

During civil rights struggles, Tanner Chapel A.M.E. and First Institutional Baptist provided places to meet, organize protests, and hear speeches. Members gave financial aid to the movement and provided places for leadership training. Often members of these churches served as officers in the NAACP, the Urban League, and other political organizations. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., visited Tanner Chapel A.M.E. in 1964 to discuss civil rights in Phoenix. Lyndon B. Johnson also campaigned at the church during his 1964 run for President. ¹⁴⁰

In the 1960s, a small branch of the Muslim faith, the Nation of Islam, under the leadership of men like Elijah Mohammed and Malcolm X, established themselves in the Phoenix area. In 1962 the Nation of Islam purchased a house for Elijah (Poole) Mohammad, who was living part-time in Phoenix due to his health. The February 1963 the *Arizona Sun* reported that the well-known and controversial leader Malcolm X visited the house in Phoenix several times while meeting with Elijah Mohammad. Today, the house is the Phoenix home of Louis Farrakhan, the current Nation of Islam leader. ¹⁴¹

The Nation of Islam established the Muhammad Mosque #32 at 511 S. 20th Street. The current mosque is situated at 4444 S. 3rd Street. In 1963 the Black Muslims began a radio program called "Muhammad Speaks," on Station KWBY. The first mainstream Muslim mosque with a primarily African American congregation, Masjid Jauharatul-Islam, opened in 1981 at 102 W. South Mountain Avenue. This mosque was built through the efforts of the Imam Shamsid-Deen, who was head of the Arizona Muslim community since 1976. ¹⁴²

¹³⁹ William Burt, *Arizona History: The Okemah Community*, unpublished manuscript; Willow Grove Missionary Baptist Church 55 Year Anniversary Booklet, November 1984.

¹⁴⁰ Mary Melcher, "Blacks and Whites Together" p. 207; Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*, p. 195-196; Interview with George Brooks by Mary Melcher, January 31, 1990. President Johnson's visit is noted in letters written by Tanner A.M.E. members Floyd Galloway, Clovis Campbell, Sr., and Calvin Goode; available in "Preliminary Report Regarding the Designation of the Historic Tanner Chapel" Neighborhood Services Department, Historic Preservation Office, August 11, 2000.

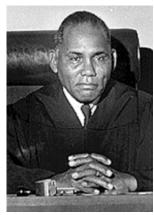
¹⁴¹ Arizona Sun, 14 February 1963.

¹⁴² Arizona Sun, 27 December 1963; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 223.

Education

Ending school segregation became a top priority for many African Americans in the post-World War II era. In the late 1940s, the multi-racial Greater Phoenix Council for Civic Unity, the NAACP, the Urban League, and other organizations spoke out against school segregation. The Council for Civic Unity, started in March of 1948, led the fight. The Council included African Americans, Whites, and Hispanics. In 1951 several teams of students attempted to register at predominantly Anglo schools near their homes in Phoenix. Louise Phillips, president of the Maricopa Branch of the NAACP, escorted these children. She also led a suit in federal court challenging segregation. These actions were part of a national grassroots effort by NAACP chapters to initiate test cases that would eventually reach the U.S. Supreme Court and end segregation across America. Black legislators Hayzel B. Daniels and Carl Sims introduced the bill, which would ultimately pass the same year that gave local school boards the option to voluntarily desegregate. Phoenix school districts chose not to do so.

In 1952 the interracial team of Herb Finn and Hayzel Daniels filed a suit (*Phillips vs. Phoenix Union High School District*) in Maricopa County Superior Court against the Phoenix Union High School District Board on behalf of three African American students who attempted to register at Phoenix Union High. In 1953 Superior Court Judge Fred Struckmeyer declared "a half century of intolerance is enough," and ended segregation in Arizona high schools.



Hayzel B. Daniels

Finn and Daniels attacked the issue again, focusing on elementary schools. That same year, they filed suit against the Wilson Elementary School District. In 1954 three months before the U.S. Supreme Court *Brown vs. the Board of Education* ruling, Superior Court Judge Charles Bernstein desegregated local elementary schools. With these achievements, Carver High School closed its doors in 1954 and the historically African American grade schools integrated, primarily with Hispanic children. ¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Mary Melcher "Blacks and Whites Together," p. 198-201; *Arizona Sun*, 24 March 1948; Luckingham, *Minorities*, p. 161-163; Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*, p. 287-290. Other Arizona school districts that desegregated after 1951 included Tucson and Chandler.

It was with mixed emotions that African American students and community members watched as Carver High School closed its doors. While they mourned the loss of a nurturing and academically challenging environment, they were pleased that this chapter in racial equality was over. Phoenix Union, Carl Hayden, and South Mountain High Schools took on the bulk of the African American students. In 1954 all 22 teachers from Carver were reassigned to different high schools. Principal Robinson took on a new job in administration for the Phoenix Union High School District. 144

With the exception of Carver High School, schools that had formerly been segregated continued to be significant to this community. Ten years after the school desegregation ruling, Black students continued to attend schools primarily in Phoenix District #1 and Roosevelt School District #66. A large majority of African American children attended Bethune and Dunbar Elementary Schools on the west, Booker T. Washington and Longfellow Elementary Schools on the east, and Julian, Palmdale, Sheraton Park and 40th Street Elementary Schools in the south. Although desegregation was ordered, African American students for the most part remained in historically homogenous communities. The Okemah School closed in 1966, when Palmdale Elementary School, now called G. Benjamin Brooks Academy, opened at 3146 E. Weir. This change took place as the Okemah area transitioned to more commercial and industrial properties and as fewer families remained in the area. The objective of the school of the second of the school of the school

Civil Rights and Political Gains

The Civil Rights Movement in Phoenix had begun in the mid 1940s with protest activity over segregation in public places; it then progressed to a successful fight against school segregation in the early 1950s. Historian Matthew Whitaker notes that after 1954, unlike many in the South, African American leaders in Phoenix were no longer focusing on school segregation and discrimination. They quickly turned to addressing issues of discrimination in housing, public places, and employment. African Americans and other civil rights supporters demonstrated in the streets by marching to the State Capitol during sessions when the Legislature was considering the passage of civil rights legislation. Participants in local civil rights struggles held

¹⁴⁴ Mary Melcher "Blacks and Whites Together"; Banner, *Economic and Cultural Progress of the Negro, Phoenix, Arizona*; Interview with Eugene Grigsby by Mary Melcher, February 12, 1990, Arizona Historical Foundation; Winstona Hackett Aldridge Interview, 2004.

¹⁴⁵ Banner, Economic and Cultural Progress of the Negro, Phoenix, Arizona, p. 87-89.

¹⁴⁶ Burt, Arizona History: The Okemah Community.

meetings, organized protests, and listened to impassioned speeches at the Tanner Chapel A.M.E., First Institutional Baptist, and Southminster Presbyterian Churches. These activities played out in a number of sites throughout the city including the streets, the State Capitol, neighborhoods, and businesses. ¹⁴⁷ *De facto* segregation continued to plague African Americans in the 1950s since education, housing, and employment opportunities continued to pose problems. ¹⁴⁸

African American residents pushed the integration envelope by moving into largely Anglo neighborhoods north of Van Buren Street. Although national legislation enacted after the 1948 court case *Shelly vs. Kramer* prohibited housing discrimination to a certain extent, most realtors and subdivision salesmen clung to old practices and refused to sell to African Americans, and to a lesser extent, Hispanics. The most well-known integration story in Phoenix is connected to the Ragsdale family. In 1953 they moved out of their east Phoenix home near 15th Street and Jefferson in 1953 when they purchased a home in the exclusive North Encanto area at 1606 W. Thomas. They are attributed as being the first African Americans in Phoenix to actively challenge segregation by moving north of the prescribed areas for their race. 149

Another example is Eugene and Thomasina Grigsby, who in the mid 1950s bought a house, north of Roosevelt on 9th Street, from a lawyer friend who lived in the Garfield district. Thomasina worked as a journalist, writing articles for African American newspapers around the country. She publicized incidents of discrimination, trying to raise awareness of events in Phoenix. When officials at the Greenwood Cemetery refused to allow a Black Korean War veteran to be buried there, Grigsby wrote about it. Due to this negative publicity, the Greenwood Cemetery changed its policy, and the man was buried there. Thomasina's husband, Eugene Grigsby, taught art at Carver High School. He worked to develop students' abilities and skills, while also helping to improve their notions of identity through drawing, painting, photography and pottery. Later, he worked as an art instructor at Arizona State University. The Grigsbys and their sons were active in the Civil Rights Movement also. The Grigsbys continue to live in their home. ¹⁵⁰

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¹⁴⁷ Matthew Whitaker, "Creative Conflict", p. 173.

¹⁴⁸ Luckingham, Phoenix, p. 175.

¹⁴⁹ Arizona Sun, 7 May 1948; Matthew Whitaker, "Creative Conflict", p. 169-170.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Thomasina Grigsby by Mary Melcher, February 7, 1990, Arizona Historical Foundation; Interview with Eugene Grigsby by Mary Melcher, February 12, 1990, Arizona Historical Foundation.

In 1960 Black students in Greensboro, North Carolina began a nation-wide "sit-in" movement by refusing to leave a Woolworth's store lunch counter. In March of that same year, the NAACP called on its chapters across the country to support this movement. Later that year, the Phoenix NAACP Youth Council began their own actions. These were the first sit-ins since the last actions staged at Walgreen's Drug and Dick's Drive-In on east McDowell in 1952.

In August of 1960, five college-age African American women were refused admittance to two nightclubs, Chez Jazz and Clown's Den at 24^{th} Street and Camelback. The manager of the Clown's Den called the police, who escorted the women off the property. A few weeks later, angered by this act of discrimination, the Phoenix NAACP Youth Group, including three of the girls involved in the incident, staged sit-ins at several downtown establishments. The demonstrations began at the Upton Candy Store at 201 E. Washington and ended at the Citrus Drug Store on 1524 E. Van Buren, four blocks north of Eastlake Park. Although a large percentage of the drug store's clientele was African American, they were not allowed to sit at the lunch counter. The owner removed the seats and refused to serve the protestors. The Arizona Sun quoted the group as stating, "The Negro youth of Phoenix donned the robes of dignity and courage to join the young people of America sitting in protest of discrimination and inequality." During the sit-ins, some restaurants served the protestors, showing that "absence of resistance from Anglo owners and managers suggested... that many Phoenicians were ready to change, and only needed the impetus."151

The *Arizona Sun* newspaper played an important role in the community from the late 1940s to the early 1960s (when it ceased publication). It was located at 1149 E. Jefferson. Under the leadership of publisher Doc Benson, the paper reported on the evolution of the national Civil Rights Movement and called for social change at the local level. The *Arizona Sun* in 1960 urged those interested in civil rights to follow the lead of the youth:

It is high time that Phoenix citizens of all colors and races should want to hold their heads up high in pride. This is not a 'Southern' city, and any respecting citizen would quickly resent any such intimation.... The young people of our

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¹⁵¹ Melcher, "Blacks and Whites Together," p. 205-206; Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*, p. 351; *Arizona Sun*, 18 August 1960, and 1 September 1960.

city have struck the spark that may well spread and create a terrific sentiment for change in laws or the creation of new laws to assure equality. 152

Besides facing segregation in restaurants and similar businesses, African Americans also found it difficult to climb upwards on the job ladder. The median yearly income of African Americans in Phoenix in 1960 was \$1,618 while Anglos earned almost triple double that amount per year. The 1960 U.S. Census revealed that two-thirds of Black workers were still in unskilled and agricultural jobs, holding positions such as laborers and domestic workers. African American-owned businesses had few full-time employees, and most were connected to the service industry. ¹⁵³

In 1962 the NAACP decided to "launch a picketing and boycott campaign" against stores which would not hire African Americans. In January, the Ragsdales and over 100 other supporters formed a march in protest of the retail store, Woolworth's, discriminatory policies. Protestors of various racial backgrounds began a month-long picket of the Woolworth's, arriving three times a week to march with signs that demanded the company hire African Americans in positions other than janitors or cooks. Eventually the chain store, located at 36 E. Washington, hired its first African American sales girl, and the pickets ended. ¹⁵⁴ Anglo establishments were not the only ones to discriminate. The El Rey Café at 922 S. Central would not serve Black customers and in 1963 African Americans conducted sit-ins and demonstrated in front of this establishment and succeeded in opening it to Blacks. ¹⁵⁵

In March of 1963, the interracial Phoenix Forum invited Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to attend an event held at the West High School Auditorium at 2910 N. 19th Avenue. He presented a speech entitled "The American Dream." The address was based on the preamble to the American Declaration of Independence, and the methods of realizing this American dream through non-violent activity. Two years later, King returned to Phoenix upon invitation from Southminster Presbyterian Church's Reverend George Brooks, Lincoln Ragsdale, and other civil rights leaders. This time he spoke at the Tanner Chapel A.M.E. Church and Arizona State University. ¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Arizona Sun, 1 September 1960.

¹⁵³ Banner, Economic and Cultural Progress of the Negro, Phoenix, Arizona, p. 150.

¹⁵⁴ Whitaker, "Creative Conflict," p. 178; Arizona Sun, 1 March 1962

Whitaker, "Creative Conflict," p. 178-179; Arizona Republic website "African Americans in Arizona,"
 http://www.azcentral.com/culturesaz/afroam/afrohistory/html; Travis Williams Interview 2004.
 Arizona Sun, 1 March 1962; Mary Melcher, "Blacks and Whites Together," 207; Whitaker, "Creative Conflict," 186.

Reverend George Brooks and Lincoln Ragsdale teamed up to push for desegregation in Phoenix corporations. In 1960 both were leaders in the Maricopa County Branch of the NAACP. They approached the president of the Valley National Bank, the largest financial institution in the state, and threatened mass protests if the bank did not hire qualified African American tellers. In 1962 Valley National Bank hired its first Black teller, Wilbur Hankins. They also approached the powerful Motorola Corporation, who ignored their requests and refused to hire African Americans. The men brought hundreds of Black applicants to Motorola, who were turned away. When Reverend George Brooks and lawyer, Herbert Ely, discovered a blatant case of discrimination involving Motorola and the State Employment Office in 1962, the company reversed its policies and hired African Americans for manufacturing jobs. Brooks also requested other employers like Goldwater's Department Store and Food city to hire more African Americans. The Phoenix Urban League, at 1335 E. Jefferson, begun in 1943 through the efforts of Wade Hammond, assisted in job training for employment in occupations where few or no African Americans worked. 157 In 1967 Project LEAP (Leadership and Education for the Advancement of Phoenix) extended job training classes to residents on the west side.

The work was not yet complete. There was a need for a statewide civil rights law that would widely ban discrimination. In 1963 the Maricopa County chapter of the NAACP held a demonstration to protest discrimination in employment, education, public accommodations, and housing in Phoenix. The same year nearly 1,000 Freedom Marchers assembled in Eastlake Park and marched to City Hall with a list of grievances against the City, County and State. They met with Mayor Sam Mardian, who, in response, appointed a city Human Relations Commission and adopted an equal employment creed for the city.

Between March and June of 1964, members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), NAACP, and other civil rights supporters joined together to march in downtown Phoenix, carrying signs and demanding the passage of a state public accommodations law. On March 30, 1964, over 300 protestors gathered at the Arizona State Capitol. Two months later, a large group also came together and threatened a sit-in at Phoenix City Hall to express their desire for a local public accommodations ordinance. The newly formed Phoenix Human Relations Commission attempted to persuade businesses to integrate. When this failed, they recommended that the City Council pass an ordinance that would make segregation

¹⁵⁷ Whitaker, "Creative Conflict," p. 174; Mary Melcher, "Blacks and Whites Together," p. 205; *Arizona Sun*, 11 October 1946, and 6 April 1961.

of public facilities illegal. In July of 1964, 14 days after the U.S. Congress passed the national Civil Rights Act, the City Council passed the ordinance and named an interracial commission to oversee it. ¹⁵⁸

The struggle continued at the state level. In 1964 two civil rights bills were introduced into the Senate and House of Representatives. The following year, the new governor, Samuel Goddard, vowed that by July of 1965 Arizona would have its own Civil Rights Act, and its own commission. In April of that year, spurred by the recent passage of the national Civil Rights Act and pressure from groups like the NAACP and CORE, the state legislature passed its first civil rights laws. This legislation banned discrimination in public accommodations, employment, education, voting, and law enforcement. Although this legislation addressed blatant forms of discrimination, more work needed to be done. African Americans interested in further change continued to work through social organizations and at a political level. ¹⁵⁹

After the 1950s, the community made political gains in other ways aside from the successful passage of civil rights legislation. Individuals involved in the Civil Rights Movement or influenced by it ran for elected office, and some eventually won. Hayzel B. Daniels, a member of the NAACP and the Greater Phoenix Council for Civic Unity, ran for state legislature in 1950 for District 23, and replaced the incumbent, Wing Foon Ong. That year, Daniels and Carl Sims became the first African American legislators in Arizona. In Daniels first year, he introduced the bill that allowed school districts in Arizona to voluntarily desegregate. He served until 1952 and went on to become the first African American Assistant State Attorney General under Bob Morrison and Wade Church. He also served as the first African American municipal judge in Phoenix from 1965 to 1973. He retired from public life in 1978. ¹⁶⁰

Carl Sims, who was elected to the House or Representatives for District 22 along with Hayzel Daniels in 1950, was born in Texas in 1911 and moved to Phoenix in 1927. He worked as a painting contractor and lived at 1303 W. Magnolia. As a legislator and a member of the NAACP, he was active in the push for school desegregation. In fact, two of his children were part of the teams of students who attempted to register at predominantly White schools in 1951, during the start of the

African American Historic Property Survey

¹⁵⁸ Whitaker, "Creative Conflict," p. 183; Mary Melcher, "Blacks and Whites Together," p. 207; Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*, p. 359-260, 368-372; CORE's office was located at 1324 W. Buckeye Road.

 ¹⁵⁹ Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 370-372.
 ¹⁶⁰ Hardt, *The Racist Southwest*, p. 52; Harris, *The First 100 Years*, p. 139-141; Travis Williams Interview, 2004.

NAACP's legal campaign to desegregate. Sims, a Democrat, served in the legislature until 1960. He later moved to California, where he passed away in 1968. 161

Morrison Warren, the first African American to be elected to the Phoenix City Council, was known as a "bridge-builder" because he pushed for the betterment of all races. As a boy, he came with his family to Phoenix from Texas. He grew up at 1225 E. Monroe, and his father eventually operated Fred's Malt Shop at 12th and Jefferson. It was here that Booker T. Washington School children bought hot lunches.



Morrison Warren

In 1956 Morrison moved to his home at 2131 E. Violet in South Phoenix and worked as an educator; he was principal of Booker T. Washington School for 15 years. He also worked for 20 years at Arizona State University. He ran and was elected as the first Black city councilman, serving from 1966 to 1970. He served as the first African American vice-mayor from 1969 until 1970. He was also on the Arizona Public Service (APS) board from 1972 to 1994. He passed away in 2002. 162

Cloves Campbell, Arizona's first African American state senator, was born in Louisiana in 1931 and grew up in east Phoenix. He spent the years between 1946 and 1951 in the Matthew Henson Public Housing Project. He graduated from Phoenix Technical School and then attended Arizona State College. In 1955 he began working for APS and moved with his wife Juanita to South Phoenix; where they purchased a home at 5001 S. 21st Way in the Princess Jean subdivision. He eventually entered politics and was elected as a state representative in 1963. He served in the Arizona House of Representatives until 1966, when he ran and was elected to the Arizona Senate. He served in the senate until 1972. During his time in state government, he helped push through civil rights legislation and introduced bills that focused on consumer issues, establishing kindergarten as an official grade level, supported bilingual education, and pushed for the creation of multi-cultural textbooks. In 1970 he also initiated the first attempt to create a state holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr. And in 1971, he took over publishing the African American newspaper The Arizona Informant, the largest weekly newspaper of its kind in the state. Campbell died in 2004. 163

¹⁶¹ Clippings and notes in Legislator vertical file, Arizona State Archives; Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 287.

¹⁶² "Morrison Warren, Politician, Professor, Dies," *Arizona Republic*, 15 April 2002; Phoenix City Directories.

¹⁶³ Cloves Campbell and Yuvonne Brooks, *I Refused to Leave the 'Hood*; Interview with Cloves Campbell by Mary Melcher, June 1, 2001, Arizona Historical Society. The Cloves C. Campbell School is named after former Senator Campbell.

Health Care

African American doctors arrived in Phoenix to fill the needs of a growing population. Dr. Lowell Wormley was born in Washington D.C. and studied at Howard University Medical School. He became acquainted with Arizona in 1942 as a captain in the Medical Corps at the Fort Huachuca Hospital. He also served as chief of surgery in the Poston Hospital at the Japanese internment camp. He decided to stay in Arizona and accepted a job as an instructor at the nursing school at Saint Monica's Hospital in west Phoenix. He also was appointed to the staff at Saint Joseph's and Good Samaritan Hospitals. When he arrived in the mid-1940s, there were only two other African American doctors, Dr. Dave Solomon and Dr. Winston Hackett. Wormley opened his own practice in 1946 in the Midtown Medical Building at 1 N. 12th Street and practiced there until the early 1980s. In 1950 he was the first African American west of Chicago to become a fellow in the field of surgery at the American College of Surgeons in Massachusetts. In 1949, he and his wife Olivia constructed their home at 1910 E. Broadway. 164

Another doctor, Oscar Hardin, was the first African American obstetrician-gynecologist in Arizona. Born in Ohio in 1922, Hardin graduated from Howard University Medical School in 1948. Encouraged to come to Phoenix by Lincoln Ragsdale, he moved to the area in 1960. He worked at Phoenix Memorial Hospital (formerly Saint Monica's) and founded the Nurse-Midwifery Program there. In 1969 he became the first doctor in Arizona to allow fathers to be present during deliveries. He served at Phoenix Memorial Hospital for 30 years and was active in the Urban League, the Desert Mashie Golf Club, and the LEAP Commission. Through his involvement in the NAACP, he participated in pickets related to public accommodations and in efforts to integrate companies like Motorola. He died in 2001. 165

Recreation and Leisure

Grant Park, Harmon Park, and Eastlake Park remained the main areas for public recreation in the communities north of the Salt River. Helen Mason, a great-granddaughter of the first African American Phoenician, Mary Green, worked with the young people at Eastlake Park in the 1960s. She organized programs for children involving sports or arts and crafts. She also organized social events for high school and college students. In addition, she helped to organize Phoenix's Black Theater

¹⁶⁴ Harris, The First 100 Years, p. 138-9; Arizona Sun, 25 August 1950.

¹⁶⁵ Funeral Program, 2001; Phoenix Memorial Hospital Newsletter, July 1984.

Troupe in 1970. The Helen K. Mason Center for the Performing Arts is located at 333 E. Portland.

As time progressed, the Elks Lodge on the west side continued to be a significant social center. In 1950 the lodge helped to establish the Boys Club. Members of the lodge and auxiliary also provided scholarships, sponsored educational programs for students and became active in charity work for people in the surrounding community. According to the *Arizona Sun*, the Elks' charitable contributions annually "doubled all other local Negro organizations' donations combined." The Elks Lodge sponsored concerts, dances, beauty contests, the Junior Elks, and a local Boy Scout Troop. They helped construct a basketball court in the area, and members proudly recalled how they raised money to purchase band uniforms for Carver High students. Baseball greats such as Willie Mays, Hank Thompson, and Joe Black frequented the lodge when in town for spring training during the 1950s. During civil rights activities, members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) met at the lodge. Several organizations formed at the Elks Lodge including the Phoenix chapter of the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in 1967. 167



Willie Mays receives an honor from members of the Elks' Lodge Elks' Lodge collection

¹⁶⁶ Crudup, African Americans in Arizona, p. 415-417.

¹⁶⁷ Arizona Sun, 12 December 1947; Interview with Elks Lodge members, 2004; Arizona Republic clipping in Elks Lodge scrapbook, n.d.; Arizona Sun, 6 June 1947. The OIC was a self-help job training program based in Philadelphia.

A number of prominent music groups played on the Elks Lodge stage. National recording artist Louis Jordan, a resident of South Phoenix, frequently performed at the Elks Lodge. A singer and saxophonist, Louis Jordan lived at 2118 E. Violet from 1950 until 1961. Born in 1908 in Arkansas, Jordan played with Chick Webb's Savoy Ballroom Band in 1936, one of the leading African American ensembles in the country, which featured singer Ella Fitzgerald. Jordan began recording for the Decca record label in 1938 with his band, Tympany Five. From 1942 to 1951, Jordan had 57 Rhythm & Blues (R&B) chart hits. Some of Jordan's biggest hits include "Choo Choo Ch'Boogie," "Ain't Nobody Here But Us Chickens," "Saturday Night Fish Fry," and "Let The Good Times Roll." These recordings had subtly disguised social commentary about racial conflict and poverty. His shuffle-boogie style later influenced music greats B. B. King, Ray Charles, Chuck Berry, and Bill Haley. In 1952 Jordan sent a letter of complaint to the Phoenix City Council about Sky Harbor's "no-Negro policy" at its Sky Chef restaurant. He also started a student loan fund to assist local students of all races in attending college. In 1975 Louis Jordan died in Los Angeles; in 1987, he was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. 168



Louis Jordan *Elks' Lodge collection*

¹⁶⁸ http://Louisjordan.com website information; clipping in Elks Lodge scrapbook, n.d.

Other nationally known musicians and groups that played the Elks Lodge stage include Johnny Taylor, Ike and Tina Turner, James Brown, Bobby Bland, the O'Jays, and the Ohio Players. ¹⁶⁹ In 1967, Wilson Pickett performed a hit R&B song created by a Phoenix group, whose lyrics describe a well-known and somewhat notorious street in South Phoenix:

Every town I go in, there's a street
Name of the street
Funky, funky Broadway.
Down on Broadway
There's a nightclub
The Name of the nightclub, now baby,
Funky, funky Broadway...

So begins the song written by Dyke and the Blazers, which they performed for the first time at Elks Lodge #477. Arlester "Dyke" Christian was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1943. In the mid-1960s he sang and played bass with the Blazers, the band backing the O'Jays. Dyke and some of the other Blazers landed in Phoenix after running out of money to get back to New York. They settled in and formed their own soul band in 1966. Their instantly popular song, "Funky Broadway," paid tribute to Broadway Road, the central corridor for African American business and social life in South Phoenix. Other than James Brown, Dyke & the Blazers were one of the first acts to play funk. The band released a number of funk singles during the late 1960s. Dyke Christian died in Phoenix in 1971. 170

The Elks Lodge was only one of the major African American music venues in the 1950s and the 1960s. African Americans continued to patronize the Riverside Ballroom and just down the street was the Calderon Ballroom. This club, located at 1610 E. Buckeye, brought in African American and Hispanic musicians from 1950 until the 1970s. Local Phoenix orchestra leader Chapito Chavarria played there for many years. African American bands in the 1960s included the Drifters, and Brook Benton and Five Royals. Local musician Stan Devereaux remembers the club scene when he and the Trendsetters arrived in Phoenix in 1966:

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Elks Lodge members, 2004.

¹⁷⁰ Rickey Vincent, Funk: The Music, The People, and the Rhythm of the One, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), p. 82-83.

You could see the big shows for pretty cheap. You got to see all the blues shows.... They called it the Chitlin' Circuit, where all the R&B cats came through, and they would always play the Calderon Ballroom and the Riverside Ballroom here in Phoenix... All the acts you saw came through here on their way to California.

A third dance club, Club Zanzibar, opened in 1950 at 1101 W. Hadley. It remained in operation until at least 1970. 171

However, South Phoenix lagged behind in other recreational opportunities. Prior to 1940 and with the exception of South Mountain Park, formal park areas did not exist that were accessible to African American residents. Most children played in and around nearby fields and swam in the local canals like the San Francisco Canal, which was lined with tall cottonwood trees. This canal runs north of Broadway between 24th and 40th Streets. Later, some African American children patronized the Tempe Beach swimming pool (after it opened to minorities in the late 1940s), which was located closer than the Eastlake Pool north of the Salt River. Okemah Park developed in the mid 1960s at 3828 E Anne. It catered to the mainly Black residents in that area. In 1969 the City of Phoenix built the Okemah Neighborhood Center at the park to house day care and Head Start programs. These programs allowed young mothers in the neighborhood to attend school or go to work without worrying about childcare. Today, the Okemah Service Center is where the City of Phoenix Waste Management Department and a branch of the city's Development Services are located.

There were also a few places where people gathered for social events. The Okemah Women's Club was founded in 1968 and was located at 41st Street and Transmission. Women from the community organized events and provided services to the neighborhood. They sponsored trips to the zoo, Easter egg hunts, and Christmas parties. They also provided a clothing bank, library services, and sewing classes. They published the "Okemah News," a small newsletter that included photos and information. Two other social centers included the Fred Warren Recreation Hall at 1624 E. Broadway (R.H. Hamilton American Legion Post #65) and the VFW Post at 16th Street and Broadway. ¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Phoenix City Directories; Interview with Chapo Chavarria by Jean Reynolds, 23 August 2003 (in Matthew Henson Housing Project Historic Property Documentation report); Interview with Stan Devereaux by Jean Reynolds, 2001, 30 December 2001, Arizona Historical Society; Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*.

¹⁷² Burt, Arizona History: The Okemah Community, 53; Mary Boozer and Gussie Wooten Interview, 2004.

¹⁷³ Burt, Arizona History: The Okemah Community, 50-52; Phoenix City Directories.

CONCLUSION

By 1970 the number of African Americans in Phoenix reached just under 30,000, or five percent of the city's population. Communities in the three regions of the city had changed over time. They generally flourished until the 1950s and 1960s when neighborhoods deteriorated and disappeared due to age, crime, poverty, and urban redevelopment projects. Many older, long-time residents eventually passed away and their homes were sold. As neighborhoods changed in the 1970s business development began to taper off in these areas.

In areas like Okemah in South Phoenix, the decision to locate the Papago Freeway (I-10) through the center of the community encouraged industrial development and hastened the destruction of its residential neighborhoods. Mary Boozer reflected on her feelings about the dramatic changes in her community: "You feel kind of lost, like they are pushing you out of your home. After I moved out of there, after I found out they were tearing my house down, I couldn't go down there. I just went down 40^{th} Street; I never came down Superior where we lived. When I moved I didn't want to go too far."

By the late 1960s and into the 1970s, civil rights legislation barring discrimination in home buying gave impetus for more Black residents to move into areas that were closed to them before. As segregation broke down and economic opportunities expanded, middle-class Black families moved farther west and east in Phoenix. Some residents began to integrate into neighborhoods north of Van Buren or into affordable neighborhoods in Maryvale or into the western portion of South Phoenix where more subdivisions were developing.

Laura Harris, whose family moved from Oklahoma to Phoenix in 1923, moved out of her east Phoenix neighborhood in 1965 to South Phoenix. Eight years later she and her husband, Richard, moved to Apache Junction. Although she was leaving her community, she maintains ties with the church of her childhood, First Institutional Baptist, and with the present-day Carver Museum. She vowed, "I'm not going to let distance be my prison," and faithfully returns to Phoenix for services and events. This story is a common one: Black families moved away but retained their ties to their churches and neighborhoods. Harris's story illustrates the historical and social significance of these community institutions. ¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Mary Boozer and Gussie Wooten Interview, 2004.

¹⁷⁵ Laura Harris Interview, 2004.

Long-time resident Tommie Williams asserts that although many Black residents now living outside the community return every Sunday to their churches, these historic places of worship have taken on a new meaning. They are no longer the physical core of the neighborhoods, as they had been in the past, but have become a symbol of the small, tight-knit community that once existed. He fondly recalls the community of his youth and the closeness that was diluted once the community began to disperse:

If there was anything I would keep it would be the general way the neighborhood got along together. Just like, for example, there were a lot of ladies doing domestic work...If the family that my mother was working for had clothing or something like that, after their children had outgrown it...they would give it to my mother, and if nobody in our family was that size...they would pass down and hand around. It was just kind of a spirit like that that really helped the family along...I wish that type of spirit still existed, even in the churches...It was a way of life....Everybody was poor, and we didn't really worry about it. The majority of people were really in the same financial box. 176

The Civil Rights Movement had made a great impact on the City of Phoenix and the state through the efforts of many individuals and organizations. Schools had changed by 1970. Initially, desegregation of once all-Black schools did not result in full integration, since Black families continued to live in the same neighborhoods where these schools were built. Over time, however, more Latino families entered these communities and began to change the demographics of the schools. Integration also brought about expanded access to health care, recreation, and leisure activities. Buoyed by the gains of local African Americans in civil rights and politics after the 1950s, the decades of the 1970s and beyond would see the continued rise of the Black community. This trend is reflected in two final stories.

Goldye Jones Hart, born in 1922 in Texas, daughter of a farmer, attended college in Texas before marrying and migrating to Phoenix in 1948 with her husband, Alcee, at the urgings of her brothers, J.S. and J.B. Jones. She helped start the family business of the Sun Valley Insurance Company and then began teaching at Percy L. Julian School in South Phoenix in 1953, at the time of school desegregation. She eventually obtained a master's degree from Arizona State University and took on positions as curriculum supervisor and assistant principal at Julian School. In 1971 Hart became the first African American woman principal in the Roosevelt School District, serving as principal of the T.G. Barr School for twelve years. She later became president of

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¹⁷⁶ Tommie Williams Interview, 2004.

her family's businesses, Mutual Investors and the Sun Valley Trust and Management Companies. She continues to work in her family business today.¹⁷⁷

A second individual who epitomizes this rise to success is a well-known city councilman, businessman, community activist, and neighborhood stalwart: Calvin Goode. After graduating from Arizona State College with a degree in business, he established his own accounting business in 1955. He eventually became interested in politics and in 1972, was elected to the Phoenix City Council, where he served for 22 years. He secured many improvements for the Black community in South Phoenix, such as the bridge over the Salt River at 16th Street. For years, he ably advocated for jobs and job training, improved programs for youth, and developed a program to ensure that small businesses owned by women and minorities would receive a proportionate share of city business. He was the longest-tenured councilman in Phoenix's history; he also served twice as vice-mayor. After leaving office in the 1990s, the City of Phoenix renamed the Goode Municipal Building, located at 251 W. Washington, in honor of his years of service in Phoenix. 178

Many of the important places in the have disappeared, but the history of its people, its events, and its places remains. The story of the African American community in Phoenix is rich in detail and filled with stories of achievement and persistence. African Americans have "come up together, through all the hardships." Children of working-class families went on to find success; Black residents successfully pushed against segregation and enacted social change. Each of the three regions where the African American community flourished has continued to change over time. Although significant historic structures and sites have vanished, a handful of buildings, homes, and neighborhoods, yet remain and need to be remembered, interpreted, and preserved. Goldye Jones Hart explains it so precisely:

I think it is important to preserve the history because of the contributions of the Black community made here in this state. There are a lot of firsts... When I came to Phoenix there was one Black funeral home, one Black lawyer in the state, two Black doctors in Phoenix, and one in Tucson....We have made tremendous strides, I think, to be of such a small percentage... and have contributed a lot to the growth of Arizona and the improvement of the community's status. ¹⁷⁹

 $^{^{\}rm 177}$ Goldye Jones Hart Interview, 2004.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Calvin Goode by Mary Melcher, Arizona Historical Society, 2000; Crudup, *African Americans in Arizona*, 376. The Goode Municipal Building, located at 251 W. Washington, is named after Calvin Goode in honor of his years of service in Phoenix.

¹⁷⁹ Goldye Jones Hart Interview, 2004.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The purpose of the African American Historic Property Survey was to identify the historic built environment associated with African Americans in Phoenix. Generally, the survey concentrated on properties that were located in three distinct areas of the city. Cognizant of the fifty-year requirement for listing on the local or national register, the survey focused on properties built before 1955. However, the survey paid some attention to properties that were built between 1955 and 1970 because of their association with the historic context. Earlier surveys had already identified some of the properties within this study for their architectural merit. Those properties are included here in order to update information more than a decade old and to add to their statement of significance by their association with this historic context. Finally, because of the expansive geography of this project, investigators concentrated on those properties that were identified by members of the African American community through the outreach and oral interview processes of this study.

The properties included in this survey were identified as either individual properties or as districts. Property types in this survey fall into three categories: residential, institutional, and commercial. The information collected relates the historic context in terms of significance via association with specific property types within these categories. Therefore, this section identifies the criteria that apply for significance, association, and integrity.

When evaluating a property against National Register criteria, significance is defined as the importance of a property to the history, architecture, archeology, engineering, or culture of a community, a state, or the nation. Significance may be based on association with historical events or patterns of history (Criterion A); association with a significant person (Criterion B); distinctive physical characteristics of design, construction, or form (Criterion C); or potential to yield important information (Criterion D).

The major area of significance for this study is *Ethnic Heritage: Black*, defined as the history of persons having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. ¹⁸⁰ The context, *African Americans in Phoenix*, 1868-1970, identifies the major themes of

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¹⁸⁰ National Register Bulletin 16A, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form.* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1977), p. 40.

significance and places that significance at the local level. Within this context, other themes that coincide with areas of significance at the local level emerge. These themes include Neighborhood Development, Commerce, Religion, Education, Health and Medicine, and Politics.

Association refers to the direct connection between the property and the area of significance for which it is nominated. For a property to be significant under historic events in this context (Criterion A), the physical structure must have been there to "witness" the event; events must have actually occurred on the nominated property. For an association with a trend or pattern of history, the historic property must be associated with the historic context via ownership, occupancy, or use. For a property to be significant for an association with an individual (Criterion B), the individual should have lived, worked, or been on the premises during the period in which the person accomplished the activities for which the individual is considered significant. For a property to be associated with architectural significance (Criterion C), it must possess distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master designer; or retain high artistic value. Properties associated with this study evaluated under the criterion "likely to yield" (Criterion D) must be likely to yield information specific to the history of the African American community in Phoenix.

The historic context of this study points mainly to the application of Criterion A as a broad pattern of history. Significant individuals are framed within the context of African American history in Phoenix rather than individual achievements in areas like education, religion, commerce, or politics. As such, Criterion B would only apply to individual residences under Property Type I, Neighborhoods and Individual Residences. Additionally, some of the properties in this study have been identified previously for their significance under Criterion C while others identified in this study may be eligible under the same. This study focuses sharply on Criterion A and therefore does not attempt to evaluate properties under Criterion C.

Lastly, a property is evaluated for its integrity: the authenticity of physical characteristics from which properties obtain their significance. When properties retain historic material and form, they are able to convey their association with events, people, and designs from the past. All buildings change over time. Changes do not necessarily mean that a building is not eligible; but, if it has radical changes, it may no longer retain enough historic fabric and may not be eligible for the National Register. Historic integrity is the composite of seven qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

African American historic resources in Phoenix are considered rare property types, and that must be taken into account in evaluating their eligibility for registration, especially in relation to integrity. Rare properties must retain sufficient physical features to convey their historic character, but the seven aspects of integrity — location, design, setting materials, workmanship, feeling, and association — are weighed in light of comparison of surviving resources.

Location

Location is almost always an essential aspect of integrity, and that is no less the case in relation to African American historic resources in Phoenix. Because African Americans were segregated to specific parts of the city, location is regarded as a necessary characteristic for eligibility. Moved structures must remain within these cultural boundaries in order to maintain their location integrity. Resources associated with African American history in Phoenix outside the traditional cultural boundary must demonstrate their exception is extraordinary to historic context.

Design

Design consists of those elements such as form, plan, style, and proportion that are selected by conscious decisions, which combine to give a property its essential appearance. Design is present in humble structures as well as grand edifices, and is an important aspect of integrity for these historic properties. Eligible properties are expected to retain basic form, roof, patterns of fenestration, and other major features such as porches, entries, or carports. Where few decorative elements appear to be present, the simplicity of design, materials, proportions and scale can become signature elements and character defining features. Modifications like additions or resurfacing that occurred during the period of significance would be regarded as part of the significant design.

Setting

Setting is an aspect of integrity that is often not present for African American historic resources in Phoenix due to their locations in the central area of the city, where considerable redevelopment, encroachment, and slum clearance have occurred. The surroundings of many of the surviving resources have been altered or transformed in character. This aspect remains relevant in evaluating these resources, but only when a setting is so altered as to prevent the adjacent resource from conveying its own historic character, does this aspect rule out eligibility.

Materials

Materials must be given less weight in evaluating these historic resources in Phoenix than design, especially in relation to residential structures. A substantial portion of the most significant surviving historic houses associated with African Americans in Phoenix have been re-sided with a variety of materials. When the material obscures the underlying design of the house, such as "PermaStone" on a clapboard building, the property may be regarded as ineligible. When the residing is a modern material that generally replicates the texture and appearance of the original, such as narrow-width vinyl siding over clapboards, a property may still be eligible. Even given these alterations, each eligible property retains the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic character and significance. The rarity of this whole class of properties should be respected as significant resources, despite some alterations in materials.

Workmanship

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the craftwork of a culture or group and is not a high aspect of integrity for this group of resources. Although there may be evidence of workmanship displayed by various building trades, or a particular "coarseness" visible in the vernacular work of this community, none of these properties display specifically African American craftwork, so this aspect of integrity does not weigh heavily in the evaluation process.

Feeling

Feeling relates to the ability of the physical features of the property, viewed as a whole, to convey a historic sense of the property and its function or use. This aspect is quite significant in evaluating Phoenix's historic African American resources. This aspect might be paraphrased as answering the question: "Would the historic resident of a house or member of a church congregation readily recognize the property in its present condition?" For eligible properties, the answer should be a definite, "yes."

Association

Association refers to the link between a property and the historic event or person for which the property is regarded as significant. This aspect is present in eligible properties associated with these property types, and properties that are weak in this aspect are not regarded as eligible.

PROPERTY TYPES:

The African American Historic Property Survey evaluated over 200 individual properties, locations, and references as well as 23 neighborhood areas representing more than 66 subdivisions and over 1800 residential parcels. It must be understood that that this is not an exhaustive inventory; rather, it represents the built environment as it coincides with the historic context, *African Americans in Phoenix 1868-1970*. The resulting property types are a categorization of these resources and an analysis of their characteristics, locations, and features as an application of the evaluation criteria. The resulting classification scheme, in conjunction with consideration of the historic context, provides a basis for evaluating properties within this study as well as additional properties that may come forward at a later time. In general, eligible properties (including districts) must possess characteristics of significance and integrity.

PROPERTY TYPE I: Neighborhoods and Individual Residences: Neighborhoods

There are a number of neighborhoods identified in this study that are associated with African Americans in Phoenix. Eligible neighborhoods under Criterion A represent the development of the African American community in Phoenix through their general location within the city as segregated housing and on the margins of the incorporated municipality. These neighborhoods reflect the broad pattern of the history as the centerpiece of the African American experience as identified in one or more of the historic context periods. Neighborhoods may also be considered eligible under Criterion B within this context if the developer, builder, or other motivating force whose leadership, innovation, or resources were instrumental in development, construction, or preservation of the neighborhood. This would include individuals that have exerted significance on the neighborhood's sense of community or historic identity. Prominent residents whose individual achievements have gained recognition beyond the neighborhood (e.g. political figures, social reformers) would also add to the significance of the neighborhood.¹⁸¹

Although neighborhoods historically associated with the African American community from 1868 to 1970 were identified in this study, eligible neighborhoods

African American Historic Property Survey

¹⁸¹ National Register Bulletin, "Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for listing on the National Register of historic Places. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 2004), 45.

must have been platted before 1955 and show a continuous pattern of construction completion within a reasonable period of time for its era. For example, prior to World War II, neighborhoods had a longer development pattern evident by their architectural styles, building materials, and construction dates. During this era, it was not uncommon for neighborhood development to span more than a decade as properties were developed by individuals or small entities. Suburban development of residential subdivisions was accomplished one house at a time. Prospective homeowners would purchase a lot in a desirable or available subdivision and build a house through a contractor (or by themselves) based on a custom design or more often on a pattern plan. After World War II, mass-produced tract housing, as the result of wartime industries and postwar population booms, quickened the pace of subdivision build-out and neighborhood completion. Some postwar developments were completed in as little as two years from subdivision plat to build-out. Because of their rarity, neighborhoods with resources that pre-date World War II hold a higher degree of significance than properties associated with a later context. Homes built before 1930 would hold the highest level of significance because of their association with the earliest period of the context and their overall rarity as a resource type.

Neighborhoods must possess a high degree of integrity in order to be considered eligible for listing on the National Register. In terms of location, the boundaries that historically defined the suburb must remain intact and correspond to those of the historic district being nominated. The location of the streets and the size and shape of the house lots must also remain constant.

As with other studies, field investigation revealed that integrity of neighborhoods tended to be evaluated by a combination of two scales: streetscape and buildings, as tempered by a feeling of time and place. Additionally, neighborhoods from the pre-World War II context periods should be considered with some leniency towards the aspects of integrity because of their rarity.

Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a historic suburb. Integrity of setting requires that a strong sense of historical setting be maintained within the boundaries of the nominated property. At the scale of neighborhood streetscape, setting includes the density of buildings, distribution and proportion of vacant land, modern intrusions, continuity of setbacks and building height, appropriate landscaping, street furniture and light standards, tree lawns, sidewalks, and fences. Residential settings often included other indicators of their historic period beyond houses. Neighborhoods that possess a high number of intact resources

with little disruption by vacant lots, non-compatible in-fill housing, or other development and retain many of the physical patterns of development (sidewalks, setbacks, etc) achieved a high rating in terms of setting.

At the scale of individual buildings, the integrity aspects for evaluation included the extent or impact of façade alterations or additions. Such changes to the original facades include porch enclosure, window replacement/infill, wall sheathing, and carport in-fill. Consolidation of housing lots and new construction with modern materials can also negatively impact a neighborhood under consideration. In neighborhoods that possess a high degree of feeling, alterations and additions do not transform the "feel" of the resources from their original construction/design. African American neighborhoods within this context show a strong relationship between residential properties and religious, educational, and commercial properties through a pattern of association that must be considered in the criteria for evaluation. Small churches, corner markets, and public schools are as much a part of the neighborhood as the homes both in terms of physical resources and community interaction. As such, neighborhoods that maintain this pattern of association with historic churches, stores, schools, and community buildings that may still be present could include these resources within the boundaries of a historic residential suburb if the historic context substantiates the association.

Individual Residences

In order for an individual residence to be considered eligible for designation under Criterion B, it must meet the guidelines for properties associated with significant persons as defined by National Register Bulletin 32, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties Associated with Significant Persons.* Eligible properties under Criterion B are associated with specific individuals who made a contribution or played a role in the history of the African American community in Phoenix, 1868-1970. For properties associated with several community leaders or with a prominent family, it is necessary to identify specific individuals and explain their significant accomplishments as it applies to this historic context. It is also necessary to evaluate contributions of individuals in comparison to those of others who were active, successful, prosperous, or influential in the same field (e.g. commerce, education, health/medicine, religion).

Individual residences that are eligible for designation under Criterion B must demonstrate that the property is directly associated with the significant individual and are associated with the productive life of the individual in the field in which (s)he achieved significance. If other properties exist that better associate their

achievements, then those properties should be evaluated first. Individual residences would qualify if the individuals' contribution is to a broad pattern of history; however, the association with the property must include the period of significance for which they are associated.

It should also be noted that properties that were constructed within the last fifty years, or that are associated with individuals whose significant accomplishments date from the last fifty years, must possess exceptional significance to be listed in the National Register. This also applies to properties associated with significant individuals who are still living. Properties associated with living persons are usually not eligible for inclusion in the National Register. Sufficient time must have elapsed to assess both the person's field of endeavor and his/her contribution to that field. The guidelines suggest that the activities of the individual that provide the basis for significance must have achieved fifty years old. Moreover, the guidelines indicate that a sufficient elapse of time ensures that the individual is not likely to contribute to their field of endeavor in a manner that would require reevaluation of their accomplishments.

Because of their rarity, residences associated with significant individuals that pre-date World War II hold a higher degree of significance than properties associated with a later context. Homes built before 1930 would hold the highest level of significance because of their association with the earliest period of the context and their overall rarity as a resource type.

Eligible properties must retain integrity from the period of its significant historic associations. Individual residences that retain their historic location, maintain original materials of construction, and invoke a feeling specific to its period of significance would rate higher than those properties that do not retain these aspects. Again, answering the question: "Would the historic resident of this house readily recognize the property in its present condition?" For eligible properties, the answer should be a definite, "yes."

PROPERTY TYPE II: Institutional Properties

Churches

No single institution was of greater importance to the African American community than the church. From the era of slavery to civil rights, religious imagery provided an outlet for yearnings of freedom and the focus of civic activity. W. E. B. Du Bois expressed the church's significance as "the center of economic activity as well as of amusement, education and social intercourse." Founding independent churches gave African Americans some of their first experiences in organizing their own institutions. The advancement of Black religious freedom was inseparable from political freedom and educational opportunities. Unlike the patriarchal organization of White churches, African American churches allowed women an important role. Of equal importance to the male deacons were the deaconesses, often called "mothers," who ministered to the sick and instructed children in the ways of faith. Historic African American churches identified in this context study fall into two major categories of significance. First there are those churches that were identified as major influences in the community as a whole. These are major institutions that carried enough political and social clout to sponsor major events in the community, bring about social welfare, and broker the importance of the African Americans community in Phoenix as a whole. Examples of these include Tanner Chapel A.M.E., First Institutional Baptist, Saint Monica's (Saint Pius X) Catholic Church and Southminster Presbyterian. These churches also served as major beacons of social activity within their respected geographic areas. These churches are identified as Category I Religious Properties.

The second category of significance is bestowed to those more modest churches with smaller congregations that embedded themselves within the neighborhoods. Unlike other churches that were built mainly on prominent streets, these churches were integrated in the middle of neighborhoods or conveniently sited at the edge of the neighborhoods they served. In some cases, a "crossroad" in the middle of a neighborhood may have two or three churches, one on each corner, such as the intersection of 20th Street and Mobile. This integration within the neighborhood reinforced the role of the church as a community institution in addition to its religious function. Neighborhood churches exerted influence within the neighborhood as an extension of the familial relationships pervasive in African American culture. As such, the congregation or "church family" played a significant

Montgomery, William E. *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African American Church in the South 1865-1900.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.

role of the life of individual families. Properties within this context are identified as Category II Religious Properties.

With the exception of a handful of religious properties that exhibit high architecture, historic African American church buildings tend to be smaller and more vernacular in design, expressive of the limited economic resources within the community. Still the buildings will feature architectural cues or details that reflect church building design particular to their denominational association. Although not liturgically defined, these visual cues manifest different denominational identities. Churches in the Baptist tradition, for example, may have a simple rectangular plan, modest, if any, exterior ornamentation and the main entry at the rear of the sanctuary. The simplicity of these churches is rooted in their Congregationalist notions of piety. Churches of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) tradition may employ greater architectural grandeur and feature exterior ornamentation in the form of towers and parapet crenellations indicating their more European and Anglican ancestry. Additionally, church buildings have additions and alterations that reflect different periods of growth or the long passage of time required for capital improvement fundraising. These changes are a significant part of the church's history because they reflect the dynamic forces and decision making processes of the congregation.

Under the Secretary of Interior's guidelines, religious properties may be considered eligible under Criterion A if directly associated with either a specific event or a broad pattern of history in another historic context where the Area of Significance is not Religion. A religious property would also qualify if it were significant for associations that illustrate the importance of a particular religious group in the social, cultural, economic, or political history of the area. In this historic context, religious properties are not evaluated on the merits of their religious doctrine but rather for important historic forces that the property represents.

In order to be eligible for listing on the National Register within this context, religious properties must derive primary significance from their historic importance within the broad pattern of history as a community force or association with the African American history in Phoenix, 1868 -1970 (Criterion A). In the case of eligible properties, their congregations were formed and buildings constructed before 1955. In some cases where an older congregation has moved or constructed new buildings, those properties should be reevaluated when the physical resources have achieved 50 years of age. Within this context, eligible religious properties are associated with the broad pattern of African American history in Phoenix or "bear

witness" to significant events within that context. These eligible properties possess a high degree of integrity in terms of location, setting, and feeling.

Because of their rarity, churches associated with the period before World War II hold a higher degree of significance than properties associated with a later context. Churches built before 1930 would hold the highest level of significance because of their association with the earliest period of the context and their overall rarity as a resource type.

As a primary expression of this significance, a Category I Religious property must be located on its original site. As placeholders to significant events and expressions of the broad pattern of history, the buildings and their original locations are important to the preservation of their significant association. Likewise, it is important that Category II Religious Properties maintain the integrity of their original location because it serves as a reminder to the local neighborhood of their historic association and familial connection within the African American community. A Category II Religious Property would not necessarily be ineligible if it were moved buildings as long as it remained in the community in which it achieved significance and the new setting is comparable to the original.

For both Category I and Category II Religious Properties, setting plays an important role as an aspect of integrity because of the embedded nature of the church as both a physical resource and social institution in the African American community. Where church sites retain that strong neighborhood association, residential location, or prominence among historically African American districts, a premium for eligibility would exist. While setting usually applies to the physical surroundings, in those cases of Category II Religious Properties where the surrounding neighborhood characteristics have been lost, it may be viewed as representational. Here the historic resource may be the only vestige of its neighborhood setting that remains extant. As such, the church may have an active congregation even though it does not draw members from the immediate surroundings. In these instances, the representational setting should be considered before the resource is penalized in the determination of eligibility.

As important as location and setting, eligible churches must possess a high degree of feeling or the ability of the physical features of the property, viewed as a whole, to convey a historic sense of the property and its function or use. This is extremely important in lieu of design and materials not being a significant factor of integrity. Eligible churches would maintain the historic sense of the property as well as its

function by retaining the physical features of the building form, ornamentation, and signature material elements (e.g. stained-glass). Non-eligible religious properties would have compromised the historic feeling through a change in use from congregational activity to other uses (commercial, office) and the introduction of inappropriate alterations and/or materials.

It should be noted that those religious properties that were previously identified as significant for their architectural distinction (e.g. Tanner Chapel A.M.E.) must retain their integrity of design, materials, and workmanship according to the *Religious and Institutional Properties in Phoenix* survey to still be considered eligible under Criteria C.

<u>Schools</u>

The property type, schools, associated with this context study are school buildings constructed between ca. 1900 and 1970 that were originally intended to serve African American primary or secondary public education, or those constructed after desegregation in predominantly African American neighborhoods. Schools within this context must derive primary significance from their historic importance within the broad pattern of history as a community force or association with the African American community in Phoenix (Criterion A) in order to be eligible for listing on the National Register. Of particular interest are those institutions constructed before 1955 that were witness to the era of segregation and associated with the broad pattern of African American history in Phoenix. These would include possible associated outbuildings, structures, and objects. Additionally, they must possess integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association.

Schools fall within a wide range of styles, designs, and locations within the African American community. Some of these properties have already been identified for their significance in the area of Public and Institutional Architecture (Criterion C). Additionally, the range of extant resources shows the evolution of this type of institutional architecture from Neo-classical and Period Revival designs on traditional floor plans to modern examples constructed in the postwar period. The buildings record in their changing plans, growing size, and developing functions the shifts in educational philosophies and the needs of the community which they serve. Technological and design innovations are reflected in building materials, layout, and construction methods. The evolution of public school buildings from an inspiration for higher learning to the solid utilitarian, unadorned campus in the 1960s is a direct reflection of community attitudes towards education.

Regardless of their appearances or age, schools have an association with the African American community through both people and the broad pattern of history. For this context, the role of education plays an important part in the African American community as both reflection of the broader experience of African Americans in Phoenix and as an institutional force within the community seeking to change that reflection through elementary and secondary education. Many prominent individuals within the community were teachers or administrators at these schools. Others attended these institutions, where classrooms, recreational facilities, teams sports, and civic lessons served as "incubators" for members of the community who went on to lead productive lives and change their communities for the better. The significance of schools related to African American history in Phoenix includes an association with both the broad pattern of history as well as specific events like desegregation and the Civil Rights Movement.

Because of their rarity, schools associated with the period before World War II hold a higher degree of significance than properties associated with a later context. Schools built before 1930 would hold the highest level of significance because of their association with the earliest period of the context and their overall rarity as a resource type.

Eligible school properties will have a high degree of integrity in terms of location. Because of the general size of school buildings and their surrounding campus, it would be difficult to move these structures. As such, their locations become landmarks within thriving residential areas and icons of neighborhoods lost. With the exception of George Washington Carver High School, they were generally built to accommodate the African American populations where they were living. Carver High School, on the other hand, was intentionally located in an otherwise industrial, urban setting as a compromise of distance between east and west side students. Yet the decision also reflects the second-class standing of African Americans in the minds of district planners at the time it was constructed.

In contrast to location, the aspect of setting takes on a broader connotation than the immediate surroundings of these historic resources. It is important to note that the significance of these schools is that they were segregated. As such, they were constructed in areas that were associated with a segregated population. It is this relationship between the physical resources and their setting among historically segregated areas of the city that must be recognized. Those school buildings that have already achieved significance for their architecture or emblematic place in the community (e.g. George Washington Carver High School, Booker T. Washington

Elementary School) setting is not necessary to continue their association with the context of African American history in Phoenix. For neighborhood schools like Paul Laurence Dunbar Elementary and Percy L. Julian Elementary setting takes on a broader connotation because they are associated with historically segregated areas.

As important as location and setting, eligible schools must possess a high degree of feeling or the ability of the physical features of the property, viewed as a whole, to convey a historic sense of the property and its function or use. This is extremely important in lieu of design and materials not being a significant factor of integrity. Eligible schools would maintain the historic sense of the property as well as its function by retaining the physical features of the campus layout, building elements (e.g. windows, entries), and classroom forms. Non-eligible schools properties would have compromised the historic feeling through inappropriate alterations or modifications to the structures that render their historic uses unrecognizable.

PROPERTY TYPE III: Commercial Properties

Business and commerce are key aspects of modern communities. Within the context of African American history in Phoenix, entrepreneurs, service professionals, commercial retailers, and real-estate developers play a significant role in the broad pattern of history. The associated commercial property types, however, comprise a much smaller collection of resources with only a few instances holding both significance and integrity.

Eligible commercial properties that have significance in this context include neighborhood markets, professional offices, businesses owned and operated by African Americans, and locations that highlight the era of segregation or events related to the Civil Rights Movement. In each case, eligible properties demonstrate an association with people and events in the broad pattern of African American history in Phoenix, or claim to "witness" a significant moment in this historic context (Criterion A). Additionally, they must possess integrity of location, materials, and feeling.

Because of their rarity, commercial properties associated with the period before World War II hold a higher degree of significance than properties associated with a later context. Commercial properties built before 1930 would hold the highest level of significance because of their association with the earliest period of the context and their overall rarity as a resource type.

The location of eligible commercial properties is an important aspect of their integrity. The location itself identifies their place within the African American community as either service / retail providers to the community; entrepreneurial opportunities for African American proprietors; or reflects cultural biases broken down during the latter part of the context narrative. Properties associated with these identities would be considered eligible.

Many of the markets, pharmacies, and corner stores associated in and around the African American neighborhoods were owned and operated by persons of other races. In many cases, though, these places resonated with the community as they were familiar places where the common transactions of daily life took place. Other retail business revolved around the service industries, like restaurants, clubs, beauty parlors and barbershops, where people gathered informally to catch up on the news or hear the latest gossip. Office buildings where medical professionals, accountants, and insurance agents conducted their work were also important commercial

properties. Though fewer in number, they were often the only provider of these services to the community. Eligible commercial properties retain a strong sense of location that demonstrates that close connection to the community.

With the design of commercial properties in this context well below the level of significance for Criterion C, materials are an excellent way of suggesting an aspect of integrity that relates to the property's era of construction without holding it to the higher standards of design. Eligible commercial properties should have a high degree of original materials that convey the historic fabric of the building where possible. In those cases where the substantive materials have been altered or replaced, appropriate alternative materials would not necessarily diminish the integrity. Commercial properties that have been heavily altered or have had important material elements irrevocably eliminated would not be considered eligible.

In conjunction with materials, the eligible commercial property must retain a high degree of feeling or the ability of the physical features of the property to convey a historic sense of the property and its function or use. This is extremely important because commercial properties go through several "life spans" and changes in use whereby the historic elements that indicate use of function are obliterated. Eligible commercial properties will maintain the historic sense of the property by retaining the physical features of the building form that indicate its historic use(s). Non-eligible commercial properties would have compromised the historic feeling through changes and alterations that significantly eliminate the feeling of commercial use.

It should be noted that many of the specific sub-property types are already covered by the *Commerce in Phoenix*, 1870 to 1940 historic context study available at the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office. Additionally, commercial markets owed and operated by Chinese Americans should be evaluated under the context *The Chinese in Arizona*, 1870-1950 also available at the State Historic Preservation Office.

PROPERTY TYPE IV: Recreational and Social Properties

As part of any local community study, recreational and social properties are important centers of community life. They represent places to gather for formal events and grand occasions, or places to associate around varied interests and leisure pursuits. Parks, clubhouses, lodges, nightclubs, and entertainment venues were important places in the life of community members for the shared experiences they afforded. Property sub-types include parks and recreational facilities, entertainment and social clubs, and cemeteries.

Parks

Most of the park and recreational facilities associated with African American history in Phoenix are municipal facilities with indoor-recreation buildings, grassy park areas, and play fields integrated into one site. Some parks feature a swimming pool, organized ball fields, outdoor performance structures, and playground equipment. Parks are associated with the broad pattern of African American history in Phoenix because of their role in the lives of community members. Through sports leagues, family occasions, community events, and socials, people use these facilities to mark important achievements, commemorate history, and socialize with family and friends. As evident from the historic context, these parks have been both witness and backdrop to the significant persons and events of African American history in Phoenix. In addition to significance, parks that are eligible must retain aspects of integrity in location, setting, and feeling.

Parks that are eligible for designation should be classified as historic sites. As such, the location is seldom in question, but it is an important aspect of integrity. Parks are anchored to their communities by their location. As such, an eligible property will automatically retain a strong aspect of location.

Eligible park properties will also demonstrate a high degree of integrity when it comes to setting. Generally there are two kinds of parks found in the urban built environment in Phoenix. The first is the general municipal park patterned after the City Beautiful Movement of the early twentieth century. In these cases, the parks were designed to bring open space, green grass, and trees into the urban environment to improve the quality of life for residents. Phoenix examples include Encanto Park and, within the African American community, Eastlake Park (formerly Phoenix Park). The second form of park is the more modest neighborhood play areas that are adjacent to school grounds and offer fewer amenities. In both cases, however, the setting is a significant indicator of its function. Eligible parks will retain

their historic setting in relation to their function as a municipal park or a neighborhood playground.

Finally, an important aspect of integrity for a park is feeling. Where community uses and municipal programming change over time, the park should retain its essential park-like features and amenities. Conversion of park facilities to non-public use and the replacement of amenities with lower maintenance items should not diminish the site's feeling. Trees and grass areas should be maintained and replanted when appropriate. Buildings and structures that are altered or added on to should compliment historic features of original buildings. Changes and alterations to park buildings, amenities, and features that are inappropriate to both feeling and function would not be considered eligible.

Parks associated with the period before World War II hold a higher degree of significance than properties associated with a later context. Parks established before 1930 would hold the highest level of significance because of their association with the earliest period of the context and their overall rarity as a resource type.

Entertainment and Social Clubs

Like parks, entertainment and social clubs offered the community places to socialize and recreate for a variety of reasons, occasions, and associations. Properties of this type associated with African American history in Phoenix will have a strong cultural association with the community as part of the broad context of history. Social clubs, dance halls, fraternal lodges, and nightclubs will have significance through their ownership and/or patronage by the African American community as well as an association with important persons (e.g. entertainers, political figures, community leaders). Because of their rarity, entertainment and social clubs associated with the period before 1955 hold a higher degree of significance than properties associated with a later context. Properties of this type built before 1930 would hold the highest level of significance because of their association with the earliest period of the context and their overall rarity as a resource type. In addition, entertainment and social clubs will demonstrate a high degree of integrity with the aspects of location, materials, and feeling.

As a factor of significance, the entertainment and social clubs should be located on their original site. As gathering places, their locations (prominent or out-of-the-way) made going there part of the experience. Since these were unique establishments serving the community as a whole, their locations were not anchored to neighborhoods, per se; rather, they were linked to major streets and accessibility to

the broader community. A moved building would not necessarily render ineligibility as long as it remained in the community in which it achieved its significance and its new setting is comparable to the original (e.g. prominent street or out-of-the-way).

Materials also play a role as an aspect of integrity in lieu of substantive architectural design. In the case of most establishments, entrepreneurs were simply providing a place to offer an outlet for entertainment. As such, materials of construction were as functional as the building form. Alterations, residing or changes in materials over time do not necessarily interrupt the use of the building or its intended function. Although materials aspects of integrity are important, exterior changes or alterations would not necessarily disqualify a property from eligibility. Only in those cases where changes to the property diminished its historic function or provided for a change of use would the property not be recommended as eligible.

More important than location and materials, eligible entertainment and social clubs must possess a high degree integrity with respect to feeling or the ability of the physical property to convey its historic function or use. This is extremely important in lieu of other factors of integrity. Eligible entertainment and social clubs would maintain the historic sense of the property as well as its function by retaining the physical features of the building form, entrances, and signature material elements (e.g. signs). Non-eligible properties would have compromised the historic feeling through a change in use or activity that is incompatible with its original function.

<u>Cemeteries</u>

While not considered a recreational or social site by most definitions, as a property type cemeteries fall within this sub-type because of their characteristic features, area of significance, and aspects of integrity used for evaluation. Cemeteries represent an interesting part of a local community. Although death is a practical expectation for all, the subject did not come up among members of the African American community that participated in oral interviews, discussions, or various outreach activities. Within the focused study area, one cemetery was identified and evaluated. Since it does not appear in the historic context and its association with the broad pattern of African American history in Phoenix is unsubstantiated, its significance remains unclear. However, general applications of the National Register Criteria provide a basis for evaluation in the event that an association is established in the future.

In most cases, cemeteries would be eligible under Criterion A if they are associated with historical events or a pattern of history. Under Criterion B they would be

eligible if prominent persons significant to history (national, state, or local level) were interred there. In some cases, exceptional work of artisans in the embellishments of graves could make the property eligible under Criterion C. National Register Bulletin 14, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places* provides sufficient explanation and a number of criteria considerations.

In addition to a significant association with the broad pattern of African American history in Phoenix, cemeteries that would be eligible for nomination under this context must also possess a high degree of integrity as an historic site. Much like a park, these include location, setting, and feeling.

For cemeteries, location and setting are integral aspects of integrity that must be considered. Typically, historic cemeteries begin on the fringe of a community and are eventually obfuscated by growth and development. By the time an urban cemetery becomes eligible for designation, it no longer retains this setting. While location has not changed, the surrounding area could be residential, commercial or even industrial. There are a variety of cemeteries within the city that have experienced this phenomenon. However, even though the setting has changed, a cemetery can retain a high degree of integrity in this aspect as long as the encroachment does not overwhelm the site.

Perhaps the most important aspect of integrity for a cemetery is feeling. Although a cemetery may no longer be used and the grounds no longer maintained, the cemetery should retain its essential park-like features and that general feeling of calm or quiet. Often cemeteries that are not maintained fall prey to vandalism and neglect that damage or destroy specific graves or their markers. While neglect and vandalism can significantly diminish the aspect of feeling, they would not disqualify cemeteries from eligibility. Changes or alterations to the site that would significantly diminish its feeling include any activity of paving and building over the site, encroachment by adjacent development that significantly increases noise levels or causes ground disturbance, or the introduction of lighting to the site as if it were a park or some other recreational property.

EVALUATION

The evaluation process of this historic context can be divided into two activity groups. The first activity group relates to the survey and evaluation of individual properties that fall within this context study. The second activity group relates to the reconnaissance survey of potentially eligible African American neighborhoods.

INDIVIDUAL PROPERTIES

Through the course of this historic property survey, researchers encountered over 250 individual properties that were identified through archival research, community interaction, and field reconnaissance. The investigative process linked together three key components: physical location, resource identity/age, and significant association with the African American community. With these components a resource could be evaluated and a determination of eligibility made.

Of the 250 properties, 175 individual properties were placed on a list for evaluation. These resources received additional archival research and intensive field survey in order to fully evaluate their potential eligibility. As information was gathered, inventory forms were generated for those properties that had a high probability of eligibility. Generally, these were properties that were identified specifically through archival research and oral histories as having a high degree of significance; properties that were identified via windshield surveys as appearing to have a high degree of significance based on their location and appearance; and properties that had received specific inquiry by the City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office. The remaining properties were removed from the list for lack of information or association with the study. The evaluation process assigned the remaining 175 properties into one five groups:

Individual Properties Eligible for Listing to the National Register:	26
Individual Properties Not Eligible for Listing Due to Age:	26
Individual Properties Not Eligible for Listing Due to Integrity:	26
Lost Properties:	97
Properties needing further information:	25
Total:	175

NEIGHBORHOOD AREAS

Included in the scope of this historic property survey was the identification and reconnaissance survey of neighborhood areas that are associated with the historic context. During the course of the project, investigators encountered over 21 neighborhood areas representing more than 66 subdivisions encompassing over 2,300 properties. These areas were identified by archival research, oral histories, and field reconnaissance. The investigative process linked together three key components: physical location, resource identity/age, and significant association with the African American community. With these components a neighborhood area could be evaluated and a determination of eligibility made.

For each of the 21 neighborhood areas, a Neighborhood Reconnaissance Form was completed that assisted in the identification and evaluation of each area. This form includes identification of the neighborhood's principal architectural features, condition, age, number and dispersal of historic resources, physical description, and significance as it relates to the context *African American history in Phoenix*, 1868-1970. The resulting table identifies results of the neighborhood reconnaissance:

Residential Areas Eligible for Listing to the National Register:	5
Residential Areas Not Eligible for Listing Due to Age:	4
Residential Areas Not Eligible for Listing Due to Integrity:	10
Lost Properties:	2
Total:	21

AAHPS RECOMMENDED ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES

Form	Name	No.		Street
AAHPS-001	Winstona Aldridge House	1326	Е	Jefferson
AAHPS-003	Bethel CME Church (Bethel Mission)	998	S	13th Ave.
AAHPS-004	Booker T. Washington School	1201	Е	Jefferson
AAHPS-050	Dr. Lowell Wormley House	1910	Е	Broadway
AAHPS-011	Eastlake Mortuary	1641	Е	Jefferson
AAHPS-012	Eastlake Park - City of Phoenix	1501	Е	Jefferson
AAHPS-015	Grant Park - City of Phoenix	701	S	3 rd Ave.
AAHPS-016	Greater Friendship MBC	1901	W	Jefferson
AAHPS-018	Harmon Park - City of Phoenix	1425	S	5th Ave.
AAHPS-019	Higher Ground Church of God in Christ	1302	Е	Madison
AAHPS-036	Lincoln Ragsdale Home	1606	W	Thomas
AAHPS-003	Lucy Phillips Memorial C.M.E. Church	1401	Е	Adams
AAHPS-024	Matthew Henson Housing Project	7^{th}	Ave	. & Sherman
AAHPS-025	Midtown Medical Center	1	N	12 th St.
AAHPS-022	Percy L. Julian Elementary School	2149	Е	Carver
	Phoenix Housing Authority / Housing			
AAHPS-033	Authority - City of Phoenix	1305	S	3 rd Ave.
AAHPS-031	Robert and Louise Phillips House	4417	S	19 th St.
	Progressive Builders Association / Webb,			
	Williams, & Berry / Jones Realty & Insurance			
AAHPS-035	/ Sun Valley Life Insurance	2019	Е	Broadway
AAHPS-038	St John's Institutional Baptist Church	1428	S	13 th Ave.
	Saint Pius X Church (Saint Monica's Catholic	801-		
AAHPS-039	Church) / Saint Monica's Maternity Clinic	809	S	7 th Ave.
AAHPS-043	Southminster Presbyterian Church	1923	Е	Broadway
AAHPS-045	Tanner A.M.E. Church	20	S	8 th St.
AAHPS-029	The Old Ship of Zion MBC	1145	W	Hadley
AAHPS-037	W.A. Robinson Home House	1314	Е	Jefferson
	William H. Patterson Elks Lodge #477 /			
AAHPS-013	Chinaberry Garden Club	1007	S	7 th Ave.
AAHPS-047	Morrison F. Warren House	2131	Е	Violet
AAHPS-052	Weona Homes		Pima/18 th Ave.	
AAHPS-053	Raylap Homes	Cocopah/18 th Ave.		
AAHPS-054	Clint Thomas Homes	Pima/15 th Ave.		
		South Broadway/		
AAHPS-059	East Broadway Addition		20 th	22 nd St.
		S		Broadway/
AAHPS-060	Carlotta Place		18 ^{tl}	20 th St.

AAHPS PROPERTIES NOT RECOMMENDED ELIGIBLE: Age

Form	Name	No.		Street	
	Black Theater Troupe – Helen K Mason				
	Center for the Performing Arts	333	Е	Portland	
AAHPS-007	Church of Christ	1101	W	Tonto	
AAHPS-005	Cloves Campbell House	5001	S	21st Way	
	Dr. Thomas Crump Office / Mrs White's				
AAHPS-008	Golden Rule Café	808	Е	Jefferson	
		1508			
AAHPS-014	Calvin and Georgie Goode House / Office	1510	Е	Jefferson	
AAHPS-017	Eugene and Thomasina Grigsby House	1117	N	9 th St.	
	First Institutional Baptist Church	1141	Е	Jefferson	
AAHPS-040	Greater Shiloh Baptist Church	901	W	Buckeye	
AAHPS-009	Hayzel B. Daniels Home	2801	N	5 th Ave.	
AAHPS-020	House of Prayer Church of God in Christ	1402	S	11 th Ave.	
AAHPS-041	John Ford Smith House	5025	S	21st Way	
	Lewis Chapel C.M.E. / Amos				
AAHPS-002	Metropolitan C.M.E. Church	2804	Е	Mobile	
AAHPS-021	Louis T. Jordan House	2118	Е	Violet	
	New Bethel Church of God in Christ	2803	Е	Mobile	
AAHPS-026	New Family Market	15 th Ave & Cocopah			
AAHPS-028	O.K. Barber Shop	5825	S	16 th St.	
	Opal Ellis House	9616	S	1 st Ave.	
	Palmdale School				
	(G. Benjamin Brooks Academy)	3146	Е	Weir	
AAHPS-034	Pilgrim Rest Missionary Baptist Church	1401	Е	Madison	
	Progressive Plaza (strip mall)		7 th A	ve / Buckeye	
	R.H. Hamilton American Legion Post #65				
	/ Williams & Jones Construction				
	Company / Fred Warren Recreation Hall	1624	Е	Broadway	
	Sheraton Park School / Martin Luther				
	King Jr. School	4615	S	22 nd St.	
AAHPS-042	South Phoenix Baptist Church	2006	Е	Broadway	
AAHPS-048	Travis Williams House	5044	S	21st Way.	
	Union Institutional Baptist Church	2760	E	Mobile Mobile	
AAHPS-046	Universal Memorial Center	1100	E	Jefferson	
AAHPS-061	Park South	South Broadway / 16 th -20 th St			
AAHPS-062	Princess Jean Park	South Broadway / 10 -20 St South Broadway / 20 th -22 nd St			
AAHPS-063	Sheraton Park	South Broadway / 22 nd -24 th St			
AAHPS-064	Moore's Addition		South Broadway / 20 th St		
L	- L			,	

AAHPS PROPERTIES NOT RECOMMENDED ELIGIBLE: Significance / Integrity / Context

Form	Name	Street		Street		
	A. N. Brill House	1133	W	Tonto		
	Alkire Park	17 th Ave. / Papago				
	Tutt & Nadine Booker House	1117	W	Tonto		
	Cementerio Lindo					
AAHPS-023	(Maricopa County Cemetery)	15 th	Ave.	and Durango		
	Charles Bernstein House	18	Е	Marlette		
	Citrus Drug Store	1524	Е	Van Buren		
	Ellis Bldg	321	N	1 st Ave.		
		355	Е	Thomas		
	Emmett McLoughlin Home Equator Faith Mission		_	e. & Yuma		
	Herbert Ely (home)	3934	W	Palmaire		
	Herbert Ery (nome)	3/37	VV	1 aiiiiaii e		
AAHPS-032	Housing Authority - City of Phoenix	301	W	Pima		
MMH 5-032	Irene McLelland King	1510	E	Adams		
	KCAC Broadcasting Co / Radio Station	20	E	Broadway		
	Kenilworth Barbershop	20	L	Dioadway		
	(Gold Spot Market)	226	W	Roosevelt		
	Leadership and Education for the	220	**	Roosever		
	Advancement of Phoenix (LEAP)	251	Е	Washington		
	Liquor Store/Grocery	1125	W	Buckeye		
	Liquor Store/Grocery	1140	W	Buckeye		
	Mary McLeod Bethune	1110	- ' '	Buckeye		
	Elementary School	1510	S	15 th Ave.		
	Mr. Warren's Drugstore /					
	Lee's Grocery Market	1246	Е	Jefferson		
	NAACP	816	N	6 th Ave.		
AAHPS-027	New Valley Market (original location)	1602	W	Buckeye		
	Okemah Neighborhood Center /	1002	- ' '	Dueneye		
	Okemah Services Center	3829	Е	Anne		
	Royce Service Station	3831	N	Central		
		North Broadway				
	San Francisco Canal	$24^{\text{th}} - 28^{\text{th}} \text{ St.} / 36^{\text{th}} - 40^{\text{th}} \text{ St.}$				
AAHPS-049	Willow Grove Baptist Church	3244	S	40 th St.		
AAHPS-051	Yee's Market (Ben Yee)	1101	W	Grant		
AAHPS-055	WestSide 1	South B	South Buckeye / 15 th -7 th Ave.			
AAHPS-056	WestSide 2	North Buckeye / 17 th -11 th Ave.				
AAHPS-057	Eastlake Park	South VanBuren/12 th -16 th St.				
AAHPS-058	Eastside 2	South VanBuren/16 th -20 th St.				
AAHPS-065	Broadway Estates	South Broadway/ 24 th -28 th St.				
AAHPS-066	Weir Estates	South Broadway/ 28 th -32 nd St.				
	CII Ebuteb	Journ D.	· Jud V	, / 20 32 56.		

AAHPS PROPERTIES NOT RECOMMENDED ELIGIBLE:

Significance / Integrity / Context (continued)

Form	Name	Street		Street
AAHPS-067	Progress Place	North B	roadv	vay/ 16 th -20 th St.
AAHPS-067	Progress Place			vay/ 16 th -20 th St.
AAHPS-068	White's Garden			vay/ 20 th -24 th St.
AAHPS-069	Peila Homes			vay/ 24 th -28 th St.
AAHPS-070	Carefree Homes	North B	roadv	vay/ 28 th -32 nd St.
AAHPS-071	Okemah Acres	North B	roadv	vay/ 32 nd -36 th St.
AAHPS-072	Okemah Lots	South U	niver	sity/36 th -40 th St.

AAHPS PROPERTIES LISTED ON THE NATIONAL REGISTER

Form	Name	No.		Street
AAHPS-044	Swindall Tourist Home	1021	Е	Washington
	George Washington Carver High School			
AAHPS-006	(Phoenix Union Colored High School)	415	Е	Grant
	Paul Laurence Dunbar Elementary			
AAHPS-010	School	701	S	9 th Ave

RECOMMENDATIONS

The African American Historic Property Survey is just a starting place for the study of African American history in Phoenix. In the attempt to identify and catalog historic resources the study opened the door for preservation of this community's rich heritage that extends far beyond the built environment. Demolished buildings and vacant lots are but one harbinger that preservation must go beyond the physical resources. Project investigators listened to the stories and combed through the records of a dynamic cultural community whose history is on the verge of being lost. In addition to conducting a historic property survey, this project was asked to make recommendations for collecting, preserving, and presenting the history of the African American community in Phoenix though other Public History activities. The following suggestions are intended to provide ideas for collecting, preserving, and interpreting the cultural history and life of African Americans in Phoenix.

1. Museums

George Washington Carver Museum & Cultural Center

This report can be used, along with other works written on African Americans in Phoenix, as a baseline study to help direct ongoing collection of artifacts, archival materials, and photographs related to the African American community in Phoenix. The report can also be used as source material and a thematic guide to further develop exhibits in the museum. Thematic ideas for museum exhibits that stem fro this project include: African American Churches in Phoenix, African American businesses/entrepreneurs, and the Civil Rights Movement in Phoenix, 1940-1970.

<u>Phoenix Museum of History</u>

Similar to the Carver Museum, this report can be used, along with other works written on African Americans in Phoenix, as source material and a thematic guide to further develop exhibits on the African American community. Additionally, the Phoenix Museum of History should pursue a joint exhibit project between in relation to the Black community in Phoenix, drawing on resources from both institutions.

2. Oral Histories

Information presented in this report may increase interest in a number of people, places, buildings, or events in the history of the African American community in Phoenix. The City, local museums, social organizations, and others are encouraged to begin ongoing oral history projects to interview more long-time residents about the Black community in general and add to the information that has already been

collected. A survey of all African American oral histories scattered in various local repositories is suggested as a beginning place for this type of project. The product of this initial survey would be a resource guide or finding aid that would catalog the oral history holdings at the Arizona Historical Society, Arizona State University, Carver Museum and other repositories into one comprehensive publication. The next step is to locate and interview those individuals whose stories are yet untold, filling in gaps in the history of the Black community.

3. Publications

An excellent way to disseminate the information in this report is to publish a small book that documents and describes some of the significant places, related people and historical events in Phoenix's African American community. Along the lines of Marsha Weisiger's <u>Boosters, Streetcars, and Bungalows</u>, a booklet of this type would allow this information to be accessible to a wider audience and generate interest in further study. This book would include historic photographs, maps, and other illustrations.

4. Commemorative Signage

One idea for commemorating African American history in Phoenix is the creation of signage in the form of three or four-sided kiosks which display the history of the area. These signs could be placed in large parks like Harmon or Eastlake Park, at the new Matthew Henson housing office area, or other community gathering areas. These kiosks would reveal through text and photographs the history of the area in which they are located, including significant churches, schools, people, and places. This method of display allows the community to learn about the history in a public setting. It may be a solution to the dilemma of which places in the historic community should have commemorative signage, and how to preserve the memory of places that are now gone.

Similar to kiosks, mass-transit waiting areas provide another opportunity to convey local history through text and photographs. Transit routes that run through historically African American areas provide an excellent opportunity to use commemorative signage at bus benches, light rail stops, and at major transit transfer stations to provide permanent and changing panels of historical information and photos. Panels within the buses and light rail cars could also convey this information. Additionally, transit routes through historically African American areas may be renamed to reflect the cultural identity of an area.

5. Presentations

One of the most successful ways to disseminate information is through public presentations. There are a number of opportunities in the community to bring segments of this report to the community in visual and lecture form. Brown bag lunch lectures, village planning meetings, Black History Month activities, Juneteenth, and public lectures at the library should be considered forums for presentations based on this study. Additionally, the methodology and findings of this study should be reported back to the academic community through conferences sponsored by the Western History Association, Association for State and Local History, and National Council for Public History.

6. Curriculum

As a means of transmitting community history to a new generation, the information within this report could be developed into a number of different curriculum units and learning activities. For example, students could learn about schools and the era of segregation by reading about Carver Museum and Booker T. Washington School. Units could also focus on significant individuals in the Black community or aspects of cultural life through various places.

7. Internet

The internet is one of the most widely used mediums on the modern era. Information from this survey as well as a condensed form of the historic context narrative should be available to the public via the internet. Create a website where information from this report is presented, along with photographs, maps, and other visuals. Audio clips from the oral histories could be digitized and added to the website later. The website should be linked to the City Historic Preservation Office, Carver Museum, and other historical/educational sites and promoted by local institutions.

8. Award/ Scholarships

Preservation of local history will eventually fall to a new generation. In order to encourage this generation to continue to retrieve, interpret and preserve the history of the African American community in Phoenix, an award or scholarship program is proposed that would be administered by community organizations (e.g. Carver Museum, Elks Lodge). The program could sponsor projects through National History Day or Black History month that rewards students who complete writing or collection/interpretation projects related to African American history in Phoenix.

9. Arizona Centennial Celebration, 2012

Phoenix's African American history should be celebrated along with the many other stories from Arizona's history during the Centennial events. Carver Museum, Phoenix Museum of History, and/or the City of Phoenix should plan for to participate in this endeavor with a project related to this area of study. The political achievement stories, the Civil Rights Movement, and any "Arizona firsts" in Phoenix's Black community should be celebrated here.

10. Video/ Television

Produce a video or show on Phoenix's Channel 11 about the history of the African American community based on information from the report, highlighting the historic preservation aspects. Since the distances within this study are not conducive for a walking tour, a video tour of significant locations could be produced that would provide an overview of the community. Additionally, a feature program could be produced for significant properties like Tanner Chapel, or Eastlake Park.

APPENDICES

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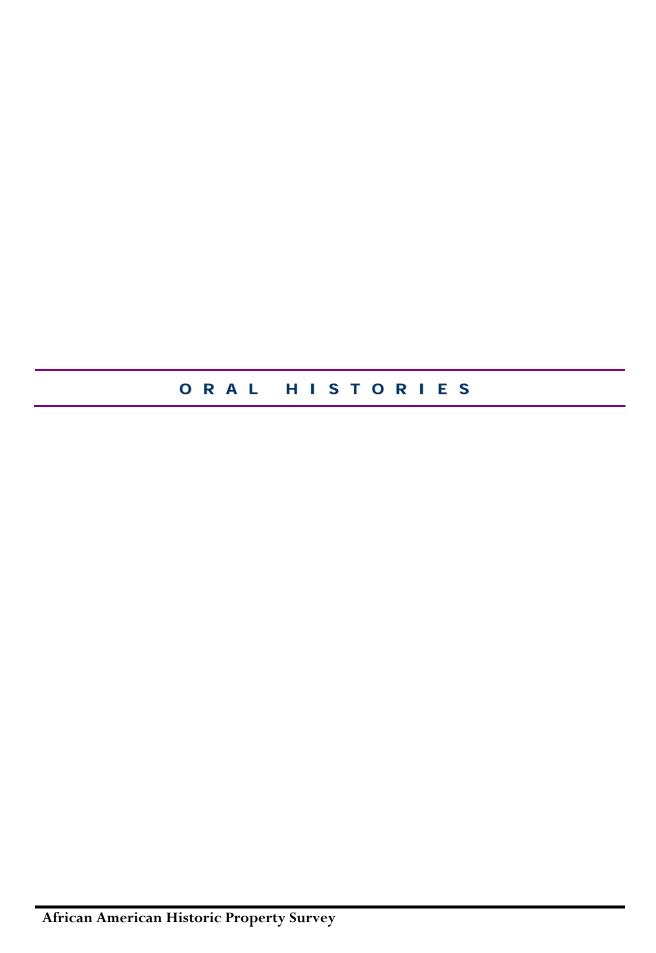
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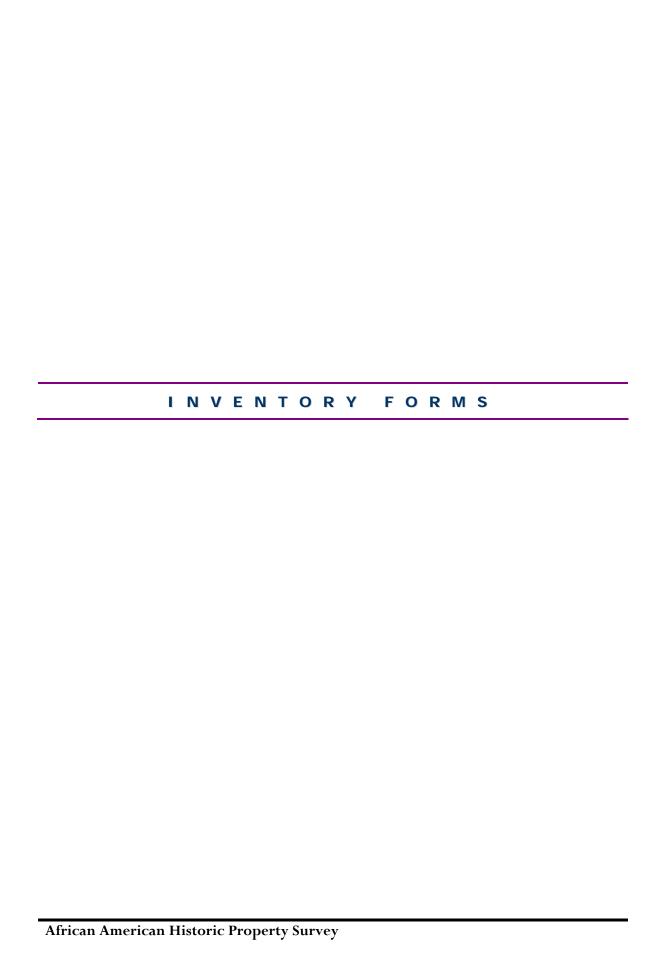




Arizona Gleam 1334 E Jefferson Arizona Sun 1149 E Jefferson Arlena Seneca / C.B. Caldwell House 1117 E Washington Arthur Randolph Smith House / Phoenix Tribune 923 E Jefferson Audrey Aldridge House 921 S Montezuma Booker T. Washington Hospital / Winston Inn 1342 E Jefferson Broadway Baptist Church 3201 E Wood Calderon Ballroom 1610 E Buckeye Carl Simms 1303 W Magnolia Century Sky Room 1140 E Washington Charles Smith Dlacksmith shop 1441 E Van Buren Chez Jazz Club 24th St. Camelback Club Zanzibar 1101 W Hadley Clown's Den Club 2390 E Camelback Club Zanzibar 1101 W Hadley Club Zanzibar 1101 W Hadley Colored Masonic Lodge (Smith's Hall) Central / Madison					
Arizona Sum	Name		Location		
Arlena Seneca / C.B. Caldwell House 1117 E Washington Arthur Randolph Smith House / Phoenix Tribune 923 E Jefferson Audrey Aldridge House 921 S Montezuma Booker T. Washington Hospital / Winston Inn 1342 E Jefferson Broadway Baptist Church 3201 E Wood Calderon Ballroom 1610 E Buckeye Carl Simms 1303 W Magnolia Century Sky Room 1140 E Washington Charles Smith blacksmith shop 11441 E Washington Charles Smith blacksmith shop 1441 E Van Buren Chex Jazz Club 2390 E Camelback Clown's Den Club 2390 E Camelback Club Zanzibar 1101 W Hadley Coffee Shop 104 N Central Colored Masonic Lodge (Smith's Hall) Central / Madison Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) 1324 W Buckeye <	Arizona Gleam	1334	Е	Jefferson	
Arthur Randolph Smith House / Phoenix Tribune 923	Arizona Sun	1149	Е	Jefferson	
Audrey Aldridge House Booker T. Washington Hospital / Winston Inn Broadway Baptist Church Calderon Ballroom 1610 E Buckeye Carl Simms 1303 W Magnolia Century Sky Room 1140 E Washington Charles Smith blacksmith shop 1441 E Van Buren Chez Jazz Club Clown's Den Club Clown's Den Club Clown's Den Club Coffee Shop 104 N Central Colored Masonic Lodge (Smith's Hall) Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) Crump Hay and Grain Crump Retail Market Deloris Moore Beauty Shop Deloris Moore Beauty Shop Dick's Drive-In Dick's Drive-In Durham Barber Shop Eastlake Elementary School El Rey Café Frash Shirley Chiropodist (Switzer's) Frash Shirley House Fred Struckmeyer House Fred Struckmeyer House Fred Struckmeyer House Fred House of Jacob Firsh Ave Ladderon Furning Park House of Jacob Frank Shirley Chiropodist (Switzer's) Frank Shirley Chiropodist Council for Civil Unity Fig. 20 Buckeye Fred Struckmeyer House Fred Struckmeyer Hou	Arlena Seneca / C.B. Caldwell House	1117	Е	Washington	
Booker T. Washington Hospital / Winston Inn 1342	Arthur Randolph Smith House / Phoenix Tribune	923	Е	Jefferson	
Broadway Baptist Church 3201 E Wood Calderon Ballroom 1610 E Buckeye Carl Simms 1303 W Magnolia Century Sky Room 1140 E Washington Charles Smith blacksmith shop 1441 E Van Buren Chez Jazz Club 24th St. Camelback Clown's Den Club 2390 E Camelback Club Zanzibar 1101 W Hadley Coffee Shop 104 N Central Colored Masonic Lodge (Smith's Hall) Central / Madison Central Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) 1324 W Buckeye Crump Hay and Grain 29 E Jefferson Crump Retail Market 4th St & Jefferson Davis Drugstore / Community Drugstore 1221 W Buckeye Delor's Drive-In E McDowell Rd McDowell Rd Dr. Thomas Crump Office 238 E Washington Durham Barber Shop 615 S 7th Ave	Audrey Aldridge House	921	S	Montezuma	
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House of Jacob 4220 S 36 th St Irvine Park 9 th Ave and Grant J.A. Claderon Autobody Works 1608 E Buckeye	Greater Phoenix Council for Civil Unity	522	522 N 1 st St		
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J.A. Claderon Autobody Works 1608 E Buckeye	House of Jacob	4220	S	36 th St	
	Irvine Park	9 th Ave ar	9 th Ave and Grant		
J.T. Williams House 308 E Grav	J.A. Claderon Autobody Works	1608	Е	Buckeye	
<i>y</i>	J.T. Williams House	308	Е	Gray	

Name		_	ation
J.W. Snell (café)	27	S	2 nd St
Joseph H. Kibbey / Winston C. Hackett Home	1334	Е	Jefferson
Lewis Apartments	5	W	
Lincoln Liquor Store	1124	W	Buckeye
Lloyd Dickey	9	N	12 th St
Love's Friendly Grocery	1853	S	7 th Ave
Lucy B. Craig House	4702	N	5 th St
Lucy Phillips Memorial C.M.E. Church	647	Е	Jefferson
Madge Copeland Home / Beauty Shop	1318	Е	Jefferson
Memorial Hospital	1200	S	5 th Ave
Morrison Warren House	1225	Е	Monroe
Mount Calvary Missionary Baptist Church	1246	S	11 th Ave
Mrs. White's Golden Rule Café	1029	Е	Jefferson
Muhammed Mosque #32	511	S	20 th St
New State Grocery & Market (Popeye's)	1036	S	7 th Ave
Norman's Drug Store	1402	Е	Washington
Okema Park	3828	Е	Anne St
Okemah School	40 th St &	Mian	ni
Okemah Women's Club	41 st & Tr	ansmi	ission
Opera House	16	S	Center St
Phoenix Index	19	S	9 th St
Phoenix Union High School – Cottage	9 th St & J	effers	on
<u> </u>	Between	8 th St	: & 9 th St &
Phoenix Union High School – Cottage	Jefferson	(sout	thside)
Phoenix Urban League / Phyliss Wheatley Center	1335	Е	Jefferson
Pilgrim Rest Missionary Baptist Church	1417	Е	Madison
Plantation Ballroom	2300	Е	Washington
Ramona Theater	313	Е	Washington
Reddy's Corner (Café)	1602	Е	Jefferson
Rialto Theater	37	W	Washington
Rice Hotel	35	S	2nd Ave
Rice Hotel	535	Е	Jefferson
Riverside Ballroom & Supper Club / Coffee Shop	1975	S	Central
Robert and Louise Phillips - Office (dentist)	1217	Е	Washington
Robert Williams House	1121	W	Tonto
Roosevelt Ward School	3316	S	40th St
Samuel Bayless House	938	W	Grant
Second Color Baptist Church (1st Institutional)	21	E	Madison
<u>*</u>			
Second Color Baptist Church (1st Institutional)	501	Е	Jefferson

N		T	
Name		Location	
Soldier's Recreation Center / Colored Serviceman's Center	1406	W	Washington
St. Louis Hotel	607	Е	Jefferson
Saint Monica's Clubhouse / Boys Club	815	S	7th Ave
Saint Monica's Hospital	1200	S	5th Ave
Saint Monica's Nursing School	1201	S	7th Ave
Sydney P. Osborn Homes	Buckeye /	9th	Ave
Tate's Rose Room	934	W	Watkins
Williams Family Home	2117	Е	Broadway
Union Institutional Baptist Church	2849	Е	Chipman
Upton Candy Store	201	Е	Washington
Valley National Insurance Company	23	Е	Monroe
Walgreen's Drug	2	W	Washington
Wesley Methodist Church	1802	Е	Washington
West Ward School (27th Ave School)	27th Ave	& So	uthern
Westside Theater	1203	S	11th Ave
William P. Crump House	1103	Е	Jefferson
Willow Grove Baptist Church	36th St and Superior		
Willow Grove Baptist Church	39th St and Miami		
Winston C. Hackett Home	729	W	Sherman
Winston C. Hackett Office	32	N	1st Ave
Woolworth's 5 & 10 Store	36	Е	Washington



Inventory	Name		cation	
AAHPS-001	Winstona Aldridge House	1326	Е	Jefferson
	Lewis Chapel C.M.E. / Amos			
AAHPS-002	Metropolitan C.M.E. Church	2804	E	Mobile
AAHPS-003	Bethel CME Church (Bethel Mission)	998	S	13 th Ave
AAHPS-004	Booker T. Washington School	1201	Е	Jefferson
AAHPS-005	Cloves Campbell House	5001	S	21st Way
	George Washington Carver			
	High School			
AAHPS-006	(Phoenix Union Colored High School)	415	E	Grant
AAHPS-007	Church of Christ	1101	W	Tonto
	Dr. Thomas Crump Office /			
AAHPS-008	Mrs White's Golden Rule Café	808	E	Jefferson
AAHPS-009	Hayzel B. Daniels Home	2801	N	5 th Ave
	Paul Laurence Dunbar			
AAHPS-010	Elementary School	701	S	9 th Ave
AAHPS-011	Eastlake Mortuary	1641	Е	Jefferson
AAHPS-012	Eastlake Park – City of Phoenix	1501	Е	Jefferson
	William H. Patterson Elks Lodge #477			
AAHPS-013	/ Chinaberry Garden Club	1007	S	7 th Ave
AAHPS-014	Calvin and Georgie Goode House	1508 – 1510	Е	Jefferson
AAHPS-015	Grant Park – City of Phoenix			
AAHPS-016	Greater Friendship MBC	1901	W	Jefferson
AAHPS-017	Eugene and Thomasina Grigsby House	1117	N	9 th St
AAHPS-018	Harmon Park – City of Phoenix	5 th	Ave	& Yavapai
	Higher Ground			
AAHPS-019	Church of God in Christ	1302	Е	Madison
	House of Prayer			
AAHPS-020	Church of God in Christ	1402	S	11 th Ave
AAHPS-021	Louis T. Jordan House	2118	Е	Violet Dr
AAHPS-022	Percy L. Julian Elementary School	2149	Е	Carver
AAHPS-023	Cemeterio Lindo	15 th	Ave	& Durango
AAHPS-024	Matthew Henson Housing Project	7th	Ave	& Sherman
AAHPS-025	Midtown Medical Center	1	N	12 th St
AAHPS-026	New Family Market			& Cocopah
AAHPS-027	New Valley Market (original location)	1602	W	Buckeye
AAHPS-028	O.K. Barber Shop	5825	S	16 th St
AAHPS-029	The Old Ship of Zion MBC	1145	W	Hadley
AAHPS-030	Lucy Phillips Memorial C.M.E. Church	1401	Е	Adams
AAHPS-031	Robert and Louise Phillips House	4417	S	19 th Street
AAHPS-032	Housing Authority – City of Phoenix	301	W	Pima
AAHPS-033	Phoenix Housing Authority / Housing Authority — City of Phoenix	1305	S	3 rd Ave

AAHPS-034	Pilgrim Rest Missionary Baptist Church	1401	E	Madison	
	Progressive Builders Association / Webb,				
	Williams, & Berry / Jones Realty & Insurance	ce /			
AAHPS-035	Sun Valley Life Insurance	2019	Е	Broadway	
AAHPS-036	Lincoln Ragsdale Home	1606	W	Thomas	
AAHPS-037	W.A. Robinson Home	1314	Е	Jefferson	
AAHPS-038	St John's Institutional Baptist Church	1428	S	13 th Ave	
	Saint Pius X Church				
AAHPS-039	(Saint Monica's Catholic Church)	801-809	S	7 th Ave	
AAHPS-040	Greater Shiloh Baptist Church	901	W	Buckeye	
AAHPS-041	John Ford Smith House	5025	S	21st Way	
AAHPS-042	South Phoenix Baptist Church	2006	Е	Broadway	
AAHPS-043	Southminster Presbyterian Church	1923	Е	Broadway	
AAHPS-044	Swindall Tourist Home	1021	Е	Washington	
AAHPS-045	Tanner A.M.E. Church	20	S	8 th St.	
AAHPS-046	Universal Memorial Center	1100	Е	Jefferson	
AAHPS-047	Morrison F. Warren House	2131	Е	Violet Dr	
AAHPS-048	Travis Williams House	5044	S	21 st St	
AAHPS-049	Willow Grove Baptist Church	3244	S	40 th St	
AAHPS-050	Dr. Lowell Wormley House	1910	Е	Broadway	
AAHPS-051	Yee's Market (Ben Yee)	1101	W	Grant	
AAHPS-052	Weona Homes		Pima	/18 th Ave	
AAHPS-053	Raylap Homes	Co	осора	h/18 th Ave	
AAHPS-054	Clint Thomas Homes		Pima	/15 th Ave	
AAHPS-055	WestSide 1			Road/15 th -7 th Ave	
AAHPS-056	WestSide 2			Road/17 th -11 th Ave	
AAHPS-057	Eastlake Park			ıren/12 th -16 th St	
AAHPS-058	Eastside 2	South V	√anBu	ıren/16 th -20 th St	
AAHPS-059	East Broadway Addition	South B	roadv	way/ 20 th -22 nd St	
AAHPS-060	Carlotta Place	South B	roadw	vay/ 18 th -20nd St	
AAHPS-061	Park South			way/ 16 th -20 th St	
AAHPS-062	Princess Jean Park	South B	roadv	way/ 20 th -22 nd St	
AAHPS-063	Sheraton Park	South B	roadv	way/ 22 nd -24 th St	
AAHPS-064	Moore's Addition	South	n Broa	adway/ 20 th St	
AAHPS-065	Broadway Estates	South E	Broady	way/ 24 th -28 th St	
AAHPS-066	Weir Estates			way/ 28 th -32 nd St	
AAHPS-067	Progress Place			way/ 16 th -20 th St	
AAHPS-068	White's Garden			way/ 20 th -24 th St	
AAHPS-069	Peila Homes	North Broadway/ 24 th -28 th St			
AAHPS-070	Carefree Homes	North E	Broady	way/ 28 th -32 nd St	
AAHPS-071	Okemah Acres			way/ 32 nd -36 th St	
AAHPS-072	Okemah Lots	South U	Inive	rsity/36 th -40 th St	

African American Historic Property Survey Inventory Form Index