



The Historic Black Community of Southeast Fayetteville

Historic Context Statement

Project Limits: “Spout Spring Study Area” as established by the City of Fayetteville

City: Fayetteville

County: Washington

State: Arkansas

Submitted to: City of Fayetteville

Submitted by: Post Oak Preservation Solutions, LLC

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Final Draft Submitted: January 14, 2024

Cover photo courtesy of Henry Lee Childress.

Ca. 1950s gathering in the basement of St. James United Methodist Church.

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1. Introduction

Post Oak Preservation Solutions LLC (Post Oak) was contracted by the City of Fayetteville, Arkansas to complete a historic context statement of southeast Fayetteville's historic Black community, as outlined in the study area (see Section 5). The historic context statement examines major historic themes, patterns of development, and architectural trends identified in the community and provides a framework for understanding the significance of the community as a whole, as well as individual resources. This document lays the groundwork for future preservation efforts, including the formation of a potential local historic district and potential National Register of Historic Places nominations. The project was funded in part by a Certified Local Government (CLG) grant, administered by the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program (AHPP) of the Division of Arkansas Heritage and the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

The historic context chronicles the development of southeast Fayetteville's historic Black community, beginning shortly after the Civil War and into the late 20th century. Nestled in a valley (referred to as "the Hollow" by many past and present residents) between downtown Fayetteville and Mount Sequoyah, the community is a primarily residential area with a handful of religious and commercial buildings scattered throughout. Due to the presence of a creek at the base of the hollow (a tributary of the White River), the area was prone to flooding, and the steep terrain was less than ideal for building construction. As a result, lots in the area were not highly sought after during the late 19th century and were therefore more affordable for Black families who were largely restricted to low wage occupations in Fayetteville. Settlement of the area by Black residents likely began shortly after the Civil War, and a significant concentration of Black families resided in the area by 1880. A school for Black children and their families was founded by the American Missionary Association in 1866, drawing Black families from throughout northwest Arkansas to Fayetteville. In subsequent decades, a tight-knit community grew and evolved as Black families built homes, established businesses, and founded churches and social institutions. Black settlement patterns in the study area shifted over time, as is chronicled throughout this document. Though today the community faces challenges due to development pressure, a concentration of historic structures remain intact that convey the rich and highly significant history of Fayetteville's Black community.

Post Oak Preservation Solutions would like to acknowledge the essential contributions of stakeholders who contributed to this historic context statement. We are grateful to Britin Bostick and Kylee Cole of the City of Fayetteville's Long Range Planning Department for their guidance and direction throughout the course of the project. Members of the Black Heritage Preservation Commission and the Historic District Commission also provided helpful guidance. Most importantly, Post Oak would like to express its gratitude to the Northwest Arkansas Black Heritage Association and community members who took the time to attend community meetings and who shared their memories, knowledge, and insights into the development of the community.

This material was produced with assistance from the Historic Preservation Fund, administered by the National Park Service, Department of the Interior and the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, an agency of the Division of Arkansas Heritage. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this materials are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Department of the Interior of the Division of Arkansas Heritage.

2. Summary

Project Type:

Historic Context Statement

Fieldwork Dates:

September 23-25, 2024

Project Limits:

Study area as established by City of Fayetteville Planning Department. (See Section 5)

Anticipated Completion:

Draft 1: On or before February 24, 2025

Final Draft: On or before April 19, 2025

Project Cutoff Date:

1974 (historic-age is considered 50 years old at the time of project completion in 2024)

Project Setting:

The study area is bordered to the west by downtown Fayetteville and on the east by Mount Sequoyah (formerly known as East Mountain)

Personnel:

Post Oak Preservation Solutions, LLC

- Ellis Mumford-Russell (Partner)
- Megan Warley McDonald (Project Manager/Architectural Historian)
- Irene Allender (Associate)

Boundaries & Resources:

The study area was established by the City of Fayetteville Planning Department. It is roughly bound by E. Lafayette Street to the North, Fletcher Avenue and S. Wood Avenue to the East, E. 15th Street to the South, and S. College Avenue to the West. Properties within the study area are primarily domestic properties, with some scattered religious and commercial properties. The study area also encompasses two cemeteries.

3. Previously Designated Historic Properties

Table 1. Previously Designated Historic Resources within the Study Area					
NAME	ADDRESS	TYPE OF DESIGNATION	AREA(S) OF SIGNIFICANCE	PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE	DESIGNATION NUMBER
Washington-Willow Historic District	Roughly bounded by College and Walnut Aves. and Rebecca and Spring Sts.; also roughly Spring, Dickson, Sutton, and Lafayette Sts. from Olive Ave. to Willow Ave., and the junction of Rebecca St. and Willow	National Register Historic District (NRHD)	Architecture; Community Planning; Economics; Education; Law	1853-1930	80000789; 95000350
Wilson-Pittman-Campbell-Gregory House	405 E. Dickson St.	National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)	Architecture	C. 1866, 1870-1	80000790
Washington County Courthouse	College Ave. and E. Center St.	NRHP	Community Planning and Development; Politics/Government; Architecture	1904-1922 (inferred)	72000212
Washington County Jail	College and County Aves.	NRHP	Politics/Government; Architecture	1896	78000638
Lynn Shelton American Legion Post No. 27	28 South College Avenue	NRHP	Architecture; Social History	1939-1945	95001480
Fayetteville Confederate Cemetery	Rock St., approximately 800 feet N of jct. with Willow Ave.	NRHP	Military	1873-c.1910	93000481
Walker Family Plot	514 E. Rock Street	NRHP	Exploration/Settlement; Politics/Government; Social History	1838-1900	12000807

4. Methodology

Post Oak Preservation Solutions developed this historic context statement through in-depth research, a windshield survey of the study area, and community engagement. Research was conducted in-person at several Fayetteville-area repositories, as well as through digital repositories. Digital sources included Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, historic aerial imagery, digitized newspapers, and historic photographs. In September 2024, Post Oak staff traveled to Fayetteville and visited the University of Arkansas, the Shiloh Museum, and the Historic Cane Hill Museum. Several collections at the University of Arkansas (U of A) Special Collections were also accessed digitally and through correspondence with U of A Special Collections staff. Research materials gathered at these repositories included both primary and secondary source materials related to the development of Fayetteville's predominant Black neighborhood, its residents, and community institutions.

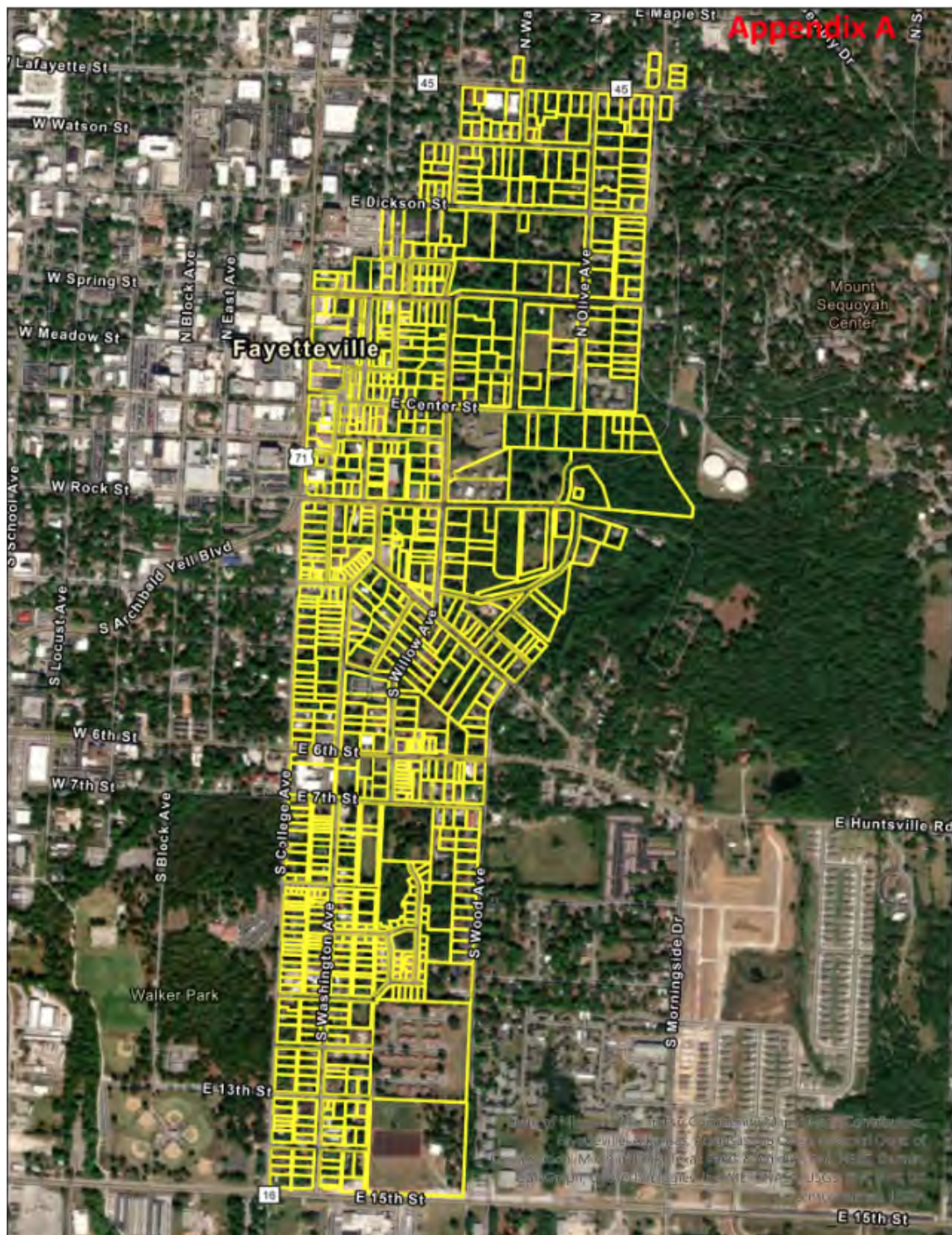
Post Oak also conducted a windshield survey of the study area to gain a general understanding of the character of the neighborhood and challenges facing the community. Photographs were taken of streetscapes, prominent structures, landscape features, resources appearing to be 50 years of age or older, as well as areas of new infill. The windshield survey provided a basis for understanding the historic and current extents of the community, and helped identify historic resources that required additional research.

Community engagement played an essential role in the development of this historic context. Post Oak staff virtually presented before the Fayetteville Historic District Commission and Black Heritage Preservation Commission early in the project to receive guidance and input from commission members. An in-person community meeting was held at the St. James United Methodist Church on September 24, 2024, in which Post Oak staff gave an overview of the project, answered questions, and solicited feedback from the community. A second public meeting was held at the Black Heritage Preservation Commission meeting on November 21, 2024. The initial outline was reviewed and approved by City Planning staff in October 2024. The first draft of the historic context statement was shared with the City of Fayetteville Long Range Planning Department, the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, the Fayetteville Historic District Commission and the Black Heritage Preservation Commission for review, as well as posted publicly on the project webpage, and feedback was incorporated into the final draft.

5. Study Area

The study area was provided by the City of Fayetteville Planning Department. It encapsulates a broad area of east Fayetteville, consisting of numerous additions and subdivisions and comprising over 1200 parcels. It is generally bound by Lafayette Street to the north, Mount Sequoyah to the east, E. 15th Street to the south, and College Avenue to the west. The study area is primarily residential, with a handful of religious, commercial, and civic resources throughout.

Figure 1. Historic Context Statement Study Area



6. Terminology

The subject of this historic context statement is a historic Black community located just east of downtown Fayetteville. Established in the decades following the Civil War when formerly enslaved individuals and their families rented or purchased property in the area, the emerging Black community was referred to by numerous names over time, largely depending upon the speaker's race. Beginning in the late 19th century and extending well into the 20th, Fayetteville's [white] newspapers alternately referred to the community as the "colored district," "Tin Cup," and "the Hollow." While various theories exist regarding the origins of the "Tin Cup" name, they are largely irrelevant, as the historical record clearly indicates that the name "Tin Cup" was never accepted by Black residents of the community, who generally associated negative connotations with the name. For example, in a 1926 article of the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat* extolling the picturesque qualities of the name "Tin Cup," the white author acknowledged that Black residents "prefer that the name not be used..."¹

Among Black residents, "the Hollow" (colloquially pronounced "Holler") was the terminology most frequently used to describe the valley where most Black residents lived, roughly between Spring Street to the north and Huntsville Road to the south. This was verified through numerous oral histories and communication with residents who lived in the community between the 1930s and 1970s.² The origins of "the Hollow" terminology is immediately evident upon entering the community: a tributary of the West Fork of the White River winds along the base of the hollow, from which the land steeply inclines to the west toward College Avenue and to the east up Mount Sequoyah (formerly known as East Mountain). The steeply pitched geographical terrain of the Hollow is a character defining feature of the community. The land at the base of the valley was prone to flooding from the creek that ran through it, making lots in the area less desirable and therefore more affordable to Black residents who were generally paid low wages. The geography of the Hollow impacted how residents constructed their homes on sloping lots and dictated that the relatively flat expanse of Willow Avenue became the community's main street. As the community grew and expanded southward during the 20th century, Black residents began to further delineate their community into two distinct areas: the Hollow and the Valley. As described by Jimmie Deffenbaugh Whitfield, who was born in 1943: "...the Hollow was from Spring Street, what we call Spring Street, all the way down to Huntsville Road. Yeah. That's what we call the Hollow. And then you cross the Huntsville [Road] and that was—we referred to that as the Valley. So some people lived in the Valley and we lived in the Hollow..."³ In contrast to the Hollow, the "Valley" consists of relatively flat terrain. In addition, the Valley does not appear to have been exclusively occupied by Black residents; Fayetteville City Directories and oral tradition maintain that white families also resided in the area.

In the early 21st century, "Spout Spring" emerged as the leading term used to identify Fayetteville's historic Black community, though it does not appear to have been initiated by current or former residents. The earliest known use of the term "Spout Spring" can be traced to the mid- to late 19th century, as one of at least four names used to describe a large spring above what is now Spring Street ("Cato's Spring," "Harrison's Spring," and "Big Spring," were among the other names.)⁴ Despite this use, there is no record of "Spout Spring" being used to describe the Black community south of it. The name re-emerged in 1971, when sociologist and University of Arkansas professor Peter Kunkel used "Spout Spring" as a pseudonym for the community in a 1971 ethnographic study. To protect the identities of the people he studied, Kunkel identified Arkansas as "Ozarka," Fayetteville as "Sequoyah," and the Black community "Spout Spring." The name remained a pseudonym in an obscure sociological text until 2004, when the Fayetteville City Council voted to rename the tributary of the White River that winds through the

¹ *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, February 27, 1926, 2.

² Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas; Jimmie Whitfield, Interviewed by Patti Williams, June 7, 2023, transcript, Historic Cane Hill Museum, Cane Hill, Arkansas; Megan McDonald personal correspondence with Ivory Conley, October 4, 2024; Megan McDonald personal correspondence Tommie Flowers Davis and Windy Carr, September 24, 2024.

³ Jimmie Whitfield, Interviewed by Patti Williams, June 7, 2023, transcript, Historic Cane Hill Museum, Cane Hill, Arkansas.

⁴ John C. Branner, *Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Arkansas for 1888*, (Little Rock Press Printing Company: 1891), 21. Accessed October 16, 2024, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Annual_Administrative_Report/aqVGAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1

neighborhood “Spout Spring Branch.”⁵ The creek had long been referred to simply as “the Branch” by community residents, and it is unclear what the impetus was behind renaming the water source. The name was brought to public attention in relation to Fayetteville’s Black community following the publication of two articles by white authors: “Spout Spring in Memory and History” by Eric Johnson in 2017, and “Spout Spring—A Place Where People Live” by Marie Demeroukas in 2020.⁶ The authors appear to have selected “Spout Spring” in the absence of a generally accepted name for the community and to avoid the continued use of the term “Tin Cup.” Though a full investigation and analysis of how “Spout Spring” came into 21st century use as the predominant name for Fayetteville’s historic Black community has not been undertaken, it is clear that it was not initiated by current or former residents, and the historical record does not reflect any use of the name “Spout Spring” in reference to Fayetteville’s Black community.

In recent years, some residents have opted to use geographical language to identify the community. Long-time community resident, Jessie Carr Bryant, stated in a 2020 interview that: “I was in the neighborhood that was basically known as southeast Fayetteville.”⁷ Similarly, a 2022 community reunion planned by residents and the Black Heritage Preservation Commission was called the “Southeast Fayetteville Community Reunion”⁸ For the purposes of this historic context statement, the subject community will generally be referred to in geographical terms, primarily “southeast Fayetteville.” The Hollow will also be used, as it was the most common term employed by Black residents to describe their home and it points to the character defining terrain of the community. “Tin Cup” will not be used except when quoted from historical documentation, and “Spout Spring” will only be used in reference to Peter Kunkel’s 1971 ethnography.

⁵ Fayetteville City Council Minutes, May 18, 2004, accessed October 16, 2024, <https://documents.fayetteville-ar.gov/WebLink/DocView.aspx?id=3596505&dbid=0&repo=COF>

⁶ Eric Johnson, “Spout Spring in Memory and History,” *Flashback* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2017); “Spout Spring—A Place Where People Live,” Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, accessed October 16, 2024, <https://shilohmuseum.org/spout-spring/>

⁷ An Oral History of Washington County-Jessie Bryant, Washington County Arkansas Youtube, accessed October 16, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-RRqxcRuHo>

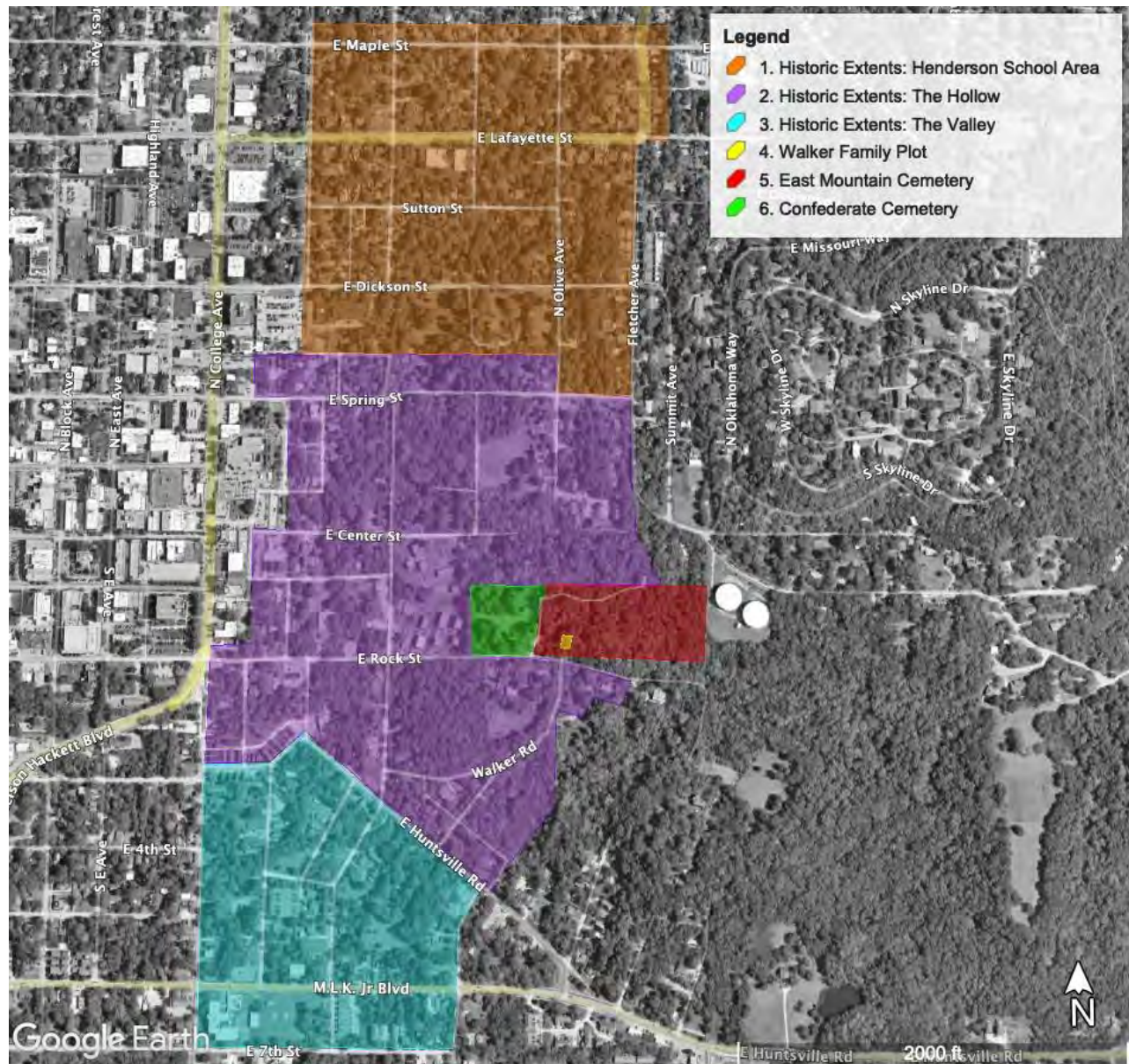
⁸ Antoinette Grajeda, “Community Comes Together,” *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette NW*, June 9, 2022.

7. Approximate Historic Extents

The map, below, depicts the approximate historic extents of southeast Fayetteville's historic Black community during the 20th century. The historic extents were determined based on historical documentation including maps, aerial imagery, census records, city directories, photographs, and oral history interviews, as well as public input received from current and former residents. Both historical documentation and feedback from community members indicate that by the 1930s, most Black residents of southeast Fayetteville lived in an area roughly bound by the courthouse to the west, Spring Street to the north, Mount Sequoyah to the east, and 7th Street to the south. Community members made a distinction between “the Hollow” and “the Valley” which were divided by Huntsville Road, as depicted on the map (Figure 2). Though a number of Black residents lived north of the Hollow near the Henderson School during the late 19th and early 20th century (indicated in orange), most (if not all) of the homes have been lost and the highly altered Henderson School building appears to be the only remaining structure associated with the Black community.

*****Note: the map below does NOT represent a proposed Historic District*****

Figure 2: Approximate historic extents of Fayetteville's historic Black community during the 20th century.



Though the study area included E. 15th Street as the southernmost boundary, extensive research and correspondence with current and former residents indicates that E. 7th Street (just below the Jefferson School) was considered the southern boundary of the Black community prior to 1975. Though in-depth deed research for each individual property was beyond the scope of this project, it does not appear that the portion of the study area below E. 7th Street had any major associations with Fayetteville's Black community. In addition, it is important to note that the area known as the Valley, (south of Huntsville Road) was not strictly segregated, as white families also resided in the area.

Similarly, civic and commercial structures located along College Avenue were not closely associated with the historic significance of southeast Fayetteville's Black community and were excluded from the historic extents.

8. Historic Context

8.1 Pre-Civil War/Mid-19th Century Washington County

Situated in the Ozark Mountains of what is now northwest Arkansas, Washington County was once part of the Osage Nation's vast hunting territory. It was briefly settled by the Cherokee during the early 19th century before a treaty initiated their removal to Indian Territory (northeast Oklahoma) in 1828. Arkansas was opened to white settlement shortly afterward, initiating a wave of migration to the new territory. Washington County was formed on October 28, 1828, with "Washington Courthouse" (later renamed Fayetteville) as the county seat. The mild, healthy climate of Washington County drew so many settlers that by the 1830s and 1840s it had the largest population in the state. Small farms quickly dotted the landscape of Washington County, where landowners raised diversified crops and livestock.⁹

A number of the white migrants to Washington County came from the upper South and brought Black enslaved persons with them. Though only 3 percent of the county's white population were slave owners, that small percentage used enslaved labor to produce between 40 to 50 percent of Washington County's goods, becoming disproportionately wealthy in comparison to the rest of the population.¹⁰ The number of enslaved persons in Washington County rose from 244 in 1831 to approximately 1,500 on the eve of the Civil War in 1860, with approximately 200 residing in Fayetteville.¹¹

Enslaved persons in Fayetteville were heavily involved in the building of houses and community buildings, as well as domestic work and farming. Slave cabins were frequently constructed behind the enslavers' home, though some enslaved persons may have lived in the main house or slept in the detached kitchen.¹² Enslaved persons were known to worship in religious congregations of Fayetteville prior to the Civil War: the Episcopal Church permitted enslaved persons to sit in the "gallery" during services, and oral tradition maintains that the St. James Baptist Church had its roots in a congregation of enslaved persons prior to the Civil War.¹³

Though a full examination of Black life under slavery is beyond the scope of this study, two pre-Civil war events involving enslaved individuals in Fayetteville are worth noting both due to their high-profile nature, as well as their representation of Black life under slavery in Northwest Arkansas.

Nelson Hackett

In 1840, an enslaved man named Nelson Hackett was purchased by Alfred Wallace, a wealthy merchant, plantation owner, and land speculator who lived in Fayetteville. Little is known of Hackett's life prior to his arrival in Fayetteville, except that he was born about 1817 and worked as Wallace's valet and butler. In 1841, Hackett fled from Arkansas with one of Wallace's horses, a saddle, a coat, and a gold watch, arriving in Canada six weeks later. Wallace located Hackett in Chatham, Ontario, Canada, and accused him of theft in an attempt to facilitate his extradition to the United States. Though he was arrested, Canadian authorities would not surrender Hackett to Wallace until an Arkansas grand jury indicted him for grand larceny and Governor Archibald Yell formally requested his extradition. Following his extradition in 1842, Hackett became the first fugitive that Canada returned to slavery in the United States. The case provoked considerable public debate in Canada and among abolitionists in the United States, as many questioned the legality of Hackett's extradition. Enslaved persons had sought refuge and freedom in Canada for decades, and many worried that the Hackett case could set a precedent by which enslavers could

⁹ Shiloh Museum, *History of Washington County, Arkansas*, (Shiloh Museum, 1989), 84-87; Ted J. Smith, "Slavery in Washington County, Arkansas, 1828-1861." (Master's Thesis, University of Arkansas, 1995), 1, 5.

¹⁰ Ted J. Smith, "Slavery in Washington County, Arkansas, 1828-1861." (Master's Thesis, University of Arkansas, 1995), 2.

¹¹ Ted J. Smith, "Slavery in Washington County, Arkansas, 1828-1861." (Master's Thesis, University of Arkansas, 1995), 15; J.B. Hogan, "Residency and Work Patterns of the Black Community in 1904 Fayetteville," *Flashback*, (Summer 2023): 62.

¹² Ted J. Smith, "Slavery in Washington County, Arkansas, 1828-1861." (Master's Thesis, University of Arkansas, 1995), 25-6.

¹³ Shiloh Museum, *History of Washington County, Arkansas*, 107.

re-enslave those who had successfully escaped through extradition requests. Several months after Hackett's return to the United States, an extradition clause of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was approved, severely limiting the cases in which formerly enslaved persons could be extradited, thereby protecting the self-emancipated seeking refuge in Canada from automatic surrender.¹⁴

Upon his forcible return to Fayetteville, Hackett was publicly whipped in front of other enslaved persons on several occasions to serve as an example. He was later sold to Texas enslavers, from whom he also escaped, and his whereabouts and subsequent fate are unknown.¹⁵ In 2023, Fayetteville's Black Heritage Preservation Commission unveiled a historical marker in the downtown square dedicated to Hackett and the international impact of his 1841 escape and extradition case. In addition, Archibald Yell Boulevard, named for the Governor who requested Hackett's extradition from Canada, was renamed Nelson Hackett Boulevard.

The Lynching of Anthony, Aaron, and Randall

An act of racial terror took place in Fayetteville in 1856 when a white mob from Elkins, Arkansas lynched a young enslaved Black man named Anthony and an enslaved Black teenager named Aaron. Though accused of the murder of their white enslaver, James Boone, Anthony had been found innocent and Aaron was released due to a lack of evidence. Anthony and Aaron were captured by a white mob led by the sons of James Boone on July 7th and lynched near the jail. A third enslaved Black man named Randall was found guilty of the murder by an all-white jury and hanged by the state on August 1st, despite the fact that he contested the verdict and requested a retrial.¹⁶ Though extant records of the murders of Anthony, Aaron, and Randall are few and represent the perspectives of white enslavers, the events highlight the harsh realities of Black enslaved persons in Washington County, who were not afforded the same rights and due processes of white citizens and lived in fear of white vigilante justice.

The Walker Cemetery/East Mountain Cemetery



Figure 3. The Walker Family Plot (contained within the fence) is surrounded by the broader East Mountain Cemetery, where an unknown number Black individuals were buried, both before and after the Civil War. Photo by Post Oak, 2024.

¹⁴ "The Nelson Hackett Project," The University of Arkansas, accessed October 21, 2024, <https://nelsonhackettproject.uark.edu/nelson-hacketts-journey/>; Roman J. Zorn, "An Arkansas Fugitive Slave Incident and its International Repercussions," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 16, (1957), 142-5; "Nelson Hackett (1810?-?)," CALS Encyclopedia of Arkansas, accessed October 21, 2024, <https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/nelson-hackett-4910/>

¹⁵ "The Nelson Hackett Project," The University of Arkansas, accessed October 21, 2024, <https://nelsonhackettproject.uark.edu/nelson-hacketts-journey/>; "Nelson Hackett (1810?-?)," CALS Encyclopedia of Arkansas, accessed October 21, 2024, <https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/nelson-hackett-4910/>

¹⁶ "Re-presenting Aaron, Anthony, and Randall: Victims of Racial Terror Lynching in Washington County," *Flashback*, (Winter 2020), 164-173; Shiloh Museum, *History of Washington County, Arkansas*, 161-2; "Historical Marker Recognizing Lynchings Dedicated in Washington County, Arkansas," Equal Justice Initiative, accessed October 15, 2024, <https://eji.org/news/historical-marker-recognizing-lynchings-dedicated-in-washington-county-arkansas/>

Prominent Arkansas politician and early white settler David Walker possessed significant landholdings in Fayetteville during the 19th century, including land along East Mountain (now known as Mount Sequoyah). In 1860, Walker owned a total of 32 enslaved persons.¹⁷ In approximately 1838, he established a family cemetery along the mountainside, presently located on Rock Street immediately adjacent to the 1873 Confederate Cemetery (NRHP 1993). The Walker Family Plot (NRHP 2012) consists of a fenced-in cemetery where Walker descendants and their families are buried (Figure 3). The Walker plot is a small section of the broader East Mountain Cemetery, which includes the burials of other white Fayetteville families, as well as Black individuals who were enslaved and/or employed by the Walker family.¹⁸

East Mountain Cemetery is the final resting place of an unknown number of Black individuals who were enslaved by the Walker family and/or worked for the Walker family after the Civil War. Several of these individuals lived in southeast Fayetteville's burgeoning Black community in the decades following the Civil War. Among the known burials of Black people in East Mountain Cemetery is that of Malinda Walker, whose grave is unmarked. A formerly enslaved woman who resided on Huntsville Road, Malinda married Benton Walker (formerly enslaved by David Walker) sometime prior to 1880. She had two sons prior to her marriage while she was still enslaved: Nelson and Josh Thompson. In 1927, a reporter with the *Fayetteville Democrat* traveled to the cemetery with Malinda while she visited the grave of her son, Nelson Thompson.

Anyone happening along this road at the proper time on a bright Sunday afternoon can meet Aunt Malindy, for once a week the aged negress toils her way up the steep hill to pay her respects to her dead that lie in her own little graveyard just beyond the sleeping [Confederate] soldiers. Not a prepossessing place, this small collection of graves, but it is Malindy's own, given her by 'Old Judge Walker,' as she says, and it lies very close to the 'Walker grave,' a small private cemetery whose gravestones date to long before the Civil war days, **as do a few in Malindy's** [emphasis added].¹⁹

As the article indicates, Black people (almost certainly enslaved) were buried outside the Walker Family Plot in the years prior to the Civil War. Following the Civil War, the Walkers continued to allow Black individuals who had been enslaved and/or employed by the Walker family to be buried on the property, and apparently provided headstones and grave markers in some cases. At the time of Malinda's 1927 visit to the cemetery, 'the white folks' (likely the Walker family) had recently erected a headstone for her son, Nelson.²⁰ Her husband, Benton Walker, has a small headstone marked "B.W." and the grave of her son, Josh Thompson, is also marked with a headstone. Josh Thompson's wife, Addie, who died in 1927, either did not have a headstone or it has been lost.²¹ When Malinda Walker died in 1931, she was one of the last Black burials permitted by the Walker family in East Mountain Cemetery.²² Almost all other Black residents of Fayetteville would be buried in the segregated Oaks Cemetery, established shortly after the Civil War.

The Walkers were apparently sensitive about perceptions that Black servants were buried in the same plot as the white family, as indicated by a short newspaper article published the day after Addie Thompson's burial was announced:

Use of the words, 'The Walker Cemetery' in connection with several colored funerals is misleading it has been pointed out, as they seem to imply that colored persons and white are buried in the same plot, which is not the case. The Walker family cemetery is enclosed and only members of the

¹⁷ The National Archives in Washington, DC; Washington, DC, USA; *Eighth Census of the United States 1860*; Series Number: M653; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29, available on Ancestry.com, pages 13 and 15.

¹⁸ Holly Hope, Walker Family Plot, National Register of Historic Places, Washington County, Arkansas, 2012, NPS Reference #12000807

¹⁹ "Black Centenarian Visits Own 'Buryin' Ground' Each Week," *Fayetteville Democrat*, December 30, 1927, 5.

²⁰ "Black Centenarian Visits Own 'Buryin' Ground' Each Week," *Fayetteville Democrat*, December 30, 1927, 5.

²¹ "Addie Thompson Dies; Was 'Old Time' Darky; To Be Buried Tuesday," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 13, 1927, 6.

²² "Separate Cemeteries for Colored and White on Walker Estate," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 14, 1927, 6.

family are buried there. A plot for colored former servants of the family has been given by the estate but is removed from the family plot.²³

In addition to the Walker Family Plot and the larger East Mountain Cemetery, descendants of the Walker family retained landholdings along Willow Avenue well into the 20th century, including a large hillside lot where the Lincoln School was later constructed.²⁴

8.2 Late 19th Century/Reconstruction

As a slave state, Arkansas fought on the side of the Confederacy during the Civil War. Much of Fayetteville was burned in 1862 under the orders of Confederate General McCulloch in order to destroy the Union army's access to mills and supplies.²⁵ Following the war, significant rebuilding was required, and much of the labor was done by formerly enslaved individuals. Several events in the late 19th century had a tremendous economic impact on the town of Fayetteville, including the founding of the University of Arkansas in 1871 and the arrival of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railway in 1881, which connected the town to wider markets and facilitated the rapid shipment of goods.²⁶ Agriculture would remain an important facet of Fayetteville and greater Washington County's economy and timber also became an important industry.²⁷

In 1871, Fayetteville became the home of Arkansas' first public university. Originally known as Arkansas Industrial University, the University of Arkansas would become an essential part of Fayetteville's economy and social fabric for generations.²⁸ One of the first students to attend was James McGahee, a Black student who was studying to be a minister in the Episcopalian church and who was taught separately from white students by the president of the university, Noah Gates. McGahee only attended through 1873, likely due to the end of Reconstruction in Arkansas and/or because a branch of the university system had been authorized for Black students at Pine Bluff, to open in 1875. McGahee was the last known Black student to attend the University of Arkansas until 1948.²⁹

Population and Occupational Data

A total of 1,538 Black individuals (the majority of whom were enslaved) lived in Washington County on the eve of the Civil War in 1860, but by 1870 that number dropped to just 674 as emancipated individuals left the South or moved to urban areas. A large proportion of the remaining Black families in Washington County lived in Fayetteville.³⁰ As Fayetteville rebuilt and expanded, and construction started on the first buildings for the University of Arkansas campus, many found jobs as construction or mill workers.³¹ The 1870 federal census primarily recorded Black residents of Fayetteville as laborers or as domestic servants. Exceptions included a handful of individuals identified as a "barber," "farmer," or "blacksmith," and a man named Henry Crawford was listed as a "Preacher." When not identified as domestic servants, women were almost exclusively listed as "at Home" or "Keeping House" though it is likely that at least some women took in laundry at their homes as a form of income.³²

²³ "Separate Cemeteries for Colored and White on Walker Estate," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 14, 1927, 6.

²⁴ Discussed in further detail in Section 8.3, "Early 20th Century Black Education in Fayetteville."

²⁵ Carolyn Yancey Kent, "Occupation of Fayetteville (February 23-26, 1862)," CALS Encyclopedia of Arkansas, accessed October 21, 2024, <https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/occupation-of-fayetteville-6642/>

²⁶ Alison, "A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas," 75.

²⁷ Shiloh Museum, *History of Washington County, Arkansas*, 247-8.

²⁸ Alison, "A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas," 73-5.

²⁹ "Portraits of Progress: James McGahee 1872-1873," The University of Arkansas, accessed October 10, 2024, <https://portraitsofprogress.uark.edu/james-mcgahee>

³⁰ Shiloh Museum, *History of Washington County, Arkansas*, 210; J.B. Hogan, "Residency and Work Patterns of the Black Community in 1904 Fayetteville," *Flashback* (Summer 2023): 61-70; "Population by Race and County 1870-Present," Past Census Data, Arkansas Economic Development Institute, accessed October 29, 2024, <https://arstatedatacenter.youraedi.com/past-census-data/>.

³¹ Eric Johnson, "Spout Spring in Memory and History," *Flashback* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 5.

³² Ninth Census of the United States, 1870; Census Place: Fayetteville, Washington, Arkansas; (NARA microfilm publication M593); Available on Ancestry.com.

By 1880, the Black population of Washington County had risen from 674 individuals to 994 (many of whom resided in Fayetteville).³³ Little had changed in the way of occupations held by Black residents, most of whom were listed as “Servant,” or “Laborer.” Most of those identified as a “Servant” were documented alongside members of the white household in which they worked, indicating that they likely resided with or on the same property as their employers. Other occupations included a barber, a shoemaker, a butcher, a handful of blacksmiths, and several Black women identified as a “Laundress.”³⁴ Nathan Dickson was one of Fayetteville’s first documented Black business owners, operating his Buckhorn Restaurant at the northwest corner of the downtown square during the 1880s.³⁵ Though not documented on the 1880 census, by 1884 Tabitha Marshbanks Taylor also briefly operated a restaurant in the Gregg building on the northwest corner of the square.³⁶

The majority of 1890 federal census records were destroyed by fire; therefore there is little occupational or residential data about the Black residents of Fayetteville at that time, except that 1,010 Black people were documented in all of Washington County.³⁷ A newspaper writer in 1893 estimated that there were approximately 400 Black residents of Fayetteville.³⁸ An 1893 issue of the *Arkansas Freeman*, the state’s first Black newspaper, indicates that Fayetteville’s Black community enjoyed a fairly high rate of home ownership during the 1890s: “The Afro-Americans here are generally prosperous and thrifty, a majority of whom own their own homes in which happiness and independence are conspicuously blended.”³⁹ Though it is unclear if “the majority” of Black residents owned their homes in 1890, data from subsequent decades indicates that many did.

Black Settlement East of the Fayetteville Square

Late-19th-century documentation of southeast Fayetteville’s Black community is extremely limited. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps did not depict the community until 1930, no known Fayetteville City Directories exist prior to 1904, and federal census records of Fayetteville did not include street names until 1900. However, the handful of existing records help craft a picture of the community during the late 19th century.

Though some Black families likely began settling in southeast Fayetteville by 1870 (where much of the Black community would concentrate by the 20th century), patterns of residential segregation were hardly in place five years after the Civil War. At the time of the 1870 federal census, Black residents were not generally documented alongside other Black families; rather, they were interspersed among white families. Many of the individuals identified as domestic servants resided with or immediately near the families they worked for, though some lived elsewhere with their families. Some emancipated individuals remained in close proximity to their former enslavers, including George Walker, whose family remained on the property of former enslaver David Walker. Meanwhile Adeline Blakeley worked for and resided on W. Rock Street with her former enslavers (the Parks/Blakeley/Hudgins family) for decades following the Civil War.⁴⁰ Census records identify Blakeley as a “servant” in the Blakeley and Hudgins households through 1920 and a “cook” in 1930. During the final years of her life, the family evidently gave her an apartment building, Hudgins Apartments at 101 W. Rock Street, which had originally been the family home.⁴¹

³³ “Population by Race and County 1870-Present,” Past Census Data, Arkansas Economic Development Institute, accessed October 29, 2024, <https://arstatedatacenter.youraei.com/past-census-data/>.

³⁴ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; Census Place: *Fayetteville, Washington, Arkansas*; (NARA microfilm publication T9; Enumeration District: 215); Available on Ancestry.com.

³⁵ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; *Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, January 10, 1880, 3; “Buckhorn Restaurant,” *Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, January 28, 1886, 3.

³⁶ *Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, September 18, 1884, 3.

³⁷ “Population by Race and County 1870-Present,” Past Census Data, Arkansas Economic Development Institute, accessed October 29, 2024, <https://arstatedatacenter.youraei.com/past-census-data/>.

³⁸ From the *Freeman*, April 15, 1893 (currently only available on microfilm), excerpt featured in: “Arkansas Negroes in the 1890s: Documents,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 33, no 4. (Winter 1974), 311.

³⁹ From the *Freeman*, April 15, 1893 (currently only available on microfilm), excerpt featured in: “Arkansas Negroes in the 1890s: Documents,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 33, no 4. (Winter 1974), 311.

⁴⁰ Adeline Blakeley was interviewed several times toward the end of her life, including an interview by the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

⁴¹ Adeline Blakeley interviewed by Mary D. Hudgins, Library of Congress; Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; *A Folk History of Slavery in the United States From Interviews with Former Slaves, 1936–1938*; Volume: Vol. 1-17; available on Ancestry.com, 192; *Polk’s Fayetteville, Arkansas City Directory 1939*, (R.L. Polk & Company, 1939); Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; Twelfth

Residential concentrations of Black families begin to appear in the 1880 federal census records. A large cluster of 14 Black and “Mulatto” families was documented together, with a 15th family separated from the group by a single white household. The community was possibly located on S. Willow Street, which was on fairly level ground and quickly became the primary thoroughfare. None of the individuals in this cluster were identified as servants; rather, they included several laborers and laundresses, as well as a basket maker, a Clergyman (John A. Jenkins), and a blacksmith. Several smaller clusters of three or four Black households were also documented in 1880, including a group of families headed by David Stirman, Charles Bonner, and Samuel Young.⁴² This cluster may have been located on East Mountain Street, where Samuel Young was later known to own property. However, another documented cluster of four families included the family of Willis Pettigrew, who owned property on East Mountain street by 1908.⁴³ Though the lack of documented addresses on the 1880 census records make it difficult to determine with any certainty the exact residential patterns of Fayetteville’s Black residents, the census clearly points to the emergence of at least one Black residential enclave.



Figure 4: Inset of a ca. 1886 photograph taken from East Mountain (Mount Sequoyah) facing west. The image captures a handful of wood-frame houses clustered along E. Mountain Street (indicated by purple arrow), Center Street (indicated by red arrow), E. Meadow Street (indicated by green arrow). Courtesy of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Photograph Collection [P-492].

Though little data is available from the 1890s, an 1886 photograph (Figure 4) depicts a portion of the emerging Black community in the area known as “the Hollow” during the 20th century. East Center Street and E. Meadow Street are clearly visible in the photo, with neat rows of small, wood-frame houses on raised pier foundations lining either side of the street. Though Willow Avenue is not visible in the photo (hidden from view near the base of the valley), St. James Methodist Episcopal Church had been completed two years prior, and it is likely that homes lined Willow Avenue.⁴⁴

Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940.

⁴² Tenth Census of the United States, 1880

⁴³ 1908 City of Fayetteville Map, City of Fayetteville Long Range Planning Department.

⁴⁴ Brent E. Riffel, “A Celebration of Endurance,” Fayetteville’s St. James United Methodist Church,” *Flashback* 55, no. 4 (Autumn 2005): 159.

Black Residents of Southeast Fayetteville

Sam and Martha Young

Sam Young was an early inhabitant of southeast Fayetteville's Black community, residing on East Mountain Street for decades. As a formerly enslaved person, the details of Young's early life and his exact age are disputed, but he appears to have moved to Fayetteville from Texas with his final enslaver, Billy Moore. After the Civil War, Young married a woman named Martha and they had five children. The Youngs were members of St. James Methodist Episcopal Church. Sam variously worked as a laborer, a shoemaker, and a butcher and Martha took in laundry at their home. On April 18, 1880, a tornado hit Fayetteville, crossing through the Hollow and destroying Sam and Martha Young's house on East Mountain Street. He used surplus lumber to build a new house. Though they likely purchased their property much earlier, the 1900 U.S. Census shows that they owned their home. Young was remembered as an avid gardener, growing both vegetables and flowers, which he shared with his neighbors. Sam died in 1933 and Martha died in 1935. Both were buried in Oaks Cemetery.⁴⁵ Their descendants remained in the community for several generations, including grandson Sherman Morgan (discussed in Section 8.4).

William "Squire" Taylor and Tabitha Marshbanks Taylor

One of the earliest known Black families to purchase land east of downtown Fayetteville was the Marshbanks-Taylor family. William "Esquire" or "Squire" Taylor and Tabitha Marshbanks Taylor were formerly enslaved individuals who arrived in Fayetteville sometime after the Civil War. William worked as the chief porter for Gregg & Smith's Drug Store for decades, while Tabitha worked in private homes, including that of Lafayette Gregg and the family of David Walker.⁴⁶ The Taylors were early members of the St. James Methodist Episcopal Church, and William was actively involved in the Grand United Order of the Oddfellows, a Black fraternal organization. In 1879 Tabitha purchased additional property along Olive Street from a white Englishman named William Thorpe.⁴⁷ William Taylor later purchased additional lots from the McIlroy family in 1894.⁴⁸

Figure 5 (right): The Taylor-Marshbanks house formerly at 310 North Olive Avenue, built by William and Tabitha Taylor. Source: "Building a Board from Splinters," *Flashback* Fall 2012, 126.



Great-granddaughter Betty Hayes Davis later recalled:

...two freed slaves came to Fayetteville with a baby, an infant, and those freed slaves were my great-grandparents. They bought property on Olive Street with their—I call it—mustering out money. It was money they were given to buy property, and that's what they did. They bought property on two sides of Olive Street, which is between—at this time—between Dickson and Sutton. And the family lived there—I called it our enclave. We lived there for about four generations. My parents married, I guess around 1900 and my great-grandparents gave them land and built a two-room

⁴⁵ Ninth Census of the United States, 1870; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930; Izola Preston, "SAM YOUNG: Former Slave of Fayetteville," *Flashback* (Spring 1990): 32; Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 82;

⁴⁶ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.; Katrina Windon, "Solid People in Unstable Times: Tabitha and William Taylor of Fayetteville, Arkansas," *Flashback* 72, no. 4 (Winter 2022): 147.

⁴⁷ William Thorpe to Tabitha Marchbanks [sic], May 1879, Washington County Arkansas, Book O2 page 286.

⁴⁸ Martha McIlroy and W.R. McIlroy to William Taylor, March 23, 1894, Washington County Arkansas, Book 67 page 293.

house that was to give them a start. Later my father added a total of five more rooms which gave us a seven-room house and that's where I grew up—at 311 North Olive Street.⁴⁹

Whether the information was passed down through the family or through speculation, Davis believed that William and Tabitha received funds from their former enslavers, which they used toward the purchase of property along Olive Street. The Marshbank-Taylors were possibly drawn to that particular property due to the presence of a prominent institution to Fayetteville's Black community, located within the same block: The Mission School.

The Henderson School

The 1866 establishment of a school for newly emancipated persons and their children was a highly significant event for Fayetteville's Black community. Education was an immediate priority for Black Americans following the Civil War, as it had long been prohibited under institutionalized slavery. The school was taught by white missionaries of the New York-based American Missionary Association (AMA) during a three month fall term and originally met in a rented, wood frame building. As AMA teacher Dora Ford described in an 1869 letter:

The rented building occupied is only a frame, with boards outside, a fireplace at one end, four doors, and four windows. The cracks between the boards and around the windows, and doors, so large that it has been impossible some days this month to keep comfortably warm with a good fire in the fire place. I have no desire to complain, only to inform you of our situation. It's the only building in town that can be rented for this purpose.⁵⁰

Despite the inadequate early schoolhouse conditions, it was well attended. In the fall of 1869, Ford reported approximately 50 students in regular attendance in "day school" as well as between 60-70 students attending "Sabbath School." The classroom housed students of all ages; Ford described a 16 year old married woman who attended school with her 9 month old baby, who lay next to her on the bench beneath a quilt.⁵¹

By the start of the 1870 school term, the AMA had constructed a new brick schoolhouse on land provided by Washington County pioneers, Judge Lafayette Gregg and his wife, Mary.⁵² The Greggs sold the property to the American Missionary Association the same year for "one cent lawful money" stipulating in the deed that the property must be used "for the purpose of a site for a School-house to be used for the education of Freedmen and children irrespective of race or color."⁵³ Local opposition to the Freedmen's school was evidently strong. As teacher Dora Ford noted in 1869: "Only a very few of the white people here are favorable to the colored school."⁵⁴ In addition, school district superintendent E.E. Henderson reported that Dora Ford was: "totally ostracized from society, and that opposition to the erection of the bureau school house there is so bitter as to alarm the contractors."⁵⁵ By 1871, the school was identified as the Henderson School in reports to the Freedmen's Bureau, in honor of the first district superintendent E.E. Henderson.⁵⁶ In 1889 a school board vote officially named the school in honor of E.E. Henderson and his daughter Clara, who had worked at the school as a teacher.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

⁵⁰ Ford, Dora to American Missionary Magazine, November 18, 1869, American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, Box 6.

⁵¹ Ford, Dora to Rev. E.P. Smith, November 24, 1869 American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, Box 6; Ford, Dora to American Missionary Magazine, November 18, 1869, American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, Box 6.

⁵² This building is still standing (though heavily modified) at 350 N. Olive Avenue.

⁵³ Washington County Deed Records, Lafayette and Mary A. Gregg to the American Missionary Association (New York), June 9, 1870. Washington County Arkansas, Pages 463-4.

⁵⁴ Ford, Dora to American Missionary Magazine, November 18, 1869, American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, Box 6.

⁵⁵ Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 68.

⁵⁶ "Teacher's Monthly School Report for the month of January 1871." *United States Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education 1865-1872*, Available on Ancestry.com; William S. Campbell, *One Hundred Years of Fayetteville* (Washington County Historical Society, 1977), 55.

⁵⁷ Charles Y. Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas* (The History Press, 2017), 69.

By 1882, a Black minister and teacher from Little Rock named B.F. Foster ran the school alongside his wife. That year, the Fosters reported that over 92 students were enrolled. The school was also being used as a place of worship, offering services every Sunday morning and Sunday School classes in the afternoons.⁵⁸ In 1884, the Fosters successfully extended the school year from 3 months to 9 months through financial assistance from the



Figure 6 (left): Undated, early photograph of the Henderson School, Source: Central Arkansas Library System (CALs); Figure 7 (right): Ca. 1880 photo of Henderson School students. Courtesy of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Photograph Collection [P-16].

AMA and contributions from the students' families: "The Henderson School closed its first year of nine months with examinations Thursday, May 24th. A large number of interested parents and friends came in to inquire and see for themselves what their children had been doing for the year. After listening to various recitations and exercises, they expressed themselves highly pleased."⁵⁹ In 1885, 139 students attended the Henderson School.⁶⁰

By 1891, the AMA no longer provided funding or staff for the Henderson School, and the organization granted permission to the city of Fayetteville to operate the school.⁶¹ The American Missionary Association retained ownership of the property until 1895, when it was sold to the School District of Fayetteville for \$500. As stipulated in the original deed, the property continued to function as a school for freedmen and children regardless of race.⁶²

One of the Henderson School's earliest known students was Henry Harold Sutton, who was born in Fayetteville in 1878.⁶³ Sutton would have been a student at the Henderson School in the late 1880s and early 1890s. As the Henderson School only offered classes through the eighth grade, Sutton would have moved elsewhere to complete his high school education. He went on to earn his degree from Philander Smith College in Little Rock in 1897.⁶⁴ One of Sutton's first positions after college was as an instructor at the White County Colored Normal School in Searcy, Arkansas, where he taught Black teachers in training. He began working at his alma mater, Philander Smith College, in 1900, where he remained for decades. Among the positions he held at Philander Smith were professor of education, director of teacher training and certification, registrar, and superintendent of buildings and grounds. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Philander Smith College was one of the few institutions of higher learning in Arkansas open to Black students, and it is therefore likely that Sutton instructed other students from Fayetteville. Documentation confirms that his family housed at least one Fayetteville student during their studies at Philander Smith College: Frances Corinne Hoover.⁶⁵ Sutton never moved back to Fayetteville.

⁵⁸ "Reports about Henderson School from The American Missionary," *Flashback* (Spring 2013): 42-3.

⁵⁹ "Reports about Henderson School from The American Missionary," *Flashback* (Spring 2013): 44-6.

⁶⁰ Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 69.

⁶¹ "Reports about Henderson School from The American Missionary," *Flashback* (Spring 2013): 47.

⁶² American Missionary Association (New York) to School District of Fayetteville, 1895, Washington County, Arkansas, Pages 454-456.

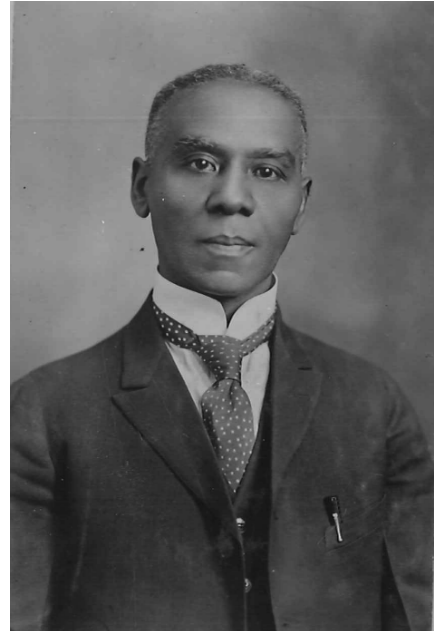
⁶³ Arkansas Department of Vital Records; Little Rock, Arkansas; *Death Certificates*; Year: 1945; Roll: 3, accessed via Ancestry.com.

⁶⁴ "Bishop Derrick," *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, May 20, 1897, 6.

⁶⁵ "Henry Harold Sutton: Northwest Arkansas' First Black Educator," *Flashback* 49, No. 3, (August 1999), 25-37.

Melissa E. Taylor of Fayetteville would also move to Little Rock to attend Philander Smith College sometime prior to 1910. She was the daughter of Champ Taylor, who was formerly enslaved by James Byrnside and was a prominent member of St. James Methodist Episcopal Church. Melissa Taylor was employed at Philander Smith College from at least 1917-1928 as a teacher, and does not appear to have returned to Fayetteville.⁶⁶

Figure 8 (right): Undated portrait of Henry Harold Sutton. Source: Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, “Mission Photograph Album - Portraits #04 Page 015,” UMC Digital Galleries, accessed October 17, 2024, <https://catalog.gcah.org/omeka/items/show/59869>.



Both Sutton and Taylor represent the Henderson School's significance to Fayetteville's Black community during the late 19th and early 20th century, as well as the accomplishments of school alumni beyond Fayetteville. Only a handful of occupations were available to Black people in Fayetteville, and an education at the Henderson School afforded students a foundation from which further education and occupational prospects could be pursued elsewhere. Though this ultimately required students to leave the community (many of whom would never return), it was an opportunity that many families pursued at great personal sacrifice.⁶⁷

Founding of Black Churches

St. James Methodist Episcopal Church

The earliest documentation of the St. James Methodist Episcopal Church (now St. James United Methodist Church) dates to 1866. The minutes of the annual Arkansas and Missouri Methodist Conference meeting record that Black residents of Fayetteville had requested a pastor, which had not yet been provided. A white minister named W.L. Malloy arrived the following year.⁶⁸ In the years immediately following the Civil War, Black ministers were in short supply in Arkansas because independent Black churches were also largely prohibited in Confederate states, as they recognized that opportunities for community building were dangerous to maintaining oppressive power structures. In 1877, however, the Methodist Philander Smith College was founded in Little Rock to train Black students to be Methodist Ministers and to educate newly emancipated individuals. As increasing numbers of students graduated from Philander Smith, St. James was eventually able to hire Black ministers. Among the earliest was W.R.R Duncan, who was appointed minister of St. James in 1883.⁶⁹

The original Methodist church was located on Rock Street, on property donated by the Polk family in 1866.⁷⁰ The church initially went through several different names, selecting the name “St. James” sometime before 1888.⁷¹ The original building was apparently destroyed in an 1881 tornado, and the congregation began raising funds for a new church shortly afterward. In March of the following year, white banker and landowner William McIlroy and his wife Martha sold the current Willow Avenue property occupied by St. James United Methodist Church to the church trustees for seventy-five dollars. The trustees listed on the deed were Aaron Morrison, George Walker, and Champ

⁶⁶ Polk's Little Rock, Arkansas City Directory 1917 (R.L. Polk & Company, 1917); Polk's Little Rock, Arkansas City Directory 1928, (R.L. Polk & Company, 1928); Woman's Home Missions 38, No 9, (September 1921), 17, accessed October 17, 2024, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Woman_s_Home_Missions_of_the_Methodist_E/c3bQAAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1

⁶⁷ “Henry Harold Sutton: Northwest Arkansas' First Black Educator,” *Flashback* 49, No. 3, (August 1999), 25-37.

⁶⁸ Brent E. Riffel, “‘A Celebration of Endurance,’ Fayetteville's St. James United Methodist Church,” *Flashback* 55, no. 4 (Autumn 2005): 159.

⁶⁹ Riffel, “A Celebration of Endurance,” 161-2, 165.

⁷⁰ Riffel, “A Celebration of Endurance,” 163.

⁷¹ Riffel, “A Celebration of Endurance,” 161.

Taylor.⁷² George Walker was an early member of the church and had formerly been enslaved by Judge David Walker.⁷³

To fund the construction of a new church, the congregation contacted the Methodist Board of Church Extension of the Northern Methodist Church, which granted \$250 for the project (equivalent to over \$8,000 in 2024). The new building was constructed by local white brick mason, Shepherd Blackmer, and white builder Albert Byrnes. Blackmer employed church member W.T. Fry as a brick mason, who likely assisted in the production of the bricks. The new edifice was completed in 1884, and still stands today.⁷⁴ The adjacent parsonage was constructed in the late 1890s or early 1900s.⁷⁵

St. James Baptist Church



Figure 9: 1908 photograph composite of emancipated early Black residents of Fayetteville. From left to right: Willis Pettigrew, Sam Van Winkle, Charlie Richardson, Squire Jahagen, and Nick Clemmons. Source: Central Arkansas Library System (CALIS).

According to oral tradition passed down by members of St. James Baptist Church, the church was organized by Squire Jahagen,⁷⁶ a man who had been held in bondage by a slaveholder named Matthew Leeper. A 1936 newspaper account claimed that Jahagen was born in Africa and “vividly recalled the life in his native village. Jahagen was his family name in Africa” though census records state that he was born in Tennessee.⁷⁷ Jahagen served as the congregation’s first minister, and members met in one another’s homes for several years until a small wood-frame building was constructed. Jahagen is identified as a plasterer and a day laborer in Fayetteville census records, and owned a home on South Willow Avenue with his wife Hulda Ann and their children and grandchildren. He served as minister of St. James Baptist until his death.⁷⁸ Little else is known about Jahagen or about the early history of St. James Baptist Church, as most church records were destroyed in a 1944 fire.⁷⁹

Fraternal Organizations

Several Black fraternal organizations were in existence in Fayetteville at the end of the 19th century, though little is known about their members, meeting locations, or activities. An 1893 article in the *Freeman* newspaper listed four Black fraternal organizations including the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the Knights of Tabor, the Mosaic

⁷² Riffel, “A Celebration of Endurance,” 165-6; William and Martha McIlroy to Methodist Episcopal Church, March 22, 1882, Book 12 page 354.

⁷³ Riffel, “A Celebration of Endurance,” 161.

⁷⁴ Riffel, “A Celebration of Endurance,” 166-7.

⁷⁵ Riffel, “A Celebration of Endurance,” 168.

⁷⁶ Spelling differs between records and is variously spelled “Jehagen” “Jahagen” “Jahagan” in accounts of the church, and spelled “Gahagen” in U.S. Census records.

⁷⁷ “Last Local Slaves,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 11, 1936, 9.

⁷⁸ Mrs. Russell [Pearl] Blye, “History of St. James Baptist Church,” June 26, 1977 Church Anniversary; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910.

⁷⁹ Blye, “History of St. James Baptist Church,” June 26, 1977 Church Anniversary.

Templars, and “the Daughters” (likely the Daughters of Tabor).⁸⁰ The Grand United Order of the Oddfellows (G.U.O.O.F), Golden Heart Lodge No. 24 is among the earliest known and longest lasting of Fayetteville’s Black fraternal organizations. In 1897, Perry Cooper was the secretary of the organization, and William “Squire” Taylor was a known member. The group met on the second and fourth Friday nights of each month.⁸¹ An 1897 article in the Fayetteville Republican advertised that the U.T. [abbreviation unidentified, possibly United Transatlantic Society] Lodge No. 31, met on the second and fourth Tuesday nights of each month, with W.B. Rich as secretary.⁸²

8.3 Early 20th Century

Figure 10. Ca. 1920s or 1930s photograph of S. Willow Avenue, facing north. St. James Baptist Church is visible near the center of the image and St. James Methodist is visible in the distance.
⁸³ **The photograph is credited to Zillah Cross Peel, who moved to Fayetteville in 1923 and later contributed to the Federal Writers Project during the Depression, interviewing several emancipated persons in Northwest Arkansas. Three residences are visible in the foreground. The left-most house may be 119 S. Willow, though none of the other depicted houses are extant.**



The early 20th century was a time of unprecedented growth and new development in Fayetteville. The University of Arkansas continued to grow and attract students, and agriculture (as well as the related canning industry) remained significant to the economy. A new county courthouse was constructed in 1905, just above and in prominent view of the Hollow. To the east, the summit of East Mountain was given to the state Methodist Assembly for a retreat center in the early 1920s, and the mountain was renamed Mount Sequoyah. As automobiles proliferated across the United States, new roads were paved through Fayetteville facilitating settlement beyond the city limits.⁸⁴ With the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s, numerous federal relief work projects were undertaken in Fayetteville, including the construction of a new school (the Lincoln School) for the city’s Black children. Both Black and white residents of Fayetteville would serve in the military during WWI and WWII, many experiencing life outside of the Jim Crow South for the first time.

Early 20th Century Black Population and Occupational Data

Though Washington County experienced overall population growth between 1890 and 1900, the Black population of the county began to decline at the turn of the century, dropping from 1,010 to 888 Black residents. This trend continued in subsequent decades as the Black population of Washington County dropped to 614 in 1910, 508 in 1920, and 471 in 1930. From 1940-1960, Washington County’s Black population remained stable, hovering between 400 and 500 residents.⁸⁵ There are likely several reasons behind the early 20th century Black population decline in Washington County, related to both broader trends in U.S. history as well as conditions specific to Fayetteville and Washington County. On a national level, the early 20th century saw the beginnings of the “Great Migration,” which entailed the movement of approximately six million Black people from primarily rural areas of the American South to urban areas of the North, West, and Midwest. Seeking to escape discrimination, racial terror, and poor economic

⁸⁰ From *The Freeman*, April 15, 1893 (currently only available on microfilm), excerpt featured in: “Arkansas Negroes in the 1890s: Documents,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 4. (Winter 1974), 311.

⁸¹ Katrina Windon, “Solid People in Unstable Times: Tabitha and William Taylor of Fayetteville, Arkansas,” *Flashback* 72, no. 4 (Winter 2022): 150-1; “Colored Churches and Societies,” *Fayetteville Republican*, September 10, 1897.

⁸² “Colored Churches and Societies,” *Fayetteville Republican*, September 10, 1897.

⁸³ “Tin Cup Town on the east side of Fayetteville, Washington County,” PHC00004404, PHC photo file, Arkansas State Archives, Little Rock, Arkansas.

⁸⁴ Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville*, 91, 97, 104.

⁸⁵ “Population by Race and County 1870-Present,” Past Census Data, Arkansas Economic Development Institute, accessed October 29, 2024, <https://arstatedatacenter.youraedi.com/past-census-data/>.

prospects, many Black residents of southern states left their homes in search of better opportunities and greater safety outside of the Jim Crow South. The Great Migration accounts for at least some of Washington County and Fayetteville's Black population decline, as Black residents relegated to low wage work in a segregated community sought greater opportunity outside of Arkansas and the South. On a local level, the lack of a high school or institutions of higher learning for Black students in Fayetteville and greater Washington County forced Black students to leave their homes if they wanted to complete their education. Faced with limited occupational prospects in Fayetteville, many Black students who left the community in pursuit of a high school or college education never returned to Fayetteville, instead pursuing careers in Little Rock or outside of Arkansas.

For those Black men and women who chose to stay in Fayetteville, employment opportunities were limited during the early 20th century. The 1900 census enumerator for Fayetteville identified almost every single Black man as a "day laborer," which disguised a variety of occupations. Specific occupations were listed for only a handful of men, including individuals identified as a "Servant," a "Blacksmith," a "Painter," a "Salesman," and a "Minister." The few Black women who were listed with an occupation in 1900 were primarily identified as a "Cook," or "Washer," if an occupation was listed at all. Susie Pettigrew, a teacher at the Henderson School, was one of very few women who held a professional occupation in Fayetteville.⁸⁶

The 1910 census enumerator for Fayetteville was more thorough than his predecessor, and provided a more detailed picture of occupations held by Black citizens. For example, Willis Pettigrew, who had been listed simply as a "day laborer" in 1900 was engaged in "hauling" with his "own wagon." Pettigrew's oxen-led wagon was a common sight for decades in Fayetteville (Figure 11). Other Black men were listed as "Driver," "Butcher," "Cook" at a boys' dormitory and a fraternity house, "Stable Boy" for a private family, "Driver" for a hardware store, "Waiter" at a hotel, and several were listed as a "Janitor." "Laborer" was listed for a number of men who worked "odd jobs." Significantly more Black women were listed with occupations in 1910 than in 1900, the most common jobs being that of "Washing" at home, followed by a "Cook" for a private family.⁸⁷

Figure 11 (right): Willis Pettigrew is depicted at work with his oxen and hauling wagon. Source: "Ex-Slave Ox-Cart Driver Familiar Figure in Fayetteville for Many Years After War," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, July 3, 1928, 10.

In 1920, Black men continued to be identified in working class jobs including that of "Laborer," "Porter," "Gardener," "Helper," or "Boot Black." A handful were employed by the railroad as a "Tie Loader" or "Coach Cleaner" and several men continued to work as a "Cook" or "Porter" at the university dormitories or fraternity houses. One of the few documented Black male business owners was Alex Robinson, who owned his own Blacksmith shop. Though not documented in the census, two Black men were appointed by the city to serve as police officers or "patrolmen" for the Black community during the 1920s. The first was Sid Jackson in 1923, followed by Lem McPherson several years later. McPherson was killed in 1928, and it does not appear that additional Black men were hired as patrolmen in subsequent years.⁸⁸ A number of Black women were documented as working in private homes in 1920, whether as a cook or performing "house work." Though many women continued to take in laundry at their homes, several were also listed as a



"Uncle Willis" Pettigrew

⁸⁶ Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.

⁸⁷ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910.

⁸⁸ "Policeman Provided Colored Community," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, September 6, 1923, 1; "Negro Patrolman Slain Saturday During Man Hunt," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, April 30, 1928, 1.

“laundress” “in town.” Other female occupations in 1920 included “seamstress,” and “cook” in a hotel. Bessie Taylor was listed as a teacher in the public school (Henderson School).⁸⁹

As documented in the 1920 census, a number of Black men made a living by shining shoes at barber shops and other locations in Fayetteville, a job that could be fairly lucrative depending on tips. As Betty Hayes Davis recalled: “My father [Leonard Hayes] was what they called a bootblack—a shoe shine man—but he made a good living at it. You remember, we have a university here, and he did his shoe shining on Center Street where all the lawyers and judges and university types would come, so he was able to serve this community quite well with his shoe shine business.”⁹⁰ Betty’s uncle, Chris Manuel, operated a successful shoe shine parlor for more than 20 years on Center Street, and her brother, musician Ralph “Buddy” Hayes, shined shoes at the University of Arkansas Barber Shop.⁹¹ James “Jimbo” Reynolds would become a well known and beloved shoe shine man in Fayetteville during the mid-to late-20th century, operating stands on the downtown square, on Dickson Street, and at the University of Arkansas Student Union.⁹²

Little changed in the way of occupational opportunity for Fayetteville’s approximately 400 Black residents in the 1930s.⁹³ Particularly as the onset of the Great Depression impacted the nationwide economy, Black residents were primarily limited to work in the same low-wage positions that had been available to them in previous decades, including that of laborer, porter, shoe shiner, cook, domestic work in private homes and fraternity/sorority houses, or laundress. A few new Black occupations appear on the 1930 census, however, including several carpenters and automobile mechanics.⁹⁴

Early 20th Century Black Settlement Patterns

During the first two decades of the 20th century, Black settlement in Fayetteville was less concentrated and segregated than it would become in subsequent decades. Some Black residents continued to live in primarily white residential areas near their workplace, including several who lived on W. Dickson Street, or near the intersection of W. Dickson Street and Garland Avenue near the university campus.⁹⁵ The majority of Fayetteville’s Black population, however, resided on the east and southeast side of town in three main clusters: the area surrounding the Henderson School, “the Hollow” just east of the courthouse, and in “the Valley” south of Huntsville Road. (These Black residential areas are depicted in Figure 2: “Approximate Historic Extents of Southeast Fayetteville’s Historic Black Community.”) Though outside the study area, a fourth Black community existed near the northern outskirts of Fayetteville known as Red Hill.

Henderson School Area

Several Black families resided close to the Henderson School on Olive Street, which was north of the Hollow and at a higher elevation. The descendants of William “Squire” Taylor and Tabitha Marshbanks Taylor, which included the Taylor, Manuel, Sutton, Hayes, and Thompson families, occupied much of Olive Street and would be the longest lasting Black residents in the Henderson School area. In 1904, their neighbors included Nick Clemmons, Annie Davidson, Bernard Borgan, Nettie Smith, Lucy Tuttle, and Ollie Walker all of whom were documented as living on “Olive: near Lafayette.” Nancy Alvorn was recorded on Walnut Avenue one block west of Olive, and numerous people were listed on Lafayette, Mission, and Maple Streets, within a block of the Henderson School, including Henry Bent, Charles Bowers, Dicy and Ethel Giles, and Emeline and Lee Wilson. Others in the Henderson School vicinity lived on Sutton Street, including Lige Lyons and Alice and Kate McConnell. By the 1930s, the majority of

⁸⁹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920.

⁹⁰ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

⁹¹ “Chris Manuel, Lifelong resident, Dies at his Home,” *Northwest Arkansas Times*, July 28, 1951; “Part II: The Story of Fayetteville’s Black Diamond Orchestra Continues with ‘The Jazz Age,’” *Flashback* 74, No. 1: (Spring 2024), 17.

⁹² “Philosopher Finds Things are Better,” *Northwest Arkansas Times*, March 28, 1976, 17.

⁹³ “Negro Citizens Make Success of Activities,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 11, 1936, C3

⁹⁴ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930.

⁹⁵ J.B. Hogan, “Residency and Work Patterns of the Black Community in 1904 Fayetteville,” *Flashback*, (Summer 2023): 61-70.

Black families residing near the Henderson School had moved elsewhere, with the exception of the Taylor-Marshbanks descendants.⁹⁶

The Hollow



Figure 12: Portion of c. 1910 photograph depicting the heart of Fayetteville's Black community, taken from East Mountain (view southwest). E. Mountain Street (purple arrow), Center Street (red arrow) and E. Meadow Street (green arrow) are all visible. The county jail (yellow arrow) and courthouse (orange arrow) are in the background. (Source: Central Arkansas Library System (CALs)).

Located south and downhill of the Henderson School area at the base of a small valley, “the Hollow” was roughly bound by Spring Street to the north, the courthouse the west, Huntsville Road to the south, and Mount Sequoyah the east. Residents of the Hollow were largely concentrated on S. Willow Avenue, E. Center Street, E. Mountain Street, E. Meadow Street, and E. Rock Street, with a handful of residents on Spring Street. Several early residents of the Hollow have already been discussed, including Squire Jehagen on S. Willow Avenue and Sam Young on E. Mountain Street. Willis Pettigrew, who was of the same generation as Jehagen and Young and also formerly enslaved, owned his home at 127 East Mountain Street in 1910.⁹⁷



Figure 13: Ca. 1920 postcard depicting the Hollow from downtown Fayetteville (likely from the Courthouse). Willow Avenue runs horizontally along the center of the photograph and the rear of St. James AME (now St. James United Methodist Church) is visible. East Mountain is in the background. Source: Central Arkansas Library System (CALs).

The Hollow is depicted in several early 20th century maps and photographs, which provide valuable insight to how the built environment of the Black community had developed over the three decades since the Civil War. A c. 1910

photograph taken from East Mountain (Figure 12) depicts simple, wood-frame houses constructed on raised stone

⁹⁶ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930.

⁹⁷ Pettigrew's address is identified as 105 E Mountain Street in the 1904 directory and 127 E Mountain Street in the 1910 Census; J.B. Hogan, “Residency and Work Patterns of the Black Community in 1904 Fayetteville,” *Flashback*, (Summer 2023): 61-70; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910.

pier foundations clustered along E. Meadow, E. Center, E. Mountain, and E. Rock Streets.⁹⁸ Many of the houses were constructed close to the roads (which would remain unpaved until well into the mid-20th century), while others were situated toward the center or rear of the lots. Many of the houses appear to have shed roof rear additions, constructed as families grew in size and as they could afford building materials. Contemporary maps of the period show that land in the Hollow was divided into irregularly shaped lots of varying sizes. The area was largely devoid of trees, likely due to the need for wood to heat homes as well as the common practice of gardening in the community. For much of the community's history, families utilized the open land on their properties to grow fruits and vegetables, including Sam Young and James Hoover.⁹⁹ In addition, resident Tom Rogers was noted in local newspapers for his gardening and livestock raising efforts: "Tom Rogers, gardener and hog fancier, has received several awards at the county fair on his hogs and garden products. His garden is one of the most attractive spots in the entire negro section."¹⁰⁰

The Hollow was also documented in white newspapers, which vacillated between negative depictions of the community and praise for its "picturesque" qualities. By the early 1920s, the city of Fayetteville had run out of adequate landfill space, leading some residents to dump their trash on the outskirts of town or along the roadsides.¹⁰¹ Some white residents of Fayetteville chose to dump "their rubbish and filth in Tin Cup," often in the middle of the streets.¹⁰² As a temporary solution to the problem, it appears that two residents of the Hollow volunteered their properties specifically for the dumping of ashes and tin cans. The first location was at the rear of J.W. Webb's stone boarding house and restaurant, where "there is space for some fifty wagon loads of ashes in which there may be a small proportion of cans." The second, larger location was "a gullied slope" on the property of Sam Young.¹⁰³ Though the creation of these dumping grounds may have somewhat alleviated the dumping of trash in the streets of the Black community, it appears it may have caused unexpected consequences. In 1926 a "prominent citizen" reported to the *Daily Democrat* that "the city dump ground on Tin Cup hill, overlooking Fayetteville" had become a mosquito breeding ground due to the thousands of tin cans that collected standing water.¹⁰⁴ It is unclear where exactly "Tin Cup hill" was located, but it appears to have been along the western slope of Mount Sequoyah: "On Mount Sequoyah in plain view of tourists a growing heap of tin-cans, old newspapers and magazines disgusts the person climbing the beautiful road to the [Methodist] Assembly."¹⁰⁵ This dumping ground may have been near the Henderson School (which is at a higher elevation than the Hollow), based on a subsequent 1927 article praising Henderson School students for what was likely a dangerous, hazardous clean up campaign at a former dump heap. "For 10 days the children have been working, and have cleaned up the dump heap where Fayetteville citizens formerly dumped their rubbish, so that not a tin can or piece of paper now remains. Thorn bushes have been cut down, and the whole yard raked."¹⁰⁶

Figure 14: "The Village Church" by J.H. Fields. The photograph depicts a woman walking south on South Willow Avenue toward what is likely the pre-1920s St. James Baptist Church. Source: *The Camera* 20, no. 9 (September 1916) 476. (Original plate glass negative is held at the University of Arkansas Special Collections).



⁹⁸ "View of Fayetteville from East Mountain, Fayetteville, Ark.," Butler Center for Arkansas Studies: Central Arkansas Library System, accessed October 18, 2024, <https://cdm15728.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15728coll1/id/21183/rec/1>

⁹⁹ Preston, "SAM YOUNG: Former Slave of Fayetteville," 33; Thomas Rothrock, "James Hoover," *Flashback* 17, no. 3 (Aug 1967): 15.

¹⁰⁰ "Negro Citizens Make Success of Activities," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 11, 1936, C3.

¹⁰¹ "A Helpful Suggestion," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, March 24, 1922; "We Were Glad to do our Bit!" *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, August 18, 1926, 2; "The Dumping Ground," *Fayetteville Democrat*, April 23, 1929, 2; "Dump Ground Badly Needed by the City," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, February 18, 1930, 1.

¹⁰² "Making Our City Beautiful: The People's Forum 'Let's Go,'" *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, February 6, 1922, 2.

¹⁰³ "Two Dumping Grounds Given for Ashes, Cans," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, April 13, 1922, 1.

¹⁰⁴ "Dump Ground Breeding Place for Mosquitos," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, April 5, 1926, 1.

¹⁰⁵ "Arrest the 'Road Dumper,'" *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, March 31, 1927, 2.

¹⁰⁶ "Schools Clean Up Early; Equipment, Shrubs, Play Part," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, April 7, 1927, 1.

Despite the issues surrounding the town dumping grounds, the Hollow was frequently praised for its natural beauty. In a 1908 article in which the writer opined that “Tin Cup Must Go,” the author couldn’t help but acknowledge that: “This little valley is one of the prettiest spots in the city...”¹⁰⁷ The community was also a favored subject of local white artist and photographer, J.H. Field: “As to the picturesqueness of local colored town? Did you ever see the prize pictures made there by the artist of the Ozarks, J.H. Field? There is nothing more beautiful in all photography than some pictures snapped there quite at random and some of these grace the pages of the country’s best magazines.” Field’s photographs of the community were depicted in numerous photography publications and several were awarded prizes, including “The Old Homestead” and “The Village Church.”



Figure 15: Aerial view of the Hollow in 1926. From larger aerial image: “Aerial View of Fayetteville, 1926,” University of Arkansas Digital Collections, <https://digitalcollections.uark.edu/digital/collection/photocatalog/id/4550>.

The Valley

During the early 20th century, a handful of Black families lived south of the Hollow on or below E. Huntsville Road, in an area referred to as “the Valley” by residents. A small area sandwiched between Huntsville Road and the southern city limits at 4th Street, the Valley was more sparsely populated than the Hollow during the early 20th century, with houses clustered along E. Huntsville Road and extending south from E. Huntsville Road along Combs Avenue and S. Willow Avenue. The land below what is now 4th Street largely consisted of farmland, except for a cluster of houses along South College Avenue.¹⁰⁸ The 1904 City Directory captures several individuals in the area, who were documented on Huntsville Road, at “Deahl: near Oakley,” and “Combs: corner Oakley.”¹⁰⁹ The Valley was

¹⁰⁷ “Tin Cup Must Go,” *Fayetteville Democrat*, July 23, 1908, 1.

¹⁰⁸ “Aerial View of Fayetteville, 1926,” University of Arkansas Digital Collections, accessed October 18, 2024, <https://digitalcollections.uark.edu/digital/collection/photocatalog/id/4550>

¹⁰⁹ The exact location of Oakley and Deahl Streets have not been determined as they are no longer in existence. However, Deahl’s Addition was located in the Valley and Combs Street was a very short road that only extended between Huntsville Road

not exclusively populated by Black families, as is demonstrated in the case of Nick Clemmons, who resided at 235 Huntsville Road in 1910, surrounded by white neighbors.¹¹⁰ The Valley would be more extensively developed and settled by Black families in the mid- to late- 20th century.



Figure 16: 1926 aerial image depicting settlement in the “Valley,” outlined in orange. Note that the area south of 7th Street is sparsely settled. From larger aerial image: “Aerial View of Fayetteville, 1926,” University of Arkansas Digital Collections, <https://digitalcollections.uark.edu/digital/collection/photocatalog/id/4550>.

The Red Hill Community (North Fayetteville)

Though outside of the study area, the Red Hill community is worth mentioning as a late 19th and early 20th century Black community that is no longer in existence. Settled by Black families as early as the 1860s, the Red Hill community was located near the northern city limits at what is now North Street.¹¹¹ In the 1904 City Directory, residents of Red Hill were generally documented as residing on “College Avenue: near limits” or “Willow: Near North.” The 1904 City Directory specifically identified two Black residents of Red Hill: Alford [Alfred] and Maggie Buchanan. As Betty Hayes Davis recalled from her childhood in the 1930s and early 1940s: “Red Hill was bounded by College and North Street, and it was mostly in the area where Cleveland [Cleburne?] is now the street where

and 4th Street; J.B. Hogan, “Residency and Work Patterns of the Black Community in 1904 Fayetteville,” *Flashback*, (Summer 2023): 61-70.

¹¹⁰ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910.

¹¹¹ Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville*, 99.

mostly the black families lived. There were only about three or four of them out there. I can remember the Lester Buchanan family and the Blackburn family and the Dowel family.”¹¹² Davis’s memory aligns with the 1920 and 1930 federal census records, which recorded the families in close proximity to North Street: Major Blackburn and Harve Dowell were recorded on North Willow Avenue in 1920, and Major Blackburn and Lester Buchanan were recorded on Cleburn Street in 1930.¹¹³ Mary Lucile Lewis Yoe, a white woman, recalled that Black residents of Red Hill: “had better jobs than others. They lived on what is now North Street.”¹¹⁴ She also described how the community was impacted by development in the area: “I remember we put in the road between 45 and College Avenue. There was not a road through there...that road had been there, a little dirt road, from College up to the top of the hill on North Street. It was a difficult road. There were just a few houses. That was where the black houses were. We had to pave the road between.”¹¹⁵ The Red Hill community was significantly impacted by the widening of US-71, and few Black residents resided there by 1940.

Prominent Early 20th Century Black Residents

By the 1920s, many of the Black community’s longest standing residents (many of whom had settled in the community following emancipation) had reached old age, and a new group of men and women assumed leadership roles in the community. Some new Black families migrated to the community from rural areas of the county, many drawn to Fayetteville by the presence of the Henderson School. Following WWI, several Black service members returning from Europe chose to settle in the community, including James Cortez Hoover (Company 1, 15th Replacement); Henry Ballard (Co. D. 816 Pioneer Infantry); Will Blackburn (91st Division); Albert Peel (91st Division); and Ada Wright, (Co. A.).

Figure 17 (right): James Cortez Hoover standing outside of the Fayetteville City Hospital ca. 1920s. Courtesy of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Photograph Collection [P-4428].

James Cortez Hoover

Among the WWI veterans who settled in Fayetteville’s Black community, James Hoover became a prominent and well respected figure. Shortly after arriving in Fayetteville in 1918, Hoover settled on S. Willow Avenue and was hired as a janitor at the City Hospital. Despite his title, Hoover was regularly called upon to assist doctors and nurses with medical procedures. As hospital superintendent Ruth Riley recalled: “He became useful in all departments and all came to look to James for help. He was ambidextrous and could do almost anything with his hands. He knew how to lift patients and became rather expert in helping patients with broken hips. He was especially good with children and old folks.”¹¹⁶ Dr. A.J. Harrison further emphasized Hoover’s skill: “James Hoover knows the human bone structure as well as any doctor. It is never necessary for me to take an X-ray picture of a broken bone. He can tell where the bone is broken by feeling and set it perfectly.”¹¹⁷



¹¹² Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹¹³ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930.

¹¹⁴ Mary Lucile Lewis Yoe, Interview by David Edwards, June 5, 2001, transcript, Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas, 3.

¹¹⁵ Mary Lucile Lewis Yoe, Interview by David Edwards, June 5, 2001, transcript, Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas, 11-12.

¹¹⁶ Thomas Rothrock, “James Hoover,” *Flashback* 17, no. 3 (Aug 1967): 17.

¹¹⁷ Thomas Rothrock, “James Hoover,” *Flashback* 17, no. 3 (Aug 1967): 17.

Although racial barriers limited Hoover's educational and career opportunities, he ensured that his children were provided every educational opportunity available. His four oldest children traveled to other communities to complete their high school education, and each attended college. Working together with his sister, a teacher in Atlanta, Texas, Hoover helped facilitate the high school education of at least nine local students who resided with her while completing their degrees.¹¹⁸ His daughter, Theressa Hoover, went on to work for the Methodist Church, becoming head of the Women's Division of the General Board of Global ministries of the UMC in New York.¹¹⁹ His oldest daughter, Minerva Hoover Morgan, would be active in Fayetteville's Black community during the Civil Rights era. James Hoover was actively involved in the St. James Methodist Church, as well as several civic and fraternal organizations including the Hill City Masonic Lodge, Ollie McPherson Post of the American Legion, and the local Boy Scouts.¹²⁰ Hoover remained a dedicated employee of the City Hospital and a significant community figure until his death in 1954.

James Washington and Emma Webb

In 1917, St. James Baptist Church hired a new minister named Rev. J.W. Webb, who alongside his wife, Emma, would become a prominent member of the community for several decades. At the time that he was hired, the church still met in a small, wood-frame building. Webb quickly initiated efforts to construct a new church edifice. The old building was advertised for sale in local newspapers, and funding was acquired through donations from members as well as \$75 donations from prominent local businesses, including the First National Bank and the McIlroy Bank. Webb is credited with personally digging the basement for the new church, making the mortar, and assisting the brick masons. Other church members also helped construct the building, which was completed in 1927. Though photos of the church were lost in the 1944 fire, an image by local photographer J.H. Fields appear to depict St. James Baptist Church shortly after its construction.¹²¹

Figure 18 (right): Ca. 1920s photograph by J.H. Fields, likely depicting c. 1927 St. James Baptist Church (no longer extant). Source: University of Arkansas Special Collections



Webb was also responsible for the construction of another prominent building in the Black community. To supplement his income as a minister, in 1923 Webb built a rooming house with a restaurant and store on the first floor. The stone building was prominently located on South Willow adjacent to the Methodist Church and parsonage, and is still extant (though modified) at 105 N. Willow Avenue.¹²² The Webbs lived on South Willow Avenue for much of their 30+ years in Fayetteville, and resided at 154 East Meadow (extant) at the time of James Webb's death in 1954.¹²³

¹¹⁸ "Official Duty Brings Theressa Hoover Home to Fayetteville," *Springdale News*, April 24, 1964.

¹¹⁹ Saint James United Methodist Church Sesquicentennial Celebration Booklet, 2011.

¹²⁰ "Wing Named for Dedicated Hospital Worker, *Fayetteville Northwest Arkansas Times*, April 3, 1982, 14.

¹²¹ Mrs. Russell [Pearl] Blye, "History of St. James Baptist Church," June 26, 1977 Church Anniversary; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United State, 1910; "Colored Baptist Plan \$7,500 Church Building," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, August 16, 1923, 1; "Anniversary Banquet for Colored Pastor," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, November 15, 1927, 3.

¹²² *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, March 31, 1923, 2.

¹²³ "James Washington Webb Dies; Retired Minister," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, July 31, 1954, 3; Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950; Census Place: *Fayetteville, Washington, Arkansas*; (Enumeration District: 72-38); Available on Ancestry.com.

Black-owned Businesses and The Green Book

A 1928 *Fayetteville Daily Democrat* article described several Black-owned businesses operating in the Hollow:

[The Hollow] is set in a deep vale between the business section of Fayetteville and the foot of the neighboring Mt. Sequoyah. Here and there one finds a shallow mountain stream or a scrubby tree. Small shacks, at the rear of which are seen women at work at the conventional washboards, are set back a few feet from main streets. Business houses are scattered at intervals among dwellings. A faded striped pole signifies the barber shop and the music issuing forth from a narrow building indicates that such a building is the eating 'joint.'¹²⁴

Fayetteville was the only city in Northwest Arkansas that was included in the Green Book. Several factors account for this, including the fact that Fayetteville was not located along a major highway or thoroughfare that attracted travelers. Most Black travelers who sought accommodations in Fayetteville were in town to work local jobs. As Jessie Bryant recalled: "They were workers. They were cheap labor that companies who were building in Fayetteville at that time period would transport from one place to another."¹²⁵ Beginning in the late 1940s when the University of Arkansas began to integrate its programs, Black students also sought accommodations in the Green Book properties, as well as private residences in the community.¹²⁶

Figure 19: Susan Marshbank Manuel (owned longstanding Green Book property), Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Betty Hayes Davis Collection (S-2015-71-12) Courtesy of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Photograph Collection [S-2015-71-12].



Three Fayetteville businesses were listed in the Green Book, including "Mebbs" (almost certainly a mis-spelling of Webb's) on N. Willow Avenue, and tourist homes operated by Mrs. S. Manuel at 313 Olive Street and Mrs. N. Smith at 259 E. Center Street.¹²⁷ Webb's was a reference to a native stone house and restaurant that Rev. James W. Webb, pastor of St. James Baptist Church, operated with his wife Emma. Webb constructed the building in 1923 for \$1500, with the intention of opening "a rooming house and general store."¹²⁸ Mrs. Emma Webb appears to have run the restaurant, and as resident Emma Conley remembered: "She used to cook meals...We used to go down to Sister Webb's at lunch time and get pop and candy and chips."¹²⁹ The Webb property was listed in the Green Book from 1939 through 1950. The Webb property is still standing, but has been altered through the addition of a gable roof.

Mrs. S. Manuel was Susan Marshbanks Manuel, known as "Mama Susie" to many in the community. As a widow residing on N. Olive Street, Manuel made the extra rooms in her house available to guests, and her home was listed in the Green Book from 1939 to 1956 (despite her death in 1952). As community resident Jessie Bryant recalled: "She would open her house to overnighters who needed a place for the night. She lived in the house. It wasn't a large house and it was her home. She had a couple of extra rooms because she lived by herself."¹³⁰ The Manuel property is no longer extant.

¹²⁴ "Picturesque Tin Cup is Model Colored Town," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, July 3, 1928, 7.

¹²⁵ David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 130.

¹²⁶ David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 130.

¹²⁷ Green, Victor H. *The Negro Motorist Green Book Compendium: 1938, 1947, 1954, 1963*. (About Comics, 2019).

¹²⁸ *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, March 31, 1923, 2.

¹²⁹ David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 130.

¹³⁰ David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 130.

Listed in almost every edition of the Green Book from 1939 through 1966-7, Naomi Smith opened her home on E. Center Street as a cafe that sold barbecue, sandwiches, candy, and ice cream, and also rented rooms upstairs. Her niece, Virginia Smith Denton, described the business: "It was like a little juke joint and you'd go in there and dance...People went there for recreation. It had booths."¹³¹ Resident Mary Ann Johnson recalled: "She got good business and she stayed open a long time...We all stopped in on the weekends."¹³²

Henry Ballard, a WWI veteran, was well known for the business he operated out of his E. Mountain Street home. Ballard, affectionately known as "Pappy" by community members, offered haircuts and shaves to Black men, who were not served in white-owned barber shops. His home barbershop also served as a social center for neighborhood men. He operated his business into the 1970s.¹³³

Early 20th Century Black Education in Fayetteville

The Henderson School



Figure 20: 1926 Photograph of students in front of the Henderson School. The school had been in continuous use for 60 years at the time of this photograph. Source: University of Arkansas Special Collections.

The Henderson School was the only school in Fayetteville for Black children for much of the early 20th century. In 1902, 96 children ranging from first through eighth grades received instruction in two classrooms from two teachers.¹³⁴ Though large new schools were constructed for Fayetteville's white children during the early 20th century, Fayetteville's Black students remained in the aging two-room structure well into the 1930s. The Henderson School was not connected to city water until 1921, and even then students continued to use outhouses since there were no indoor bathrooms in the school.¹³⁵ Despite being within 300 feet of an existing sewer line, the school wasn't connected to the city sewer system until 1925, and the connection was only made after nearby white residents complained of the "obnoxious odor."¹³⁶ Children made do with little to no playground equipment. As Betty Hayes Davis recalled of the early 1930s: "We had a swing; that was the only playground equipment that we had. The grounds were pretty much clay. When it rained we could slip and slide in the clay if we dared get our shoes covered in clay [laughing]. But it was still a happy time for us."¹³⁷ Davis also recalled the special occasions when a neighborhood mother would cook lunch for the students at the school, as it did not have a cafeteria and school lunches were not provided.

It was not unusual for a mother to bring in a big pot of beans and set it on the wood stove. We, oh by the way, we didn't have central heating; we had potbellied stoves in two rooms. A mother might come and quietly set a pot of beans on the stove and she would have made the cornbread at

¹³¹ David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 130.

¹³² David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 130.

¹³³ David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 131.

¹³⁴ *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, September 28, 1903, 2.

¹³⁵ "News From the Schools," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, November 1, 1921, 4; Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹³⁶ "What the Other Fellow Thinks," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, February 3, 1922, 2; "Sewer Connections in Henderson School," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, September 4, 1925, 1.

¹³⁷ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

home. At lunch time, that would have been a treat for the children. They could have beans and cornbread or whatever the parent had chosen to bring.¹³⁸

Despite the spare accommodations and general lack of investment from the Fayetteville school district, students at the Henderson School thrived, particularly under the leadership of Herman and Hazel Caldwell, who operated the school from approximately 1927 until 1939.¹³⁹ Herman served as both the school principal and taught the older grades, while Hazel taught the younger grades. To manage all of the children of varying age groups at once, Davis recalled: “as class was in session in the front part of the building...a study session would be going on in the back of the room. So there was studying and teaching all in the same room.”¹⁴⁰ By 1933, 83 students were enrolled at the Henderson School.¹⁴¹

The Lincoln School



Figure 21: Map depicting locations of the 1870 Henderson School (extant though altered) and the 1936 Lincoln School (demolished). Source: Google Earth

In the early 1930s, plans were underway to construct a new school for Fayetteville’s Black students on a large lot several blocks south of the Henderson School. A property exchange was orchestrated between the Fayetteville School District and Mayme Walker, a woman who married a descendant of David Walker. In exchange for “One dollar and exchange of property [the Henderson School],” Walker agreed to give the Fayetteville School District a large parcel at the southeast corner of East Center Street and South Willow Avenue.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹³⁹ “Negro Citizens Make Success of Activities,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 11, 1936, C3.

¹⁴⁰ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹⁴¹ Public Secondary Schools for Negroes in Arkansas, ASA book collection LC2802.A8 P83 1935, Arkansas State Archives, Little Rock, Arkansas. Accessed October 24, 2024, <https://digitalheritage.arkansas.gov/exhibits-online-african-americans/40/>

¹⁴² Fayetteville Special School District No. 1 to Mayme Walker, January 6, 1933, Book 297 page 370; Walker, Mayme to Fayetteville Special School District No. 1, December 15, 1932, Book 267 page 524.

Though there was certainly a significant need for a new school building due to the Henderson School's age, small size, and lack of modern conveniences, the school board does not appear to have been motivated by the plight of Black students. Instead, the impetus for the new school in a new location appears to have been entirely motivated by racial residential patterns. When the Henderson School was originally constructed in 1870, the surrounding area was less densely populated and patterns of residential segregation were not yet firmly entrenched. Some Black families resided in close proximity to the white families they worked for, alongside homes owned by white families. Though a number of Black families had resided near the Henderson School during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the vast majority had moved south to "the Hollow" by the 1930s. As Black families vacated or sold their homes near the Henderson School, they were quickly replaced with white residences in what is now the Washington and Willow district. Betty Hayes Davis (great-granddaughter of early Black property owners William "Squire" Taylor and Tabitha Marshbanks Taylor) grew up on N. Olive Street within view of the Henderson School in the 1920s and 1930s and experienced the increasing racial segregation first-hand:

Our family was the only black family left on Olive. Early on there had been another family on the property connected to Henderson school property. But they sold their land and moved down in what is known as the Hollow, which is behind the courthouse, east of the courthouse. And the main street there is Willow Street...I didn't have any playmates in my neighborhood. All of the children in the African American community were in that area that's called the Hollow, and then there were a few out in a community called Red Hill.¹⁴³

A 1977 article in *Flashback*, the quarterly publication of the Washington Historical Society, also points to racial residential segregation as the impetus for the new school location: "After the center of the colored population moved south, a[n] exchange of property for a more suitable location was arranged with the estate of Wythe Walker."¹⁴⁴ It is clear that the property exchange between the school district and Mayme Walker took place in order to remove Black students from what had become a primarily white residential neighborhood, as well as to make the Henderson School property available to white residential development.



Figure 22: Undated photograph of the Lincoln School. Source: Arkansas State Archives.

Plans for the construction of the new school were public knowledge by 1933, and the "native rock" foundation and basement were laid by 1934. It appears that little to no local public funding was expended on the school, as the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat* stated that the rest of the building would be constructed "as rapidly as funds can be had for materials and donations of labor be provided. Work so far has been done with [Federal] Government aid."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹⁴⁴ "Henderson School: Then and Now," *Flashback* 27, no. 3 (August 1977): 47.

¹⁴⁵ "Negro Teachers Gather Here," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, October 19, 1933, 1; "Henderson School Basement Built," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, August 15, 1934, 3.

The school was constructed using salvaged brick and lumber from the “old South school” (the white Jefferson School), which was disassembled and gathered by ten Black men working through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The school was ultimately completed under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration in 1936.¹⁴⁶

The Fayetteville school board named the new building the Lincoln School.¹⁴⁷ On the day that the new school was opened to students, the children marched from the old Henderson School building on N. Olive street to the new Lincoln School at E. Center and S. Willow. As remembered by Betty Hayes Davis: “Heretofore, we had always had used books. Everything we had were leftovers and used. That was the happiest days of our lives when we marched to that new school singing that we were gonna be in a new school, nobody had ever been there before and this is the song that we sang. I still remember most of it.

*Old Henderson school was too old for its age since the new Lincoln built.
Old Henderson school was too old for its age since the new Lincoln built.
Seventy years without stumbling. Tick tock, Tick tock.
It's life's second coming. Don't stop. Don't stop.
But it's closed now, never to open again. Since the new Lincoln is built.”¹⁴⁸*

In addition to being larger than the Henderson School, the Lincoln School featured an auditorium, a small library, a kitchen to teach home economics, and a finished basement for activities. Neighborhood mothers raised money to purchase a jukebox that was installed in the basement. In a segregated small town with few recreational outlets for children and teenagers, the basement quickly became a social center for youth.¹⁴⁹ As remembered by Davis: “And every Friday night there were activities there. One Friday night we would just go and dance and have refreshment. The next Friday night we would go and...roller skate. That was just heavenly because it was like having our own skating rink. It was the whole length of the building.”¹⁵⁰

Following the move to the new Lincoln School, 9th grade was added to the school, and Principal Caldwell began teaching Black history to the 9th graders.¹⁵¹ Following the departure of Herman and Hazel Caldwell in 1939, Henry J. Ratcliffe was hired as the new principal, T.R. Betton as Vocational Instructor, and Juanita Parker taught both Primary students as well as home economics. In that year, 77 students were enrolled in the Lincoln School.¹⁵²

Though the addition of the 9th grade allowed students to stay in the community an additional year, if they wished to complete their high school education, they still had to make arrangements outside of Fayetteville. Similarly, if students wanted to attend college, the University of Arkansas was a segregated institution that was not available to them. As a result, many students left the community to complete their education. Because so few jobs were available to educated Black people in Fayetteville, many Black students did not return to the community, a scenario that would not begin to change until the late 1960s.

Social and Civic Organizations

A number of social and civic organizations existed in the Black community, though little is known about their members or activities, as they were not widely reported on in white newspapers. A 1921 article in the Fayetteville *Daily Democrat* named seven active Black fraternal organizations: “A large number of white people are planning to

¹⁴⁶ “Negro Teachers Gather Here,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, October 19, 1933, 1; Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 70; “WPA Engineer Sees Building Projects,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, April 29, 1936 4.

¹⁴⁷ “Colored School Raises \$17 for Community Chest,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, November 17, 1936, 8.

¹⁴⁸ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹⁴⁹ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹⁵⁰ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹⁵¹ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹⁵² “Negro Education in Fayetteville First in State,” *Northwest Arkansas Times*, September 3, 1940, 16.

attend the annual picnic and barbecue to be given tomorrow at South Willow Street Park by the seven colored lodges, the Masons, Eastern Star, Odd Fellows, House of Ruth, U.B.F. [United Brothers of Friendship] and two temples of S.M.T. [Sisters of the Mysterious Ten].¹⁵³ A Business Men's Club was founded in 1922, though this appears to have been a short-lived organization.¹⁵⁴

A masonic lodge is depicted on the 1930 Sanborn fire insurance maps near the intersection of E. Meadow and N. Washington Streets. The property was occupied by one or more Black fraternal organizations since at least 1913: the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows–Golden Heart Lodge No. 2134 and the Household of Ruth No. 577 jointly acquired the property in 1913 from another Black fraternal organization: United Brothers of Friendship–Solomon Lodge No. 52. Tom Rogers, Clifford Flowers, and Robert King were listed as Trustees of the UBF Solomon Lodge, while Turner Fry, Leonard Hayes, and P.F. Cooper represented the GUOOF Golden Heart Lodge for the transaction.¹⁵⁵ At an unknown date, the Hill City Lodge No. 347, Free and Accepted Masons became part owners of the property, which had 20 members under the leadership of E. Sims in 1936.¹⁵⁶ By 1948, the former Masonic Lodge building was depicted as a store.¹⁵⁷ Though now a vacant lot, Washington County CAD data indicates that the property is currently (2024) owned by “Golden Heart Lodge & Hill City Lodge.”

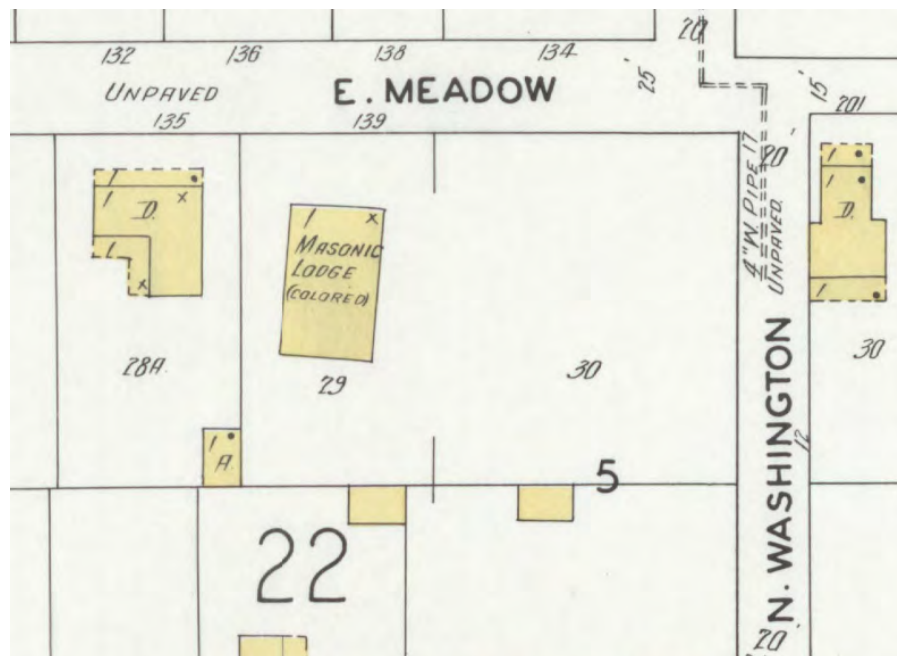


Figure 23: 1930 Sanborn Fire Insurance map depicting a Black Masonic Lodge. Source: Library of Congress.

In 1949, the Ollie McPherson Post of the American Legion, Auxiliary Unit No. 418 was established by a group of Black WWI and WWII veterans.¹⁵⁸ A Community Club, which cared for both the Methodist church property as well as Oaks Cemetery, was also active during the mid-century.¹⁵⁹ A Black Boy Scout group was active as early as 1919 “K.T. Byrd, instructor in the colored public school, has succeeded in organizing a troop of colored Scouts...”¹⁶⁰ It is unclear if the troop remained consistently active, but community members such as James Hoover volunteered with the group in subsequent years.¹⁶¹

¹⁵³ “White Folk Invited to Barbecue, Picnic,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, August 3, 1921, 1.

¹⁵⁴ “Colored B.M.C. Gives First Annual Banquet,” *Fayetteville Democrat*, January 13, 1923.

¹⁵⁵ Parcel 765-12717-000, Washington County, Arkansas Assessor’s Office, accessed October 23, 2024, <https://www.actdatascout.com/RealProperty/Arkansas/Washington>

¹⁵⁶ “Negro Citizens Make Success of Activities,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 11, 1936, C3.

¹⁵⁷ 1930 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Fayetteville, Arkansas, Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Sanborn Maps Collection; 1930 updated to 1948 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Fayetteville, Arkansas, Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Sanborn Maps Collection.

¹⁵⁸ “New Legion Post Installed,” *Northwest Arkansas Times*, January 8, 1949, 14.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Rothrock, “James Hoover,” *Flashback* 17, no. 3 (Aug 1967): 15.

¹⁶⁰ “People Responding to Boy Scout Week Drive,” *Fayetteville Democrat*, June 14, 1919.

¹⁶¹ Thomas Rothrock, “James Hoover,” *Flashback* 17, no. 3 (Aug 1967): 15.

Among the known women's social groups was the Modern Priscilla Club, a group of young women that met as a sewing circle and discussion group. The sewing projects included communally made quilts: "The work was communal, the outcome lovely and serviceable. The club owned a frame and a pair of sawhorses to set it on, and each week the quilt in progress would be carried to the home where they were to meet."¹⁶² The quilts and other projects were displayed at annual events at one of the churches.¹⁶³

Arts and Culture

The Black Diamond Orchestra

A group of Black musicians from the community, known as the Black Diamond Orchestra, became incredibly popular during the early 20th century. The group was a fixture at community events and celebrations hosted by the white community, including ceremonies, banquets, and dances for local organizations and University groups, as well as private parties. Though the earliest documented event featuring the Black Diamond Orchestra took place in 1903 at the Monte Ne resort, it is very likely that the group had begun performing years prior.¹⁶⁴

Among the senior members of the group were Odie Wright (banjo), Sammy Young (string bass), Embus Young, and Osburn Cox (fiddle/violin). Brothers Sammy and Embus Young were the sons of Sam Young, one of southeast Fayetteville's earliest permanent Black settlers. Embus had spent several years performing with the Al G. Field's Minstrels, a traveling minstrel company. Other members of the group included Clara Hayes, Beulah Robinson, and Melba Young. In 1924, at least two of the group's regular performers were teenagers including "Zolean Hays" (Zoline Hayes) and Thaddeus Young. The last known performances of the Black Diamond Orchestra took place in the 1930s.¹⁶⁵

Ralph "Buddy" Hayes

Trumpet and cornet player Ralph Hayes was the son of Clara Hayes and the younger brother of Zoline Hayes, both of whom had performed with the Black Diamond Orchestra during the 1920s and 1930s. Employed downtown at the University of Arkansas Barber shop, Hayes utilized his down time to play the piano in the back room of the shop. By 1944, he had formed the Buddy Hayes Orchestra, frequently performing with his nephews Clifford and Joseph "Jo Jo" Thompson. Hayes was in high demand for community events and was also a regular performer at local clubs. Hayes's style was referred to as "jump blues," which featured horn instruments and a generally up-tempo style. Hayes performed until at least the early 1950s, and earned the nickname "Mayor of Dickson Street," which was a hub of live music for the Northwest Arkansas region.¹⁶⁶ A small park with a stone monument is dedicated to Hayes at the corner of E. Rock Street and S. Mill Avenue.

George Ballard

East Mountain Street resident and poet George Ballard was regularly featured in local newspapers during the 1920s and remains highly regarded in the community 100 years later. Ballard moved to Fayetteville from rural western Washington County sometime prior to 1902. He married Rosetta Dart and found work in various jobs including as a mechanic, shining shoes, and janitor of the jail. Ballard began submitting poems to the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat* during the early 1920s, and received particular attention upon the death of President Woodrow Wilson in 1924, when he wrote the poem: "Woodrow Wilson—A Tribute." Ballard also wrote poems about his day-to-day life, including "A Toiler Speaks," which describes the "dark-collar" jobs he was relegated to as a Black man, and yet the pride he felt in his work:

¹⁶² "Folklorist Surveys Area's Quilt Makers," *Fayetteville Northwest Arkansas Times*, May 26, 1985.

¹⁶³ "Negro Citizens Make Success of Activities," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, June 11, 1936, C3.

¹⁶⁴ "Part I: The Story of Fayetteville's Black Diamond Orchestra," *Flashback* 73, No. 4: (Winter 2023), 162-172.

¹⁶⁵ "Part I: The Story of Fayetteville's Black Diamond Orchestra," *Flashback* 73, No. 4: (Winter 2023), 162-172; "Part II: The Story of Fayetteville's Black Diamond Orchestra Continues with 'The Jazz Age,'" *Flashback* 74, No. 1: (Spring 2024), 17.

¹⁶⁶ "Part II: The Story of Fayetteville's Black Diamond Orchestra Continues with 'The Jazz Age,'" *Flashback* 74, No. 1: (Spring 2024), 17.

I always feel proud of the work that I do,
It's a kind the public demands.
I can not spoil my complexion like you
For I am a dark-collar man.

.....

Although my face may be black as crow,
And my hands be covered with dirt
It gives me great satisfaction to know
That I'm not a mere collar and shirt.

So give me the overalls, jumper and cap,
Although they may tend to degrade.
I have no use for the white-collared man
Who does nothing but sit in the shade.¹⁶⁷

In 1928, Ballard published a book of poems entitled *Ozark Ballads*, with assistance from the editor of the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*. Little is known about the remaining years of his life. When the Lincoln School was dedicated in 1936, the school library was named in his honor: the George Ballard Memorial Library.¹⁶⁸ He died in 1951 and was buried in an unmarked grave in Oaks Cemetery.¹⁶⁹

8.4 Mid- to late- 20th century

The mid-to late- 20th century was a time of immense change in Fayetteville and the broader United States, particularly following World War II and the emergence of the Civil Rights movement. The mid-20th century marked a period of increased advocacy and civic activity by members of Fayetteville's Black community, who sought to remedy the injustices facing their community. Jessie Carr Bryant recalled how a concerted effort by a group of older men in the community led to much needed infrastructure improvements in the late 1940s and early 1950s:

When I first came home from school, I lived with my grandparents [Labe and Ballie Joiner] and the community itself was not a place that was real up to the city. Actually, the city of Fayetteville just didn't include southeast Fayetteville as a big part of the city. So a group of men from the community decided they wanted to go to the city council and try to upgrade the neighborhood. So, my grandfather said, 'I'll tell you what to say and I want you to write the letter.' So we did, we wrote the letter to the city, we came in and that's where we got the streets, the sewer, the conveniences, everything that everybody else already had, we finally got those through going to those meetings. Now, you didn't just go to a meeting as you do now, you had to wait until somebody said, 'well ok well you can come.' Well, the men that were in that group played their hands right and they waited and they went.

With the onset of World War II, a number of Fayetteville's young Black men and women served in the military including Sherman Morgan, Louis Bryant, Betty Hayes Davis, and Minerva Hoover. Military service afforded educational benefits through the GI Bill (which Betty Hayes Davis used to attend college) as well as VA loan benefits to purchase homes. After experiencing greater freedom outside the Jim Crow South, many veterans struggled to return to the segregated conditions they had left behind. Army veteran Louis Bryant recalled that shortly after he returned to Fayetteville after WWII, he and three Navy veterans attempted to eat at the bus station lunch counter instead of picking up their food at the kitchen, as was customary.

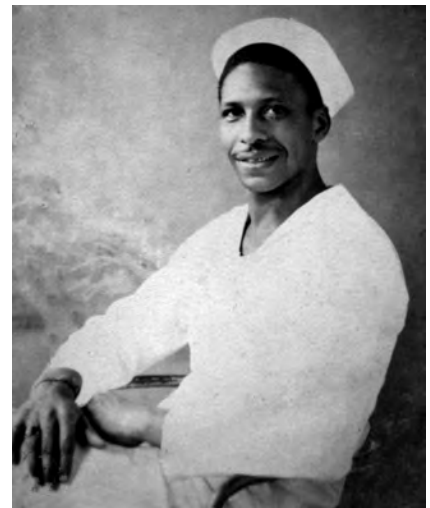
¹⁶⁷ J.B. Hogan, "George Ballard: Forgotten Poet of the Hollow," *Flashback* 63, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 150; Full poem is available in *Ozark Ballads*.

¹⁶⁸ "Ballard Library Notes," *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, April 17, 1936, 2.

¹⁶⁹ J.B. Hogan, "George Ballard: Forgotten Poet of the Hollow," *Flashback* 63, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 150; Full poem is available in *Ozark Ballads*, 147-158.

I knew things was segregated, I knew that. So me and three more guys... said 'Let's go on up here to the bus station and see if we can eat here in front. Are you game?' 'Yeah I'm game, come on let's go, I ain't scared, no—nothing to be scared of—no, I've been up in the war.' So we go up here in the bus station...We sit down up there at the counter [laughs], and the people were just a-looking, you know... I guess the man thought we'd just pick the sack up and walk on out. We just open the sack up...we commence to eating, you know, and the man went back in the kitchen, called the cops. Big old policeman, he came in. He stood over there by the door and he watched and he looked and looked and looked—we just kept eating our hamburgers and drinking our milkshakes, malts and stuff. And we were just laughing, you know, because we had just made this up to see how far we could go with it before we got through eating. The policeman, he came on over and said..."Now y'all know better than this, y'all was raised here in Fayetteville. Y'all know better than to be sitting up here. You're supposed to go back there in the kitchen, they got a place back there for you all to eat. Don't sit up here no more— when you want something to eat, go around to the back and come in the kitchen. ... we came on out and we just died laughing...I said 'If this ain't a mess' I said, 'here we been in the service, fighting for our country, come back home and get all segregated again. I said 'oh boy, things have got to change one of these days.'¹⁷⁰

Figure 24: Sherman Morgan served in the Navy during World War II. Courtesy of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Photograph Collection [S-2001-49-52].



By the 1950s, a bi-racial coalition of Fayetteville residents created the Fayetteville Community Relations Council, which would spearhead many local desegregation efforts. In 1963, the group, alongside the U of A group: Students for Freedom, helped desegregate Fayetteville movie theaters (Ozark and Palace Theaters as well as the UARK theater). Black patrons were previously only permitted to sit in the balconies of the theaters and were barred completely from the Ozark Theater. The Council circulated petitions that garnered over 1,000 signatures, and also held meetings with the manager of the theaters.¹⁷¹

The 1945 Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan

In 1945, the Fayetteville Chamber of Commerce and City Council sponsored the creation of a "Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan." Among the proposals outlined in the document was a "major civic development" that involved routing U.S. Highway No. 71 through the heart of southeast Fayetteville's Black community (referred to as "Tin Cup" throughout the document), to be accompanied by an adjacent park and parking areas. Had the project been carried out, it would have demolished most structures south of Spring Street between College and Willow Avenues, including St. James Baptist Church and St. James United Methodist Church. Through eminent domain, the community's residents would have been forced to relocate. The master plan stated: "This proposed arrangement will remove much of the Negro population and a small number of white families."¹⁷² Typical of post-war urban development schemes that systematically targeted marginalized communities, the plan made several references to the "sub-standard" housing present in the neighborhood, claiming the area was unsuitable for a residential area, though no justification for this assessment was provided. While condemning the area's residential potential, the plan emphasized that it "was a natural beauty spot that should be preserved."¹⁷³

Coinciding with the Highway and Park project, the master plan suggested that a Federal housing project be developed for the displaced Black residents, stipulating that the area "should be separate from areas of thickly

¹⁷⁰ Jacqueline Froelich, "Arkansas Ozarks African Americans: 1820 to 1950," KUAF, accessed October 22, 2024, <https://www.kuaf.com/documentaries/2016-01-30/arkansas-ozarks-african-americans-1820-to-1950>

¹⁷¹ *Fayetteville Community Relations Reporter* 4, no. 2, (May 1963), Shiloh Museum of Ozark History; "Discrimination by Theaters is Protested," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, February 20, 1963, 5.

¹⁷² "Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan: Fayetteville Arkansas," (Unpublished report, 1945), 55.

¹⁷³ "Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan," 55.

settled white population” with the discriminatory justification that “When two races are mixed in a neighborhood all property loses value.”¹⁷⁴ Recognizing that the city depended upon the labor of Black workers, the plan stipulated that the housing project should be “as close to the Business Section of the city as practical.”¹⁷⁵ The new housing project and an adjacent “Negro Park” were proposed along the southern city limits along Wood Avenue.¹⁷⁶

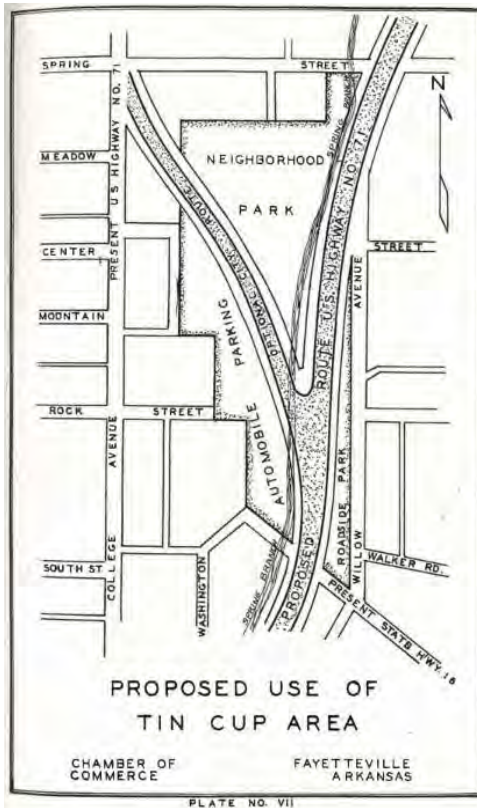


Figure 25 (left): 1945 map depicting proposed routing of U.S. 71 through the heart of Fayetteville’s Black community. Source: “Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan: Fayetteville, Arkansas” Shiloh Museum of Ozark History.

Though never carried out, the 1945 proposal for the destruction of the the Black community community provides insightful perspectives of the neighborhood as viewed through the lens of Fayetteville’s white power structure. First, the maps depicting the project area indicate that the white community defined the Black community as a concentrated area south of Spring Street and along Willow Avenue. This included the major residential streets at the heart of the community: East Center, East Mountain, and East Rock Streets. Second, the plan reveals the City’s dependence upon Black labor, through its specific provision that displaced Black residents be relocated to a new housing project as close to downtown as possible. Third, several vague statements that the area was unsuitable as a residential area point to the City’s longstanding lack of investment into the infrastructure into the community. As captured elsewhere in the document, many of the streets remained unpaved in 1945.¹⁷⁷ Lastly, the document describes the community’s natural beauty and the white community’s desire to possess it for their own use as a white-only neighborhood park.

Churches as Community Centers

Southeast Fayetteville’s churches continued to play a dominant role in the life of the Black community during the mid-twentieth century, and were centers of community life. Though St. James Baptist and St. James Methodist Episcopal (St. James United Methodist after 1968) were two distinct congregations housed in separate buildings, many residents of the community participated in activities at both churches, which frequently collaborated for special services and alternated activities such as vacation bible school. As community resident Carolyn Bradford remembered: “It didn’t really matter to the community if you were Methodist or Baptist, just that we were together...We were all one...There was a constant walking up and down Willow Street to get to one church or another.”¹⁷⁸ Several residents humorously referred to themselves as “Metho-Baptists” because of their relationship to both churches growing up. The space just outside St. James United Methodist also served as an informal gathering place: local residents recalled that the intersection of Center and Willow was a common meeting place and that children and teenagers frequently congregated there.¹⁷⁹

In 1961, a third church was established in the community: the Combs Street Church of Christ. Riley West was hired as the congregation’s first minister, moving his family to Fayetteville in 1963. The church met in a house at 502 S. Combs Avenue in “the Valley,” which was gradually remodeled and enlarged until a new building was constructed in 1975.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴ “Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan,” 63-4, 54.

¹⁷⁵ “Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan,” 63-4.

¹⁷⁶ “Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan,” 54.

¹⁷⁷ “Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan,” 40.

¹⁷⁸ “Church Celebrates 150 Years,” *Northwest Arkansas Times*, August 6, 2011, 12A.

¹⁷⁹ Megan McDonald personal communication with Tommie Flowers Davis and Windy Carr.

¹⁸⁰ “Church History,” Combs Street Church of Christ, accessed October 17, 2024: <https://combscsc.org/church-history/>; Megan McDonald Personal correspondence with Ivory Conley, October 4, 2024.



Figure 26: 1949 Vacation Bible School held at St. James Baptist Church. Source: Historic Cane Hill Museum

In the 1950s, a community nursery and kindergarten were established in the basement of St. James Methodist Church, with Rosetta Dowell as its first director and Christine Childress following in the 60s.¹⁸¹ A much needed service for working families, the nursery charged \$3 per child, per week in 1967 and cared for nearly 60 families. The program was supported by private donations and by the late 1960s, received funding from the United Way.¹⁸²

The nursery became part of the Head Start program in 1968, which increased financial support and allowed the program to expand. Christine Childress served as the program's first director.¹⁸³ Founded as a part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty," Head Start sought to address educational inequality by providing a comprehensive child development program for preschool children in low-income households.¹⁸⁴ Head Start also endeavored to provide job training and opportunities for educational and economic advancement for program staff. Several young people in the community were employed through the program, including Virginia (Smith) Denton, Elnora Jackson, and Ivory (West) Conley. Ivory Conley's career trajectory is particularly representative of the Head Start's impact on the community members it employed. Conley began working as a cook's assistant for Head Start as a young single mother in 1967, and through the Head Start career development program, attended workshops and classes, and earned college credits through evening classes at Arkansas State University. She soon became a teacher's assistant, was promoted to director of the new Head Start program at the Willow Heights housing complex and later at the VA Hospital, and ultimately became the Washington County Head Start director. Over the span of a 42-year career with Head Start, Conley opened several additional centers, including an Early Head Start Center (for children from birth to age three) that was later named in her honor.¹⁸⁵

The University of Arkansas gradually accepted more Black students and began hiring Black faculty, and several of those individuals became involved in Fayetteville's Black community through St. James United Methodist Church. The University of Arkansas hired its first Black faculty members in the late 1960s: Sociology professor Dr. Gordon Morgan and Dr. Margaret Clark, who taught French and Teacher Education. Though both Morgan and Clark lived outside of the Black community, they attended St. James United Methodist Church with their families.¹⁸⁶ In addition, several community residents recalled after-school tutoring and Black history lessons led by Black University of Arkansas students in the church basement during the 1960s and 1970s. Residents remembered two tutors in

¹⁸¹ Riffell, "A Celebration of Endurance," 170-171; Julianne Lewis Adams and Thomas A. DeBlack, *Civil Obedience: An Oral History of School Desegregation in Fayetteville, Arkansas, 1954-1965*, (University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 168.

¹⁸² Riffell, "A Celebration of Endurance," 171.

¹⁸³ Riffell, "A Celebration of Endurance," 171.

¹⁸⁴ "Head Start History," Office of Head Start, accessed October 6, 2024, <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/ohs/about/history-head-start>.

¹⁸⁵ Megan McDonald Personal correspondence with Ivory Conley, October 4, 2024.

¹⁸⁶ Saint James United Methodist Church Sesquicentennial Celebration Booklet, 2011.

particular: Jimmie “Bootleg” Wilson and Carol D. “Bandaid” Willis.¹⁸⁷ Willis went on to be an aide to President Bill Clinton, whom he met at the University of Arkansas.¹⁸⁸

The “Amazing Grace Singers” was a vocal group at St. James Methodist Church that traveled throughout northwest Arkansas and was featured on local radio stations. The group was invited to sing for rural white churches and campgrounds on several occasions.¹⁸⁹

Post-war Black Education in Fayetteville

The presence of the Lincoln School continued to draw Black families to Fayetteville through the mid-20th century. Though for much of the early 20th century a concentration of Black families had remained in the Cane Hill community approximately 30 miles west of Fayetteville, by the 1950s most had left the community due to a lack of jobs and minimal educational offerings. Among the last families to migrate from Cane Hill to Fayetteville were the families of Homer and Clara Smith and Preston and Isabell Lackey. Both the Smith and Lackey families were motivated to move by the better educational opportunities available in Fayetteville. In fact, three of the Lackey children would be among the first group of Black students to integrate Fayetteville High School.¹⁹⁰

School Desegregation

In 1948, Silas Herbert Hunt, a WWII veteran and graduate of Arkansas AM&N College, successfully enrolled at the University of Arkansas School of Law. He was the first Black student to attend the University of Arkansas since James McGahee in 1873. Despite admittance to the school, Hunt was not permitted to attend classes alongside white students and instead received instruction from professors in a basement office of the Law School. Hunt was soon joined by 3-5 white students who chose to attend class in the basement with him.¹⁹¹ Denied on-campus housing, Hunt boarded with the Joiners, a Black family that resided on E. Center Street (grandparents of Jessie Carr Bryant).¹⁹² A similar housing arrangement for Black students would persist for years, as Black students denied housing at the University of Arkansas boarded with Black families in the Hollow. This arrangement was not without its benefits, however, as it provided community members with additional income from student boarders, and also surrounded students (most of whom were from other areas of the state) with a supportive Black community away from home. Though the number of Black students in attendance at the University of Arkansas steadily increased with each passing year, and housing eventually became available to Black students, it was not until the 1960s that a Black native of Fayetteville would graduate from the University. Melvin Eugene Dowell, who attended the Lincoln School and Fayetteville High School, was the first Black community member to graduate from University of Arkansas in 1964.¹⁹³

For decades, Fayetteville’s public education offerings for Black students ended at 8th grade (9th grade after the Lincoln School opened in 1936). If Black students wished to continue their education through high school, families were responsible for finding an arrangement elsewhere, incurring the expense of travel, lodging, and living expenses for their children, as well as separating the family. As a result, some Black students ended their education at that time, because Arkansas state law did not require students to attend school beyond 8th grade.¹⁹⁴ Buddy and Betty Hayes resided with an uncle in St. Louis in order to complete their high school education in the 1930s and 1940s, Lodene Deffenbaugh relocated to Atlanta, Texas in 1939 to attend high school, and Jessie Bryant graduated

¹⁸⁷ Megan McDonald personal correspondence with Tommie Flowers Davis and Windy Carr.

¹⁸⁸ Bill Bowden, “Clinton aide Carol Willis remembered as key in black-voter efforts,” *Northwest Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, September 5, 2018, accessed October 17, 2024, <https://www.nwaonline.com/news/2018/sep/05/carol-d-willis-20180905/>

¹⁸⁹ Bettina Lehovc, “Church Celebrates 150 Years,” *Northwest Arkansas Times*, August 6, 2011, 9A and 12A

¹⁹⁰ Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940; Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950; Patricia Stone, “The Abandonment of Happy Hollow: An African-American Enclave in Cane Hill, Arkansas 1850-1950.” (Master’s thesis, University of Arkansas, 2003). 27.

¹⁹¹ “Portraits of Progress: Silas Hunt,” The University of Arkansas, accessed October 9, 2024, <https://portraitsofprogress.uark.edu/silas-herbert-hunt>.

¹⁹² Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 112; Edmark, “Fayetteville in the Green Book: A ‘Knit Community,’” 130.

¹⁹³ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 20.

¹⁹⁴ Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 114.

from J.C. Corbin High School in Pine Bluff.¹⁹⁵ Black students and their families keenly felt the injustices of Fayetteville's segregated school system and the sacrifices required of them to obtain a complete education. As recalled by Betty Hayes Davis, who completed 9th grade at the Lincoln School in 1940 and stayed with an uncle in St. Louis in order to attend high school:

When it became time for me to go to high school, there was a high school in Fayetteville and my parents paid taxes and there was school taxes that were collected from all property owners right? My parents paid taxes and there were school taxes that went for a school that I couldn't attend. It rattled me. It rankled me. I think it was at that point in life when I started to feel the resentment toward the rules that separated me, and made me a second class citizen.¹⁹⁶



Figure 27: Betty Hayes Davis and her mother, Clara Hayes, stand in front of a family home at 313 N. Olive Street (no longer extant). Betty attended both the Henderson School and the Lincoln School before moving to St. Louis to complete her high school education. Betty's cap and gown likely represent the completion of her studies at the Lincoln School (9th grade). Courtesy of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Photograph Collection [S-2015-71-50].

In 1947, the Fayetteville school district started paying Black high schools in Fort Smith and Hot Springs to accept Fayetteville's Black students, funding the students' meals and lodging with local families, rather than provide adequate provisions locally.¹⁹⁷ Shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Fayetteville school system elected to voluntarily desegregate, beginning with the high school. Though Fayetteville's early compliance with school integration may appear to indicate a progressive racial climate (particularly in contrast to the events that would unfold in Little Rock three years later); it is important to note that the decision was primarily financially motivated. The Fayetteville school district was struggling financially, which was further aggravated by the approximately \$5,000 (equivalent to approximately \$58,500 in 2024) the district paid per year to send the city's Black students to other districts. As the Fayetteville superintendent stated, the segregated school system was "a luxury" that the district could no longer afford. One school board member frankly stated that the *Brown v. Board* decision "pulled us out of the [financial] hole."¹⁹⁸ Another contributing factor was that the Black high school in Fort Smith, where many Black Fayetteville students attended high school, was overcrowded and could no longer accept out-of-town students.¹⁹⁹

In contrast to the violence experienced in Little Rock three years later, integration of Fayetteville High School took place with minimal disruption or fanfare; only one protester stood outside the school.²⁰⁰ The seven students who integrated Fayetteville High School in 1954 were all residents of the Black community east of downtown, and included siblings Preston, Roberta, and Elnora Lackey (105 South Willow), Virginia Smith (249 E 3rd Street), Mary Mae Blackburn (119 S Willow), Peggy Taylor (102 N Willow), and Laverne Cook.²⁰¹ Minnie B. Dawkins, principal of the

¹⁹⁵ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas; An Oral History of Washington County-Jessie Bryant, Washington County Arkansas Youtube. Accessed October 16, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-RRgxcRuHo>; Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 172.

¹⁹⁶ Betty Hayes Davis, Interview by Corryn Hall, April 2014, transcript, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, X File S-2015-71, Springdale, Arkansas.

¹⁹⁷ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 4, 172, 98, 106-8.

¹⁹⁸ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 8; Ben F. Johnson, *Arkansas in Modern America: 1930-1999*, (The University of Arkansas Press: 2000), 124.

¹⁹⁹ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 8.

²⁰⁰ Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 115.

²⁰¹ Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950.

Lincoln School from 1946-1959, worked tirelessly to help prepare Fayetteville's Black children for integration and actively collaborated with Louise Bell, principal of the white Fayetteville High School, in the weeks leading up to the integration of the high school.²⁰² As principal Bell later recalled: "Minnie Dawkins was the principal over at Lincoln school. She did so much to get the families and the children ready for this. And she and I had a lot of conferences before it happened...She instilled in them [the students] the right attitude. Not a meek subservient attitude, but a cooperative, understanding attitude."²⁰³ And as school superintendent Wayne White described, Dawkins' efforts were undertaken despite the consequences they would have for her own career: "...this was an interesting situation because she faced the loss of her position as principal of that school if it [integration] went through, but she was strongly supportive of it even though that would happen."²⁰⁴ Following the successful integration of Fayetteville High School, Dawkins went on to teach at Philander Smith College.

Though Fayetteville's junior high schools were integrated in the years immediately following the integration of the high school, integration of Fayetteville's elementary schools lagged behind the junior and high schools. In the early 1960s, approximately three teachers taught over 70 students across six grades at the Lincoln School. Some parents felt that less-qualified and/or new teachers were sent to the Lincoln School, and that due to the quality of instruction and lack of resources, many students were unprepared and behind their white peers upon entering junior high school.²⁰⁵ Integration of Fayetteville elementary schools was not accomplished until 1965, and was largely thanks to the efforts of the Fayetteville Community Relations Association (FCRA), a bi-racial coalition of citizens who worked to achieve meaningful integration in Fayetteville. As described by community resident and FCRA member Lodene Deffebaugh, who would also later run for school board: "This was a group of professors, lawyers, teachers, concerned citizens—white—that was working with the black community. So they became our allies, and I was trying to integrate Lincoln School. So we worked on that, I guess, about maybe two or three years."²⁰⁶ In addition to Deffebaugh, other early Black members of the FCRA were Carlos Carr, Henry Childress Jr., Minerva Carroll Hoover, and Rosetta Dowell.²⁰⁷

"Wayne White was the superintendent of schools. He didn't want it [desegregation of elementary schools]. He did not want it at all. And Phil [Bashor] and I worked and worked and worked, and we finally had several meetings—I guess we just bothered and worried them to death, you know. And they finally decided we could start. They would integrate the elementary school, [in] '65."²⁰⁸ Deffebaugh later described the meeting in which she creatively inspired the school board to move forward with the integration of Fayetteville elementary schools:

Well, I wanted some answers. I knew they were dragging their feet. You know, it had been nearly five years...So this particular time when we went up...That's the time I threatened to call Bobby Kennedy. Hey, if you're not going to do it, you know. I did not have a number...but I told him [Wayne White] this is what the committee decided, if you don't make a statement today, what we gonna do. I'm calling Bobby Kennedy. So the next day...Wayne White called me at my job. I was doing domestic work then. He called me and told me they were going to integrate that fall.²⁰⁹

The FCRA was instrumental in facilitating a pilot program for the integration of Fayetteville's Elementary Schools at Peabody Elementary School on the University of Arkansas Campus. Henry Childress Jr. and Lodene Deffebaugh were among the neighborhood residents and FCRA committee members who assisted with the project, and four neighborhood children participated: Ocie Fisher, Tony Childress, Tommie Jo Flowers, and Henry Lee Childress.²¹⁰ Following desegregation of Fayetteville elementary schools in 1965, Lincoln Elementary School was closed and

²⁰² Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 71; Ben F. Johnson, *Arkansas in Modern America: 1930-1999*, (The University of Arkansas Press: 2000), 125.

²⁰³ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 59.

²⁰⁴ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 33

²⁰⁵ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 178, 158.

²⁰⁶ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 159.

²⁰⁷ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 173; "Celebration of the Life of Henry Childress, Jr. June 8, 1927-August 16, 2020."

²⁰⁸ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 160.

²⁰⁹ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 163-4.

²¹⁰ "Celebration of the Life of Henry Childress, Jr. June 8, 1927-August 16, 2020;" Britain Bostick personal Correspondence with Henry Lee Childress.

demolished shortly afterward. Black children in the community were divided between two formerly all-white schools. Children who lived north of Center Street attended Washington School, while children who lived south of Center Street attended Jefferson School.²¹¹ Romey and Thelma Thomason worked as teachers at the Lincoln School during its final years from 1961-1965 and resided on E. Center Street.²¹² Upon its closure in 1965, Romey went on to teach at Woodland Junior High School and would teach for the Fayetteville public school system for a total of 52 years. Thelma Thomason worked as a school counselor and social worker for the school district, primarily assisting children who were integrated into formerly all-white schools. She was later hired as a teacher at Butterfield Trail Elementary School and Vandergriff Elementary School. Thelma Thomason retired from teaching in 2023, after a 61-year career.²¹³



Figure 28: Black and white students play outside of the recently integrated Jefferson Elementary School, late 1960s. Source: *Spout Spring: A Black Community* by Peter Kunkel and Sara Kennard.

Businesses in Southeast Fayetteville

Among the most well-remembered businesses in southeast Fayetteville during the mid- to late- 19th century was Sherman's Tavern. Established in the early 1960s by Sherman Morgan, the tavern at 312 East Rock Street was frequented by both Black and white patrons, alike. As described by U of A professor Peter Kunkel: "The tavern is the most completely integrated institution in Sequoyah [Fayetteville], and it is integrated on Black terms. Here Whites and Blacks meet and interact in a Black-owned establishment. It is currently an "in" place for OSU [UofA] students, White and Black, as well as for local Blacks and Whites."²¹⁴ Sherman Morgan was the grandson of formerly enslaved early community resident Samuel Young. He attended the Henderson and Lincoln Schools, and joined the Navy during WWII.²¹⁵ Sherman's remained a community institution for several decades. The 1974 University of Arkansas Razorback yearbook dedicated a six page spread to Sherman's tavern, which remained a popular hangout for U of A students. One notable U of A professor who patronized Sherman's Tavern with his friend Seaman Thompson was William "Bill" Clinton.²¹⁶

²¹¹ Adams and DeBlack, *Civil Obedience*, 160.

²¹² "Births: Washington General," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, March 11, 1972.

²¹³ "Romey Ronnie Thomason Obituary," Legacy.com, accessed October 18, 2024, <https://www.legacy.com/funeral-homes/obituaries/name/romey-thomason-obituary?pid=182634853&v=batesville&view=questbook>; "32 Educators Assigned to Woodland School," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, August 16, 1967, 41; "Innovative Programs Planned at Butterfield," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, August 14, 1968; "School Programs Reviewed for PTA," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, November 19, 1965, 7; Dave Perozek, "Longtime Fayetteville Teacher Retiring After 61 Years on the Job," *Texarkana Gazette*, accessed October 18, 2024,

<https://www.texarkanagazette.com/news/2023/may/29/longtime-fayetteville-teacher-retiring-after-61/>

²¹⁴ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 14; Kunkel devoted an entire chapter of his book *Spout Spring* to Sherman's Tavern under the pseudonym "Grant's Place."

²¹⁵ Alison, *A Brief History of Fayetteville, Arkansas*, 11; Jacqueline Froelich, "Arkansas Ozarks African Americans: 1820 to 1950," KUAF, accessed October 22, 2024,

<https://www.kuaf.com/documentaries/2016-01-30/arkansas-ozarks-african-americans-1820-to-1950>

²¹⁶ Megan McDonald Personal correspondence with Ivory Conley, October 4, 2024.



Figure 29: Sherman's Tavern, late 1960s. Source: *Spout Spring: A Black Community*, by Peter Kunkel and Sara Kennard.

A few additional Black-owned businesses were in operation during the mid-twentieth century, including the Ideal Inn, a cafe operated by Ben and Irene Walton in the 1950s and 1960s. It was located on E. Meadow Street, apparently in the old masonic lodge building. Henry Ballard continued to operate a barber shop out of his home into the 1970s.²¹⁷ Bill McPherson operated an upholstery shop in his back yard and repaired furniture for community members, while Carlos Carr repaired electronics such as record players, televisions, and radios. Jake Perry conducted home repairs and did construction work.²¹⁸

Though not Black-owned businesses, several commercial enterprises were clustered along Huntsville Road and served community residents. Many residents shopped for groceries at Combs Grocery (extant, 509 E. Huntsville Road) and Campbell's Grocery (275 E. Huntsville Road, extant though altered beyond recognition). The Dairy Maid on Huntsville Road was particularly popular among neighborhood youth as a place to meet for ice cream (no longer extant).²¹⁹



Figures 30 and 31. Left: J.C. Campbell Grocery. Right: Combs Food Center. Both grocery stores were frequented by residents of southeast Fayetteville. While both buildings are extant, Campbell Grocery has been altered beyond recognition. Source: City of Fayetteville.

²¹⁷ David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 131.

²¹⁸ Britin Bostick personal correspondence with Henry Lee Childress.

²¹⁹ Megan McDonald personal correspondence Tommie Flowers Davis and Windy Carr, September 24, 2024.



Figure 32. The Dairy Maid on Huntsville Road was popular among the youth of southeast Fayetteville. Source: City of Fayetteville.

Spout Spring: A Black Community, by Peter Kunkel



Figures 33 and 34: Left: a ca. late 1960s photograph from Kunkel's study, showing a gathering at 256 E. Mountain Street. Right: 256 E. Mountain Street in 2024.

During the mid- to -late 1960s, a University of Arkansas faculty member and anthropologist named Peter Kunkel conducted an ethnographic study of the Black community in southeast Fayetteville. A form of research focused on close observation and “thick description,” ethnography requires a researcher to immerse themselves within the subject community in order to record thorough observations. Assisted by his wife, Sara Sue Kennard, Kunkel spent several years observing the community and participating in local organizations and events, including the Fayetteville Community Relations Committee.²²⁰ After several years of research and observation, Kunkel produced a short book in 1971, titled *Spout Spring: A Black Community*.²²¹ Kunkel employed numerous pseudonyms to protect the identity of the community, including “Sequoyah” for Fayetteville, “Ozarka” as Arkansas, and “Spout Spring” to describe the subject Black community. Introduced as a pseudonym, Kunkel’s book appears to be the first time that Fayetteville’s Black community was referred to as “Spout Spring.”

²²⁰ Kunkel used the pseudonym “Sequoyah Good Neighbor Council” for the Fayetteville Community Relations Committee.

²²¹ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, vii, 56-7.

Despite the use of pseudonyms, Kunkel's study provides detailed insights into Fayetteville's Black community during the late 1960s. At the time of his research, Kunkel documented approximately 460 permanent residents in the "Spout Spring" community, which he described as a 12 block area on the east side of the city.²²² Kunkel's map of the community (which employed pseudonyms for each street name) was clustered around Willow Avenue, extending approximately a half mile from East Meadow Street at the north end and MLK Jr Blvd to the south. He noted that the southern end of the neighborhood (the Valley, closest to the Jefferson School) was not completely segregated.²²³ Kunkel counted approximately 120 residential structures in the community, ten of which were vacant and subsequently torn down by the time the study was completed. Of the remaining 110 residences, Kunkel estimated that $\frac{2}{3}$ were owner occupied.²²⁴ He provided a helpful description of the house types present in the community:

Buildings vary with respect to size, age, structural materials, and state of repair; but they are mostly small, wooden, gabled structures with a living room, bathroom, kitchen, two small bedrooms, and an attic under the gabled roof. House foundations are usually of substantial field or quarry [sic] stone, well mortared, and so constructed as to level the house on a sloping lot. Most houses are between forty and sixty years old.²²⁵

In Kunkel's analysis of occupations, he found that the vast majority of Black residents worked in the service industry in unskilled or semi-skilled positions. Black women almost exclusively worked in domestic occupations such as housekeepers, cooks, or childcare, while men primarily worked in maintenance or "clean-up" jobs, or as stockmen in local stores. The few residents who held "skilled" occupations were those men who worked in the automobile or construction industries, or worked as mechanics, electricians, or machinists.²²⁶ Very few women held "skilled" occupations at the time of Kunkel's study, those who did included office workers and telephone operators. Kunkel noted that these "skilled" jobs held by Black women: "are all very new, representing breakthroughs achieved only within the past two years."²²⁷ He noted only five businessmen, three of whom were men who operated shoeshine stands, a barber who operated out of his home, and Sherman Morgan, owner of Sherman's Tavern (discussed in further detail, below). The only female business owner noted was "Mrs. Selma Welty" (likely Naomi Smith, discussed previously regarding Green Book sites) who operated a rooming house in the neighborhood. Black male professionals in the community consisted of local ministers and the former principal of the Lincoln School, while Black female professionals included a nurse, an educator, a social worker, and two nurses in training.²²⁸

1968 Community Renewal Program

In 1968, a "Community Renewal Program" was prepared for the City of Fayetteville. Written during the same period in which Peter Kunkel conducted his study of the community, Kunkel noted that residents of the community were "seriously disturbed about the possibility of a sweeping urban-renewal project."²²⁹ While it is difficult to gauge the direct impact of the 1968 Community Renewal Program report, the document provides valuable information about the rapidly changing demographics of Fayetteville during the late 1960s, as well as insights into the built environment of southeast Fayetteville's Black community.

The report stated that there were approximately 600 non-white residents of Fayetteville, about 100 of which were University of Arkansas students and 500 who were permanent residents.²³⁰ According to the report, in 1968, Black families comprised approximately 2.3% of Fayetteville's population and "80% live in substandard houses in one narrowly confined neighborhood."²³¹ Though never identified by a name and described as "a small area east of the

²²² Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 1.

²²³ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 2, 10.

²²⁴ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 76.

²²⁵ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 76.

²²⁶ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 28-30.

²²⁷ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 30.

²²⁸ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 31.

²²⁹ Peter Kunkel and Sara Sue Kennard, *Spout Spring: A Black Community*, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc, 1971), 76.

²³⁰ James A. Vizzier, "Fayetteville Arkansas: Program for Community Renewal," (Unpublished report, 1968), 251 of pdf.

²³¹ Vizzier, "Program for Community Renewal," 329 of pdf.

Fayetteville square,” the document identified southeast Fayetteville as an area of blight, a slum area, and one of Fayetteville’s “worst neighborhoods.”²³² Two-thirds of Black families owned their own home, though the report writers indicated that low wages prevented property owners from improving their property.²³³ Residents living along Willow Avenue were interviewed as part of a “Community Attitudes Survey,” in which: “Most complaints were aimed at sanitary services, streets and drainage problems.”²³⁴



Figure 35. This ca. 1970 photograph of E. Meadow Street depicts unpaved streets, open drainage ditches, and hazardous sidewalks, all pointing to the City’s lack of investment in the infrastructure of southeast Fayetteville. These issues were among the chief complaints cited by residents in the 1968 Community Renewal Program document. Source: City of Fayetteville.

The report also captured changes to Black residential patterns in Fayetteville during the 1960s, pointing to the impact of the University of Arkansas, which was accepting more non-white students with each passing year, many of whom successfully obtained housing in areas adjacent to the University.”²³⁵ The report also documented the increased movement of Black families into “the Valley”: “Since 1960, however, Negro families have begun to move south of Huntsville Road in the neighborhood of Jefferson school.”²³⁶ The closure of the Lincoln School and desegregation of the Jefferson School was likely a factor in the Black settlement in the area.

Changes to the Built Environment of Southeast Fayetteville

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, at least ten vacant and “substandard” houses in southeast Fayetteville were demolished, as documented by both Peter Kunkel and the City Code Compliance department.²³⁷ It appears that a

²³² Vizzier, “Program for Community Renewal,” 18 of pdf, 263 of pdf.

²³³ Vizzier, “Program for Community Renewal,” 329 of pdf.

²³⁴ Vizzier, “Program for Community Renewal,” 267 of pdf.

²³⁵ Vizzier, “Program for Community Renewal,” 263 of pdf.

²³⁶ Vizzier, “Program for Community Renewal,” 263 of pdf.

²³⁷ Kunkel and Kennard, *Spout Spring*, 76; City Code Compliance Department photographs of southeast Fayetteville, City of Fayetteville.

handful of houses were also “brought up to standard,” during this period, though it is unclear whether this was done at the owner’s expense or through community and/or local government support. Present-day residents recalled that there were several instances in which the community rallied to assist residents whose homes were at risk of condemnation, under the leadership of Jessie Carr Bryant.²³⁸ While a full investigation of demolitions in the community has not been undertaken, it is clear from historic photographs, aerial images, and maps that many residences were demolished in the late 20th century, particularly along E. Mountain Street and E. Rock Street.



Figure 36. 1972 photograph of 154 E. Meadow Street (extant as of 2024, though damaged by recent fire). Taken by the City Code Compliance department, the house was filed under “structures brought up to standard.” Source: City of Fayetteville.



Figure 37. Undated (ca. 1970) “before” photograph of 136 S. Washington, taken by the City Code Compliance department. The house was demolished shortly afterward. Source: City of Fayetteville.

²³⁸ City Code Compliance Department photographs of southeast Fayetteville, City of Fayetteville; Discussion during September 24, 2024 community meeting held at St. James United Methodist Church.

Willow Heights Public Housing

The Lincoln School was demolished shortly after its closure in 1965, and a public housing complex known as Willow Heights was constructed in its place by the early 1970s. As recalled by neighborhood resident Ivory Conley, when the development was first announced, people were generally positive about it. Soon after its completion, however, it was apparent that cheap construction methods were used and a number of major design flaws became evident: bathrooms were all located on the second floor of the units, and parking was only located along the periphery of the complex, meaning many residents had to carry groceries or other items from their cars across long distances to reach their apartments.²³⁹



Figure 38. 1972 photograph of Willow Heights Public Housing shortly after completion. View northeast. Source: City of Fayetteville.

8.5 Late 20th/Early 21st Centuries

The Civil Rights activities of the mid-20th century opened the door to new possibilities for Fayetteville's Black community. Students were no longer forced to leave their families to complete their high school education and were freely able to attend the University of Arkansas, if they wished. Employment opportunities for Black residents expanded during the 1960s, and would continue to do so in subsequent decades. Black individuals also became involved in Fayetteville and Washington County government. Jessie Bryant was the first Black person to serve on the Washington County Quorum Court. She also established the Northwest Arkansas Free Health Clinic in the 1980s, which operated from the basement of St. James United Methodist until it rapidly outgrew the space. Bryant was also instrumental in rallying community members to prevent the condemnation and demolition of houses in the neighborhood.²⁴⁰

Black residents of southeast Fayetteville also had a greater degree of freedom to settle in other areas of town. Black students and faculty members at the University of Arkansas initiated the dismantling of racial residential patterns during the 1960s and 1970s. Many Black families moved outside the Hollow and the Valley to communities

²³⁹ Megan McDonald Personal correspondence with Ivory Conley, October 4, 2024.

²⁴⁰ An Oral History of Washington County-Jessie Bryant, Washington County Arkansas Youtube, accessed October 16, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-RRqxcRuHo>; Public comment at 9/24/24 Public Meeting.

that had formerly been unavailable to them, including the family of Ivory Conley in the 1970s. Many families, however, elected to stay in the community where they had been raised, and where generations of their families had lived. Today, many of the properties in the community are still owned by descendants of Fayetteville's historic Black community.

In recent years, development pressure has led to the demolition of numerous historic-age buildings in the community and the construction of large new single- and multi-family homes. The Yvonne Richardson Community Center was built in 1996, adjacent to the former site of Sherman's Tavern (demolished at an unknown date). The community center was established by University of Arkansas basketball coach Nolan Richardson and his wife, Rose, in honor of their daughter, Yvonne, who died of leukemia at age 15.²⁴¹ The St. James Baptist Church relocated to a new facility outside of the community in the 21st century, though retains ownership of the ca. 1980s church on Willow Avenue.

Several efforts to recognize Fayetteville's Black history have taken place during the early 21st century. In 2008, Northwest Arkansas Black Heritage (NWA Black Heritage) was founded by Melba Lene Smith and Sharon Killian. Smith was the daughter of Minerva Hoover Morgan and the granddaughter of James Cortez Hoover, both of whom were influential residents of Fayetteville's Black community. East Mountain Cemetery was donated to NWA Black Heritage in 2014, and the organization hopes to create a cultural and educational site on the premises. The organization is also spearheading efforts to create a local historic district. In 2021, the City of Fayetteville created the Black Heritage Preservation Commission (BHPC) to: "recognize, acknowledge, protect and preserve historical Black Structures and Cemeteries in honor of the vision, accomplishment, and perseverance of Fayetteville's early Black families and individuals and the churches and other structures they built." In addition to preserving historic Black spaces in Fayetteville, the BHPC also facilitates the Black Historical Markers program.²⁴²

²⁴¹ "Donate to YRCC," Friends of Yvonne Richardson Community Center, accessed October 25, 2024, <https://www.friendsofyrcc.org/>

²⁴² "About Us," NWA Black Heritage, accessed October 28, 2024, <https://nwablackheritage.org/about>; Grace Arnn, "Searching for souls: Cemetery efforts honor formerly enslaved," *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, January 20, 2022; "Black Heritage Preservation Commission," City of Fayetteville Arkansas, accessed October 28, 2024, <https://www.fayetteville-ar.gov/4067/Black-Heritage-Preservation-Commission>.

9. Architectural Styles and Types

In the course of the September 2024 windshield survey, Post Oak documented the historic architectural styles and types in the study area. Though not an exhaustive list, some of the most common types and styles are described below.

Single Pen



The earliest known houses in the community, constructed in the late 19th century, were single pen log or wood frame houses (often referred to as “cabins.”) Single pen houses were one-room structures that were typically square in shape. Some were built as temporary shelters until a larger home could be constructed, while others served as the original unit of a house that was added onto over time. Though one-story in height, many single pen houses included a loft space as an additional sleeping area. Single pen houses were typically either log or wood frame construction with a chimney in one of the gable ends. Overhanging shed roofs were common, as were shed roof rear additions.²⁴³

Figure 39: “The Old Homestead” by photographer J.H. Field. Ca. 1920. Field won second prize in a national art contest for this photograph, which depicted a “cabin in Tin Cup,”²⁴⁴ The single pen house appears to be of squared log construction with a shed roof porch and a brick chimney. At least one outbuilding is visible at the rear. The house is consistent with the house types visible in late 19th and early 20th century photographs of the community taken from Mount Sequoyah.

Figure 40 (right): This photograph from Kunkel’s 1971 ethnography depicts a single pen house that has a small side addition. Source: *Spout Spring: A Black Community* by Peter Kunkel and Sara Sue Kennard.

There are several extant examples of single pen houses in southeast Fayetteville, including two on E. Center Street (Figures 41 and 42). Both houses feature rear additions and alterations including modified porches, modern siding, and new windows, though they retain their character defining overall form.



²⁴³ Jean Sizemore, *Ozark Vernacular Houses: A Study of Rural Homeplaces in the Arkansas Ozarks 1830-1930*, (The University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 50-58.

²⁴⁴ “Local Artist Wins New National Prize,” *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, November 12, 1921, 3.



Figures 41 and 42: Left: 216 E. Center Street (ca. 1910), Right: 213 E. Center Street (ca. 1915). Dates are approximate and provided by Washington County CAD data—these houses may be much older. Post Oak Photos 2024.

Double Pen

Double pen houses are one-story structures consisting of two rooms, which are connected by an interior door. Like the single pen, the double pen features side gables, usually with a chimney in one of the gable ends. A character defining feature of a double pen is the presence of two front doors on the primary facade. Several theories exist as to the rationale behind two doors, including: additional cross ventilation, privacy when the occupant of one room needed to leave the house while others were sleeping, and an additional exit in case of fire. While some double pens were created when a single pen was added onto, most were originally constructed as double pen structures. As was the case with single pen structures, double pens were of log or wood frame construction and commonly featured shed roof porches and rear shed additions.²⁴⁵

At least one extant double pen house exists in the community, at 160 E. Meadow Street. Though the house features a non-historic dormer and modern siding and roof cladding, it retains its overall rectangular form and character defining two doors.

Figure 43: 160 E. Meadow Street. Though Washington County CAD data assigns a construction date of 1925, it was likely constructed earlier.



Bent House (Gabled Ell)

A bent house (also referred to as a Gabled Ell in other regions) consists of two perpendicular wings, each with a gable end. A primary entrance to the house was typically located on the horizontal wing, though in some cases the Ozarkian preference for two front doors led to the presence of a second entrance on the perpendicular wing.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ Jean Sizemore, *Ozark Vernacular Houses: A Study of Rural Homeplaces in the Arkansas Ozarks 1830-1930*, (The University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 58-61.

²⁴⁶ Jean Sizemore, *Ozark Vernacular Houses: A Study of Rural Homeplaces in the Arkansas Ozarks 1830-1930*, (The University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 98-99.



Figures 44 and 45: Left: 212 E. Center Street (ca. 1930 per Washington CAD, likely earlier). Right: 115 N. Washington Ave, ca. 1925 (CAD). Post Oak photos 2024. Note the sloped topography.

Gable Front

A number of historic-age houses in the study area consist of a simple gable front and long, rectangular form. Gable front houses were a dominant folk house form during the late 19th and early 20th century.²⁴⁷ Examples in the study area are typically one story (though possibly with a loft or small attic space on the interior) on a raised pier or continuous fieldstone foundation.



Figures 46 and 47: Left: 234 S. Willow Ave, ca. 1905 (CAD). Right: 256 E. Mountain Street ca. 1915 (CAD). Post Oak photos 2024.

²⁴⁷ Virginia McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, (Alfred A Knopf: 2013), 136.

Native Stone

A handful of native stone buildings are present in the study area. One of the most prominent is the boarding house and restaurant constructed by Pastor J.W. Webb in 1923 at 105 N. Willow Avenue. The building may have been constructed using stone gathered from the nearby creek and surrounding area.

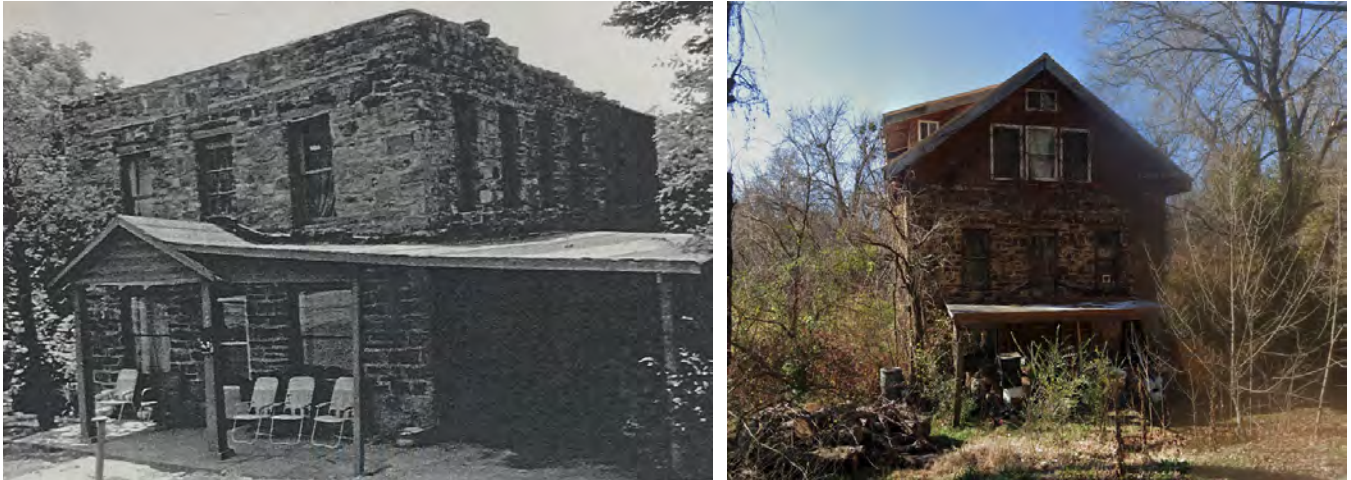


Figure 48 (left): Webb's Cafe and boarding house at 105 N. Willow Avenue. Source: *Arkansas Black Heritage: A Tour of Historical Sites* by Izola Preston (originally from unidentified issue of *Grapevine Weekly*). Figure 49 (right): 105 N. Willow as it appeared in 2023. A third story beneath a gabled roof was recently added. Source: Google Streetview (the building was not visible beneath the ivy at the time of Post Oak's 2024 windshield survey).

"Giraffe Rock" Houses

A masonry cladding technique known as "Giraffe Rock" is very common to Arkansas and the Ozarks region and was applied to countless building forms, including small residences. The technique consisted of mortaring sandstone slabs of varying shapes and colors together (resembling a giraffe's coat) on the exterior of a building. The origins of Giraffe Rock are believed to be rooted in workshops taught by the University of Missouri Extension Service during the Great Depression and featured in several regional publications.²⁴⁸ Several examples of Giraffe Rock are present in the study area, particularly in the Valley. A unique variant of the technique is present in the Valley, in which black mortar (or mortar that has been painted black) was employed.



Figure 50 (left): 506 S. Willow Ave features a Giraffe Rock exterior with black mortar. Figure 51 (right): 440 S. Willow Ave features Giraffe Rock with light colored mortar. Both houses were constructed ca. 1930. Post Oak photos 2024.

²⁴⁸ "Ozark Architecture: Giraffe Houses," Only in Arkansas, accessed October 26, 2024, <https://onlyinark.com/culture/ozark-architecture-giraffe-houses/>; "Stone Craft Architecture of the Southern Missouri Ozarks," *Ozarks Watch* 5, No. 2, (Fall 1991), accessed October 26, 2024, <https://thelibrary.org/loclist/periodicals/ozarkswatch/ow502r.htm>

Educational and Religious Buildings

There are several prominent educational and religious buildings in the community. The 1870 Henderson School was originally constructed as a rectangular brick building with gable ends. The two-room schoolhouse did not feature any major stylistic details, and was likely constructed as inexpensively and simply as possible. The school building became a private residence in the late 1940s, at which time it was heavily altered. Log wings were tucked beneath both gable ends, all windows were replaced, a large front porch was added, and monumental chimneys were constructed.



Figures 52 and 53: Left: The Henderson School during the 1930s before it was converted to a residence. Source: Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Photograph Collection [P-2689]. Right: The Henderson School as it appears in 2024. The central, brick portion of the house is the original structure, while the log wings, porch, windows, and chimneys date to the 1940s renovation. The structure is located at 350 N. Olive Avenue in a residential neighborhood. Source: City of Fayetteville.

St. James United Methodist Church was constructed ca. 1884. It features a cross-gable plan with a bell tower and steeple at the intersection of the perpendicular wings. The original bell tower and steeple were lost in the early 20th century to a tornado, and the current belltower dates to 2005.



Figures 54 and 55. Left: Ca. 1920 view of rear (west) elevation of St. James United Methodist Church (and adjacent parsonage). Source: Central Arkansas Library System (CALs). Right: The church as it appears in 2024. St. James United Methodist is located at 5 N. Willow Ave.

Jefferson Elementary School was constructed in 1932 by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) as a segregated school for white children and was integrated in 1965 following the closure of the Lincoln School. Jefferson

Elementary features modest elements of the Art Deco style of architecture, primarily expressed at the main entrance. Pilasters and a stepped parapet create an emphasis on verticality, and repeated geometric forms, including cast stone diamonds as well as brick diamonds, are common elements of Art Deco.



Figure 56. Former Jefferson Elementary School. Post Oak 2024.

10. Conclusion and Recommendations

*A dozen generations,
Like the flower and the weed
Have passed into the great beyond
That others might succeed.*

*We have the same old babbling brooks,
The same old rivers flow;
But Fayetteville was not the same
One hundred years ago.*

—George Ballard from “Centennial” written for Fayetteville’s Centennial celebration in 1928

“Poet of the Hollow” George Ballard wrote the poem “Centennial” as a reflection of Fayetteville’s first century of existence (1828-1928). Though another century has passed since the time of his writing, Ballard’s sentiment that “Fayetteville was not the same/One hundred years ago” still rings true. Thanks to the tireless efforts of generations of Black residents, the past century saw meaningful change, including the desegregation of Fayetteville Schools, the University of Arkansas, public accommodations, housing, and commercial enterprises. In the 21st century, work continues to build a more just society as a new generation actively seeks to honor and acknowledge the contributions of Fayetteville’s Black residents to the wider community, and to preserve the historic places that remain to tell their stories. This document emerged from those efforts, particularly in response to the widespread loss of Black places from the landscape of Fayetteville, Arkansas. This historic context statement has sought to develop a comprehensive history of southeast Fayetteville and its citizens from the wealth of available historical materials, in order to lay a foundation for future preservation efforts. Though many historic buildings have been lost and extensive new infill development has taken place in the study area, a significant number of historic resources related to southeast Fayetteville’s Black community are intact, many of which are owned by families with long-standing ties to the community. Though most resources associated with the Black community in the Henderson School area are no longer extant, a significant concentration remains in “the Hollow” and “the Valley.”

Post Oak Preservation has developed several recommendations in the course of this project, outlined below based on extensive research, windshield survey, and the resulting historic context statement.

10.1 Submit a National Register Historic District Nomination

To recognize the historic significance of Fayetteville’s Historic Black Community, the City of Fayetteville might consider pursuing a National Register Historic District (NRHD) for the neighborhood. The neighborhood is likely eligible under Criterion A, Ethnic Heritage: Black, due to its historic associations with Fayetteville’s Black community. Particularly in the areas historically known as the Hollow and the Valley, there appears to be a concentration of historic resources with sufficient historic integrity that, if nominated, would likely be determined eligible by the AHPP and NPS. Grant funding for NRHDs is available through the CLG program, administered by the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program (AHPP) and the National Park Service (NPS).

Though Post Oak performed a preliminary windshield survey as a part of this historic context, we highly recommend a more in-depth survey be performed at the time of the National Register district nomination. A survey would be essential in determining appropriate district boundaries. It is important to note that a successful NRHD would likely be much smaller than the proposed study area outlined in this project, and successful listing is not guaranteed. In order to be listed, over 50% of properties within the boundary would need to contribute to the

district (i.e. be of historic age and retain sufficient integrity). If listed, a National Register Historic District would garner national recognition of Fayetteville's Black community and its historic significance.

10.2 Nominate St. James United Methodist Church to the National Register

If a National Register Historic District will not be pursued for the neighborhood in the near future (to include the St. James United Methodist Church), the City of Fayetteville could consider working with the congregation of St. James United Methodist Church to pursue individual designation for the church. The church is likely eligible under Criterion A: Ethnic Heritage Black, and Criterion A: Social History. Though a nomination was submitted in 1982 and the property was determined ineligible by the AHPP due to alterations, restoration work that has taken place since that time reversed many of the changes that impacted integrity. In addition, the property has acquired additional significance in the 42 years since the 1982 nomination was submitted. Though the period of significance at the time of the 1982 nomination would only have extended to 1932, a nomination submitted in 2025 would extend to 1975, thereby including the church's central role in the community's social history during the Civil Rights era.

As has been outlined in this document, St. James United Methodist Church was an important community gathering place beyond Sunday services. It was a primary meeting and event space for the community, a place of community for the University of Arkansas' early Black faculty and students, it provided a much needed nursery and Kindergarten for neighborhood children (ultimately becoming the Head Start program), and served as a tutoring center. The church is also among the oldest extant resources in the community. Due to the highly significant role of the church in Fayetteville's Black community and the loss of most other buildings that served as social centers of the community (The Lincoln School, St. James Baptist Church, Sherman's Tavern) it would likely be deemed eligible if a new application was submitted.

10.3 Memorialize Extant Historic Black Spaces and Those That Have Been Lost

Numerous opportunities exist to tell the story of southeast Fayetteville's Black community through the lens of the built environment. Communities throughout the United States have found creative ways to recognize and educate people about historic places, including buildings that have been erased from the landscape, and several examples are provided, below.

- The Smokey Hollow "spirit houses" in Tallahassee, Florida recognize a once-thriving Black community that was lost to urban renewal in the 1960s. The open brick and steel structures take the shape of the historic shotgun houses that were once a common sight in the community, emphasizing both the void created by their loss, as well as honoring their existence. Interpretive signage is also a part of the installation, educating the community about the history of Smokey Hollow. A similar installation in southeast Fayetteville might take the shape of common Ozark vernacular houses depicted in early photos of the community, including single-pen log structures constructed on raised pier foundations.
 - <https://blueprintia.org/public-art/art-projects/smokey-hollow/>
- Fayetteville's Black Heritage Preservation Commission (BHPC) has a thriving Black Historical Markers program that could be leveraged to install markers in the community that tell the stories of extant Black spaces, those that have been lost, and to commemorate important community figures. The BHPC might also consider enacting a plaque program for individual structures, in which a date of construction and/or short narrative conveys the age and significance of buildings that might otherwise go unnoticed (such as single family residences).
- Many communities have installed creative, highly visual streetside interpretive signage to mark places that have been lost or significantly altered.
- Other communities have established digital story maps or similar digital content to highlight the history of Black communities, including historic resources that have been lost. Two examples are provided below.
 - The Kansas City African American Heritage Trail: <https://aahtkc.org/>

- Streetscape Palimpsest: A History of Georgia Avenue:
<https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapJournal/index.html?appid=b907a20ea0564aaa921ecd208ec746bf>
- Walking tours (guided or self-guided) offer an opportunity to the public to learn about historic communities, both extant structures and those that have been lost.
- Collaboration with other organizations, including those focused on art, offer countless opportunities to explore and commemorate the history of a community through compelling visual displays. In Fayetteville, opportunities for collaboration might include organizations such as the Arts Council or the City of Fayetteville's Department of Parks, Natural Resources and Cultural Affairs.

10.4 Consider Local Regulation of Southeast Fayetteville's Historic Black Community

A significant number of historic structures have been lost in southeast Fayetteville's historic Black community, inspiring efforts to create a local historic district in recent years. Depending upon the regulations outlined in Fayetteville's historic preservation ordinance, a locally regulated district might afford some degree of protection to historic structures through demolition delays and design review, thus preserving the remaining historic fabric of the community. A local district would also provide oversight to new construction on vacant lots in the community, thus ensuring that new buildings are complementary to the historic district in scale and design. It is important to recognize, however, that typical local historic district regulation may impose a financial burden upon property owners who may not be able to afford materials that comply with design standards. The City of Fayetteville might consider alternative forms of regulation, such as a demolition ordinance, in which a demolition delay and review process might prevent the unnecessary demolition of historic buildings.

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Appendix A: Historic-Age Resources

Though not an exhaustive list, the table below documents a selection of the extant, historic-age resources with known associations to southeast Fayetteville's Black community, primarily those located in the area known as "the Hollow." Unless otherwise noted, photos were taken during Post Oak's 2024 Windshield Survey.

	350 N. Olive Avenue Date of Construction: 1870 Known Historic Associations: The Henderson School, constructed in 1870 and the only school for Black children in Fayetteville until the Lincoln School was constructed in 1936.
	5 N. Willow Ave Date of Construction: ca. 1884 Known Historic Associations: Constructed ca. 1884 as St. James Methodist Episcopal Church (now St. James United Methodist Church)
	7 N. Willow Ave Date of Construction: Ca. 1890 Form/Style: Maybe have originally been a double pen or a bungalow later converted to a duplex. Known Historic Associations: Constructed ca. 1890 as Methodist church parsonage



105 N. Willow Avenue
 Date of Construction: 1923
 Form/Style: Rustic Commercial

Known Historic Associations: Constructed by J.W. and Emma Webb as a boarding house and restaurant. Listed (though misspelled) in the Negro Motorist Green Book as “Mebbs”

**Image Source: Google Streetview 2023 (building was not visible beneath ivy at the time of September 2024 site visit)



14 N. Willow Ave
 Approximate date of construction: 1910 (CAD)
 Form/Style: Gable Front



10 S. Willow Ave
 Date of Construction: 1971

Known Historic Associations: Former site of the Lincoln School, demolished in the late 1960s. Willow Heights Public Housing constructed in 1971.



119 S. Willow Avenue
Approximate date of construction: 1925 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gable Front (originally) with added porch



215 S. Willow Ave
Approximate date of construction: 1930 (CAD)
Form/Style: Folk Victorian



234 S. Willow Ave
Approximate date of construction: 1905 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gable Front



216 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1910 (CAD)
Form/Style: Single Pen with additions



213 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1915 (CAD)
Form/Style: Single Pen with additions



212 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1930 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gabled Ell/ "Bent House"



210 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1930 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gable Front



217 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1965 (CAD)
Form/Style: Split Level



323 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1940 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gable Front



369 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1889 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gabled Ell
Notes: Extent of alterations unclear



404 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1951 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gabled Ell/ "Bent House"

Known Historical Associations: Owned by the Lackey family. May be the former property of Chris Manuel, but almost certainly a mid-century house.



410 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1925 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gabled Ell/ "Bent House"



412 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1930 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gable Front

Known Historic Associations: Home of Labe and Ballie Joiner, prominent early 20th century residents.



411 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1965 (CAD)
Form/Style: Side Gable



417 E. Center Street
Approximate date of construction: 1955 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gable Front/Minimal Traditional

Known Historic Associations: Home of Louis Bryant (WWII veteran and 62 year employee of Collier's Drugstore) and Jessie Carr Bryant (first Black member of the Washington County Quorum Court, founder of Free Health Clinic, Justice of the Peace)



256 E. Mountain Street
Approximate date of Construction: 1915 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gable Front



130 E. Mountain Street
 Approximate date of construction: 1935 (CAD)
 Form/Style: Gabled Ell/ "Bent House"

Known Historic Associations: Purchased by Christine and Henry Childress Jr. in 1949



120 N. Washington Ave
 Approximate date of construction: 1940 (CAD)
 Form/Style: Gable Front

Known Historic Associations: Home of Russell and Pearl Blye from 1947-2003

Photo Source: Google Streetview



118 N. Washington Ave
 Approximate date of construction: 1915 (CAD)
 Form/Style: Bungalow

Photo Source: Google Streetview



116 N. Washington Ave
Approximate date of construction: 1975 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gabled Ell

Known Historic Associations: Constructed by Preston Lackey (?); later owned by sister Elnora Jackson (two of the first students to integrate Fayetteville High School)

Photo Source: Google Streetview



115 N. Washington Ave
Approximate date of construction: 1925 (CAD)
Form/Style: Gabled Ell/ "Bent House"

Known Historic Associations: Owned by William and Willie (Childress) Deffebaugh as early as 1951. William was born in Cane Hill, U.S. Navy WWII veteran.



106 N. Washington Ave
Approximate date of construction: 1959 (CAD)
Form/Style: Side Gable

Known Historic Associations: Owned by Joe and Virginia Cravens.



204 N. Washington Ave
Approximate date of construction: 1915 (CAD)
Form/Style: Front Gable (with additions)



171 E. Meadow Street
Approximate date of construction: 1915 (CAD)
Form/Style: Front Gable

Image Source: Google Streetview



159 E. Meadow Street
Approximate date of construction: 1925 (CAD)
Form/Style: Front Gable

161 E. Meadow Street (green house at rear)
Approximate date of construction: 1915 (CAD)
Form/Style: Front Gable



160 E. Meadow Street
Approximate date of construction: 1925 (CAD)
Form/Style: Double Pen



154 E. Meadow Street
Approximate date of construction: 1930 (CAD)
Form/Style: Front Gable/Bungalow

Known Historic Associations: Home of Pastor J.W. and Emma Webb of St. James Baptist Church



506 S. Willow Ave

Approximate date of construction: 1930 (CAD)

Form/Style: Gabled Ell with "Giraffe Rock" cladding

Known Historic Associations: owned by Lafayette and Dorothy Barker since 1969



531 S. Washington

Approximate date of construction: ca. 1924

Form/Style: Gable Front with "Giraffe Rock" cladding

Known Historic Associations: Owned by Ralph "Buddy" Hayes during 1940s-1960s.

Photo Source: Google Streetview



612 S. College Avenue

Approximate date of construction: 1932

Form/Style: Modest Art Deco



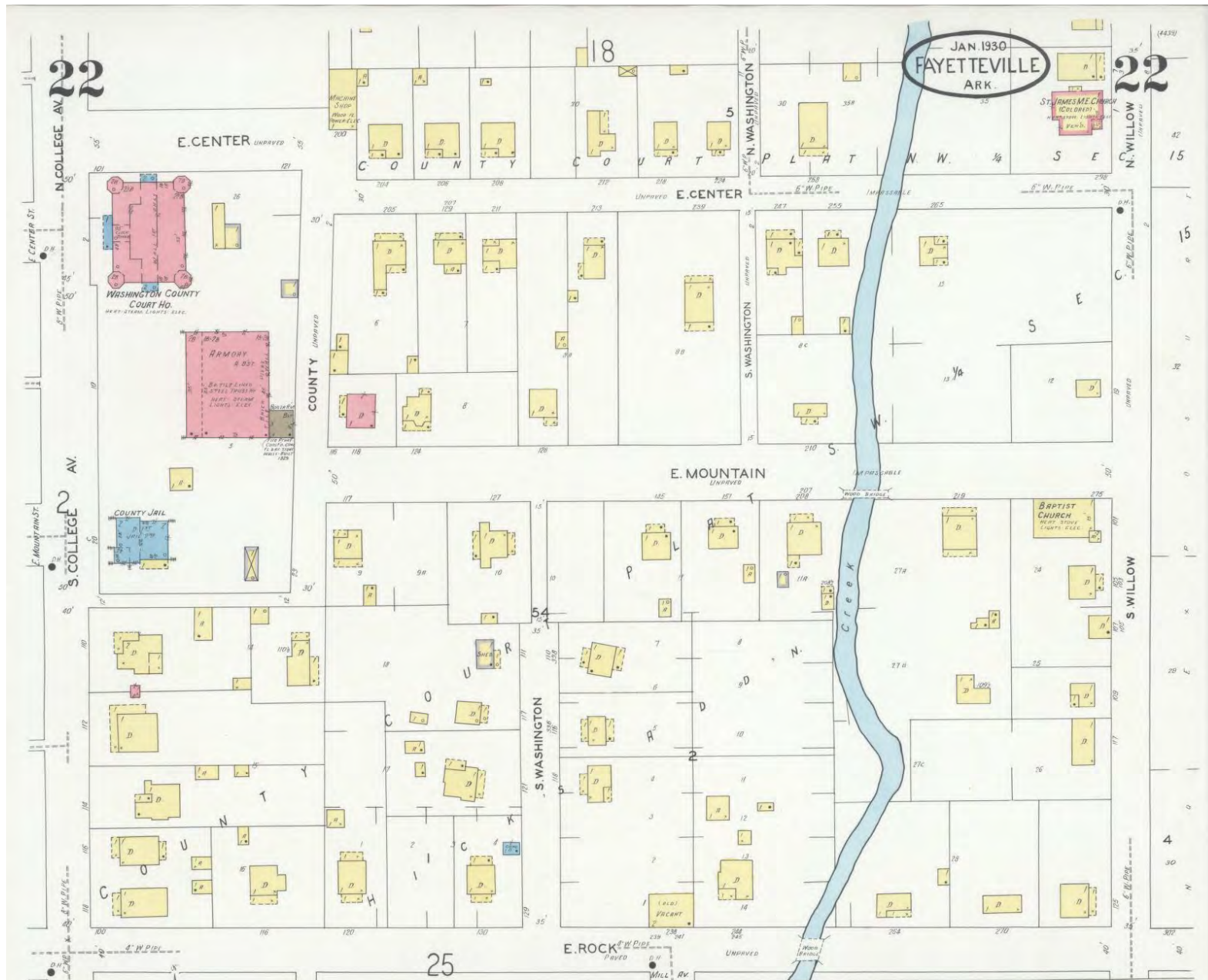
509 E. Huntsville Road

Approximate date of construction: 1915 (CAD)

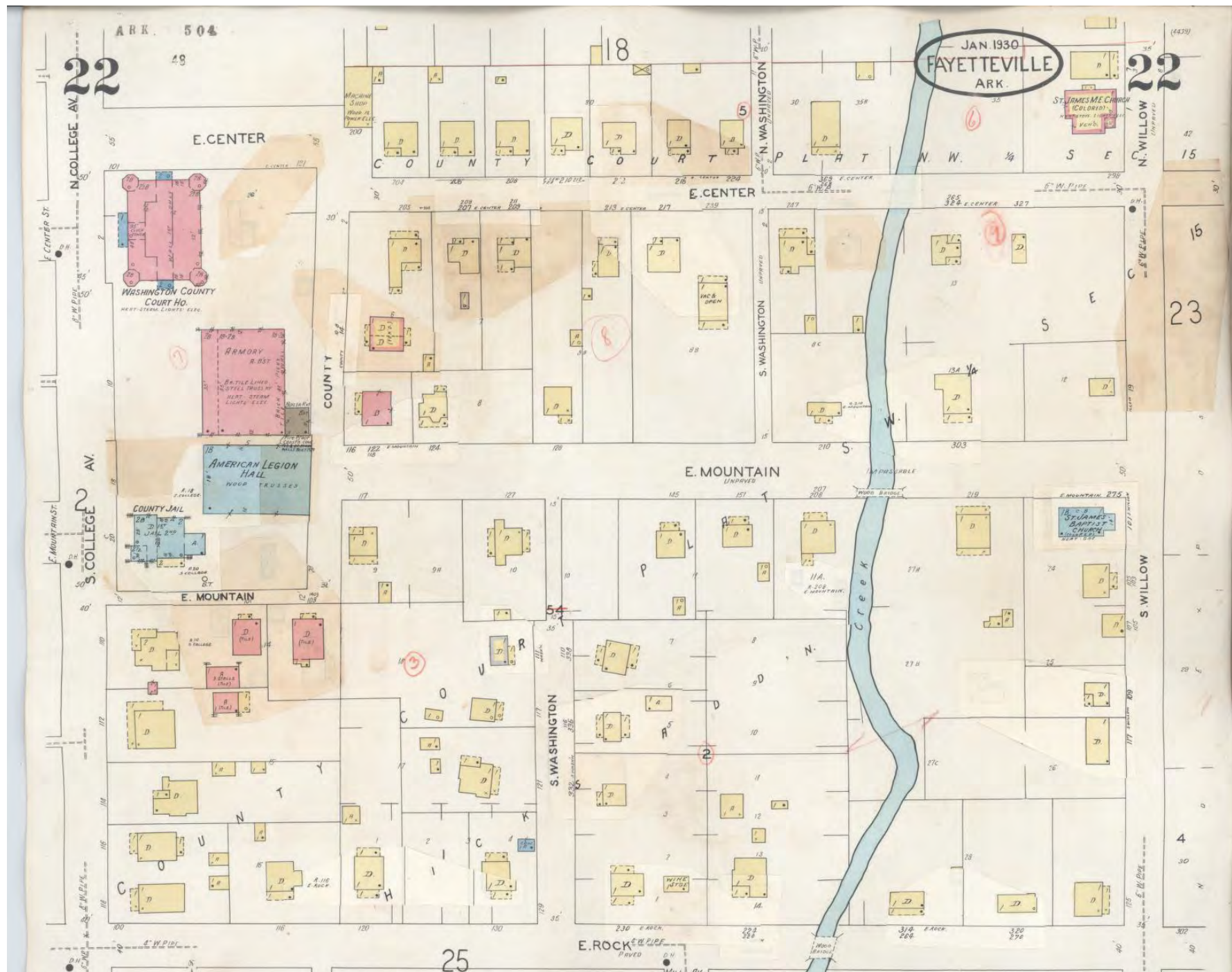
Form/Style: Commercial

Known Historic Associations: Combs Food Store

Appendix B: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps



1930 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map depicting E. Center, E. Mountain, E. Rock, and S. Willow Avenue. Source: Library of Congress.



1930 update to 1948 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. Note that E. Mountain Street, S. Washington Ave, and N. Willow remain unpaved. Source: Library of Congress