NPS Form 10-900-b
(March 1992)

OMB No. 1024-0018

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

COVER

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

[X] New Submission [ ] Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

African American Historic and Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Early Settlement including the First Exodus, 1870 - 1913
Institution Building in an Era of Segregation, 1914 - 1941

C. Form Prepared by

Name/title Kathryn E. Colwell, Historic Preservation Intern

organization City of Lincoln-Lancaster County Planning Department date March 12, 1999

street & number 555 S. 10th Street telephone 402-441-6361

city or town Lincoln state Nebraska zip code 68508

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. ([ ] See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Lawrence Sommer
Signature and title of certifying official

5/24/99
Date

Director, Nebraska State Historical Society
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Edson H. Beall
Signature of the Keeper

6.25.99
Date of Action

STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The historic contexts for the Multiple Property Documentation Form "African American Historic and Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska" represent two significant eras of settlement and residence by African Americans as experienced in Lincoln, Nebraska. Local events did not occur in isolation, thus contexts reflect national events which directly impacted local race relations. The two historic contexts are: "Early Settlement including the First Exodus, 1870-1913" and "Institution Building in an Era of Segregation, 1914-1941."

The specific patterns identified through these historic contexts are unique to Lincoln and cannot be generalized as representative of African American experience throughout the state of Nebraska. Local factors significantly influenced the opportunities and experience of a Lincoln African American resident as compared to an individual in the larger city of Omaha, the Missouri River communities of Nebraska City and Plattsmouth, or in rural Nebraska. The contexts thus relate to trends seen nationally and in the state of Nebraska, but are very specific to the Lincoln experience.

The identified historic contexts evolve from development of five themes: census of the population, pattern of migration and nativity, occupational opportunity, residential location, and representative institutions, both religious and secular. These themes are developed in detail within this document section.

BACKGROUND

The city of Lincoln is located in southeastern Nebraska in an area which was historically grassland. The only distinguishing geographical features consisted of a salt basin and a saline stream. In the early 1800s this was considered to be the eastern edge of what was known as the Great American Desert. The lack of a navigable river and timber, and its location 50 miles west of the Missouri River and north of the Oregon Trail, led to later settlement than other areas of eastern Nebraska. In 1854 Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act establishing the Nebraska Territory and opening the area for settlement. By March of 1855 Lancaster County had been created by an act of the First Territorial Legislature.

Nebraska's slave-free status had initially been agreed upon by both the North and the South as part of the 1820 Missouri Compromise. By the time of actual settlement, Congress had passed legislation allowing settlers of each territory to vote on the slavery issue. A vote was not taken in the Nebraska Territory and by 1855 slave holders had brought thirteen slaves to the area. The majority of these individuals resided along the Missouri River in either Nebraska City or Brownsville. In January 1861 the Territorial Legislature passed an act abolishing slavery. This action was not without controversy and a second vote was needed to pass the legislation over Territorial Governor Black's veto. Nebraska Territory's slave-free status, and the 1863 implementation of the Emancipation Proclamation legally freeing slaves in the Confederate States, served to increase the number of former slaves fleeing north through eastern Nebraska.

The years immediately following the Civil War were a period of federally legislated reconstruction. In 1865 the Freedmen's Bureau was established for the purpose of providing health care, education, and assistance to emancipated slaves. The year 1866 brought passage of the Civil Rights Act, but also brought formation of the Ku Klux Klan with its stated purpose of reestablishing white authority in the South.

Nebraska's entrance in 1867 as a state of the Union provides insight regarding citizen attitudes toward African Americans during the era. The first proposed state constitution did not extend suffrage rights to those of African ancestry. Congress rejected this constitution as it was in violation of the Civil Rights Act which had conferred citizenship to former slaves and guaranteed them equal rights. A special session of the Nebraska Legislature was held in February 1867 and the words referring to "free white" in the election law were eliminated. President Johnson, feeling this change was insufficient, vetoed the bill proposing Nebraska statehood. Congress subsequently overrode his veto enabling Nebraska to become the thirty-seventh state. Thus, though Nebraska has always been a slave-free state, there is evidence from its inception that not all Nebraskans were of one mind on the issue of equal rights.

The Federal census of 1870 indicated Nebraska's population to be 122,993 of which 789 persons were of African descent. Of the later number 58 percent lived in Douglas County, 28 percent resided in Otoe County, and 14 percent were scattered across the remainder of the state. James Bish in his thesis *The Black Experience in Selected Nebraska Counties, 1854 - 1920* observed that anxiety and prejudice often became apparent when African Americans settled in a community, and as a result "blacks in Nebraska often faced social and political prejudices similar to those simultaneously experienced by other members of their race throughout the United States."[1]

EARLY SETTLEMENT ERA INCLUDING THE FIRST EXODUS, 1870-1913

During the period of early settlement many people of African ancestry found in Lincoln improved opportunities for employment, housing, education, and the freedom to establish churches and social institutions. Though racial equality was not achieved, documents and oral histories suggest that this was a period characterized primarily by assimilation and integration into the community.

CENSUS

The City of Lincoln's economic hopes initially focused on exploitation of the salt flats, but ultimately the city prospered because of its status as the Nebraska State Capital. In the decades from 1870 to 1880, and 1880 to 1890 the city's population first increased fivefold and then quadrupled. Census figures for these years are: 1870 = 2,441, 1880 = 13,003, and 1890 = 55,154. The census also reported population figures by race. In Lincoln, the African American population numbered 15 or .6 percent of total in 1870, and 1,360 or 2.5 percent in 1890.[2] Lincoln census figures, by race, are not available for 1880.

Nebraska and the United States in 1893 entered a period of general economic depression. As a result, Lincoln's earlier expansion came to a halt. New construction projects became scarce and numerous citizens left the city. The population census of 1890 indicated a population of 55,154, by 1900 it had decreased by 27 percent to 40,169. The decrease in the African American population was even more dramatic, dropping by 40 percent to 814 persons or just 1.3 percent of the local population. The decline in African American population continued through 1910, even though the Lincoln economy had begun to recover and the census indicates overall population growth. The Lincoln census for 1910 indicates a total population of 43,973 with

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[1]James Bish, "The Black Experience in Selected Nebraska Counties, 1854 - 1920" (Thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1989), abstract.

[2]U.S. Department of the Interior, *Ninth Census of the U.S.: 1870.* (Washington, D.C., 1872) 197. Also U.S. Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the U.S.: 1910.* Vol. III. *Population.* (Washington, D.C., 1913) 219. This 1910 census volume also includes statistics by race for the years 1890 and 1900.

733 of these individuals being of African ancestry. The lack of migration to the state by African Americans could have reflected lack of employment opportunities in the construction and service sectors, compounded by increased competition for jobs from foreign-born populations. This later population included a large influx of 2,151 persons between 1900 and 1910 from Russia, most being of German descent.

MIGRATION AND NATIVITY

To understand the early African American community in Lincoln, it is valuable to examine immigrants' place of birth or origin, with accompanying early experiences. The first African American to arrive is referenced in the 1940 Nebraska Writers' Project *Negroes in Nebraska*. It states "The first Negro ever to settle in Lincoln came there in the summer of 1868" but provides no additional information regarding this individual.[3] Hayes and Cox in their 1889 publication *History of the City of Lincoln* describe occupants and location of businesses as of 1868. They record "On the northwest corner of this block a colored man named Moore had a barber shop. . ."[4] The location, the northwest corner of the block bounded by 9th and O Streets, is designated on their city plat with the notation "Moore's barber shop—first in Lincoln."[5] Of the fifteen Negroes identified in the 1870 census some personal data is known, thus providing a profile, though limited, of these first citizens. As a group they do not reflect having settled in Lincoln to escape conditions such as those which later created the Great Exodus from the South. Places of birth were three each from the states of Missouri, Ohio, and Tennessee, and one each from the states of Illinois, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Nebraska. In addition one man, George Green, was from England. Four individuals reported owning real estate valued between $400 and $1,500, suggesting an economic profile different from many recently emancipated slaves.[6]

By 1877 the Reconstruction period had come to an end and federal troops were withdrawn from the South. This had severe ramifications for southern freedmen as they struggled for equality without the presence of the federal government as protector of their civil rights. This political action, combined with economic conditions aggravated by the sharecropping system, and outbreaks of yellow fever, forced many to flee to northern states.[7]

The first great Exodus of former slaves from the South encompassed a period of several years, but peaked between 1877 and 1879. Kansas so vigorously recruited the freedmen that the term "Exoduster" became associated with freed slaves exiting the South for that state. In 1879, when Kansas found itself unable to bear the resettlement costs for the thousands who had arrived, the Freedmen's Relief Association in Topeka contacted individuals in Lincoln. Lincoln citizens immediately organized a biracial Freedmen's Relief Association. William McNeil was instrumental in coordinating local freedmen's efforts and on

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[3]Federal Writers' Project. *The Negroes of Nebraska.* (Lincoln: Woodruff, 1940), 8.

[4]A.B. Hayes and Sam Cox, *History of the City of Lincoln.* (Lincoln: State Journal Co., 1889), 11.

[5]Ibid., 163.

[6]U.S. Department of the Interior. "Manuscript Census of Population," *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* (Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln; Washington, D.C.: National Archives Registration Services), text-microfilm, Pub. No. M593, Roll No 3.

[7]Bish, 41. Deaths attributed to the yellow fever outbreak occurred in Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

July 1, 1879, forty-two refugees arrived in Lincoln aboard the railroad from Atchison, Kansas. The *Nebraska State Journal* provided details the following day stating:

> They were met at the depot by a very large number of our people, both white and black. Our colored citizens provided conveyances for the females and children of the party, and had them taken to their church in South Lincoln. The men were escorted . . . to the same place where they rested last night . . .
> . . .We understand the colored people of the city will erect today a large frame shanty near the church in which the strangers will find an abiding place, until they can find work.[8]

The only black church in Lincoln at this time was the African Methodist Episcopal located between 10th and 11th on 'E' Street. Thus, it can be assumed that members of this congregation were the primary providers of food and shelter and that the temporary housing was constructed in the area of 10th and 'E' Streets. The new immigrants were identified as having come directly from their homes in Louisiana and Mississippi.

Bish in his thesis concluded that because Exodusters entered the state via the railroad from Atchison, Kansas, initially Lincoln was the only destination city. This situation changed when river boats bearing refugees were not allowed to land in Kansas river towns. These boats then continued up the Missouri to Plattsmouth and Nebraska City where, for a period of about two weeks, immigrants were allowed to disembark. It was not long before these towns refused additional refugees.[9] It is estimated that not more than 400 individuals actually arrived in Nebraska as the result of the Exoduster movement, with approximately one-third locating in Lincoln. This low number could have been partially due to a journalistic war waged among the partisan newspapers of Lincoln, Omaha, and other southeast Nebraska communities. Although Nebraska was in need of workers and homesteaders, these news articles exacerbated the racism in many communities. Neither the Nebraska State Legislature nor Governor Albinus Nance promoted aid for the refugees. As a result many destitute freedmen were turned away from Nebraska.

By 1881 the city directories identified 108 "colored" residents. The state of origin for 93 of these individuals was also listed. Forty-four percent came from southern states with an additional 11 percent from Nebraska's border state Missouri, a former slave state. [10] Thus, by 1881 Lincoln's African American population was predominately from former slave-holding states.

The most complete picture of migration patterns can be constructed from data provided by the 1904 thesis *A Study of the Negro in Lincoln* written by two University of Nebraska graduate students Mary Davies and Genevieve Marsh. For this thesis the authors conducted interviews with members of the Lincoln African American community with a goal of universal coverage. The authors concluded the 445 African Americans interviewed were predominately from a border state or born in Nebraska.[11] Of the individuals native to Nebraska, 104 had been born in Lincoln. An additional statistic of some import is that the average length of residence in Lincoln was seven years, with 32 percent of those interviewed reporting to have arrived during the previous year. Ongoing migration to and from Lincoln can be attributed in part to lack of occupational opportunities.

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[8]*Nebraska State Journal* (Lincoln, 2 July 1879).

[9]Bish, 59, 231.

[10]Sam Glen, *Directory for the City of Lincoln 1881-1882.* (Lincoln: Globe Steam Printing, 1881). Southern state of origin: Louisiana 18, Kentucky 10, Mississippi 6, and Tennessee 4.

[11]Mary Davies and Genevieve Marsh, "Study of the Negro in Lincoln" (Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1904), 63. States identified most frequently were: Nebraska 127, Missouri 90, Kansas 58, Kentucky 36, and Tennessee 15. The 1900 U.S. Census indicated a population of 814 African Americans living in Lincoln.

OCCUPATION

The settlement of Lancaster County and the City of Lincoln created a demand for skilled and unskilled laborers and service workers. The majority of African Americans reported in the 1870 census worked as day laborers, plasterers, cooks, and domestic servants. An exception was 39-year-old Joseph Barber from Tennessee. Barber may have been Lincoln's first black entrepreneur with real estate valued at $1,000 and his occupation identified as "keeping restaurant." His family consisted of wife Mary who was "keeping house" and 17 year old son Berthimia.[12]

Occupational information is also found in Lincoln city directories. Occupations in 1874 of the five stewards for the newly founded African Methodist Episcopal Church were brick maker James Wilson, laborer George Henderson, and barbers Wm R. Gamble, James Holeinger, and J. Malchi Thompson. Barbering continued to be a common occupation in later years for African Americans in Lincoln.

By 1876 Lincoln was entering a period of economic growth. The foundation had been laid with the building of the new state capitol in 1868, the founding of the University of Nebraska in 1869, and the establishment of the First National Bank in 1871. In addition, the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad had reached Lincoln in 1870 and the U.S. Land Office had been relocated to the city. The community became a "jumping off" point for settlers headed west. These events stimulated further business development and with it provided numerous jobs.

The arrival of Exodusters in 1879 did not immediately lead to the filling of available jobs. On July 16, 1879, a meeting was held to allow leaders of the settlers to introduce themselves to the community and assure citizens that they were anxious to work. The Freedmen's Relief Association assisted in the effort to obtain jobs by purchasing advertisements in local newspapers. One advertisement read:

> There are about thirty able bodied colored men in the city lately from the South who are very desirous to obtain work and support themselves and families. They announce themselves ready and willing to perform any honest labor. It seems that they have been disappointed in getting work on the railroad near the city and any person desiring good farm hands or workmen of any kind will confer a favor by informing Mr. J. Miles who is the leader of the colony.[13]

Occupational data from the 1880 census indicated the occupation for 40 percent of the African American men to be laborer, with an additional 17 percent listing construction trades such as hod carrier, brick mason, carpenter, plasterer, and teamster. Also, in 1880 one out of every six males was a barber. The presence of females in the workforce accounted for 40 percent of Lancaster county's African American workers. Eighty-two percent of these women were employed as housekeepers and laundresses. A much larger proportion of black women were in the workforce, 55 percent compared to 18 percent of white women, reflecting economic necessity due to low wages for both African American males and females.[14]

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[12]Manuscript Census of Population, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, Nebraska, U.S. Department of the Interior, Pub. No. M593, National Archives (Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln), text-microfilm, Roll No. 3.

[13]*Nebraska State Journal* (Lincoln, 20 July 1879).

[14]Bish, 70, 71.

The occupational information in the 1880 city directory corresponds to that cited in the 1880 census. The directory also tells us of C. H. Knox who worked as a bookkeeper for Wallace & Wheeler Co. Knox is the only individual identified with a position possibly reflecting formal education.

Occupation is often assumed to be a reflection of education, and in this period shortly after the emancipation of slaves, of their ability to read and write. However prejudice apparently played a greater role than literacy. Indications of literacy are found in census data and are confirmed by legal documents which require signatures such as church deeds and mortgages. The lack of education was for some a reflection of former status in southern states where it was illegal to teach slaves to read or write. An example was Andrew Nettles from Louisiana, who as a Mt. Zion Church Trustee signified his signature with an 'x' on a church deed in 1898. Throughout his lifetime, Nettles' occupation was identified as either a hod carrier or laborer. A second illustration is John Jefferson McWilliams from Missouri. McWilliams had been a household servant as a slave and had learned to read and write.[15] But McWilliams also was limited to jobs in the service industry, working as a janitor and porter at First National Bank. McWilliams did draw on his earlier education when in 1896 he founded the Third Christian Church.

Additional examples indicating that education did not assure entry to better paying jobs are the cases of William A. Wiggington and George A. Maston. Free education was provided to all Lincoln citizens from the city's inception. In 1889 William A. Wiggington became the first African American to graduate from Lincoln public schools. Following Wiggington through city directories would indicate that he, even with a high school diploma, would always work as a laborer. Wiggington's education can be seen in the carefully penned meeting minutes he wrote as secretary of the Board of Trustees, Quinn Chapel AME Church.[16]

In 1901 Rev. George A. Maston of Sturgeon, Missouri requested a transfer to the Newman Methodist Episcopal Church in Lincoln. His diary indicates that he hoped his children would have more opportunities in a state with a slave-free heritage than they might in central Missouri. Rev. Maston had escaped from slavery in West Virginia as a teen and had been educated at Oberlin College in Ohio and Garrison University in Missouri. He taught schools in Ohio and Missouri and became a presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Missouri. His hopes in moving to Lincoln went unfulfilled. "Here Mr. Maston found fewer of the opportunities and amenities the Negro community of Missouri afforded him. There were no jobs here for Negro school teachers."[17]

Thus, during the last third of the nineteenth century Lincoln African Americans' found restricted employment opportunities. Calloway and Smith make an important point with the observation that in many instances, African Americans who earned a living as waiters and butlers still "managed to preserve their dignity, despite the roles which their livelihood required them to play... were people who dressed well, were well-educated, and had positions of leadership and respect in their communities."[18]

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[15]*Lincoln Journal Star* (Lincoln, 25 February 1979).

[16]Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church. "Minutes of the Board of Trustees" 1887.

[17]Lila Scrimsher, ed. "The Diaries and Writings of George A. Maston, Black Citizen of Lincoln, Nebraska, 1901-1913," *Nebraska History* 52, no. 2 (1971): 135.

[18]Bertha Calloway and Alonzo Smith, *Visions of Freedom on the Great Plains*, (Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1998); 73.

The Davies and Marsh thesis of 1904 identifies forty-five occupations among those surveyed, with a broader range of opportunities. The largest number still worked as housekeepers, laundresses, porters, waiters, and cooks. A number of skilled workers and professionals were identified including six ministers, two policemen, two firemen, and one each in the occupations of bank collector, nurse, organist, and piano teacher. The authors note "There would doubtless be more skilled and professional workers if there was not so much difficulty experienced in finding such employment."[19]

Occupations as semiskilled laborers and service workers continued to be prevalent into the teens. According to the 1910 census 4 percent of the Lincoln African American community reported owning and operating a business. Fifty percent were employed as either waiters, porters, cooks, janitors, barbers, or servants. Several worked as teachers and nurses, and Dr. Arthur Moss was a physician.[20]

The study of 1904 also analyzed the relationship between occupation and income. At that time the average monthly income for Lincoln residents was sixty dollars. The average for African American residents was between thirty and forty dollars. This disparity in income had many impacts, including limiting housing choice.

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

Though not legally restricted to a specific area of the city, Lincoln's African American population initially lived along the western fringe. During the 1870s and early 1880s these locations included clusters of dwellings near the railroad tracks in the vicinity of 6th and 'J' Streets, 6th and 'M' Streets, and 8th and 'Q' Streets. In addition there were smaller clusters at 10th and 'N' Streets and on the city's northern edge at 15th Street between 'S' and 'T' Streets (See Addendum A).

The western boundary of the city had from initial platting been dictated by Salt Creek. The area closest to Salt Creek came to be known as the "bottoms" because it lay in a flood plain. Early Lincoln residents had built homes in this area only to abandon them when the flooding problem became apparent. By the mid 1880s railroads, factories, and wholesale warehouses had established themselves in the area. The land from 1st to 7th and 'A' to 'J' Streets soon became an area occupied by immigrants and the poorest of Lincoln's residents, including the recently emancipated freedmen. In addition to inexpensive housing, this location would have been close to employment for many. Some, with no personal wealth, resided in this area because they were able to construct humble dwellings on the property of absentee landowners. One such site is documented on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of 1891 with outlines of five "Negro Shanties" in the area between 5th and 7th from 'H' to 'J' Streets.[21] Further research provides information indicating occupants of these shanties to be representative of early African American settlers. Characteristics include places of origin as Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee; occupation primarily as hod carriers and laborers; and church affiliation for several to be the Mt. Zion Baptist Church. Although these houses are gone, the area may have archeological potential.

Evidence of mutual-support mechanisms within the community can be noted through analysis of the census and city directories. These sources indicate individuals with different surnames but the same state of origin living at one address. The existence

[19]Davies, 157.

[20]Bish, 163.

[21]Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Atlas for Lincoln, Nebraska 1891.* (Pelham, N.Y.: Sanborn, 1891), 23.

of a supportive community followed a pattern seen elsewhere in the United States and had been characteristic of African Americans under slavery.[22] Responding to others' needs continued to be important in this period of resettlement.

By 1890, the census indicated a large African American population of 1,360 persons and housing integrated across the city. Deed research documents a number of persons to be homeowners during this era. These included Rev. Peyton and Clara Buckner at 313 'D', Major and LuLu Moore at 2226 'O', Anna Sharpenstein at 629 S. 7th, Rev. Thomas and Polly Wilson at 712 'H', Dr. Charles Flippin at 619 'B', Rev. Oliver and Annie Burckhardt at 1236 Washington, and Madison Banks at 1245 S. 8th Street. Oral history provides insight into the difficulty encountered by some in becoming homeowners. In 1896 John Jefferson and Sarah J. McWilliams moved their family of eight, including a sister and mother, from Falls City, Nebraska to Lincoln. Granddaughter Ruth Vanderzee McWilliams related their experience:

> Much trouble was experienced in securing a location. A twenty-five foot lot was finally found on North Eighteenth for which a contract was made and a two room shed of a house was discovered out in West Lincoln for sale at $65; this was moved on the lot...After fifteen years of the most arduous labors by the entire household, the two-room shack had gradually expanded to an eight room affair with the first brand new furnishings. Returning from an important church meeting one day, they met the fire department coming away from this much loved home, having put out a fire that had greedily licked up all their worldly possessions...It was not until a permit was sought to rebuild that the McWilliams learned they had not been buying the ground, but simply leasing all the time. The $293 paid, earned so laboriously of the cash pinches off the pension, had all gone for naught as far as buying a home was concerned.[23]

An integrated housing pattern continued as confirmed in 1904 by Davies and Marsh: "Not more than four or five houses exist in any neighborhood which are held by colored owners or tenants. They are scattered through the length and breadth of Lincoln, chiefly . . . in the less expensive parts of the city." And the authors observe "there is no way by which the home of the white or colored citizens can be distinguished."[24]

Through 1910 this residential pattern continued. A majority of residences were located near the downtown business area and in older neighborhoods of the city. The only concentrated cluster of dwellings is noted in the area between 20th and 23rd Streets from south of 'O' to 'H' Street. A notable exception to an integrated housing pattern is the absence of African American homes in the residential growth areas in the northeast and southeast quadrants of the city (See Addendum B).

Two national events occurred in 1910 and 1913 which ultimately strained the relationship between the African American and the majority population of Lincoln, and altered the previous housing pattern. The first occurred in December 1910 when the Baltimore City Council approved the first city ordinance designating the boundaries of black and white neighborhoods.[25] The

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[22]James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion, and Folklife in the City, 1850-1970* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980, 1980), 12.

[23]Ruth Vanderzee McWilliams, "Negro Slave Girl, Now a Lincoln Woman Recalls Incidents of Slave Life in the Sixties" unpublished transcript. Courtesy Kendall McWilliams.

[24]Davies, 192.

[25]Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, "Daniel A. P. Murray Pamphlets Collection" [database on-line]; available from lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/aap/aaphome.html. Other communities including Dallas, TX, Louisville, KY, Oklahoma City, OK, Richmond, VA, and St. Louis, MO soon enact similar legislation.

second came in 1913 with federal government implementation of segregated work places, rest rooms, and lunch rooms. The local effects of these legislative actions are seen in detail during the second historic context period.

REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

Religious Institutions

Secular literature cites that religious institutions and spiritual traditions were at the heart of social, civic, and cultural life for those of African ancestry. The church was one of the first institutions owned and controlled solely by free blacks and slaves. It provided a safe haven for freedom of expression, and was a place of spiritual and intellectual growth. A number of churches were quickly established by African Americans upon arrival to Lincoln, and a close examination of these institutions provides an important window on the African American community.

Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church

An African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church was the first black church to be founded in Lincoln. Dennis Dickerson, historiographer of the AME Church, writes in the book *The Past is in Your Hands: Writing Local A.M.E. Church History*, "The pervasiveness of racism, colonialism, and economic oppression have generally characterized the experience of A.M.E. adherents both in the United States and overseas. Hence, those phenomena usually have been the primary reasons to organize most A.M.E. congregations."[26]

Written history of Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church does not provide insight as to the historic context which led to the congregation's formation. Church history does tell us that the founding members of Quinn Chapel met in 1870 in members' homes and were ministered to by Rev. James Wilson, an itinerant minister. In 1871, Rev. G. W. Gaines officially organized the church.[27] By 1873 the small congregation attracted the attention of the Nebraska State Legislature. On March 17, 1873, a Legislative Act was passed donating two lots in Lincoln to "the Mayor of said city to be held by him in trust for the use and benefit of the Colored people for the erection of a house of worship thereon."[28] The Legislature had granted congregations with building sites in 1867 and eventually gave sites to fourteen churches in the new capital city. Only in the case of Quinn Chapel was the land conveyed through the Lincoln mayor. In November of 1873, Mayor Silver deeded lots 9 and 10 in block 177 to the African Methodist Episcopal Church Trustees. The 1880 City Directory is the first to include the "African M.E. Church" indicating the 40 member congregation was meeting at the deeded site between 10th and 11th on 'E' Street.

Specific detail regarding the initial place of worship on 'E' Street is not known. The first documented church structure was built in 1889. This building was designed by local architect O. H. Placey and built at a cost of approximately $6,000, thus representing an ambitious building project for the small congregation. The 1891 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map indicates a two

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[26]Dennis Dickerson, *The Past is in Your Hands: Writing Local A.M.E. Church History,* (Williamstown, Mass.: privately printed), 2, 3. Specific examples of these phenomena would be founding of churches due to exclusion of African Americans from worshiping with white congregations, and founding as a "by-product of the migratory process in which persons needed a familiar religious anchor to give stability in a new racial environment."

[27]Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church, "One Hundred Twenty-First Anniversary Program,"1992, 7.

[28]Nebraska Senate. A Bill for an Act Donating Certain Lots in the City of Lincoln, to the Colored People of said City, for the erection of a House of Worship, 1873, H.R. 180, 537. Also Nebraska House. A Bill for an Act Donating Certain Lots in the City of Lincoln, to the Colored People of said City, for the Erection of a House of Worship, 1873, H.R. 180, 551.

and a half story building with thirty foot elevation to the eave and square spires at the corners of the front facade; the largest spire rising to sixty feet. Several events occurring in the 1890s contributed to the congregation's loss of this building in 1899. These included Lincoln's economic downturn of 1893 and ordained church leaders leaving the congregation to form other churches.[29] The Quinn congregation subsequently moved into a large two story apartment building at 1026 'F' Street. This building was remodeled and served as the church's home until 1905.

In 1905, Quinn Chapel built a one story brick veneered church at a cost of $3,000 on the 'F' Street site. This Colonial Revival building featured a steep cross gable roof, segmental arched windows and door, and a round window in each of the front and side gables. This structure was moved to 925 'C' Street in 1915, and became the heart of the current church.

Mt. Zion Baptist Church

Mt. Zion Baptist Church was founded in 1879 by Rev. Marcus Mack from Louisiana. The first reference to this church is in the 1880 Lincoln City Directory where it is listed as the Colored Baptist Church. This entry also indicates that in addition to Rev. Mack, three of the four founding trustees were also from Louisiana. The place of origin of these individuals is important in that the cultural origins of the black Baptists are of the South.[30] One year later the church had grown to 40 members and was meeting in a room on 'L' Street between 7th and 8th Streets. In 1883, the Nebraska State Legislature passed a Legislative Act stating "That lot number six in block one hundred and seventy-nine in the city of Lincoln in this State is hereby dedicated to the use of the 'Mount Zion Baptist Church'(Colored), of the city of Lincoln."[31] Church history indicates church member Major Moore, who worked at the State Capital, was instrumental in securing this lot for the congregation.[32] The first structure noted on this site at 12th and 'F' Streets was a frame dwelling which served as home to the second pastor Rev. J. W. Marshall and also as a place of worship.

Evidence of a church building is found on the 1891 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. The notation for "Church of Zion" indicates a one story frame building with a two-story tower centered on the north elevation. In 1892 Mt. Zion Baptist merged with the smaller Second Baptist Church, then meeting at 731 'J' Street. Trustees from both congregations signed mortgages to enable the construction of a larger church at 12th and 'F' Streets. Plans for a larger church were not immediately realized. Mt. Zion, like Quinn Chapel, began a building program just as Lincoln's economy became depressed forcing African Americans to leave the city in search of employment. Two mechanics' liens of 1893 indicate a scarcity of financial resources. It is plausible that the basement church begun in 1892 was constructed by church members. This practice is mentioned in oral histories, and occupations of known church members include ten men who worked as laborers, plasterers, or hod carriers. The 1892 basement survives as the foundation of today's church structure. The Sanborn of 1903 documents a church of one story with five foot stone wall foundation and elevation of ten feet to the eave.

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[29]Quinn Chapel A.M.E. 1992, 7. Rev. John B. Porter left in 1892 to found the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Reverends John Jefferson and Sarah J. McWilliams left in 1896 to found the Third Christian Church.

[30]C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 20. The first black Baptist church, African Baptist or"Bluestone" Church was formed by slaves on the Wm Byrd plantation in Mecklenberg, VA. in 1758. Churches were formed in South Carolina in 1750 and 1788.

[31]Nebraska Legislature. An Act to dedicate to the use of the Mount Zion Baptist Church (colored) lot number 6 in block 179 in the city of Lincoln, 1873, 338. This legislative act specified the congregation use and occupy said lot within one year for church purposes.

[32]Mt. Zion Baptist Church, "Dedication of mt. Zion Baptist Church" 1973, 7.

Newman United Methodist Church

Newman Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1892 by Rev. John B. Porter with four other former members of Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church. The first two meeting sites were at 10th and 'K' Street and 9th and 'N' Street. In 1898 the congregation purchased a church building at 733 'J' Street from the Mt. Zion Baptist congregation. According to Sanborn maps, this building was a one story frame structure with an entrance vestibule. Newman church historians indicate the building facade was stuccoed at some point in time.[33]

Rev. George A. Maston served as pastor of Newman M.E. Church from 1901 to 1904. His daughter Ida Maston Allen's oral history provides detail of this church's early community involvement. She recalled the congregation renting their church for use as a temporary neighborhood school for the children of the Russian immigrant families while a larger school was being built.[34]

Newman Church remained at the 'J' Street location throughout the first third of the twentieth century.

Christ Temple Mission

John Jefferson and Sarah J. McWilliams, former slaves and ordained pastors in the A.M.E. church, are credited with founding Lincoln's first integrated church in 1896. City Directories indicate the church was initially known as Christian Mission with Rev. Wm H. Vanderzee as pastor. Early meeting sites were at 912 Wood in 1896 and on the northwest corner of 10th and 'K' Streets in 1897. In 1902, the church moved to 1209 S. 9th Street. The 1903 Sanborn indicates the "Colored Christian Mission" as a one story frame building with entrance vestibule and an elevation of fifteen feet to the eaves. In 1904, the church moved to 124 N. 23rd Street and became known as the Third Christian Church.

It is evident from legal documents associated with these four congregations, such as deeds, mortgages, and mechanic's liens, that the black churches struggled to meet the needs of growing congregations with few financial resources. But all four congregations persevered, thus indicating a strong commitment to the churches on the part of their memberships. Literature on the subject of black churches reinforces the importance of the church as the focal point of the African American's life. Religious historian C. Eric Lincoln writes, ". . . the church was their school, their forum, their political arena, their social club, their art gallery, their conservatory of music. It was lyceum and gymnasium as well as sanctum sanctorum. Their religion was the peculiar sustaining force that gave them the strength to endure when endurance gave no promise, and the courage to be creative in the face of their own dehumanization . . ."[35]

The Bureau of Census *Special Reports* "Religious Bodies: 1906" provides statistical evidence of the growth among black churches from 1890 to 1900. In this report the term *colored organization* is used and is defined as signifying "an organization whose membership is composed wholly of negroes or those of negro descent."[36] During the decade from 1890 to 1900, the number of colored organizations increased by 13,308, with number of members in these organizations increasing by 1,011,120. The religious conference reporting the greatest number of members in 1906 was the Baptist-National Convention (Colored) with 61.4 percent of total U.S. membership. Membership in African Methodist Episcopal Churches was next at 13.4 percent.

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[33]Newman Methodist Church, "Sixty-Seventh Anniversary Program"1959.

[34]Ida Maston Allen, interview by Kathy Fimple, 16 January, 1981, transcript, South Salt Creek Oral History Project, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NE.

[35]Tom Rankin, *Sacred Spaces* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 11.

[36]U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. "Religious Bodies:1906," *Special Reports* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), 136.

Combining memberships of the four largest Methodist bodies, African Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal, resulted in a total membership of 31.5 percent.[37]

Membership in Lincoln's black churches in 1904 reveals a similar local pattern. Of persons indicating religious affiliation, 40 percent attended Mt. Zion Baptist Church, 25 percent Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, 18 percent Newman Methodist Episcopal Church, and 11 percent the Christian Church. Davies and Marsh conclude "The organized life of the people lies preeminently in the four Negro churches. They are very friendly in their relations to each other and the influence of the church life is greater than among the white people."[38]

Other Institutions

On September 18, 1895, Booker T. Washington delivered a speech which later became known as the "Atlanta Compromise." In this speech he stated the "Negro problem would be solved by a policy of gradualism and accommodation."[39] There is evidence during this historic context that Lincoln residents were pursuing a path in keeping with this concept as examples of integrated and segregated organizations are evident. Integrated institutions included the public schools, posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, and political parties. Fraternal and social clubs appear to have been segregated. Institutions established by the African American population were few in number. Most notable is the founding of Prince Hall Masonic lodges.

Grand Army of the Republic
Following the conclusion of the Civil War, Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) posts were formed across the nation. In Lincoln four posts were established. Civil War veterans James Brown, James W. Bush, John J. McWilliams, and Andrew Nettles had served in the Colored Infantry and were active in a local post. These men, along with nine others are buried beside their white counterparts in the GAR circle at Wyuka Cemetery.

Fraternal
The Nebraska State Journal in 1892 documents the organization of Mt. Olive Subordinate Lodge No. 2 of the Prince Hall Colored Masons and a chapter of the Order of Eastern Star. These two bodies were affiliated with the Kansas Jurisdiction of Prince Hall Masonry. At the same time subordinate lodges affiliated with the Missouri Jurisdiction were also being formed in Nebraska. Research by historian Dennis Mihelich indicates Lebanon Lodge No. 3 to be the first subordinate lodge within the Missouri Jurisdiction to form in Lincoln. He states that though no document has been located to establish the date of founding, the masonic system of numbering lodges in order of formation would indicate that Lebanon Lodge No. 3 was founded in the early 1890s. An affiliated chapter of the Order of Eastern Star, Amaranth No. 54 was created in 1909[40]. At both the national and local level, Prince Hall Masons were not recognized by their white masonic counterparts and thus met separately for all functions. Prince Hall Masons met at several locations during this period.

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[37]Ibid. 136, 139.

[38]Davies, 209.

[39]Library of Congress, Rare and Special Collections Division.

[40]Dennis Mihelich, "The Origins of the Prince Hall Mason Grand Lodge of Nebraska," *Nebraska History* 76, no.1 (1995); 16.

Social

Few examples of social activity for African Americans, aside from their churches, are noted in newspapers or city directories of the period. An article in 1887 in the *Lincoln Weekly News* covers the fund raising event for a band composed of black musicians. The article reads, "The friends of the colored coronet band boys indulged in a social at 1026 'F' Street last night for the benefit of the band. The event was prosperous both in a social and a financial view."[41]

The Lincoln Directory of 1913 identified the "Waiter's Club (c)" which met at 111 S. 9th Street. The club is not mentioned in daily newspapers of the time, but oral history indicates the club remained active in Lincoln throughout this era meeting in rented halls.

Oral histories from the 1938 Federal Writers Project and the 1981 South Salt Creek Oral History Project provide a glimpse of social events. Octavia Green during a 1938 interview recalled, "When I came to Lincoln in 1878 there was just a hand-full of us negroes here. But we had a lot of fun, picnicking, holdin' square dances, and where do you think we used to dance? Well, it was in the old City Hall at 10th and 'O' Street. Lots of times white folks would come to dance too."[42] Ida Maston Allen provided an oral history in 1981. She fondly remembered Fourth of July picnics at the City Park on "F" Street. These picnics were attended by members from all of the black churches. She also mentioned dances during the early 1900s, located in a hall on an upper story of the old First National Bank Building at 10th & O Street[43]

CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST ERA

A continuing concern for local African Americans was equality enabling them to be afforded opportunities available to those of other race and ethnic backgrounds in Lincoln. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court determined in the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson that "separate but equal" facilities were legal. As a result of this ruling, fewer and fewer venues became available for integrated social interaction. This ruling was especially restrictive to the small Lincoln African American community which, in 1900, constituted but 2 percent of the population, or 814 persons. To financially support separate institutions would be outside the African American community's financial resources, and it was unlikely the majority population would provide such.

African American homes of this era do not bear distinctive style characteristics reflective of the early occupant's southern place of origin. The majority of African Americans rented homes built by European American contractors. These homes were cottage style single family dwellings of one to one and one-half stories. The traditional form was rectangular with a front gable or truncated hipped roof. Houses were wood frame with little decorative ornamentation. The locations of African American homes were primarily in a flood plain or on the fringe of the Lincoln business district. Thus, due to city growth and enforcement of building codes, extant domestic properties of this era are a scarce resource.

The dominant African American institution during the first historic era was the church. Early churches were primarily wood, one story, chapel style structures. An exception was the brick Georgian style church built in 1905 by Quinn Chapel AME

[41]*Lincoln Weekly News* (Lincoln, 17 November 1887).

[42]Library of Congress, "American Life Histories Manuscripts from the Federal Writers Project," Octavia Green interview by Albert Burks, 3 October, 1938 [database on-line]; available from www.umsl.urkedu/~libweb/blackstudies/Green.html.

[43]Allen, 1981.

Church. Of the churches founded during this context, elements of two buildings exist today. These are the 1892 basement of Mt. Zion Baptist Church and the previously noted Quinn Chapel edifice. In 1915, the Quinn Chapel congregation moved and remodeled this latter building.

Extant buildings representative of African American businesses or social institutions have not been located. The absence of these properties reflects, in part, a lack of financial resources with which to construct substantial buildings.

The themes of the first historic context can be summarized well by a 1904 statement of Davies and Marsh:

> The attitude of the white and Negro populations to each other is not personally antagonistic, but rather indifferent. There is considerable respect for individuals and an evident inclination on the part of the whites to let the Negroes have whatever they are able to obtain, without much hindrance and without much help.[44]

INSTITUTION BUILDING IN AN ERA OF SEGREGATION, 1914-1941

During the second historic context, evidence of segregation becomes more apparent in Lincoln. At the beginning of the era, in 1917, America entered World War I. Included among those serving in the military were 370,000 African Americans.[45] Nationally the war years became a time of increased African American migration to northern urban areas to fill industrial jobs left by soldiers going to war. As the number of African-Americans increased, thus competing with whites for housing, jobs, social status, and political power, racial tensions also increased.[46] Migration to Lincoln was minimal, but an increase in racial tensions still became a reality.

A sign that racist attitudes existed in Lincoln can be seen through the formation of Ku Klux Klan local #11 in 1921. The klan headquarters, or "Klavern," was located at 7th and Washington Streets (1521 S. 7th Street). Influential citizens, including University of Nebraska Chancellor Samuel Avery, were vocal in their opposition to the klan. When, in September 1921, the *Lincoln Star* reported that the klan, standing "for clean politics and Christian ideals," had held an initiation ceremony on the University campus, Avery immediately announced that "any student joining the klan would be suspended." He further stated "The university should be characterized by a broad liberal spirit of fellowship. Learning knows no distinction on race or color."[47] Klan activity continued to be visible throughout the 1920s. In 1925, the klan state convention coincided with the Nebraska state fair. A klan picnic attracted 25,000 people, and a parade with floats and 1,500 marchers filled Lincoln's streets. Crosses were openly burned.[48] The klan's public visibility lasted into the 1930s.

Further evidence that the social and economic problems arising from segregation were significant can be seen in the growth in church membership, with accompanying building programs; increased community activities by Prince Hall Masons, and

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[44]Davies, 220.

[45]Library of Congress. Rare Books and Special Collections Division.

[46]Michael Schuyler, "The Ku Klux Klan in Nebraska, 1920-1930," *Nebraska History* 66, no 3 (1985); 243.

[47]Ibid., 246.

[48]Ibid, 236.

formation of the Lincoln Urban League in 1933.[49] In Lincoln, African Americans experienced open discrimination in employment, housing, and in use of community facilities during this era.

CENSUS

During the first historic context, the Lincoln African American population reached its highest level in 1890 with a total of 1,360 persons. This number of individuals of African ancestry would not again be present in the city until following World War II. Thus, in Lincoln, the censuses of population create a pattern different from that seen elsewhere in the United States during this era. U.S. Census figures indicate that between 1910 and 1930 the number of African Americans in northern states increased by of over one million persons, while in the South decreasing by an approximately equal number.[50] Lincoln censuses show a very small increase of 264 African Americans during the same period.[51] Though this is an increase in actual number, the group as a percentage of total population decreased from 1.7 percent to 1.3 percent. Census figures of African American residents of Lincoln during this era are 896 in 1920, 997 in 1930, and 794 in 1940. The 1940 census indicated a decrease both in number of African Americans and as percentage of total population. The 794 African Americans comprised .9 percent of Lincoln's total population of 81,984.[52]

The small number of African Americans residing in Lincoln during this era resulted in a unique set of circumstances. Harvey Kerns, in conducting a sociological study of African American living conditions and race relations in Lincoln, observed the majority of whites remained passive "due largely to the infrequency of racial contact," but that African Americans showed a "growing feeling of unrest."[53]

MIGRATION AND NATIVITY

America's 1917 entry into World War I prompted a second national migration due to availability of industrial jobs in urban centers of the north. In Nebraska, railroad companies supported the war effort by attracting workers to the state through offering reduced rates to groups of twenty-five or more persons. This effort was somewhat successful in attracting African Americans to the larger city of Omaha. In Lincoln, the number of African Americans responding is unknown, but the census documents total migration as minimal. Lincoln's African American population increased by only 163 persons between 1910 and 1920. Kerns, later studying migration patterns, determined Lincoln's small increase in population was due to "The lack of industrial jobs, the diminished opportunity in traditional areas of employment, and its proximity to Omaha . . ."[54]

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[49]Dennis Mihelich, "The Formation of the Lincoln Urban League," *Nebraska History* 68. no 2 (1987); 64-67.

[50]Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division. Between 1910 and 1930 the number of African Americans in the North increased by 1,035,000, and in the South decreased by 1,143,000.

[51]Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the U.S.: 1910*, 219. Also *Fifteenth Census of the U.S.: 1930*, 95. African American population in 1910 = 733, in 1930 = 997.

[52]Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the U.S.: 1940. Vol 4,* 1943, 681.

[53]Mihelich 1987, 68.

[54]Mihelich 1987, 64.

An ongoing migration to and from Lincoln, as noted in the first historic context, continued to be evident during this era. Oral history interviews conducted by the Federal Writer's Project in 1938, the Nebraska Black Oral History Project II in 1982, and by the author in 1998 were analyzed.[55] This evaluation indicated that of the twenty interviewees living in Lincoln in 1941, eleven, or 55 percent, had also lived in another state or Nebraska town during the period from 1914 to 1941. If all persons mentioned during interviews, such as spouses, parents, and pastors, were included in the evaluation, the percentage migrating to other communities would be even greater. The state mentioned most frequently as state of origin or destination was Missouri. Other states included Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana and California. The primary reason for migration continued to be economic, with individuals either looking for employment or a better paying job. Destination frequently was influenced by presence of family or friends in the new location.

OCCUPATION

Local occupations of African Americans in Lincoln during the second era continued to mirror those seen earlier in regard to skill level and opportunity for advancement. This was true even though literacy was high among African Americans and numerous individuals had completed one or more years of college. Dr. Dennis Mihelich, drawing primarily on data from the Kerns' study of 1933, noted that African American enrolment in high school paralleled that of the total population but "Lincoln afforded 'little incentive for Negro children to pursue high education,' since the opportunities available to graduates were 'similar to those who have little or no education'." Mihelich also noted, "Kerns inferred . . . that the ambitious who did complete high school or college left the city in search of employment, denying the black community many of its potential leaders."[56]

A representative survey conducted in 1933 of one hundred African American wage earners found that twenty-nine occupations were represented. The majority of individuals were employed in the "unskilled, semi-skilled, and personal service jobs."[57] Employment for males was primarily as laborers, porters, waiters, and janitors. Employment for women was as maids, charwomen, and laundresses. Individuals who during World War I had been employed in one of Lincoln's few larger industries had by 1919 been replaced by persons from other groups. The most lucrative jobs were with Civil Service. Even here increased discrimination was evident. Whereas in the past, African Americans had been employed by the city Police Department, and in state and federal positions, by 1933 the number of persons in these jobs had also decreased.[58]

The findings of the Kerns study can be illustrated through the life of Lincoln African American resident Nimrod Ross. During an interview of Mr. Ross in 1938, he stated "I came to Lincoln over forty years ago when it was just a little burg. But things were a whole lot better for the colored folks then than they are now. I [was?] a city [policeman?] here for awhile and also a deputy sheriff at the county jail. I was able to give my boy a good education . . . He's [practicing?] law now in Los Angeles"[59]

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[55]Library of Congress, "American Life Histories Manuscripts from the Federal Writers Project," 1938. Also Alonzo Smith, *Black Nebraskans: Interviews from the Black Oral History Project II.* (Omaha: University of Omaha, 1982).

[56]Mihelich 1987, 66.

[57]Ibid 67.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Library of Congress, "American Life Histories Manuscripts from the Federal Writers Project," Nimrod Ross interview by Albert Burks, 15 December, 1938. Interview data indicates Mr. Ross was a policeman from 1902-1905 and

Lincoln City Directories provide further illustration noting that in 1915 Mr. Ross' son Clinton was a student at the University of Nebraska, in 1916 and 1917 a lawyer practicing at 1136 'O' Street, and in 1918 no longer living in Lincoln. Mr. Ross, after serving as a policeman in the early 1900s, later worked as a guard, yardman, and caretaker.

The life of another Lincoln African American resident, Clyde W. Malone, also illustrates the dilemma faced by ambitious young African Americans during this era. Clyde Malone was the son of 1887 Tennessee immigrants James F. and Pensy Malone. He graduated from Lincoln High School, married Izetta Colley, and worked during the during the Teens and Twenties as a waiter, porter, and janitor. During World War I he enlisted in the army and attended Officer Training School. Returning to Nebraska after the war, he earned a B.A. in business administration. At that juncture he left the state to work first in the insurance field and later as a "boys' worker" at the Phillis Wheatley Settlement House in Minnesota. Due to family illness, Malone returned to Lincoln in 1934 and became recreation and employment director of the Lincoln Urban League (LUL). In 1943, he succeeded Millard Woods as Executive Director of the LUL and provided significant leadership through that position.

Though there are additional personal stories to illustrate that African Americans with education and ambition remained in Lincoln, statistics indicate that few found opportunity for economic advancement within the community during this era. Ownership of a business is an example of the limited opportunity for entrepreneurship or economic advancement. Analysis of businesses identified as "colored" in the 1922 *Lincoln City Directory*, indicates twenty small business operations. The largest number, seven, were as barbershops, with three of these in the barber's place of residence. In addition, five restaurants, two tailors, a billiard room, boarding house, shoe-shine parlor, painter, dentist, and physician were listed. Business location provides added insight, as ten of those listed were within a two square block area—the "north 200" blocks of 9th and 10th streets.

Ten years later, Kerns identified the following small businesses: four restaurants, two barber shops, two transfer companies, one billiard parlor, one dance house, and one newspaper. Mihelich, citing Kerns, notes "they derived 'their principal support from the Negro population,' and their prosperity was 'largely due to the fact that Negroes were barred from such establishments operated by other groups'."[60] Oral histories suggest that while certain businesses were patronized primarily by African Americans, others, such as the Quality Lunch Counter owned by Trago McWilliams Sr. and The Glitter nightclub owned by Ray Shepard and Harold Jones, were frequented by the entire community.[61]

Though the oral history interviews conducted by the author in 1998 were limited in number, they provide insight as to places of employment for African Americans during the 1930s. Mentioned as employing males as laborers were Able Construction Company, Northwest Metal, and Cushman. One interviewee described available jobs as dirty, foundry work—work that other people wouldn't do, and "we had no choice." Employment frequently mentioned was with the railroads. These positions appear to have offered the most steady employment, but workers did experience discrimination and these jobs required individuals to be away from their families for three to six days at a time. Positions for women during the same time period included working as cooks for the fraternities and sororities at the University of Nebraska, and as maids in stores such as

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turnkey at the county jail from 1908-1910. Lincoln City Directories in 1902 and 1903 identify his occupation as "police." Directories from 1908 to 1910 do not reference responsibilities with the sherif or jail.

[60]Mihelich 1987, 68.

[61]Art McWilliams, interview by Fannie Thomas, 1982, transcript, Nebraska Black Oral History Project II, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebr. Also Bertha Calloway and Alonzo Smith, 93.

Kresges, J. C. Pennys, Gold's, and Miller & Paine. One interviewee stated "with a lot of the black people. . .they were continually searching for a better way of life, more money, better jobs, . . . more opportunities."[62]

A goal of the newly formed Lincoln Urban League in 1933 was to increase employment opportunities for African Americans. Several strategies pursued included establishment of a Workers' Council and an Emergency Advisory Council. Both Councils attempted to gain equality in employment for African Americans. The first focused on gaining admission to the segregated unions, and the second, on obtaining jobs throughout the private sector. Partially due to the lingering aftermath of the depression years, with few available job openings, little was accomplished by these councils.[63]

In 1935 almost fifty percent of Lincoln's African Americans were on relief. For many this came in the form of jobs created by the Works Projects Administration. This employment provided security of salary and a minimum wage of forty-two dollars a month—an income, which for women, was much higher than the three to five dollars per week they had been earning in domestic service. Though this form of employment was not in keeping with the National Urban League goal of integrated employment in the community, state Urban League administrators were supportive; understanding that there were no viable alternatives. This sentiment, that there were no other alternatives, along with an expression of embarrassment to have needed to accept public relief employment, was expressed during oral interviews. Mihelich concluded that while "white prejudice and economic hard times rendered the LUL virtually powerless to change basic black employment patterns, it was able to take advantage of New Deal programs and secure an economic lifeline for its clients."[64]

During 1939, with an improved U.S. economy due to war in Europe, the LUL placed 165 persons in full-time, permanent jobs. This included a small number in department stores.[65] Among local businesses, Gold's and Miller and Paine were leaders in providing jobs to African Americans during the 1930s and 1940s.[66]

Kerns' sociological study and the three oral history projects provide ample evidence that skilled jobs, with accompanying higher incomes, were rarely open to those of African ancestry during this historic context.

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

Racial segregation of housing became a reality in Lincoln during this era. In 1917, the Supreme Court had struck down the Louisville, Kentucky ordinance mandating segregated neighborhoods. In spite of this ruling, unofficial segregation was prevalent in many communities. In Lincoln, the first racial discrimination clause was written into covenants for the Sheridan

[62]Charlotte Jackson, interview by author, 16 October, 1998.

[63]Mihelich 1989, 308.

[64]Ibid., 309.

[65]Ibid., 308.

[66]Art McWilliams. Also Margaret McWilliams, interview by author 8 June, 1998.

Park subdivision in the southeast part of the city in 1916.[67] African Americans found themselves increasingly restricted to housing north of 'O' Street.

Residential location for many of Lincoln's established African American families at the beginning of this era was primarily south of 'O' Street, and in an area north of 'O' from 9th to 14th Streets. Residents of southwest Lincoln included: Rev. Oliver and Anna Burckhardt at 1236 Washington, Clyde and Izetta (Colley) Malone at 2409 S. 10th, James and Susan O'Donnel at 623 'C' Street, and Luther and Ida (Maston) Allen at 824 'B' Street. The parsonages of Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, and Newman United Methodist Church were also all located on church properties in the southwest quadrant of Lincoln. Residents south of 'O' Street, but further to the east included James Bush at 2000 'L' Street, Cicero and Maude Johnson at 645 S. 20th, and James and Hazel Wilson at 611 S. 20th. Other families who lived north of 'O' Street included Benjamin and Lottie Corneal at 524 N. 9th and John Jefferson and Sarah McWilliams at 813 N. 13th. This residential dispersion helped, as local attitudes changed, to prevent total segregation of housing from occurring.

New African American residents to the city in the early twenties found homes in the areas to the west and north of the University of Nebraska between 9th and 16th. This area included the streets of University Ave. and Lincoln Ave. running north to south, and Vine Street and Northside Ave. running east to west. As the University expanded in the late 1920s, African American residents had few alternatives but to move further east to find affordable housing. Many located in an area from 19th to 23rd from 'R' Street north to Vine. Much of this latter area was part of the Lincoln Driving Park Addition to the city, with numerous lots of twenty-five foot width and, even as late as 1928, unpaved streets.[68] Though lots were small, most housing was in the form of single family dwellings of one to one and one-half stories.

Art McWilliams, son of Rev. Trago T. McWilliams Sr., noted that when his family lived at 2015 'U' Street in the early 1920s, "we never had really a Negro neighborhood so . . . most everyone I played with was white or . . . Italian. We had a few Italians and some Syrians in this area . . . there were two or three Negro families and everything else was white."[69] The 1924 Lincoln City Directory indicates numerous African American families living in this area, though still not the majority of residents. The increased concentration of African Americans in the Lincoln Driving Park Addition occurred rapidly from the late 1920s through the next decade.

In addition to city directory entries, an indication of increased segregation of African American housing is found in the records of Newman Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1929, the Newman congregation made the decision to move from their location at 733 'J' Street to 23rd and 'S' Street. Church history relates "These stalwart men and women of God served looking only to do the will of God. They saw that the folk they wanted to serve did not live near their church, but across town, and if the people can not come to the church, the church must go to them."[70] The church members began construction of their new church in 1930.

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[67]Lancaster County Register of Deeds, "Sheridan Park Investment Company to C.S. Mahaffey," Book no. 213, Deed no. 249, 1919. Covenants included the racial clause, "For a period of fifty years from date no person of other than the Caucasian race, shall be or become the grantee or lessee of said property, or, except as a servant in the family living thereon, be granted the privilege of occupying the same."

[68]Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Atlas for Lincoln, Nebraska 1928*, 75.

[69]Art McWilliams, 3.

[70]Newman Methodist Church 1959.

By 1933, when Harvey Kerns evaluated African American living conditions in Lincoln, he noted residential dispersion stating "In no section of the city is there what may be described as a colored belt." But, he also noted that even though African Americans resided in eleven of the twelve political wards, sixty percent lived in just three wards, with almost thirty percent in ward three.[71] The boundaries of ward three were from 'O' Street north to Cornhusker Highway, between 14th and 22nd. Though Kerns referred to this area as the "ill-kept congested" ward three, he also stated "most of the houses are in fair condition"[72] (See Addendum C).

A significant factor influencing African American residential location in the 1930s was growth of Lincoln's central business district. Areas previously mentioned as residential clusters of African Americans between 9th and 14th Streets north of 'O' Street, and south of 'O' Street between 19th and 25th Streets, now became commercial locations. As homes were purchased for business expansion, these residents had little housing choice for relocation outside of ward three. African Americans residing further to the southwest of the central business district were not as likely to be displaced.

Thus, in the second historic context one sees in Lincoln the beginning of a segregated African American community, with limited financial resources, and an even more limited ability to influence local politics and business practices.

REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

Religious Institutions

The African American congregations founded during the first historic context, Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Newman Methodist Church, and Third Christian Church continued to be important community institutions during the second era. The continued, and possibly increased, importance of the church to the Lincoln African American community is reflected by the growth of these congregations and their decisions to build larger structures during the 1920s and 1930s. In addition this era saw the founding of Holiness, Seventh Day Adventist, and Pentecostal churches.

Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church

Quinn Chapel at 1026 'F' Street had a membership of 125 persons in 1914. During this year, the congregation negotiated to exchange their property for a site at 845 'C' Street (lot 1, block 222). The warranty deed of this transaction indicates that in addition to a one dollar payment, the congregation reserved the right to remove the church edifice and foundation to the new location.

This move was accomplished in 1915. Church history relates that the building was moved on logs, requiring three days due to difficulty encountered crossing the street-car rails on 10th Street[73] Photographs of the moved structure indicate the church was also remodeled at this time. Significant alterations included the addition of a square entrance tower on the north-east corner of the front facade, simplifying the roof line through elimination of gables, installation of pointed arched windows, and stuccoing of the building facade. The original church structure was still very evident in size, mass, placement of windows, and moderate pitch of the facade gable roof.

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[71]Mihelich 1987, 64,65.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church, "Souvenir Program: One Hundred Eighth Anniversary" 1979, 8.

Following this move, church membership continued to grow. In 1926, the 200 member congregation once again undertook a building campaign. Prominent local architect A.W. Woods, who specialized in church design and planned over 100 churches, was employed to design the remodel and enlargement of the church building. A.W. Woods' blueprints clearly identify the old structure and the proposed changes. Major alterations included increasing building size with a sixteen foot addition to the rear and enlarging the entrance tower. The entrance to the church was also relocated to the east facade of the tower and placed at ground level.

The influence of Quinn Chapel in its members' daily lives can be best related through a member's own words. Henry McWilliams recalled "some of the things I did on the job was because of what my religion [said] . . . its all I knew . . . the way I was brought up. See, I go to church on Sunday, I listen to the sermons . . . they are interrelated, you know. Turn the other cheek, walk the other mile."[74]

Mt. Zion Baptist Church

Mt. Zion Baptist Church at 1201 'F' Street had, in 1914, a membership of 100 persons and was meeting in the raised basement built in 1892. In 1922 the congregation commenced construction of a new sanctuary, rising above the old basement. Architect James Tyler Jr. of the firm Tyler and Brandt supplied the Mission Style design for the new structure, which was built by R.O. Stake.

During the construction period, the congregation continued to meet in the church basement. Church history indicates the "auditorium" was completed in 1924.[75] In January of 1926, the *Nebraska State Journal* included a photograph of the church in its pictorial of recently completed churches. This photograph documents the completed stuccoed Mission Revival style church. Church membership in 1920 numbered 82 persons; following completion of the larger church building, membership had grown to 150.[76]

The broad scope of church activities, as seen through the eyes of a teenager, are brought to life by member John Reed, Sr. Referring to Mt. Zion in 1938, he smiled and related "We had some things going, back in those days the church was just like kids going to rec center now, and the girls were there—we enjoyed going. We had kids choir, Sunday nights we had BTU (Baptist Training Union) . . .all end up out there in the evenings. Yeah, we had fun, but to a degree they [activities] were religious like the Baptist training, and we had choirs—youth choirs, stuff like that. Most everything we did was church related."[77]

Newman United Methodist Church

Newman Methodist Episcopal Church worshiped at their 'J' Street location through the first third of the twentieth century. In August of 1929, Newman M.E. Church exchanged the property at 733 'J' Street for property at 2263 'S' Street(lot 2 and east ½ lot 3, block 8) in Lincoln Driving Park Addition. Church history indicates this move was made to be closer to

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[74]Henry McWilliams, interview by author, 10 February, 1998. Mr. McWilliams attended his grandmother's church, Third Christian Church, as a young child. At age twelve, he began attending and became a member of Quinn Chapel.

[75]Mt. Zion Baptist Church 1973, 9.

[76]Lincoln City Directory Co. 1920. Also Polk and Co. 1925.

[77]John Reed, Sr., interview by author, 26 October, 1998.

members of the congregation living in this increasingly African American neighborhood north of 'O' Street.[78] The new property contained a dwelling at 2263 S St., which became the church parsonage.

Following the move, worship services were initially held in the Church of God in Christ. A house was later rented at 529 N. 23rd for use as a place of worship. In 1930 Newman M.E. Church purchased the lot adjoining their property to the east. It was on this lot that members of the congregation began construction of a new building in 1930 following plans for a tall, Gothic Revival style building by architect J. R. Smith. The congregation moved into the completed basement a short time later.

Early in 1936 the Newman congregation applied for a building permit to construct a frame and stucco church on the existing basement. Plans for a Mission Revival style building, more modestly scaled than the original Gothic plan, were also provided by J .R. Smith. By June of 1936, members of the congregation had completed a wooden edifice and services celebrating the dedication of the new building were held. The facade was stuccoed a short time later.

Long-time church member Charlotte Jackson provides insight into the active role Newman Church played within the increasingly segregated neighborhood north of 'O' Street. "On Wednesday we had what was called "Literary" and that was usually plays, debates, discussions—just coming together as a group of young people, there were a few parents. . . primarily a place for the young people to feel they could come together and, ah, be together. I remember there was a gentleman by the name of Nimrod Ross. . . . He was the one that got the literary group going, and because Newman was the center. . . they drew young people, and a lot of things were held there because people did not have money or cars to travel to Mt. Zion or Quinn Chapel.[79] During this era Lebanon Lodge # 3 of the Prince Hall Masons also regularly met at Newman [80]

Christ Temple Mission

The church now known as Christ Temple Mission, grew out of a congregation which originated in the 1890s. In 1914, Third Christian Church was meeting at 124 N. 23rd Street. At this time Rev. Wm Vanderzee continued as pastor of the interracial, independent church. In 1922 Trago T. McWilliams Sr., son of church founders Rev. John Jefferson and Sarah J. McWilliams, became an ordained minister in the Third Christian Church.

Rev. Trago McWilliams' records provide insight into the financial struggles experienced by the small congregation. In 1926, a paving assessment of $1,600 necessitated the church selling one-half of its property to Cornhusker Lodge #579 to raise funds. This sale was followed three years later with an exchange of property between the church and George Holmes, with the church reserving the right to move the church building to the new location at 2145 'U' Street. This move was not without difficulty as the new location was in a restricted "fire zone." Rev. McWilliams appeared before the City Council requesting permission to move the church. The Council granted his request and the move proceeded.[81]

Church history indicates that following the move the church was without an official pastor for a period of time. Sarah J. McWilliams ". . . maintained and conducted regular services. Through her management, the church remained active and open to a variety of denominational services and meetings."[82] In 1939, Trago O. McWilliams Jr., was ordained, and in 1940 actively began his ministry rebuilding a nondenominational, interracial congregation. This congregation chose the name Christ Temple

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[78]Newman 1936, 6. Also Newman 1959, 2.

[79]Charlotte Jackson, 1998.

[80] John Reed, 1998.

[81]"Christ Temple Mission" n.d., courtesy of Rev. Kendall McWilliams.

[82]Leola Bullock, "Christ Temple Mission Church: History and Legacy," *NAACP Networking News* 3, no.1 (1995).

Mission as an indication that all were welcome.[83] The frame church at 2145 'U", church of Rev. Trago McWilliams Jr.'s grandparents and father, was remodeled and became the church's official place of worship in 1942.

The history of Lincoln's four oldest African American congregations illustrates the loyalty, hard work and faith of these congregations. For each congregation, buildings were moved and reworked in an attempt to meet the needs of a growing membership. Testament to the significance of these religious institutions is their continued viability today.

Other Organizations

As segregation of facilities became more and more of a reality during this era, one notes an increase in the number of fraternal societies and clubs. In addition to the fraternal organizations were the Waiters Club, Railroad Men's Club, Keystone Club, and a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Most important to the total African American community was the formation of the Lincoln Urban League (LUL) in 1933 with its broad spectrum of programs. The LUL was particularly active in providing recreational activities for youth, who were prohibited from freely using public facilities, such as the municipal swimming pools.

Fraternal Organizations and Social Clubs
Throughout the era fraternal organizations played a significant role in the lives of many Lincoln African Americans. In 1916, five African American masonic organizations were active and met in the African American Masonic Lodge Hall at 145 S. 11th Street. These included Lebanon Lodge No. 3, Hiram Chapter No. 59, Ricketts Commandery No. 14, Amaranth Chapter No. 54 of the Order of Eastern Star, and Magnolia Court No. 10. Members associated with these organizations are also noted as active in the black churches. They include: Lebanon Lodge - John Galbraith, J. L. Wright, and W. W. Mosely; Hiram Chapter - Abraham Corneal, William Woods, and William Rosier; Amaranth Chapter - Maude Johnson, Olin Hemphill, and Lulu Moore.

The relationship between the white Masons and their African-American counterparts was demonstrated by the use of the white Masonic Temple by the black lodges for important functions. This implied, according to Dennis Mihelich, "the tacit acceptance of Prince Hall Masonry by white Masons, at least in Lincoln, despite the official position branding it illegitimate."[84]

Increased racism in the state later spurred the Nebraska Prince Hall Masons to active involvement in civil rights issues. In May 1918, a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was formed in Lincoln. Leadership on the organizing committee came from Prince Hall Masons, with four members of Lincoln's Lebanon Lodge #3 serving as officers. These individuals were Clyde Malone, Harry M. Hill, Trago T. McWilliams Sr., and Rev. Isaac B. Smith.[85]

An interest and involvement in community issues, "from ritual to service," among Prince Hall Masons and affiliated chapters of the Order of the Eastern Star, was a lasting legacy from the World War I years.[86] Oral history interviews with former Grand

[83]Margaret McWilliams, 1998.

[84]Dennis Mihelich, "World War I, the Great Migration, and the Formation of The Grand Bodies of Prince Hall Masonry," *Nebraska History* 78, no.1 (1997); 32.

[85]Ibid., 30.

[86]Ibid., 38.

Masters of Lebanon Lodge #3, Prince Hall Nebraska Jurisdiction, conveyed the importance of community service, and also highlighted the importance of the organization in promoting morality, charity and integrity among its membership.[87]

In addition to the fraternal societies, three clubs, the Waiters Club, the Railroad Men's Club, and Keystone Club are also noted during this era. The significance of these organizations has not been researched at this time.

Lincoln Urban League
In 1932, local meetings were held to discuss the organization of an Urban League affiliate. Harvey Kerns, Executive Director of the Omaha Urban League, received a contract to survey prevailing conditions in the Lincoln African American community. Locally, Rev. Trago McWilliams Sr. vigorously supported efforts of the provisional committee through his role as editor of the black newspaper, *The Weekly Review.*[88]

Dr. Mihelich in the article "The Formation of the Lincoln Urban League," points out that prior to the proposed League's membership petition to the Council of Social Agencies, "eight black pastors, twenty-four black civic, social and fraternal societies, and many black businessmen endorsed the idea of a League."[89] On March 25, 1933 the Lincoln Urban League (LUL) was officially formed with Millard T. Woods as executive secretary. The first LUL location was in a rented house near 20th and 'O' Street, close to the increasingly segregated neighborhood it proposed to serve. Subsequent locations included a house in the heart of the neighborhood at 2001 'U' Street, and following 1940, a newly constructed building at 1030 'T' Street. Not any of these buildings currently exist.

The philosophy of the National Urban League was a standard program which included "social research in the black community, promotion of equal opportunity in employment and housing, coordination of the activities of welfare agencies for the benefit of blacks, advancement of health and educational standards, and provision for recreation and aid for travelers."[90] The LUL program deviated significantly from this framework operating on more of a community center model and providing direct individual and group services. The LUL began in the midst of the Great Depression and thus the economic difficulties of its constituents and the abundance of federal direct relief spending through New Deal agencies, combined to establish a LUL that emphasized group work.

Mihelich records that at the height of funding in 1936, LUL programs included a ten piece orchestra, home advisor, and federal sewing project providing jobs to over twenty women. League headquarters also housed Lincoln Public Schools adult education classes.[91] In 1937 the LUL received a bronze plaque from the U.S. Health Service for its National Negro Health week program, was successful in promoting the construction of the George Washington Carver Nursing Home, and became a site for the Junior League sponsored well-baby clinic. Service programs to the community were welcomed, and sorely needed.

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[87]Henry Mc Williams, interview by author, 15 October, 1998; also John Reed, interview by author, 26 October, 1998; Wright Robinson, interview by author, 14 July, 1998.

[88]Mihelich 1987, 71.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Ibid., 69.

[91]Mihelich 1989, 305.

The LUL was less successful in their accomplishments in the area of employment. This was substantially the result of prejudice and existing economic hard times. An industrial relations secretary, who also coordinated recreation activities, was employed. He had limited success in placing individuals in full-time permanent jobs. Again quoting Mihelich, "In industrial relations . . . federal funding provided the LUL with money to conduct programs which softened the impact of current conditions, but the goal of racial equality remained unattainable."[92]

Social

Evidence of integrated and segregated facilities were found in Lincoln during the first context era. By 1933, Kerns found that state civil rights laws were "openly and regularly circumvented." Examples included segregated seating in theaters, refusal of service by restaurants, and limited (one day per week) use of the municipal swimming pool. Even the YMCA and YWCA changed their policies, segregating clientele to specific "use times."[93]

African American churches did sponsor youth choirs, fellowship groups, and literary societies. But as noted by Kerns, many families, especially in the third ward, remained untouched by any social or religious program. Thus, It became a natural priority that the LUL sponsored many recreational and social activities during this time. These included picnics, family dinners, art and craft sessions, and numerous clubs for different age groups. The League was able to make arrangements for African American boys and girls to attend YWCA and YMCA camps, and LUL sponsored teams competed in city-run conferences.[94]

CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND ERA

The Lincoln African American population at the beginning of the second era was at an all time low of 733 persons. Factors attracting southern African Americans to migrate to northern cities during World War I were not present in Lincoln. Thus, the African American population remained a small percentage of Lincoln's total population through-out this era. The increase an overt racist attitude toward this minority population, as seen in northern industrial cities, was though reflected in Lincoln. These attitudes, combined with the effects of the nationwide depression of the late 1920s and 1930s, limited opportunities even further.

The lack of economic and social opportunity is reflected by the built environment. As in the first era, small businesses were begun by African Americans. Due to location and the building's size and quality of materials, extant representations of these businesses are no longer evident having been replaced by parking lots and newer structures.

Growing church membership, but limited financial resources, caused the historical church congregations to embark on building remodeling and construction programs. These projects were successfully completed—though often after a period of several years and necessitating construction work by congregation members. Today the important church buildings of Quinn Chapel and Mt. Zion Baptist reflect the African American populations dedication to their religious institutions.

Dwellings during this historic period are similar in form and material to those of the first era. African American homes reflected the homes of the majority population of similar economic means. Dwellings were modest wood frame structures of

[92]Ibid., 309.

[93]Mihelich 1987, 66,67.

[94]Mihelich 1989, 306.

one to two stories, often displaying porches and/or rear additions. The dominant architectural style was the Prairie Box. What becomes increasingly evident during this historic context is first the formation of residential clusters in several locations throughout the city and second, beginning in the late 1920s, the segregation of housing to an area north of 'O' Street and east of the downtown business district. This latter area has since been demolished to allow for construction of a radial highway—a project which was not built. Dwellings representative of significant African Americans or the African American experience during the second historic context are a rare historical resource in Lincoln.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

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

Location is almost always an essential aspect of integrity and that is no less the case in relation to African American historic resources in Lincoln. At least one historic church, Quinn Chapel, was moved during the period of significance, but its "new" location (as of 1915) is also historic. Integrity of historic location is regarded a necessary characteristic for eligibility among these resources.

Design consists of those elements–such as form, plan, style, proportion–selected by conscious decisions, which combine to give a property its essential appearance. Design is present in humble structures as well as grand edifices, and is an important aspect of integrity of these rare properties in Lincoln. Eligible properties are expected to retain basic form, roof, patterns of fenestration, and major features such as porches. Few decorative elements appear to have been present originally on most of these structures. Several were modified through small additions or re-siding during the period of significance and these modifications are regarded as part of the significant design.

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

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

Workmanship—the physical evidence of the craftwork of a culture or group—is not an important aspect of integrity for this group of resources. It may have been a significant feature of the old Newman Methodist Episcopal Church, which was constructed by its congregation, but that church is no longer extant. None of the surviving resources are known to display specifically African American craftwork, so this aspect appears not to be applicable.

Feeling relates to the ability of the physical features of a property, viewed as a whole, to convey a historic sense of the property. This aspect is quite significant in evaluating Lincoln's historic African American resources. This aspect might

be paraphrased as answering the question–Would the historic resident of a house or member of a church congregation readily recognize the property in its present condition? For eligible properties, the answer should be a definite "yes."

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

PROPERTY TYPE: RESOURCES RELATED TO RELIGION

In order to qualify for listing, the resource related to religion must be associated with the Lincoln African American community's practice of their religious faith between the years of 1870 and 1941. The property must be an intact example of one of the two identified subtypes: religious facility or church-related residence.

SUBTYPE: RELIGIOUS FACILITY

Properties used as places of worship are eligible under Criterion A in the area of resources related to religion if they served as an African American congregation's primary place of worship during one of the two historic context eras. These properties will be primarily traditional church structures, but may include a property constructed as a dwelling. The historic location, overall design, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Historic contexts document the long "working over" of buildings due to congregation's limited financial resources. Thus, historical precedent establishes this trend and pattern and properties should be considered eligible even if the evolutionary process has changed relatively minor design characteristics, such as original doors. Properties should also be considered eligible if historic setting has been altered due to city growth. The settings of religious facilities, historically residential in close proximity to the downtown business area, have become more commercial in nature due to downtown expansion.

SUBTYPE: CHURCH-RELATED RESIDENCE

Properties used as dwellings are eligible under Criterion A if the resource was the home of an African American church pastor or church conference missionary. Church ownership of the property does not need to have been present in order for a property to qualify. During both historic eras these properties were traditional small domestic structures of one to two stories, primarily wood frame with little or no decorative element. Integrity characteristics of historic location, general design, feeling, and association must be intact. Properties may be considered eligible if minor design features have been altered as long as the property displays the basic form and major features of the historical design. In addition, a property should be considered eligible if materials have been altered due to evolutionary changes. As is documented in the historic contexts, Lincoln African American residents worked in occupations providing limited incomes. Thus, humble modifications to existing dwellings were frequently necessary to accommodate changing family needs. These included minor additions to the rear of a structure, enclosure of porches, and replacement of siding materials. Historical practice establishes a precedent for alteration of building design and materials. Properties should also be considered eligible if historic setting has evolved from residential to residential/commercial due to city growth.

PROPERTY TYPE: DWELLINGS

In order to qualify for listing, dwellings must be associated with significant members of the Lincoln African American community between the years of 1870 and 1941. Properties need not to have been owned by an African American to qualify. These properties are traditional structures of one to two stories, built primarily of wood frame with little or no decoration. The traditional forms usually included porches. The same integrity considerations apply to the property type "dwellings" as apply to the more specific subtype "church-related residences."

Properties are considered to be eligible as dwellings under Criterion A if the resource has an association with an African American individual whose life reflects a broad pattern of the Lincoln African American experience as identified in either one or both of the historic context periods.

Properties are considered to be eligible as dwellings under Criterion B if the resource has an association to an individual who provided leadership within the African American community, or was associated with a member of that community who excelled in some arena. Properties associated with Lincoln citizens of other races who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for the African American community would also be considered potentially eligible.

Properties considered to be eligible as dwellings under Criterion D will most likely be an archeological site of a documented dwelling from the first historic context period. The resource must have the ability to yield further information on domestic life during the context era.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The geographical area encompasses the 1942 corporate limits of the City of Lincoln, Lancaster County, Nebraska. (See Addendum D)

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The multiple property listing of African American Historic and Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska is based on research conducted under the direction of the Historic Preservation Office, Lincoln-Lancaster County Planning Department, between August 1997 and January 1999.

Identification of properties of cultural significance has grown out of a recognized need for identification and inclusion of these important local resources in the National Register. Little information was available regarding African American history in Lincoln. Existing survey records provided fragments of information. Past survey efforts, funded by the Nebraska State Historical Society in 1978 and the City Historic Preservation Office in 1981, resulted in the entry of over ten thousand sites within the City of Lincoln into the Nebraska Historic Building Survey. Emphasis of these survey efforts was given to age and style features. Buildings with African American association were included in these surveys, but significance was frequently not noted. For example Mt. Zion Baptist Church (LC13:C7-9) was noted as "a Spanish Colonial Revival design" with no mention to significance as the oldest African American Baptist Church in Lincoln.[1] Thus, it was necessary to research numerous sources to identify the significance of an individual property— which resembled others of a historic era.

A case study research strategy, incorporating field work and mixed-method data collection techniques, was utilized to identify the historic contexts and representative property types. Field work included informational interviews with community leaders, oral history interviews with members of the four historical African American churches, and direct observation of representative institutions and dwellings. Research data was obtained from both public and private documents. In addition, the development of a separate data base of early Lincoln African American residents was essential in identifying migratory patterns, occupations, residential locations, and church and secular institutional affiliations. Research was limited to the geographical area encompassed by City of Lincoln corporate limits as of 1942, which is within one year of the end of the second historic contexts era. Corporate limits are clearly delineated on the Lincoln-Lancaster County Planning Department map, *Annexations 1870 to 1958: City of Lincoln, Nebraska.*

The properties are grouped under two historic contexts that illustrate the major themes of African American experience in Lincoln, Nebraska during the era between first settlement by African Americans in Lincoln and World War II. To facilitate an understanding of the local experience, data regarding the Lincoln African American population was interposed into the Library of Congress "Time Line of African American History 1852-1925." The resulting comparative chronology illustrated relationships of federal legislation, migration by African Americans from southern states, achievements by nationally prominent African Americans, and specific events in the civil rights movement to African American history in Lincoln, Nebraska.

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[1]Ted Ertl, *Historic and Architectural Site Survey of Lincoln, Nebraska* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 126.

Five inter-related themes emerged from this chronology. These themes are: (1) fluctuation in censuses of the population, (2) patterns of migration and nativity, (3) occupational opportunities, (4) residential locations, and (5) representative institutions, both religious and secular. Through the development of these themes in relation to National events, the two distinct historic contexts, "Early Settlement including the First Exodus, 1870 - 1913" and "Institution Building in an Era of Segregation, 1914 - 1941," became apparent.

Significant property types were identified as research conducted to establish historic contexts, also identified extant buildings associated with the Lincoln African American community. These properties included churches, parsonages, and dwellings. Other community institutions traditionally associated with a culture, such as fraternal lodges, social clubs, and businesses were of limited number during the historical period, and no extant representative structures have been identified at this time. The resulting property types, included in this multiple property listing, are based on function and are designated as, "resources associated with religion" and "dwellings."

Two approaches were pursued to locate buildings representative of the property types. First, extant properties associated with historical African American religious congregations or associated with African American community leaders were identified. And second, residential property clusters were identified in an effort to expand the number of properties evaluated.

The four Lincoln Nineteenth Century African American churches (Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal, Mt. Zion Baptist, Newman United Methodist, and Third Christian Church, predecessor to Christ Temple Mission) represent the significant congregations during both historical eras. Thus, the data base for "resources associated with religion," including sub-types, "religious facilities" and "church related residences," consists of all known properties associated with these congregations. Movement of religious facility location and structural changes were documented utilizing deeds, mortgage and mechanic's lien records, newspaper articles, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, bird's-eye view maps, city directories, and from information and materials shared during oral interviews with church members.

For the first historical context period these properties dated from 1889 to 1913. Ten religious facilities were documented, including a house, a tenement, and a raised basement. For the second context period, five properties dating from 1914 to 1936 were representative. These included two existing structures with first context origins. Characteristics of the property type: resources associated with religion, subtype: religious facilities are summarized in Addendum E.

"Church related residence" is a subtype containing both church-owned and pastor-owned dwellings. During the first historic context period, pastors of all four churches were also employed outside of the church. This remained true in the second context period with the exception of Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, whose pastors appear to have been employed only in that capacity. The associated significance of a nominated residence would determine if that property were designated under the property type "resources associated with religion" or the property type "dwellings." Because identified properties were few in number, one extant and five non-extant, and their use as residences, these properties were combined with the property type "dwellings" for evaluation.

Development of adequate documentation for the property type "dwellings" was a greater challenge due to absence of extant buildings. Again, research began with the four nineteenth-century churches. This strategy was pursued because information gathered in developing the historic contexts documented that churches were historically institutions with significance to a large number of African Americans. Thus, it was surmised that development of a data base of church

members might aid in identifying early African American community leaders whose homes would be potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register, while also identifying additional dwellings for purposes of comparison. Initial conversations with church members indicated that early membership records did not exist. Data resources subsequently identified included church legal documents, Lincoln city directories, and city newspapers. Also of value were names and addresses mentioned during oral interviews conducted in 1938 by the Federal Writers Project, and in 1998 by the author.

As the data base of historical Lincoln African American residents developed, dwellings associated with individuals could be identified through city directory listings. Evaluation of these addresses yielded few extant properties as city growth has eliminated evidence of past neighborhoods. This occurred both gradually, as the downtown business area and the University of Nebraska campus changed and expanded, and abruptly, as the result of the city's failed Northeast Radial road building project in the 1970s. Examples of this evolutionary change in three neighborhoods are included as Addendums F, G, and H.

A second research strategy thereby evolved, a direct opposite to the first approach. Rather than beginning with the name of an individual and pursuing an address, address clusters were identified to enable evaluation of a larger number of properties within a geographical area. Emphasis at this point shifted from significance of the person to physical characteristics of representative dwellings. Implementation of this strategy relied on information from maps created using the Geographic Information System (GIS) ArcView software. African American dwelling locations, at the three points in time, were plotted on a City of Lincoln base map. The dates 1881, 1910, and 1930 were chosen, based on available source material. Population concentrations visible on these maps provided additional areas to evaluate for representative dwelling units (See Addendums A, B and C; also previously noted within Section E: Historic Context).

Though only a limited number of extant properties were identified for evaluation, the delineation of residential clusters around the city provided important information for writing property type descriptions because key blocks or intersections were identified. Descriptions of representative non-extant buildings were written utilizing data from building permits, records of mechanics' liens, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, architectural drawings, and photographs. Sanborn maps were particularly useful in documenting basic housing characteristics and to detail surrounding land uses. This data, combined with architectural surveys of extant properties (which included form, setting, general structural characteristics, specific architectural features, decorative elements, alterations to property, and condition or deterioration of the building) created a data base from which shared physical characteristics could be described.

Dwellings chosen for analysis included, first, all extant structures and then non-extant properties from each previously identified population cluster as necessary to assure representation of all historical residential areas. Properties from this later group were selected to include: 1) homes of significant individuals, 2) childhood homes of individuals who have been longtime Lincoln residents, and 3) properties which city directories indicated had been occupied by African Americans for an extended period of time. Care was taken to limit non-extant properties to prevent overshadowing of extant buildings. This final data base contained thirty-seven properties. The first context era is represented by sixteen, of which eight are extant. The second era is represented by twenty-one, of which seven are extant. The large number of non-extant properties in the second historic context era is reflective of demolition as the University of Nebraska campus and City of Lincoln commercial areas expanded to the north, east, and southeast. Characteristics of the property type: dwellings, and resources associated with religion, subtype: church related residence are summarized in Addendum I.

The preceding paragraphs have outlined in detail the scarcity of extant African American historical religious facilities, pastor related residences, and dwellings in Lincoln, Nebraska. Thus, existing structures are considered to be rare surviving examples of each property type. This fact was taken into consideration in the writing of integrity standards necessary for a property to quality for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as part of this Multiple Property Listing.

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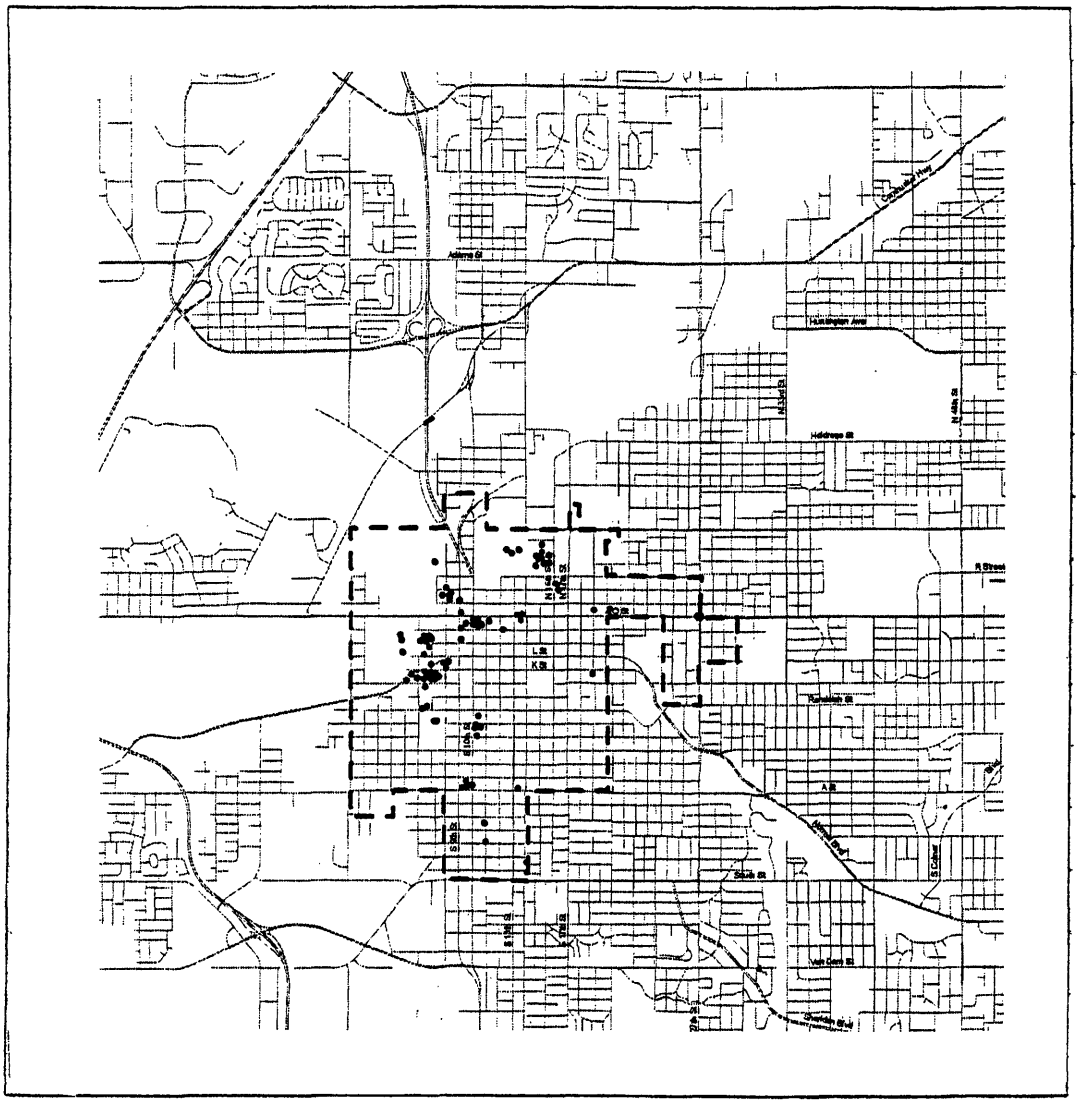
Residential Locations of African Americans in Lincoln in 1881



• **Residential Location as Identified in 1881 City Directory**

1881 City Limits

1 0 1 2 **Miles**

N
W E
S

Source: Sam Glen, *Directory of the City of Lincoln for 1881-1882.* (Lincoln, Nebr.:Globe Steam Printing, 1881).

United States Department of the Interior
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African American Historic And Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska
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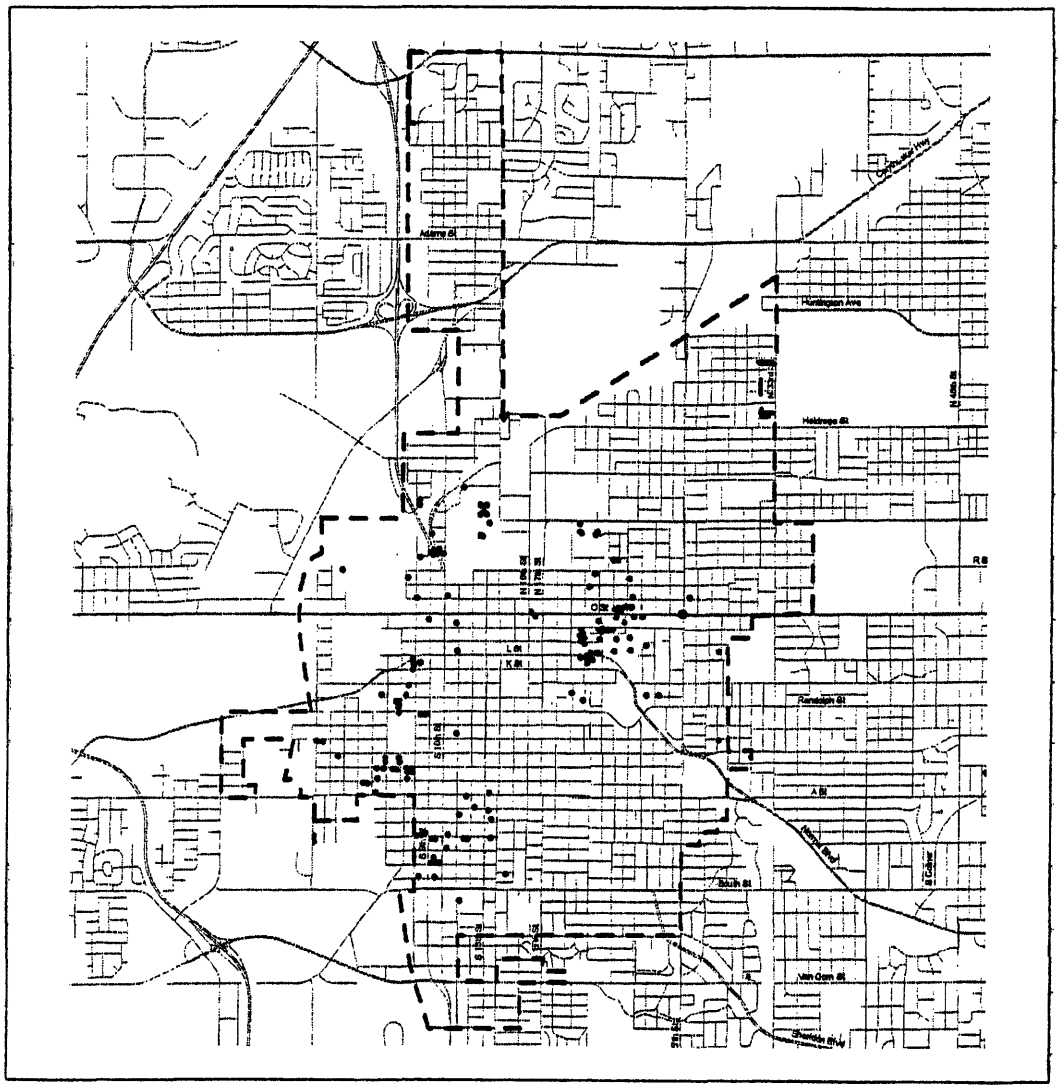
Section Addendum B

Residential Locations of African Americans in Lincoln in 1910



Source: Jacob North & Co., *Lincoln, Nebraska Directory.* (Lincoln, Nebr.: J. North, 1910).

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African American Historic And Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska
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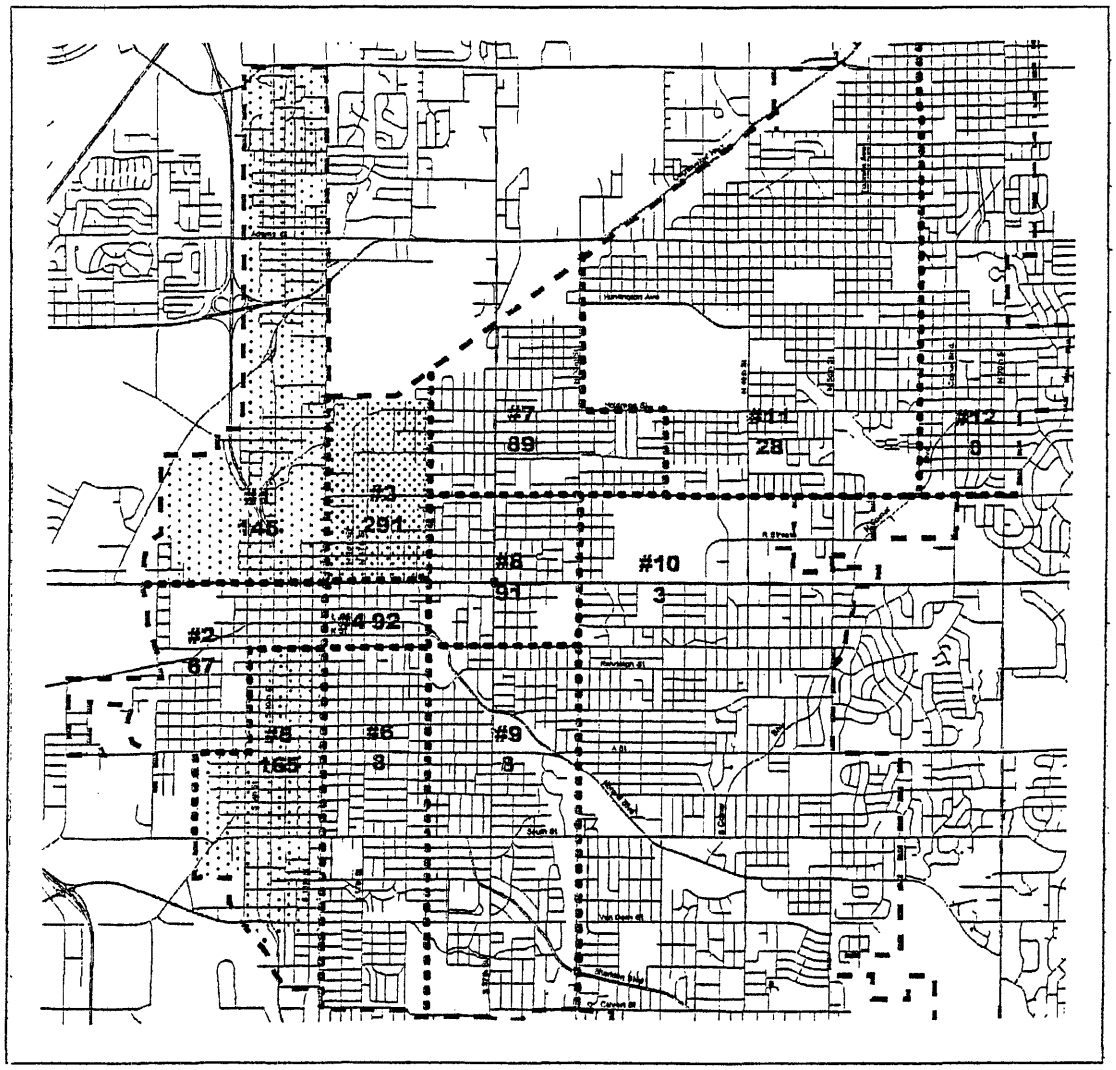
Section Addendum C

Residential Locations of African Americans in Lincoln in 1930



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the U.S.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932).

United States Department of the Interior
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African American Historic And Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska
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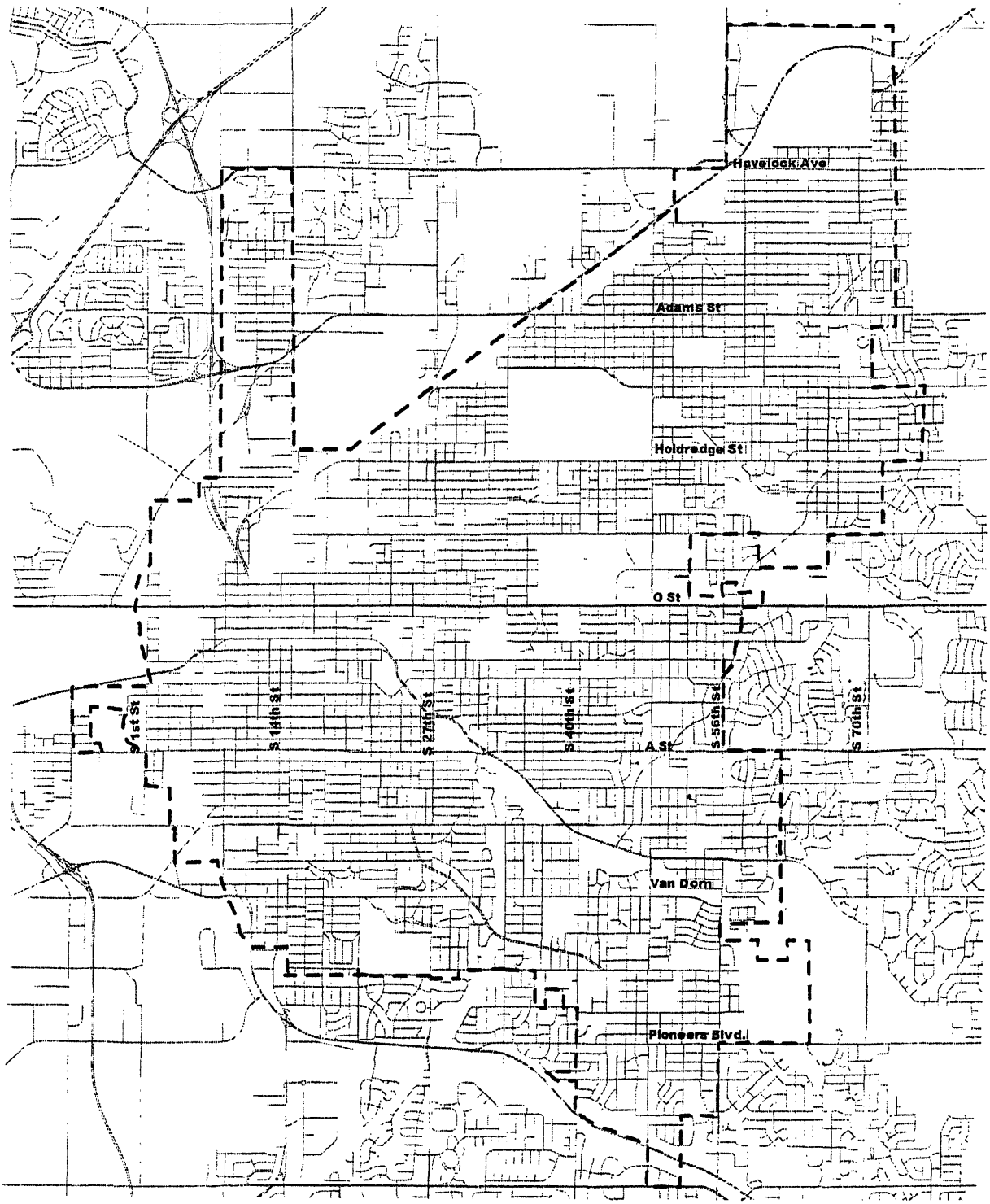
Section Addendum D

1942 Corporate City Limits of Lincoln, Nebraska



Characteristics of Property Type: Resources Associated with Religion
Subtype: Religious Facility

Characteristic	First Context:1870 - 1913	Second Context:1914 - 1941
Type	Traditional church structures, domestic dwelling and roofed basement also noted	Traditional church structures
Architectural Style	Traditional chapel with simplified period revival details	Mission Revival Gothic Revival
No. of Stories	One	One
Form	Rectangular, also noted rectangular with vestibule entry	Rectangular Rectangular with tower
Roof Type	Facade gable	Facade gable
Roof Material	Wood	Historically wood shingle (now composition shingle)
Structural System	Unknown	Wood frame Hollow tile
Facade	Clapboard	Stuccoed
Foundation	Limestone (majority unknown)	Limestone Rusticated concrete block
Specific Features	Tower vestibule entrance Entrance center bay Evenly spaced windows	Tower vestibule entrance or projecting vestibule bay Entrance outer or center bay Evenly spaced windows
Decorative Elements	Round window in facade gable Plain glass transom over entry Arched windows	Round window in facade gable Arched stained glass in entrance transom and sanctuary windows Stepped or crenelated parapet Eave brackets or exposed eaves String courses and raised panels
Alterations	Two facilities were modified to incorporate into existing churches	New windows and doors Removal of facade decorative elements Wrought iron banister
Building Condition	Non-extant	Fair to good
Historic Setting	Residential	Residential

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African American Historic And Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska
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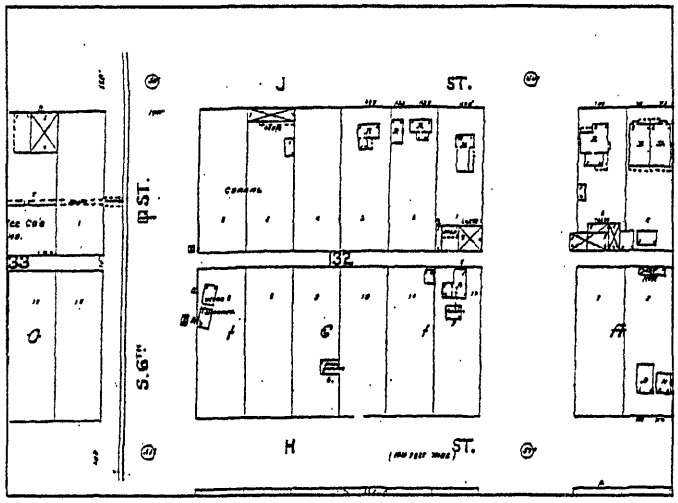
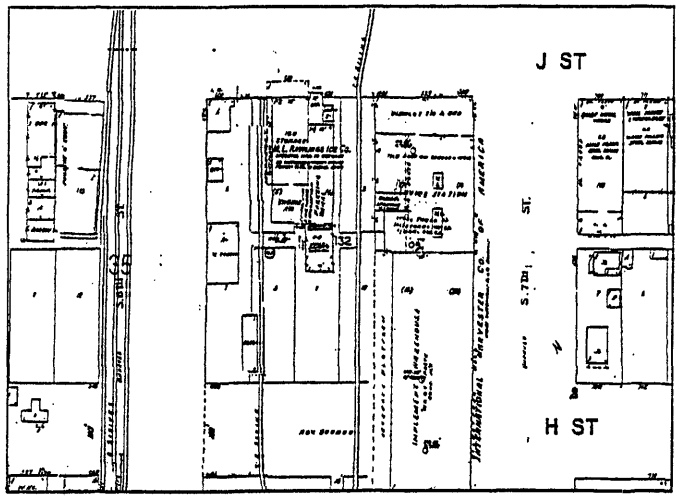
Section Addendum F

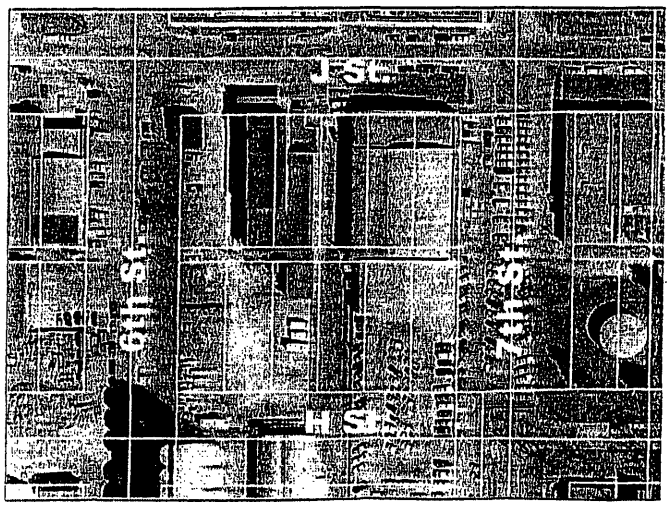
Evolution of Area from 6th to 7th, 'H' to 'J' Streets from Early Settlement to 1997 Commercial



African Americans as listed in 1881 Directory:
Andrew Nettles - ss J between 5th & 6th
B. Adams - ss J between 5th & 6th
Andrew Alexander - sw corner 6th & J
George Curtis - ws 6th between H & J
Charles Curtis - ws 6th between H & J
M. Spriggins - ss J between 6th & 7th
Sam Bryant - ss J between 6th & 7th
J. Bryant - ws 7th between H & J
Caroline Bryant - w s 7th between H & J
Frank Malone - ws 7th between H & J
Andrew Williams - ws 7th between H & J
Maria Johnson - es 7th between H & J
Dick Mitchell - 7th & H
G. Miles - ne corner 7th & H
(base map: 1891 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map)



Evolution of use in area of 6th to 7th, from 'H' to 'J' Streets as indicated on 1928 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map.



1997 Aerial Photograph of 6th to 7th, 'H' to 'J' Street Area.

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African American Historic And Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska
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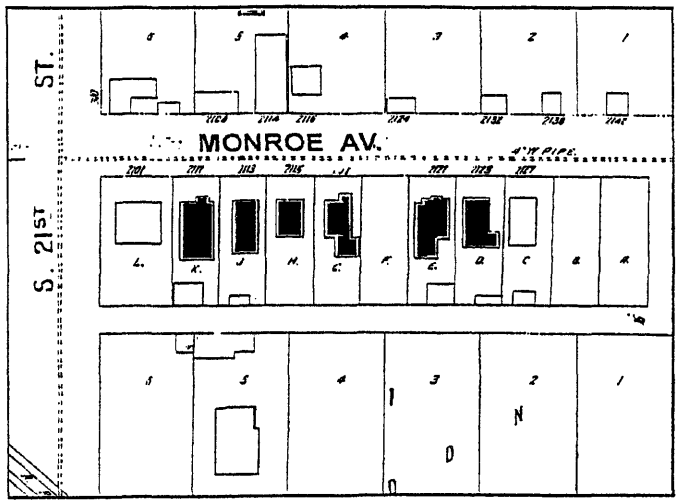
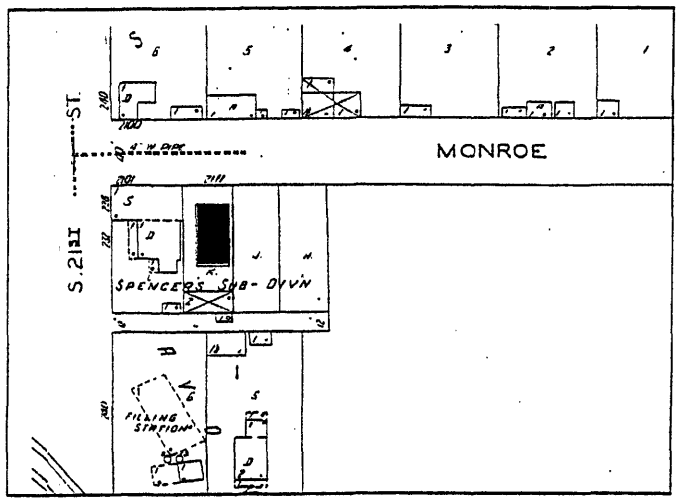
Section Addendum G

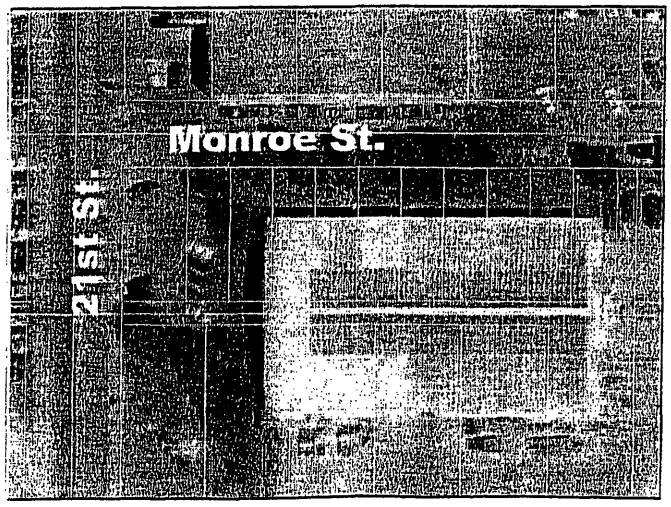
Evolution of 21st Street and Monroe Avenue from Residential to Commercial, 1910 to 1997



Location of African American homes indicated by shading) on Monroe Avenue in 1910. (base map: 1903 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map)



Change in land use along Monroe Avenue as indicated on 1928 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. African American's home indicated by shading.



1997 Aerial Photograph of Monroe Avenue Area.

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African American Historic And Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska
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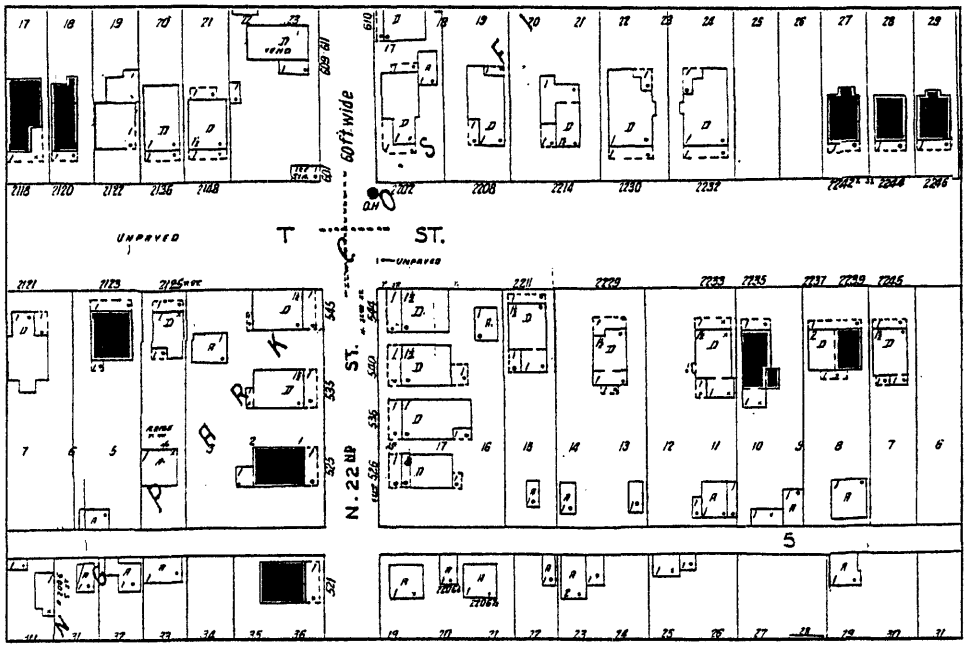
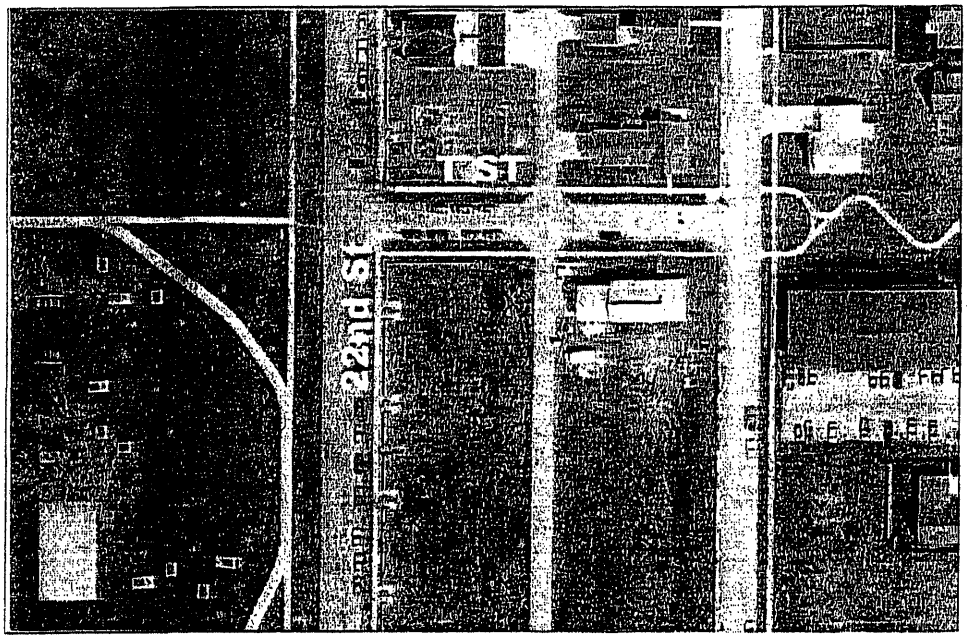
Section Addendum H

Evolution of 22nd and 'T' Street from Residential to Public Park and Newer Housing, 1924 to 1997



Location of African American homes (indicated by shading) in area of 22nd and 'T' Streets in 1924. (base map: 1928 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map)



1997 Aerial Photograph of 22nd and 'T' Street Area.

Characteristics of Property Type: Dwellings and Resources Associated with Religion Subtype: Church Related Residence

Characteristic	First Context: 1870 - 1913	Second Context: 1914 - 1941
Type	Single family dwelling	Single family dwelling
Architectural Style	Cottage with Italianate or Neo-Classical influence	Prairie Box Type
No. of Stories	1 or 1 ½	1 ½ or 2 (extant) 1 or 1 ½ (non-extant)
Form	Rectangular	Rectangular
Roof Type (extant)	Front gable or truncated hipped	Front gable or truncated hipped
Dormers	Rarely seen	Majority have
Roof Material	Historically wood shingle (now composition shingle)	Composition shingle
Structural System	Wood frame	Wood frame
Facade	Historically clapboard (now synthetic siding)	Historically clapboard (now synthetic siding)
Foundation	Rusticated concrete block	Concrete block
Specific Features	All: front and/or rear porches, majority encompassed full house width Common: attached shed	Majority: full width front porches Common: rear porch and/or attached shed
Decorative Elements	Infrequent Noted were full Neo-Classical porch columns	Infrequent Noted were Neo-Classical or square porch columns, also block pier with half column
Alterations	Synthetic siding New windows Additions to rear elevation	Synthetic siding New windows
Building Condition	Good	Fair to good
Historic Setting	Residential, also significant number in commercial/residential	Residential
Lot Size	Historical (non-extant) on 25' Extant structures on 50'	Equal number of 25' and 37' -50' Extant structures on 50'