

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

**National Register Approved  
May 30, 2012**

## National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 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

New Submission  Amended Submission

### A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

African American Resources in Manhattan, Kansas

### B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

- I. "On to Canaan" – Manhattan's Early African American Community: 1865-1903
- II. "We were all like family." – African Americans in Manhattan's South Side Neighborhood: 1903-1954
- III. "Maybe someday . . ." – Change comes slowly to Manhattan: 1954-1972

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### 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 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.  
 (\_\_\_\_ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

SEE FILE	
Signature and title of certifying official	Date
Kansas State Historic Preservation Office	
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government	

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.

Signature of the Keeper		Date of Action

African American Resources in Manhattan, Kansas  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Kansas  
State

## Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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<input type="checkbox"/> Other State Agency	
<input type="checkbox"/> Federal Agency	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Local Government	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> University	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other	
Name of repository:	
<u>Manhattan Public Library; University Archives at Kansas State University;</u>	
<u>Riley County Museum; Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas</u>	

## Additional Documentation

Appendix A – Map of Manhattan's African American Neighborhood, circa 1930

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Appendix C – List of Potentially Eligible Properties

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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## **STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS**

The multiple property listing *African American Resources in Manhattan, Kansas* is organized around the historic resources that are associated with African Americans in Manhattan, Kansas. This multiple property submission provides a context for understanding the conditions that encouraged, hindered, or were associated with African Americans in Manhattan, as well as a basis for evaluating those physical resources that resulted from these activities and associations. It covers extant resources dating from 1865 through 1972 that are located within the current incorporated city limits of Manhattan, and is based in part on previous field surveys. Some of the historic contexts listed below may not be fully explored, either because too few resources remain, or the associated resources have yet to be surveyed. The historic contexts prepared for this Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) cover three major historic themes of African American history in Manhattan. “*On to Canaan*” – *Manhattan’s Early African American Community: 1865-1903* covers the period from the earliest recorded African American residents in Manhattan, through the influx of Exodusters from the South and on into the twentieth century. At this point, the African American population peaked as a percentage of the total population of Manhattan, and the community enjoyed some political power as shown by representation on the city council and school board. Although life was far from the “promised land” that many of these emigrants had envisioned, their children were able to attend the same schools as the white residents of Manhattan. In 1903, however, discussions about school segregation were renewed, and this time the school board decided to build a separate elementary school for black children. The context “*We were all like family*” – *African Americans in Manhattan’s South Side: 1903-1954* covers the small but tight-knit community that developed around Manhattan’s Douglass School and the nearby churches. Douglass Elementary was completed in 1904, and would serve as an important center of the black community in Manhattan for nearly sixty years. The black churches also thrived during this period, and provided important social, educational, and spiritual support. Segregation and discrimination, however, was a part of daily life in Manhattan during this period. The 1950s were an era of change, brought about by many factors. Veterans returning from World War II, or military men stationed at nearby Fort Riley, returned from the war less inclined to accept the status quo. There were increasing numbers of African American students at Kansas State University, particularly black athletes that helped increase visibility. The landmark Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954 was definitely noticed in nearby Manhattan, even if the local school segregation did not change immediately. Several events in the context “*Maybe someday . . .*” – *Change comes slowly to Manhattan: 1954-1972* came together to eventually break down the barriers of segregation associated with public accommodations, shopping, restaurants, and finally, with housing. The period of significance for this context extends from 1954, the date of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, to 1972, when urban renewal projects were begun in the neighborhood. Although specific dates and events are associated with the starting and ending dates of each context’s period of significance, in reality, there is more ambiguity. Change came slowly in Manhattan, and a single event was not sufficient in itself to mark the end of any period in the city’s African American history.

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### Background

The establishment of the Kansas Territory had its roots in the slavery conflict of the United States. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 allowed residents of each territory to vote on whether they would allow slavery, effectively repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820 that prohibited slavery in the former Louisiana Territory north of the parallel 36°30' north. As a result, the struggle between the southern and northern states for power in Congress was in the hands of a few thousand voters on the edge of the United States. This struggle led to violence between free-staters and slavery proponents. Militant bands of free-state guerrilla fighters were known as "Jayhawkers," while their counterpart pro-slavery forces were "Border Ruffians." The violence escalated through the years leading up to the Civil War, with one side retaliating for events attributed to the opposing forces. Among the events that resulted in the territory earning the moniker "Bleeding Kansas" was the Pottawatomie Massacre in late May 1856, led by abolitionist John Brown. In retaliation for the May 21, 1856 raid on Lawrence by pro-slavery forces, Brown led an expedition that killed five pro-slavery settlers in the Pottawatomie Creek area of Franklin County. This was a precursor to his unsuccessful raid on Harper's Ferry 1859, and is cited as one of the key events leading up to the Civil War.

Kansas was admitted as to the union as a free state on January 29, 1861, just a few months before the start of the Civil War. Prior to the Civil War, the number of African Americans in Kansas was extremely small, but that changed during and after the end of that conflict. Kansas was the first northern state to enroll African Americans in the military, and its First Kansas Colored Infantry was also the first such regiment to see action. In 1866, Congress authorized the establishment of African American regiments in the West, and some were assigned to Kansas to fight in the military campaigns during the Indian Wars. The U.S. Tenth Cavalry Regiment formed at Fort Leavenworth was the first to be called "Buffalo Soldiers," a name given to them by the Native Americans. Also, about one-quarter of the cattle drovers working the cattle trails between Texas and the trail heads in Kansas and Nebraska were African Americans during the open range period. Both the African American soldiers and the cattle drovers were common sights in some Kansas towns in the period following the Civil War.

While the overall number of Kansans tripled from 1860 to 1870, the number of black Kansans increased over twenty-seven times in the same period, from 627 to 17,108. At first, the numbers arriving were minimal, and before 1880, most took up residence in eastern Kansas near the Missouri River, where they either worked small farms or lived in towns.<sup>1</sup> There were also some African American settlements or colonies throughout the state. Although the best known was Nicodemus, founded in 1877 in northwestern Kansas, the idea for African American settlement in the west was promoted earlier by Benjamin Singleton, who asserted "I am the whole cause of the Kansas immigration!" A former slave from Tennessee, Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, believed that the only way to economic equality for the southern Negro was to emigrate to the West. Singleton visited Kansas as early as 1873, and returned

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<sup>1</sup> Robert G. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan: Black Migration to Kansas, 1879-80* (Lawrence, KS: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 75.

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again in 1877 to inspected possible locations for a colony.<sup>2</sup> That year he started Baxter Springs in Cherokee County in southeastern Kansas, and in 1878, founded Dunlap Colony southwest of Topeka.<sup>3</sup>

Although Singleton took credit for the emigration to Kansas, his colonies did not produce large numbers of new residents. In sheer numbers, the most substantial growth of the state's African American population occurred during the Kansas Exodus of 1879. When Democrats returned to power in the South and reversed the gains made by Southern blacks during Reconstruction, the new repressive laws reduced many blacks to landlessness. Unlike the colonists, who often came with money or equipment ready to farm, many of the Exodusters were destitute. The majority ended up in the eastern towns of Kansas, such as Atchison, Lawrence, Topeka and Leavenworth, which were easily accessible by river and railroad. Eventually, somewhere between 6,000 to over 9,000 African Americans moved to Kansas as part of this movement.<sup>4</sup> As part of the overall Kansas population, however, the Exodus movement did not raise the percentage of African Americans in the state between 1870 and 1880, when they dropped from 4.7 percent to 4.3 percent (see Table 1).

**Table 1: African American Population in Kansas: 1860-1990<sup>5</sup>**

Year	Total Population	African American population	Percent African American
1860	107,206	627	.6
1870	364,399	17,108	4.7
1880	996,096	43,107	4.3
1890	1,428,108	49,710	3.5
1900	1,470,4951	52,003	3.5
1910	1,690,949	54,030	3.2
1920	1,769,257	57,925	3.3
1930	1,880,999	66,344	3.5
1940	1,801,028	65,138	3.6
1950	1,905,299	73,158	3.8
1960	2,178,611	91,445	4.2
1970	2,246,578	106,977	4.8
1980	2,363,679	126,127	5.3
1990	2,477,574	143,076	5.8

<sup>2</sup> Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976), 108.

<sup>3</sup> Athearn, 76-77.

<sup>4</sup> Accurate figures of the numbers that actually made it to Kansas are in dispute. It was estimated that over 20,000 arrived in St. Louis, the first stop along the journey, in 1879-1880.

<sup>5</sup> Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For the United States, Regions, Division, and States."

<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056/twps0056.html> Accessed 8 March 2011.

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After the early 1880s, most of the growth in Kansas' black population was due to natural increase, rather than continued migration from the South. There was also some outward migration in the 1880s and 1890s, primarily to Nebraska and Oklahoma.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, blacks in Kansas were generally more prosperous and experienced less discrimination than African Americans in the South. However, in spite of its creation as a free state, Kansas did not prove to be the Canaan of the Exoduster's dreams. Discrimination in Kansas proved to be less direct, but nonetheless present. Still, because of its history as a free state and as a state that would be less prone to violence over pending changes, Kansas was in the forefront of civil rights events in the United States.<sup>7</sup> The state's active National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter played a key role in the advancement of civil rights in the 1950s. It was the 1954 landmark Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that set in motion the desegregation of schools in this country, while a lesser recognized but certainly no less significant Wichita lunch counter sit-in at the Dockum's drugstore in July 1958 was the first of its kind in the nation. Much as the events of the 1850s and early 1860s in Kansas led up to the Civil War, certain events in the nation's heartland were key to the nation's civil rights movement.

### I. "On to Canaan" – Manhattan's Early African American Community: 1865-1903

When the Kansas Territory opened for settlement after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, residents of the North decided take advantage of the popular sovereignty measures of the act that allowed residents of newly admitted states to vote on whether it would be a free or slave state. Eli Thayer, a congressman from Massachusetts, and others formed a company that encouraged abolitionists to immigrate to the newly formed Kansas Territory. This company, eventually reorganized as the New England Emigrant Aid Company, created the towns of Manhattan and Lawrence, and played a key role in founding Topeka and Osawatimie. Manhattan was located in Riley County, which was on the western edge of the thirty-three original counties established by the Kansas Territorial Legislature. As Riley County originally stretched across the Kansas Territory into present-day Colorado, the town of Manhattan was in the eastern portion of the original county. Located on a level plane near the junction of the Big Blue and Kansas rivers, Manhattan was an important river landing for steamboats during the territorial period. The town was formed in 1855 by members of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, as well as other New Englanders and Midwesterners that arrived in the spring and early summer of that year. During territorial elections in 1855, the political sentiment of residents in the area was clear, as the free-state candidates received a heavy majority of votes.

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<sup>6</sup> Painter, 259.

<sup>7</sup> In 1956, high-ranking officials of the NAACP concluded that the deep South as well as the more moderate areas of the upper south were not yet viable settings for nonviolent direct action. According to historians Meier and Rudwick, it was the border states in the late 1950s that provided the best conditions for successful tactics that would later prove successful in the deep South in the early 1960s. August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *Along the Color Line: Explorations in the Black Experience* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 370, 372-373.

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### *A. African American Population in Manhattan*

Although the territorial census of 1855 shows that thirteen blacks and mulattoes lived in a vast area covering Riley, Pottawatomie, Clay, Marshall, and Washington counties, the 1860 U.S. census did not record any blacks in Manhattan.<sup>8</sup> It was not until the Kansas Agricultural Census of 1865 that any African Americans were documented as living in Manhattan. At that time, Manhattan's total population was 328 and only nine of those residents were African Americans – about 2.7 percent of the total population. There were two families: Oliver and Eliza Simms, and Edom and Amanda Thomas, with children M., B. and Abraham Lincoln. There were also two males: ten year J. Henry, and sixteen year old J. S. Thomas (not related to the Thomas family).<sup>9</sup> The two single males were living in other households, possibly as laborers, but the Simms family arrived with sufficient funds that Oliver Simms was able to purchase a house at the present location of 130 Yuma Street for \$300 in 1864.<sup>10</sup> While local historian Patricia O'Brien cites this purchase to suggest that Oliver Simms was the founder of Manhattan's black community, an account of early African Americans in Manhattan by pioneer resident Nellie Pillsbury Martin stated that Edom Thomas was the first black in Manhattan.<sup>11</sup>

Both the number and percentage of African Americans grew significantly after the end of the Civil War. In 1870, there were sixty-five blacks living in Manhattan, nearly six percent of the city's residents. Within this African American population were thirteen families. Not all of the newly arrived residents were former slaves; thirty-eight of the sixty-four settlers were born in slave states. Of the southern families, five had young children who had been born in Kansas, indicating they arrived in the state in the mid- to late-1860s. Not all of the new arrivals to Manhattan were from slave states however; twenty-five were born in free states and one man, Richard Thomas age 33, is identified as a black stone mason who was born in Wales. He was the head of a family containing John Thomas (who may have been his brother or other relative), a 17-year old girl named Lucy Thomas and a one-year-old boy, Walter Thomas. Lucy and Walter were born in Kansas. There was one inter-racial marriage, which was highly unusual for the time - Charles and Mary Mathews. Charles (32, black) was born in Georgia, and Mary (32, white) was born in Indiana. Their five children, also born in Indiana, ranged in age from one to eight years and were classified as mulatto in the 1870 census.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Nupur Chaudhuri, "We All Seem Like Brothers and Sisters: The African American Community in Manhattan, Kansas, 1865-1940" *Kansas History* 14 (Winter 1991/92): 272.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid; and Geraldine Baker Walton, *140 Years of soul: A History of African Americans in Manhattan, Kansas 1860-2005* (Manhattan, KS: KS Publishing Inc., 2008), 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> Patricia J. O'Brien, "The First Blacks in Manhattan – Riley County, Kansas," 2.

<sup>11</sup> Nellie Pillsbury Martin, "Early Resident Relates History of Negro Pioneers in City," *Manhattan Tribune-News*, 19 March 1950.

<sup>12</sup> Ninth Census of the United States (1870). U.S. Census Bureau. A list of residents' names and characteristics was transcribed from original Population Schedules found in a search of Census & Voter Lists, 1870 United States Federal Census." Keywords: Manhattan, Kansas, Black. [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) Accessed 10 February 2011.

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In addition to the families, nine men and three women were single; some of these were listed as under one household. With occupations such as cooks, porters, livery stable help, farm workers, and domestic servants, this suggests that they were domiciled at their places of employment. The majority of jobs for this early group of African American settlers in Manhattan was manual labor, although nine men were skilled laborers. They included barbers (three in the same family), one brick mason and two stone masons, a hotel cook, and a butcher. Laborers included fifteen men working as day laborers, the above-mentioned livery stable attendant, two hotel porters, three farm hands and one farmer. The majority of women were itemized as “keeping house,” which in those times would have been equal to manual labor. Twenty-one children were “at home;” one girl, age nine and one boy, age ten were in school.<sup>13</sup>

By 1875, the number of blacks in Manhattan grew to about one hundred (about 5.7% of the population), but the greatest growth was to be near the end of the decade.<sup>14</sup> In 1879, there was a mass migration of southern blacks who were looking to escape the aftermath of the post-Reconstruction years. They left for the promised land of Canaan – the land of John Brown and freedom. Called the “Great Exodus,” blacks leaving the oppression of the South headed towards Kansas in the hopes of a better life. With little money and no further plans other than to get to Kansas, they first arrived in overwhelming numbers in St. Louis, followed next by stopping points in the Kansas City area. The town of Wyandotte, Kansas was much preferred to stopping on the Missouri side, as the residents of Kansas City were less than hospitable to the new arrivals. Wyandotte was a relatively small town of five thousand residents, though, and was unprepared for the onslaught of people that were largely destitute. By early April 1879, there were nearly two thousand refugees camped at Wyandotte. Possibly in reaction to local sentiment, the mayor issued a proclamation on April 18 that threatened legal action against any transportation companies that imported “destitute persons to our shores.”<sup>15</sup> Thus when the steamboat *Durfee* arrived with 240 Exodusters on April 21, 1879, an official delegation refused to allow the Captain to land. He decided to move to the shores of Kansas City, where although the refugees were unwelcome, the city did not have a municipal ordinance preventing their landing. The residents of that city quickly raised money, and as a result, the entire group except for one family was transported to Manhattan, Kansas a few days later.<sup>16</sup>

Likely alarmed at this sudden influx of people, town leaders of Manhattan met on April 25, 1879 in the offices of local merchant George Higginbotham “to consider what steps should be taken in reference to colored refugees from the South, now seeking homes in Kansas.” Dr. Patee offered to treat the sick free, and to furnish the needed medications without charge if the druggists of town would not do so. The group appointed various committees to deal with the situation, and adopted a resolution that gives some insight into the feelings of the white town leaders.

WHEREAS, A portion of the white citizens of the south have, for years systematically treated the colored people in their midst in an infamous manner, . . .

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Chaudhuri, 273.

<sup>15</sup> Athearn, 37-38, 42.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 42.

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AND WHEREAS, In consequence of this state of things, the victims of oppression and cruelty are now seeking homes where equal and exact justice is meted out to all; therefore

*Resolved*, That we would be untrue to our former history and the dictates of humanity, if we did not extend to them a cordial welcome to the free soil of Kansas, and pledge ourselves as far as we are able, to relieve their distress and aid them in finding employment and homes. . .

*Resolved further*, . . . we still feel it our duty to say that, in our judgment, when fairly treated and protected in their rights, the colored people will be more happy and prosperous in the South than in the North.<sup>17</sup>

As soon as it became known last Thursday that two carloads of Exodites had reached this place, they were visited by a large number of citizens of both sexes, all ages and colors. Being entirely destitute, active measures were at once taken for their relief. The whole number were removed to the old paper mill, where they are at present. The accommodations are not great, but there is good shelter from the weather. The city took charge of the commissary department and Marsh is overseer.<sup>18</sup>

There were 104 persons put off at this point. One has since died and several more are quite sick. Of the 104 who came here about seventy have found work and are taking care of themselves, and probably by this time there will not be any subsisting on the town. But for the large number of small children attached to every man and woman there would have been little difficulty in getting places for them. Many of our farmers need cheap hands yet do not feel able to build a shanty to accommodate the mother and children. The first few days after the arrival of the Exodusters it costs some \$15 per day to feed them. This has dwindled down until it costs only \$5 per day.<sup>19</sup>

The refugees continued to be in the local news for the next few weeks. There were more new arrivals to town, although none of the later groups was as large as the one that arrived on April 24, 1879; furthermore, the size of these latter groups was not recorded. Compared to reports in other Kansas towns, such as Wyandotte and Atchison, notices regarding the new arrivals were generally favorable, or at the least, less inflammatory. Two brief notes in the May 16, 1879 *The Nationalist* addressed the worries about whether the newcomers would be able to work. "Thirty more exodites arrive today. They are a more able bodied set than the first lot. Those wanting help should apply immediately." Another report of "Black yer boots and make 'em sing, and on'y charge yer half a dime,' is the melodious racket of an enterprising "exodite" on our streets."<sup>20</sup> A week later, the same paper noted the number of refugees traveling on trains, both in and out of Manhattan. "It must be the exodites have taken away many of the K. P.'s passenger cars. For on its regular trains, many passengers have to stand up."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "Colored Refugees," *The Nationalist*, May 2, 1897.

<sup>18</sup> *Manhattan Enterprise*, 2 May 1879.

<sup>19</sup> "The Exodites: Beginning to take care of themselves," *Manhattan Enterprise*, 2 May 1879, 1.

<sup>20</sup> *The Nationalist*, 16 May 1879.

<sup>21</sup> *The Nationalist*, 23 May 1879.

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Further indication that there were several carloads of refugees that just passed through town was the account in the same newspaper that a black man, who was left behind due to illness, was found dead.

Records from April 1879 to July 1880 of J. P. Peckham, a trustee of the Manhattan Township, not only listed all the names of the refugees, but also the amount of assistance they received and with the name of the benefactor. In the first month after their arrival, \$74.65 had been spent for provisions, fuel, and cooking utensils.<sup>22</sup> A history of Black Manhattan notes that many of the refugees arrived with only given names, and residents organized an effort to choose surnames.<sup>23</sup>

Although aid was given to the refugees upon their arrival, most wanted to begin settling into their lives in their new community. Some moved in with nearby farmers to work in agriculture, while others settled near the foot of Bluemont Hill. White residents also helped set up a colony outside of Manhattan with the assistance of the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association with a request for assistance. As a result, 1,280 acres were bought near the foot of Bluemont Hill. Called Wabaunsee Colony, it was divided among thirty-one families who were given nineteen years to pay for the land. In addition to providing rations, horses, and farm implements, the funds helped construct barrack-type buildings.<sup>24</sup> Thus the new "community" of African Americans in this portion of Kansas extended beyond the immediate vicinity of Manhattan. During the 1880s and on into the twentieth century, interactions and connections between black residents of Manhattan and the surrounding communities were common, and provided a means of support for the small population of African Americans in rural northeastern Kansas.

By 1880, the largest wave of new settlers from the Exodus movement had arrived. According to the U.S. census of that year, the African American family structure adapted and grew, continuing to do so through the 1890s. Households were larger, in part due to births of children but also because of an increase in extended families. As the original Black community members established a presence, others arrived – some bringing relatives who came to live with them. Heads of households often had their own children plus step-children, nieces and nephews, or a parent living with them. It was very common for grown children to be living with their spouses and children under their parents' roofs. Many households also took in boarders, either indicating a lack of available housing, or a necessity to earn money from renters, or simply to extend hospitality to those who needed it.<sup>25</sup>

In general, Manhattan had an agricultural economic base, but it was also the county seat, the location of the Kansas State Agricultural College, and was close to the military Fort Riley. There are also job opportunities connected with either the railroad. Many of the jobs held by African Americans in this period were unskilled labor associated with these fields for the men, and homemaking for the women.

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<sup>22</sup> Chaudhuri, 275.

<sup>23</sup> James Butler, "A Black History of Manhattan," *Flint* (21 February 1979): 9, Vertical File: City of Manhattan African American Community, Kansas State University Archives, Manhattan, Kansas.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Twelfth Census of the United States (1900). U.S. Census Bureau. A list of residents' names and characteristics was transcribed from original "Schedule(s) No. 1 - Population found in a search of Census & Voter Lists, 1900 United States Federal Census." Keywords: Manhattan, Kansas, Black. [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) Accessed 15 February 2011.

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By 1890 skilled labor jobs were still in the minority but included barber, stone mason, butcher, carpenter, hotel cook, traveling salesman, laundress, dressmaker and Richard H. Sample was a mail carrier. The persons who had attained some degree of professional training were Robert H. Watson, Lincoln H. Crawford, Isaiah I. Wilson (minister); Eli C. Freeman and Miss Hattie Jones (teacher).<sup>26</sup> Also, 21-year old Miss Minnie Howell was attending college.

Although the numbers of Exodusters were greater in other Kansas towns and counties, Manhattan did experience a significant increase in the percentage of black residents, and as a result, Manhattan had a higher proportion of African American residents in the decades from 1870 to 1900 when compared to the rest of the state. Whereas the rest of the state saw a decrease in percentage from 1870 to 1890 (although an overall increase in the number of black residents), Manhattan's African American population grew both in numbers and percentage from 1870 through 1880, and still had comprised nine percent of the city's population in 1900 (see Table 2).

Table 2: African American Population 1860 – 1900<sup>27</sup>

Date	Manhattan			Kansas		
	Total population	African American population	Percent of Manhattan population	Total population	African American population	Percent of Kansas population
<b>1860</b>				107,206	627	.06%
<b>1865</b>	381	10	3%			
<b>1870</b>	1,173	65	6%	364,399	17,108	5%
<b>1880</b>	2,105	289	14%	996,096	43,107	4%
<b>1890</b>	3004	307	10%	1,428,108	49,710	3%
<b>1900</b>	3,438	301	9%	1,470,495	54,176	4%

### ***B. Settlement Patterns***

The locations of the residences for Manhattan's pioneer African American residents are generally not recorded, since the earliest census records did not include addresses. In 1864, Oliver Simms purchased a house on lot 64-1 (130 Yuma Street). According to records of a fire in 1866, it appears he rented the house to another black family.<sup>28</sup> In 1868, he purchased a lot on the south side of Colorado Street in the middle of the 100 block. The valuation of the property in 1869 indicates he built a house soon after the purchase.<sup>29</sup> In 1879, when a number of refugees from former slave states came to Manhattan as part of the Exodus movement, local residents helped several families settle on 1,280 acres purchased near the

<sup>26</sup> Twelfth Census of the United States (1900). U.S. Census Bureau. A list of residents' names and characteristics was transcribed from original Population Schedules found in Search Census, Advanced Search. Keywords: 1900, Kansas, Riley County, Black, and Mulatto. Kansas State Library, "Heritage Quest Online". [www.kslc.org/index.jsp](http://www.kslc.org/index.jsp) (Log-in required). Accessed 18 February 2011.

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix B for complete list of citations for population data.

<sup>28</sup> O'Brien, 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 3.

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foot of Bluemont Hill.<sup>30</sup> Oral interviews with local residents confirm that one of the earliest areas of settlement was “up north” (as compared to the present “south side” neighborhood), and personal histories of early settlers, such as Dr. J. W. Evans who moved to Manhattan in 1880, recall that “a few of the Negroes settled at the foot of Bluemont Hill.”<sup>31</sup>

At some point, and for reasons not confirmed, blacks started buying houses and living south of Poyntz Avenue; more specifically, south of California Street. Local black residents speak of land fraud schemes which resulted in forcing some families to move south, coupled with unwritten segregation practices. However, several African Americans had jobs with the railroad or associated businesses, and this area was close to their jobs.<sup>32</sup> Previous studies have speculated on the reasons for the settlement of the south side by African Americans, particularly since the Wabaunsee Colony for the Exodusters was located north near Bluemont Hill. However, the earliest and most significant African-American community institutions – the churches – were located in the south side of town. The Second Methodist Episcopal Church was built in 1866 at the corner of Sixth and El Paso Streets; the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church was organized in 1879, and built a frame structure at Fourth and Yuma; and the Second Baptist Church, organized in 1880, built their first frame church building at Ninth and Yuma in 1882. These important institutions likely had a significant impact on residential locations as well. Once established, residents likely chose a neighborhood within walking distance of the churches. In a period when transportation was limited, it is possible that the selection of housing may have been by choice, but that later segregation practices formalized the existing housing patterns. Furthermore, with the sudden influx of new residents in 1879 and 1880, houses were built where there was available land. According to the *Manhattan Nationalist* at the start of 1880, “at the rate the colored people are building in the southwest part of town, they will soon have to have a separate city government. New houses are going up all the time.”<sup>33</sup>

As noted, the 1870 census did not list residents with their street addresses, so it is not known exactly where they lived. Over the next twenty years, however, Manhattan’s organization of streets and addresses was improved to the point that the U.S. Census enumerators were better able to catalog Manhattan’s African American residents by street addresses. In the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) some houses were identified on the streets where they were located and although there were no address numbers, it is the first evidence of where the black community was living. Yuma and Riley Streets are dominant in the listings.<sup>34</sup> Due to the small size of the town, most houses were probably between

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<sup>30</sup> Butler, 9.

<sup>31</sup> Dr. J. W. Evans Remembers Manhattan of Early Days”. Electronic resource from Kansas State University Archives and Manuscripts, <http://www.lib.k-state.edu/depts/spec/exhibits/howell/chronicle.html>.

<sup>32</sup> Butler, 9.

<sup>33</sup> *Nationalist*, 9 January 1880. The “southwest” portion of Manhattan in 1880 would today correspond to the “southeast” part of town.

<sup>34</sup> Tenth Federal Census (1880). Data derived from keyword search (black; mulatto; Manhattan City); transcription and hand-count of names. Accessed 5 February 2011.

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Wyandotte Avenue and Juliette Street. Manhattan was widely platted in 1881, but the lots were not nearly filled and houses were scattered.<sup>35</sup>

The 1880 census lists nine African American families living on Poyntz. This corresponds to the 1883 report by historian William G. Cutler that described the ten original houses that were shipped by boat in 1855 to Manhattan from Cincinnati, that “One of the Cincinnati buildings that was shipped on the Hartford now stands at the north foot of Poyntz Avenue, near the railroad track, and with its nine rooms is occupied by several colored families.”<sup>36</sup> The Eleventh U.S. Census of 1900 provides a clearer picture of the African American neighborhood, as a few of the residents are listed with street addresses. This neighborhood generally included the 700 and 800 blocks of Yuma, El Paso, Riley, and Pottawatomie Streets and likely extended to the east and west along the railroad tracks. The neighborhood was not exclusively black, however, and also included whites and Hispanics.

By 1900, this neighborhood was adjacent to the commercial and industrial center in the southern part of the city. This became more defined after the Civil War, with the arrival of several rail lines, causing commercial and industrial development to shift to the southeast near the rails and move outwards in a northwesterly direction.<sup>37</sup> In 1902, the Union Pacific Depot was built at the corner of Wyandotte Avenue and Yuma, leading to the relocation of the Purcell stockyards and the erection of the electric power company at 209 Yuma Street. Construction of single-family housing occurred in the area at the same time.<sup>38</sup>

### *C. Community institutions and organizations*

The earliest community-wide institution that was organized either by or for the benefit of African Americans living in Manhattan was the Second Methodist Episcopal Church. Organized in 1866 as a mission church, by the end of the year it boasted a frame church building and fifteen members. As Manhattan had so few black residents at the time, the congregation was likely supported by other African Americans living in Riley County. By the time of the arrival of the Exodusters in 1879, however, there were approximately one hundred African Americans living in Manhattan; undoubtedly they represented other denominations. Historical accounts record that some white churches had sections reserved for black members. According to white pioneer Nellie Ellsworth Martin, Sallie Breakbill and her children attended the same Baptist Church, and sat in a separate part called the “Amen Corner.”<sup>39</sup> Almost immediately after the great Exodus from the South, there was a greater urgency for establishing their own places of worship and support. Coinciding with the arrival of the Exodusters, the Bethel A.M.E. Church was organized in 1879; several of its founding members were former slaves. A year later in March 1880, the Second Baptist Church (now Pilgrim Baptist) was formed. In 1890, continued

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<sup>35</sup>“Map of Manhattan, Kansas”, *1881 Historical Plat Book of Riley County Kansas*, (Chicago: Bird and Mickle Map Co., 1881).

<sup>36</sup>William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: AT Andreas, 1883), 32.

<sup>37</sup>“Cultural Resource Survey: Wards 1 and 2 Manhattan, Kansas,” Historic Preservation Services, LLC, June 2004, 34.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>39</sup>Martin, 2.

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growth of the black population of Manhattan and surrounding areas supported the establishment of a second Baptist congregation. The Mount Zion Baptist Church was organized with Rev. H. W. White serving as the first pastor.

Along with the Second Methodist Episcopal Church, these three churches formed the center of Manhattan's African American community before the turn of the nineteenth century, and on into the twentieth century. They served not only as the heart of religious life, but cultural, social and civic life as well. Nationally, churches were one of the first types of institutions organized and owned by blacks, and were places where they could be free to express themselves. As one of the few organizations where African Americans served in positions of authority, churches also provided key training for future leaders in the community; the pastors were certainly among the most respected men in the African American arena. They sponsored choirs, fellowship and charitable groups, educational classes, and literary societies. At times, smaller congregations struggled to raise funds to build their structures or meet the needs of their congregation. Nonetheless, even with limited personal resources due to the limited economic opportunities in Manhattans for blacks, the ability to build even modest structures indicates the strong commitment that African Americans had to their church. The location of Manhattan's African American churches was intrinsically tied to the black neighborhood; in fact, the location of the original churches may have precipitated the move to the south side.

In larger Kansas cities like Wichita and Topeka, black-owned businesses and newspapers were other key components in the development of the sense of community. In nineteenth century Manhattan, neither of these was present. Junction City to the west would eventually support several black-owned businesses and churches, and Topeka to the east had a thriving black community; the latter city had over thirty black newspapers throughout the years, not including a separate newspaper for North Topeka. In fact, the first African American newspaper in the greater plains region was the *Herald of Freedom*, published in Wakarusa, Kansas on October 21, 1854, only twenty-seven years after the first black newspaper in the country, *Freedom's Journal*, was founded in New York in 1827.<sup>40</sup> As white newspapers typically under-reported or ignored activities in black neighborhoods, the lack of a locally-owned black newspaper in Manhattan limits the sources of documentation for this period.

Social and fraternal organizations and charitable groups were other key community-building institutions. As noted, most of the African American organizations and events were rarely covered by white mainstream newspapers, so the extent of these social organizations is unknown. However, there were African American fraternal organizations at least as early as 1880, just after the arrival of the Exodusters. On July 16, 1880, the *Manhattan Enterprise* noted that "The colored fraternity are making great preparations to have a grand celebration on Emancipation Day, the 2nd of August."<sup>41</sup> Emancipation Day festivities were important yearly celebrations throughout much of Manhattan's black history, and were celebrated at least as early as 1880, where the turnout was noteworthy enough that it was covered by the white newspaper.

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<sup>40</sup> David J. Wishart, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 7.

<sup>41</sup> *Manhattan Enterprise*, 16 July 1880, 1.

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The celebration of the colored people of this community . . . was a grand success. The procession formed at colored Methodist church, and, headed by the Band, marched through Poyntz Avenue to the grove across the Kansas, making a good showing. On the grounds, a speaker's stand had been erected, long tables arranged and several stands were in full blast. After listening to several pieces by the Band, the people were called to order by the President, Joe. Mitchell, about 12 o'clock, and prayer was offered by a reverend colored gentleman from abroad. Rev Lynch, of Topeka, was the principal speaker. His remarks were more particularly addressed to new comers concerning present situation, and was full of sound, practical sense. Prof. Ward was called to the stand and made some pertinent remarks after which dinner was announced, and there was a rush in that direction. After dinner the Juveniles made their appearance and treated the crowd to some music. Rev. A. B. Campbell's lecture on temperance we did not hear, but understand that it was excellent. After the program at the grove was carried out, they repaired to the County hall, where they danced till morning.<sup>42</sup>

Around the turn of the twentieth century, there were other clubs that appear to have held political activities, although little documentation remains about their membership or purpose. The Afro Blue Light McKinley Club organized a large rally of voters in September 1900. The president of the club was Rev. I. S. Wilson, and the other primary organizer was Rev. J. A. C. Wade of the Second M.E. Church. The voters rally and picnic started with a parade that formed at the A.M.E. church, where a ladies band from Emporia led the march to Sarber's Grove.<sup>43</sup> A music program was followed with speeches by attorney D. E. Henderson of Emporia and Prof. W. T. Vernon, president of Quindaro College, on disenfranchisement and the role of African Americans in politics and government. It was estimated that over 2,000 blacks from around the region attended.<sup>44</sup> This illustrates the leadership roles and the importance of the black ministers, as they not only organized the event, but were officers in the McKinley Club. The Americus Club was another organization that was active by the turn of the century.

Although Manhattan's African American community established its own churches and some social or fraternal organizations, prior to the turn of the century, the public schools were integrated – at least, to some extent. Kansas enacted its first compulsory school attendance law in 1874, requiring all children between the ages of eight and fourteen, including African Americans, to attend at least twelve consecutive weeks of school every year. With such a small number of black students in Manhattan, however, not only was the idea of a separate school for African Americans unwarranted, but in Kansas, it was against the law. However, in 1879 the state of Kansas granted permission for, but did not require, school districts to maintain separate elementary schools for black and white students in first class cities (populations over 15,000).<sup>45</sup> This did not extend to high schools, except in the case of Sumner High

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<sup>42</sup> *Nationalist*, 5 August 1880.

<sup>43</sup> In 2011, Sarber Lane is located within the city limits of Manhattan, east of Tuttle Creek Boulevard in Pottawatomie County, where the Sarber family was recorded residing in the 1900 Census.

<sup>44</sup> "A Grand Rally of Colored Voters," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 20 September 1900, 3.

<sup>45</sup> John D. Bright, *Kansas: the First Century* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1956), 369.

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School, when Kansas City, Kansas was allowed to establish in 1905 the only “Negro” high school in the state. The passage of this 1879 law coincided with the influx of refugees fleeing the post-Reconstruction South. As a result, the school board first took up the issue of separate schools in August 1879.

Quite a spirited discussion occurred at the school meeting, last week, as to the feasibility of having a separate school for the colored pupils, as the new school house is found insufficient to accommodate all the children.<sup>46</sup>

As the black community settled into Manhattan, many children were able to attend school. Riley County school records show a relatively substantial number in attendance that correlates with the population data for African Americans living in Manhattan at the time. In 1880, African Americans comprised fourteen percent of the city’s total population, their highest rate in history. In 1890 their rate had dropped to ten percent, but school records show that African American children represented a corresponding ten percent of students in Manhattan city schools, and that attendance remained constant in the next seven years. By 1900 the African American community population was at nine percent and their corresponding student school attendance rate held steady at ten percent (see Table 2). This high attendance rate spoke to the beliefs of the African American community about the importance of education. Of the children under age eighteen who were not attending school, these were usually boys, age sixteen, who were already employed, and girls, age seventeen, who were staying at home to help with the households. There was, however, a sharp drop in enrolled black students from 1901 to 1903, when the number dropped from 137 to 107 pupils.<sup>47</sup>

**Table 3: Ratio of white to black student enrollment 1891-1903<sup>48</sup>**

<b>Year</b>	<b>White students</b>	<b>Black students</b>	<b>% blacks enrolled</b>
<b>1891</b>	1,072	124	10%
<b>1895</b>	963	134	12%
<b>1897</b>	1,107	139	11%
<b>1900</b>	1,012	113	10%
<b>1903</b>	1,195	107	9%

The discussion about separate schools for the races continued in the press for a few years until 1884, when it was decided that black students would attend separate classes in the same building as whites. The Avenue School was a four room building. Two rooms were set aside for the white 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grades, while the other two rooms contained the primary grades (one through four) and the grammar

<sup>46</sup> *Nationalist*, 22 August 1879.

<sup>47</sup> “School enumeration.” *The Nationalist*, 3 August 1903.

<sup>48</sup> Riley County Board of Education, “Annual Report of Manhattan City School District, Census of School Population,” for years ending June 30 of 1891; 1895; 1897; and 1903. Ledgers on file at Riley County Register of Deeds.

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department (five through eight) for African Americans.<sup>49</sup> That year, Selina Wilson was the teacher for the black students, with W. J. Mitchell serving as her assistant.<sup>50</sup> By 1886, Wilson was the principal, and Eli Freeman had been hired as the second teacher.<sup>51</sup> There is also a record of a separate “select” school held at the Second Baptist Church; Edmonia Alexander served as a teacher for one year.<sup>52</sup>

Higher education was a part of Manhattan’s history as well, although the opportunities for blacks to take advantage of this were extremely limited in the late 1800s. The Kansas State Agricultural College in Manhattan (now Kansas State University) was founded in 1863 during the Civil War, and claims to be the first newly created land-grant college under the Morrill Act. Equal opportunity was a part of its founding; when it opened, it was only the third public university that admitted both men and women. It would take over thirty years before it matriculated its first black student. George Washington Owens from Alma, Kansas was the first black student to enroll and graduate at the college. He enrolled in January 1896 and graduated in less than four years in 1899 with a bachelor’s degree in General Science.<sup>53</sup> Minnie Howell Champe, a graduate of the Manhattan public school system, also enrolled in 1896, and graduated in 1901 with a Bachelor of Science in Domestic Science.<sup>54</sup> A few other early black residents of Manhattan received education beyond high school, including Randall Keele, who studied at Baker University in Baldwin, Kansas.<sup>55</sup>

Available documentation makes it difficult to accurately assess the lives of Manhattan’s African Americans, and previously recorded histories are sometimes inaccurate. For example, when Murt Hanks Jr. was elected in 1969, he was cited as the “first black elected to public office in Manhattan’s 125 year history.”<sup>56</sup> However, J. M. T. Howell, a stone mason and father of the first female black graduate of Kansas State University, “served as member of the city council from his ward and did good service for the city. . .” before his death in 1897.<sup>57</sup> Howell was elected to a one-year term to the city council in April 1888. During this term, he served on the Cemetery and Health committees.<sup>58</sup> Later in 1891, 1893, and 1895, he was elected as one of two city constables.<sup>59</sup> In March 1894 and 1895, the Manhattan City Council appointed him as an election judge for Ward 4 (note: Ward 4 was on the south side during this

<sup>49</sup> “150 Years of Education in Manhattan,” *Manhattan Free Press* Vol 14, No. 3 (14 July 2005).

<sup>50</sup> *The Mercury*, 16 July 1884.

<sup>51</sup> *The Mercury*, 16 June 1886.

<sup>52</sup> *Kansas Kin*, Vol. 25:1 (February 1987) 6.

<sup>53</sup> “George Washington Owens Papers,” University Archives & Manuscripts – Collection Guides, Kansas State University, 7 August 2008. Accessed 13 January 2011 <<http://www.lib.k-state.edu/depts/spec/findaids/pc1988-18.html>> The University of Kansas in Lawrence began accepting blacks in the 1870s, and the first black graduated there in 1885.

<sup>54</sup> “Minnie Howell Champe: Chronology,” University Archives & Manuscripts – Exhibits, Kansas State University, 6 August 2008. Accessed 13 January 2011 <<http://www.lib.k-state.edu/depts/spec/exhibits/howell/chronology.html>>

<sup>55</sup> James E. Butler, “Narratives of Ebony: Manhattan, Kansas 1988 Calendar.” N.P. [2008].

<sup>56</sup> “Panel Recalls Manhattan’s Early Civil Rights Movement,” *Alliance [1987]*: 8, Vertical File: City of Manhattan African American Community, Kansas State University Archives, Manhattan, Kansas.

<sup>57</sup> *The Nationalist*, 3 December 1897, 6.

<sup>58</sup> Manhattan City Council Minute Books (beginning in 1882), 154-156.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, (beginning in 1882), 347, 428; (beginning in 1894), 41.

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period).<sup>60</sup> In addition to his political power in Manhattan, Howell was also a successful contractor; in May 1894 and October 1895, he was awarded contracts by the city to lay brick sidewalks.<sup>61</sup> Also around the turn of the nineteenth century, Randall Keele was the first black to serve on the city's school board.<sup>62</sup>

These early instances of African American representation in Manhattan politics are rare, and blacks in Manhattan would not see similar power for almost a century. However, it does correlate to the period when the black population in Manhattan was the largest in history, as a percentage of the overall population. It is also possible that these early political leaders resulted from the beliefs of the town's early settlers. Founded as an abolitionist town, it is safe to assume that at least initially, Manhattan's residents had a more open mind towards African Americans than some other communities. When around fifty Exodusters arrived in Wichita in July 1879, for example, the town quarantined some and shipped them back to Topeka.<sup>63</sup> Confronted with over a hundred refugees from the South in April 1879, Manhattan's leaders at least made an effort to house and care for them, providing rough shelter, food, and medical care. Jobs were quickly found, and assistance came from the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association in the form of loans for small farms, equipment, and shelter for the newly arrived blacks on the edge of town. Furthermore, black youth were initially included in the public classrooms. In Kansas and especially throughout the nation, however, attitudes were changing regarding equality among the races. In 1879, Kansas allowed segregated schools in cities of the first class. Beginning in the 1880s, the U.S. Supreme Court through its decisions began moving toward increasing segregation of the races. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* case in 1896 upheld the constitutionality of separate railway coaches. Three years later, the separate-but-equal doctrine was incorporated into education in the *Cummings v. County Board of Education* case. On September 10, 1901, the president of Manhattan's School Board appointed a committee of three to canvas the feelings of the city's African Americans about the issue of a separate school.<sup>64</sup> Segregation would soon be the order of the day, sometimes as the matter of custom, and other times enforced with the sanctity of the courts.

The period of significance for this context extends from 1865, when a census first recorded African Americans living in Manhattan, through 1903, when the school board voted to build a separate school for black students. The turn of the century also symbolized a peak, at least in percentage of overall population, of African Americans in Manhattan. Representing fourteen percent of the city's population in 1880, and ten and nine percent in 1890 and 1900 respectively, this era would be the peak of African Americans political power for another half century. This era thus possibly represents a period of relatively less discrimination than Manhattan's blacks would face in the upcoming twentieth century.

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., (beginning in 1882), 470; (beginning in 1894), 39.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., (beginning in 1894), 6, 61.

<sup>62</sup> "150 Years of Education in Manhattan."

<sup>63</sup> Craig Miner, *Wichita: The Early Years, 1865-80* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 164.

<sup>64</sup> "150 Years of Education in Manhattan."

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## II. “We were all like family.” African Americans in Manhattan’s South Side Neighborhood: 1903-1954

The Progressive movement in the industrial twentieth century was a period of social activism and reform lasting from the 1870s to the 1920s. In Kansas, progressives worked to pass laws regulating the hours of work for railroad employees, curbing the economic and political power of big businesses, and enacting civil services laws.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, the social activism of the movement, which extended to women’s suffrage, did not generally include white Kansans working for the rights for African Americans. Manhattan in 1903 bore proof that the era of equal rights for all residents was decades away. On May 29, 1903, a major flood occurred along river banks bordering Manhattan. These floods were so severe that they changed the course of the Kansas River. The most affected area was east of 5<sup>th</sup> Street in southeast part of the city.<sup>66</sup> This flood highlighted the disparity of treatment between the black and white residents, as white victims were temporarily housed in university buildings, while blacks had to find shelter in barns.

Manhattan, in spite of its early abolitionist history, was swept up in the growing nationwide movement of segregation of the races. As noted, the 1896 Supreme Court decision in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, which upheld the constitutionality of separate railway coaches, was only the beginning of a string of legal decisions which upheld the separate-but-equal doctrine. Attitudes regarding the separation of races were adopted by Manhattan white residents and eventually institutionalized. The most notable event establishing segregation was the 1903 vote of the city’s school board to establish a separate elementary school for black students, although other measures were less obvious, such as the establishment of the south side neighborhood for African Americans through real estate practices.

Kansas witnessed the brief resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan during the early part of the twentieth century. In 1921, the Klan arrived in Kansas as part of the nationwide effort to revive the organization. Focusing first on the southeastern and south-central parts of the state, as well as Wichita and Kansas City, the organization eventually spread across the entire state. Although many were opposed to the Klan, most notably Governor Allen and newspaper publisher William Allen White, there were many incidents, including an assault on the Catholic mayor of Liberty and threats to Kansas residents. Deciding to work within the courts, Governor Allen started investigations against the organizations that resulted in Kansas legally ousting the Klan from the state in 1925 – the first state in the nation to take such actions.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> “Progressive Movement,” *Kansapedia*, Kansas Historical Society, February 2011. Accessed 25 May 2011. <<http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/progressive-movement/14522>>

<sup>66</sup> *The First One Hundred Years: A History of the City of Manhattan, Kansas 1855-1955* (Manhattan: The Manhattan Centennial, Inc., n.d.)

<sup>67</sup> Charles William Sloan, Jr., “Kansas Battles the Invisible Empire: The Legal Ouster of the KKK From Kansas, 1922-1927,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* Vol. 40, No. 3 (Fall 1974).

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Manhattan saw the rising power of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, but just as other racial demonstrations were relatively peaceful throughout much of the community's history, the documented influence of the Klan in the city were minimal and the opposition peaceful. There are records of Klan meetings at Harrison Hall in August 1922, City Park in June 1924, Bluemont Hill later that same month, and a Klan funeral procession in March 1925, although none of these ever appeared in the local newspaper.<sup>68</sup> The most notable Klan event in Manhattan occurred on October 3, 1923, which purportedly attracted between 3,000 to 5,000 people at the City Park (Manhattan's population in 1920 was almost 8,000). The Klan originally intended to meet at the community house, but city officials refused. Subsequently, the Klan passed out handbills announcing their meeting in the park. In answer, Mayor Barber announced in the newspaper on the day of the rally that he would close the city park at 6:00 p.m. and stationed guards to prevent people from entering for the meeting. That he was "opposed to the klan lectures because of their tendency to stir up religious and racial hatred and that he does not intend to 'let the park be used as a place of assembly at which strife between races or religious creed is stirred up.' The order for closing the park was in the interest for peace and for the welfare of this community."<sup>69</sup> His attempts were unsuccessful, however; even though a few guards were stationed at the park entrance, the meeting went ahead as planned even though the city refused to turn on the park lights. The newspaper reported that the Klan held "one of the largest crowds of the season . . . consisting of students and citizens."<sup>70</sup> The newspaper further noted, however, that most of the attendees came out of curiosity. No further recording of Klan events made their way into the local newspapers, and the group's minimal influence in Manhattan apparently waned when the organization was outlawed in Kansas.

African American enrollment at Kansas State University remained low up through the mid-twentieth century, but the introduction of the first black athlete in the late 1940s foretold of the upcoming changes in segregation that would occur in the second half of the century. In 1953, the Kansas legislature passed an anti-discrimination law in Kansas, making it illegal to discriminate "by reason of their race, religion, color, sex, disability, national origin, or ancestry" in any place of public accommodation.<sup>71</sup> With little enforcement measures to support this new law, there were actually few immediate changes seen in either Kansas or Manhattan.

### *A. African American Population in Manhattan*

After 1900, Manhattan's African American population held steady, ranging from 304 in 1910 to 338 in 1930. However, the population of Manhattan was slowly growing, so while blacks comprised nine percent of the city's residents in 1900, they dropped to three percent by 1930. The black population

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<sup>68</sup> Reporter, *Manhattan Tribune*, handwritten notes, 17 August 1922, 12 June 1924, 24 June 1924, 12 February 1925, Riley County Historical Museum, Manhattan, Kansas.

<sup>69</sup> "Closes City Park: Mayor Barber takes Steps to Prevent Park Meeting of Ku Klux Klan set for Tonight," *Manhattan Daily Nationalist*, 2 October 1923, 1.

<sup>70</sup> KKKlan Meeting: Public Meeting by Knights of Ku Klux Klan held at City Park was attended by Thousands," *Manhattan Daily Nationalist*, 3 October 1923, 1.

<sup>71</sup> *Kansas Statutes*. Accessed 19 June 2011 <[http://kansasstatutes.lesterama.org/Chapter\\_44/Article\\_10/](http://kansasstatutes.lesterama.org/Chapter_44/Article_10/)>

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increased in 1940 to 413, or four percent of the population. Over a hundred African Americans were added to the population by 1950, but due to a greater overall increase in number of Manhattan residents, blacks once again comprised only three percent of the population. Except for the first two decades of the century, though, Manhattan's African American population mirrored that of the state's in terms of percentage of total population (see Table 4).

**Table 4: African American Population in Manhattan & Kansas: 1900 - 1950**

Date	Manhattan			Kansas		
	Total population	African American population	Percent of Manhattan population	Total population	African American population	Percent of Kansas population
1900	3,438	301 <sup>72</sup>	9%	1,470,495	54,176	4%
1910	5,722	345	6%	1,690,949	54,030	3%
1920	7,989	289	4%	1,769,257	57,925	3%
1930	10,136	332	3%	1,880,999	66,344	4%
1940	11,659	413	4%	1,801,028	65,138	4%
1950	19,056	539	3%	1,905,299	73,158	4%

At the turn of the nineteenth century, a new era of prosperity was ushered in following the severe depression of 1893-1897 – prosperity for some Americans, that is. Although Manhattan's economy provided for a growing white middle class, there were only slightly improved job opportunities for the city's African American residents. It was necessary for most families to have both husband and wife working outside the household. In 1910, most women found employment as laundresses, housekeepers and cooks for white families and fraternities at Kansas Agricultural College. Beulah Bryant and Perry Maxwell were employed as servants in the household of College President Henry J. Waters, while others did ironing at home for college students.<sup>73</sup> Many black men were still confined to unskilled labor in odd jobs or as teamsters, railroad and city streets workers, while others worked as porters in shoe shine parlors, barber shops, department stores and hotels. A few men such as Robert H. Jackson were skilled at stone masonry and promoted themselves as contractors.<sup>74</sup> A significant milestone was achieved in 1915 when Giles Cooper was hired as the first black policeman for the city.<sup>75</sup> F. W. Kirk, an Oklahoma college graduate, was appointed by the government around 1916 as a community instructor in

<sup>72</sup> State Data Center, State Library of Kansas.

<sup>73</sup> "Thirteenth U.S. Census", Manhattan, Kansas (1910). Electronic resource, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com). Accessed 2 February 2011; Chaudhuri, 288.

<sup>74</sup> Haxton to Hammond, email 23 February 2011.

<sup>75</sup> Chaudhuri, 287. This milestone, much like the first black council person and school board member, J.M.T. Howell (who was also the first black "constable") was soon forgotten. A newspaper article from 1952 noted that "Last year, for the first time, a Negro was hired on the Manhattan police force," which would have actually been the third black policeman. "City Progresses in Civil Rights," in Riley County black history files, 9 March 1952.

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gardening, hog and poultry raising, fruit growing and canning, and was cooperating with the agricultural department for the Kansas State Agricultural College.<sup>76</sup>

These general employment trends continued into the 1930s, when the federal census revealed that most women worked as domestics or cooks. Lorraine Alexander ran the movie projector at the Wareham Theater in the 1930s and 1940s, and George Giles played professional baseball in the National Negro League with the Kansas City Monarchs and other clubs.<sup>77</sup> The Depression was especially hard on black families, not only in Manhattan but across the country. Rosa Murray Hickman reported that although they were poor, neighbors helped each other in difficult times. The Murrays always had a garden, they canned fruit and vegetables, and they kept chickens for eggs. Rosa's mother, Deborah Mitchell Murray died in 1931 leaving her husband Moses E. Murray, Sr. to raise their five children.<sup>78</sup>

A snapshot of both socio-economic and living conditions in the late 1930s comes from the work of Geraldine Jones Hurd. Hurd interviewed one hundred families in Manhattan's African American neighborhood in 1937 for her Master of Science thesis. While a student at Kansas State of Agriculture and Applied Science, Hurd accepted the position of Housemother to a group of African American women in Manhattan who were enrolled in the Home Economics program at the college. Due to segregation in campus housing, black students had to not only live off-campus, but were forced find housing accommodations in the south side neighborhood. According to the Manhattan telephone directories, Geraldine managed the group home at 1015 Colorado Street in 1937 and 1938. Since the house relied on donations, it may have closed the following year.<sup>79</sup>

Many of the families in the survey had established themselves in Manhattan as early as the mid-1880s, and reported that they had always lived in the southeast section of the city's Ward 1. A typical household in Hurd's report was comprised of a husband and wife plus grown sons or daughters and often, grandchildren. Twenty of the homes also had one or more roomers which contributed to overcrowding in the small houses. Eleven roomers in the study were college students. The college administration required those families who lodged students to have their homes approved.<sup>80</sup> As of 1937 the population in the neighborhood was aging; most of the families did not have young children at home, and only one-third had children less than 10 years of age.<sup>81</sup>

Compared to the white population of Manhattan, the African American community was not only small but disadvantaged as well. There were very few with professional occupations: three women were teachers, and seven men were ministers. Others with training included soldiers, a barber, a tailor, a

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<sup>76</sup> "Manhattan Kansas, Among the Churches." *The Advocate*, 25 May 1917, 3. Accessed 18 March 2011.

<<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>

<sup>77</sup> Chaudhuri, 288.

<sup>78</sup> Rosa Murray Hickman, interview by Barbara Hammond, Manhattan, Kansas, 10 February 2011.

<sup>79</sup> "New Cooperative House," *Kansas Industrialist*, 27 January 1937, 2.

<sup>80</sup> Geraldine Jones Hurd, "Negro Housing in Manhattan, Kansas," (Thesis for the degree of Master of Science, Department of Household Economics, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1938): 21-22

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

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professional baseball player, and a “Director, PWA.” Approximately seventy-five percent of the residents were employed as skilled or unskilled laborers. As the survey was conducted during the Great Depression with the advent of federal relief programs, six percent received income in the form of government relief.<sup>82</sup> African American women in Manhattan earned substantially less than African American men, with the latter averaging \$656 per year, while women and employed children’s wages combined averaged \$317 per year.<sup>83</sup> Although the cost of living in Kansas was lower than that of other parts of the country, the average combined incomes for black families in Manhattan were certainly below a sustenance level.<sup>84</sup>

Nearly fifteen years later, the employment situation had not changed much for the city’s black residents. A report by the Manhattan Civil Rights committee in 1952 noted that there were still few blacks employed in professional jobs, with most having semi-skilled jobs. The committee noted an important first occurring a year earlier, though, when an African American was hired on the Manhattan police force in 1951 (overlooking J. M. T. Howell’s election as constable in 1891).<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, the lack of decent paying jobs compelled many of Manhattan’s young blacks to leave town. Those that remained in town found themselves relegated to an income level that partly dictated where they could afford to live.<sup>86</sup>

The ratio of black students at Kansas State University was also slow to change during the first half of the twentieth century. When Frank Marshall Davis started in 1924 as the first black journalism student, he was one of only twenty-six blacks attending. Later a famous poet and journalist, the university gave him freedom to cover controversial subjects regarding racial discrimination when he wrote for the university newspaper. In 1931, Matilda Amelia Saxton Winn was the only black graduate, but recollected that she generally felt accepted on campus. James Butler’s experience in the late 1940s was different, however, when he was a Kansas State student on the GI bill. Butler recalled that there were only thirty blacks at the university and no interaction between the races.<sup>87</sup>

A turning point at the university was the admission in 1948 of the first black athlete to play for the Kansas State football team – Harold Robinson. The seeds for this event were planted a few years earlier. In May 1946, a campus petition was circulated by students who felt that interracial participation in conference sports should be allowed. Conference officials then ruled that “Kansas State may use

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>84</sup> Roy Lubove, “Economic Security and Social Conflict in America,” *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 1 (1967-68): 61-87 and 325-50. Accessed May 2011 via <http://www.jstor.org>.

<sup>85</sup> “City Progresses in Civil Rights,” 9 March 1952, Black History Files, Riley County Historical Museum, Manhattan, Kansas. Full census records with individual data were not available from 1940 and later.

<sup>86</sup> George Vohs, “Young colored people leave here because of no opportunity for good jobs, Prof. Abby L. Marlatt, RCC adviser, says,” *Kansas State Collegian*, 13 April 1956.

<sup>87</sup> “Butler” K-Stater in Two Eras,” *Kansas State University Alliance*, February 1981, 1-2.

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Negro athletes if it wants to” except against schools having state or local laws prohibiting black participation – at this period, Oklahoma or Missouri.<sup>88</sup>

A Manhattan native and the grandson of Randall Keele (the first black to serve on the school board), Robinson was supported in his dream to play football by university coach Ralph Graham. Graham consulted then K-state president Milton Eisenhower, brother of President Dwight Eisenhower, regarding the addition of Robinson to the team. Both men agreed, and Robinson became the first black scholarship athlete in the Big Seven Conference (later the Big 8, now the Big 12). Harold Robinson received a congratulatory note for this triumph from Jackie Robinson, the baseball player credited for breaking the nation’s color barrier. Robinson received all-conference honors for the 1950 season.<sup>89</sup>

Because of Robinson’s success on the field and the notoriety associated with his scholarship, this event is usually accorded greater recognition for breaking color barriers on campus rather than the other African American students who attended in relatively anonymity. Although Robinson and other early black athletes at Kansas State University experienced discrimination, it was more often when the teams travelled to other colleges for games, rather than on campus. Veryl Switzer, who came to the university from Nicodemus, Kansas to join the football team in 1950. By this time, the university allowed him to live on campus with a white roommate, and Switzer recalls receiving preferential treatment compared to the other black students on campus.<sup>90</sup> Bob Boozer, the only black basketball player in the late 1950s, was named “Favorite Man on Campus” in 1958-1959 school year. Other prominent black athletes at Kansas State University during this period included Manhattan native Earl Woods. Although more recognized today as the father of professional golfer Tiger Woods, Earl broke another color barrier in the Big Seven conference as the first black baseball player.

### ***B. The South Side Neighborhood***

A devastating flood in 1903 covered all of low lying areas in Manhattan east of 5<sup>th</sup> Street, as well as lower portions of the west. Although there were both white and black victims of the flood, the predominantly black neighborhood was hard hit. According to the census data from 1900, the African American population was centered between South 5<sup>th</sup> and South 10<sup>th</sup> Streets to the east and west and between Colorado and Pottawatomie streets on the north and south – often called the “south side.” Within these general boundaries, the majority of African American households were located in the 700-800 blocks of El Paso, Riley, and Pottawatomie Streets, or on Yuma Street between the 200 and 900 blocks.<sup>91</sup> Within their neighborhood the residents referred to the area to the south side near the river - Riley and Pottawatomie Streets - as “the Bottoms.”<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> “K-State may Use Negroes on Team,” *Kansas State Collegian*, 29 May 1946.

<sup>89</sup> Marshall Ice, “I Just Wanted to Play Football,” *Kansas State Collegian*, 19 September 2003. From “Vertical File: City of Manhattan, African American Community,” University Archives at Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS.

<sup>90</sup> “Sports: Bridge Between Black and White,” *Alliance*, February 1981, 1. Vertical File, Alumni, Minority, University Archives, Kansas State University.

<sup>91</sup> Forty-six households were not identified by street address, but assumptions are most lived within the general vicinity.

<sup>92</sup> Don Slater, interview by Kerry Davis, Manhattan, Kansas, 1 April 2011.

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While the boundaries of the traditional African American neighborhood in Manhattan remained basically the same over the next two decades, more blacks moved into the neighborhood and by 1930 the population density was higher.<sup>93</sup> At that time the distribution was heaviest on Yuma, Riley, and Pottawatomie. Exceptions to this over the years were a few African Americans who lived outside the boundaries of this small neighborhood. Usually they are recorded in the censuses as residing at their places of employment, such as hotel servants and porters or housekeepers for individual families. For instance, in 1900 Minnie Downey (age 24) was noted as living [in the home of a white merchant] on Houston and Ora Keeler (age 32) lived and worked as servant in a hotel noted as 402 Houston.<sup>94</sup> In 1920 Harry Morris (age 59) and Arthur Cottry (age 31) lived at a hotel [owned by a white family] addressed as 412 Houston. Morris and Cottry were employed there as the fireman and dishwasher, respectively. Several white employees also lived and worked at the hotel.<sup>95</sup>

In the 1940s and 1950s, some expansion to the neighborhood occurred when a few blacks found residences slightly to the west. However, Rosa Hickman and Don Slater concur that it was not the norm. Rosa Murray Hickman grew up on Riley Street in the 1930s, married and has lived on Yuma Street since 1942. As she commented, “No blacks lived west beyond 13<sup>th</sup> on Pottawatomie and 11<sup>th</sup> on Yuma.” Poyntz was a very strong social dividing line – no blacks ever expected to move north of Poyntz due to social pressures from the greater Manhattan white community.<sup>96</sup>

Although local customs were part of the segregated housing patterns in Manhattan, many of these practices were well established throughout the United States. The Supreme Court’s sanction of the “separate but equal” policy provided a legal basis for white residents to consider residential separation of the races. Nationwide, changes in urban neighborhoods gave rise to methods of residential control as early as the 1920s. Prior to the adoption of zoning, there were unwritten “gentlemen’s” agreements against selling or renting in certain parts of a city to persons other than those that typically occupied the neighborhood. This also pertained to other minorities, including Hispanics. In addition to the unwritten agreements, there were also restrictive covenants appearing in the title of properties for specific subdivisions.

Typical of other communities, black in Manhattan were restricted to a specific area of town that was generally less desirable. Typically it is difficult to compose a snapshot of neighborhood and housing conditions in traditional African American neighborhoods because usual sources, such as Sanborn fire insurance maps, tend to overlook black residential districts. Fortunately a snapshot of housing conditions in 1938 was provided by Geraldine Jones Hurd’s thesis. As a student of Home Economics, she chose to examine housing conditions of blacks living in Manhattan’s southeast quadrant as her focus of study. Her detailed account of living conditions covered the houses on the five neighborhood streets

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<sup>93</sup> Twelfth – Fifteenth U.S. Censuses (1900 – 1930). Electronic resource <http://www.ancestry.com>. Accessed February 2011.

<sup>94</sup> Twelfth U.S. Census (1900). Electronic resource <http://www.ancestry.com>. Accessed February 2011.

<sup>95</sup> Fourteen U.S. Census (1920). Electronic resource <http://www.ancestry.com>. Accessed February 2011.

<sup>96</sup> Rosa Murray Hickman, interview by Kerry Davis, Manhattan, Kansas, 1 April 2011.

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running east/west (Pottawatomie, Riley Land, El Paso, Yuma, and Colorado) and twelve north/south streets (Second to Thirteenth). Her findings establish the earliest guidelines for assessing and comparing the standard of living for Manhattan's African Americans in later decades.

Hurd's conclusion was that housing conditions in Manhattan's African Americans neighborhood were very poor, with most houses needing repair. As this low-lying section of Manhattan was susceptible to periodic flooding, considerable damage had occurred to the homes over the years. Furthermore, the Union Pacific and Rock Island Railroads were located on Riley and El Paso Streets, placing the tracks "at the front or back doors of many of these families' homes; no family was further than two blocks from the tracks." The commercial concerns and railroad-related storage facilities situated on the tracks created an unpleasant atmosphere and the frequency of tramps was a constant annoyance for residents.<sup>97</sup>

Yuma Street was the primary residential street within the traditional African American neighborhood. Unlike Riley or El Paso Streets, it did not run along the railroad tracks and there were no industrial businesses. Yuma was paved, but only on the eastern end of the street from Wyandotte Avenue to South Fifth Street; Yuma and El Paso between South Fifth and South Eleventh Streets were unpaved.<sup>98</sup> In fact, approximately half of the houses in the survey had paved streets in front of the homes.<sup>99</sup> The 1947 Sanborn Map shows that seventeen years later these street conditions had not been improved.

Hurd described the houses "quite old," noting that only four had been built in the preceding ten years (1927 – 1937). However, since the preceding decade covered much of the Great Depression, this was not necessarily unusual; new housing construction was down for all economic sectors. Thirty-eight houses were of good construction, but not all were in good condition; sixteen were of "very cheap construction," twenty-five were very poorly constructed and in very poor condition, ten were less than ten years old, and one stone English Cottage was new.<sup>100</sup> Forty-one families owned property outright and fifteen were purchasing on contract, which accounts for over half of the families in the study. Thirty-eight families lived in houses for which they paid monthly rent. Three families lived in parsonages; one family lived in a home as compensation for working as a watchman of another property; and one family inherited a house.<sup>101</sup>

Some of the renters in the study were likely university students. Denied accommodations on campus until the 1950s, and from renting apartments in other parts of Manhattan, African American students had to live over a mile away in the traditional black neighborhood. Some found individual rooms in houses, but in a few rare instances, students would form group housing. In 1917, the Delta Chapter of the Phi Beta Sigma fraternity was founded by Charles I. Brown. Brown was one of three founders of the national chapter in 1914 when he was a student at Howard University. Having moved to Topeka in

<sup>97</sup> Hurd, 19.

<sup>98</sup> Digital Sanborn Maps, 1930, ProQuest Information and Learning Company, © 2001 by The Sanborn Map Company, Sanborn Library, LLC, Kansas City, MO Public Library <<http://80-sanborn.umi.com.proxy.kclibrary.org/>> Accessed 19 May 2011.

<sup>99</sup> Hurd 51.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 36. Note: The author does not account for the condition of all 100 houses.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 29.

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1914 to teach, he decided to form a chapter at the Kansas State Agricultural Chapter. The “Dangerous” Delta Chapter was the first chapter of Phi Beta Sigma at an integrated campus west of the Mississippi River. The chapter was housed in at least three buildings in the neighborhood: one at 8<sup>th</sup> and Yuma; a larger building at 618 Yuma; and finally at 1020 Colorado, originally a two story house with basement and attic.<sup>102</sup> The fraternity members maintained the house, although most worked in service jobs that provided meals. A housemother visited only a few times a year.<sup>103</sup> The house saw its greatest membership during the 1920s, but eventually the chapter disbanded and they lost the chapter house.

Although Rosa Murray Hickman’s family owned their house at 909 Riley Street, Rosa described it as a “shack,” saying that her father shoveled dirt on the roof so it would not leak. The house had no electricity until she was of elementary school age (c. 1930). The family used wood and coal for cooking and heating.<sup>104</sup> This supports the findings in Hurd’s survey, which noted that only seventeen houses out of one hundred had central furnaces, and eighty-five families used stoves to burn coal and wood for heat. City water was piped into sixty-three homes, six relied on a pump for water, and three families had no water – they carried it from a neighbor’s house. Of the sixty-three houses that had plumbing, only twenty-seven had hot and cold water. Ninety-six homes had connections to city sewage but only half the houses had indoor flush toilets. The remainder has outdoor flush privies with the exception of three old-fashioned privies. One house had no toilet facilities at all. Electricity was in eighty-eight houses, and twelve families were still using kerosene or gasoline lamps for lighting.<sup>105</sup>

The conditions recorded by Hurd in 1937 may have resulted from a number of factors, including the economic circumstances of the residents, as well as the fact they were restricted to an older section of Manhattan. This is the only known housing survey that was conducted in the African American neighborhood during the first half of the twentieth century; it wasn’t until urban renewal and development projects of the 1960s through the 1980s that anyone would once again examine the housing conditions of the south side neighborhood.

As the city entered the 1950s, the unwritten housing practices in Manhattan were beginning to be questioned. The 1952 Civil Rights committee noted that, although there was no city law restricting housing location, blacks in Manhattan had historically lived south of Colorado Street. In the upcoming decades, citizens would soon begin questioning the practices that had restricted African Americans to homes on the south side.

### ***C. Community institutions and organizations***

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<sup>102</sup> “Manhattan, Kansas: The Schools,” *The Advocate [Topeka]*, 25 May 1917.

<sup>103</sup> “Delta Chapter, 1917-1935: Chapter House,” *University Archives & Manuscripts – Exhibits*, 19 June 2001. Accessed online 5 January 2011 <<http://www.lib.k-state.edu/depts/spec/exhibits/pbs/house.html>>

<sup>104</sup> Hickman, interview by Hammond.

<sup>105</sup> Hurd, 42.

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No other community institution was more important to Manhattan's African American community than the church. The churches in Manhattan gave African Americans their first leadership and organizational experience. They were the location of important social and political gatherings. Cultural events and entertainments were held in churches, especially the congregations with active choral groups. The church was the center of nearly all aspects of the African American community, serving not only religious, but the social, cultural and political needs of its members. Most churches also served not only the welfare needs of their members, but the wider community as well. Some churches played a significant role in the education of African Americans, holding both secular and Sabbath school classes. Manhattan's African American churches founded in the previous century continued to flourish, with several undertaking major construction projects in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The 1903 flood caused major damage to the Second Methodist Church; as a result, the original frame building was moved to Tenth and Yuma streets in 1904, and was replaced by a stone building in 1916.<sup>106</sup> The Second Baptist Church started raising funds in 1911 for a new brick building that was completed in 1917. Rev. Bruce, pastor of the Mount Zion Baptist church, led the movement to consolidate the Mount Zion Baptist Church with the Second Baptist; as a result, the two churches merged and it was named Pilgrim Baptist.<sup>107</sup> The Bethel A.M.E. Church built a new frame structure in 1916, and replaced that building a decade later with a larger brick church in 1927.<sup>108</sup> The flourish of construction activity during the 1910s indicates that the churches had not only reached a stage of stability, but as these examples show, a period of some prosperity as the earlier small frame buildings were replaced by new masonry churches. In addition to construction of new buildings for existing congregations, there were new African American congregations organized in the early twentieth century. The Church of God was founded in 1920 and was located at 512 S. Eighth Street. Even in 1932 during the Depression, the Yuma Street Church of God in Christ was organized, housed at 916 Yuma (later renamed the Mt. Zion Church of God in Christ).<sup>109</sup>

Sunday at Manhattan's black churches was an all-day affair. In addition to worship services, there were Sunday School classes for both youth and adults, as well as meetings for various church organizations.<sup>110</sup> Other events were held during the week; some church related, but at other times, the churches provided venues for other cultural or social occasions. Many churches held annual picnics and reunions, drawing large crowds and visitors from out-of-town.

Although many social events and organizations were arranged by or held at the black churches, there were other settings for recreational or cultural events in Manhattan's black community. In 1919, the Yuma Athletic Club was formed with over thirty men, including both soldiers and civilians. The club's headquarters were in the "colored community house" at 311 S. Ninth Street. Likely organized due to the

<sup>106</sup> Geraldine Walton, "A History of Shepard Chapel, Manhattan, Kansas, 1866-1967," Religion and Race Commission of First United Methodist Church, Manhattan, 1.

<sup>107</sup> Ruth Bayard, "History of Pilgrim Baptist Church," Ruth Bayard Collection, Kansas Collection, RH MS P792, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence, Kansas, 2.

<sup>108</sup> *Manhattan Republic*, 12 May 1927.

<sup>109</sup> Walton, *140 Years of Soul*, 100.

<sup>110</sup> Billy D. and Linnetta Hill, interview by Deon Wolfenbarger, Manhattan, Kansas, 11 February 2011.

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lack of recreational venues for African Americans, a newspaper article reporting on the club nonetheless noted that the men played one night each week at the Y.M.C.A. The club was organized by S. E. Cary, who was also in charge of the community house, although "Director McPherson" was in charge of athletics at the club.<sup>111</sup>

Manhattan's African American Progressive Literary Society was active in the early decades of the twentieth century. The *Kansas City Advocate* printed a report of an oratorical contest sponsored by the society at which Miss Edlena Oneal won first prize of \$3.00 for her speech on "The Evolution of the Home." The same article also reviewed a lecture given to "the colored parents at Douglass school" on the subject of "The Care of Children."<sup>112</sup> Celebrations for Emancipation Day were held on August 4<sup>th</sup> each year through the 1930s. The large and thriving black population in Topeka also offered many events and a variety of entertainments. As the Topeka newspaper noted, "Manhattan was well represented at the emancipation celebration at Alma on August 1<sup>st</sup>. The colored population of Manhattan is considering moving to Topeka during the State Fair."<sup>113</sup>

The Negro National League (NNL) was established in 1920 at a Kansas City YMCA. It was organized for the benefit of cities with large black populations. More geographically isolated Midwest towns had to organize their own leagues. The Western League of Professional Baseball Teams (Colored Western League) was a nine-team league that included Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Omaha, St. Joseph, Coffeyville, Topeka, Independence, Kansas City (Kansas) and Wichita.<sup>114</sup> Manhattan had an even smaller population, but historic photographs indicate that the city boasted of its own black baseball team for a while (possibly a city league). George Giles of Manhattan started playing baseball around Manhattan when he was thirteen years old. He even traveled to Salina to play, and was receiving a salary around fifteen dollars a week. At age sixteen, he traveled to Kansas City in 1925 to try out for the team, and was originally signed to play first base for Kansas City at \$120 a month. Throughout his productive career, he played for the Kansas City Royal Giants, Gilkerson Union Giants, Kansas City Monarchs, St. Louis Stars, Philadelphia Stars, Detroit Wolves, Homestead Grays, Baltimore Black Sox, Brooklyn Eagles, New York Black Yankees, Pittsburgh Crawfords, and Satchel Paige's All-Stars. The St. Louis Stars, where Giles played from 1929 through 1931, were considered one of the Negro Leagues' greatest teams. All-star Ted "Double Duty" Radcliffe called Giles "the best colored first baseman I ever saw..."<sup>115</sup> Giles recalled playing games in Manhattan, and team members having to be farmed out to various houses as there were no accommodations for blacks in town.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>111</sup> "Colored Athletic League," *Manhattan Republic*, 22 May 1919, 1.

<sup>112</sup> *Advocate [Kansas City]*, 1 June 1917.

<sup>113</sup> "Manhattan Kansas," *The Kansas City, Kansas Advocate*, June 1, 1917. Accessed online 18 March 2011

<<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>

<sup>114</sup> Jason Pendleton, "Jim Crow Strikes Out: Interracial Baseball in Wichita, Kansas, 1920-1935," in John E. Dreifort, *Baseball History from Outside the Lines: a Reader* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 147.

<sup>115</sup> "George Giles," *Negro League Baseball Players Association*. C. 2000-2007. Accessed online 11 May 2011

<[http://www.nlbpa.com/giles\\_goerge.html](http://www.nlbpa.com/giles_goerge.html)>

<sup>116</sup> Denise R. Harvey, "A Baseball Memoir – George Giles: A Young Man's Dream, a Nation's Shame," *The Manhattan Mercury*, D1.

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During World War II, a social center for black soldiers was built at 900 Yuma, providing entertainment for the soldiers stationed at nearby Fort Riley. Due to the rising number of black soldiers stationed there during the war, and as entertainment venues were already restricted for blacks in Manhattan, it was decided to build a separate facility. Although sources list varying construction dates (1939, 1942), the Army Corp of Engineers built the structure for use as a United Service Organization center (U.S.O.). During its years of operation as a U.S.O., several notable African Americans, either enlisted men or entertainers, visited the center, including Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson and Lena Horne. After the war, the city purchased the building from the federal government and dedicated them to public uses. It was renovated in 1947 and used as a community center.<sup>117</sup> The building contains a gymnasium in addition to several other rooms.

As there were fewer than four hundred black residents of Manhattan for most of the first half of the twentieth century, it was difficult to support many black-owned businesses that catered solely to local African Americans. With Fort Riley located immediately adjacent to Junction City, the latter town supported more black businesses, and Manhattan's residents likely frequented those. However, several small businesses, some lasting a short time, operated in the early twentieth century and helped encourage a sense of pride and independence in Manhattan's black community. The most successful businesses were usually those that accommodated personal services that were denied to blacks by white business owners, such as barbers, beauticians and restaurants.

Most of black-owned businesses were located in or near the traditional south side neighborhood, such as the grocery store run by the retired Rev. C. S. Gordon at the corner of Ninth and Pottawatomie streets, although Ben Gilbert's barber shop was "in the heart of the principal business section of the city."<sup>118</sup> The Rev. Gordon first operated the store out of his private residence, but after two years, he built a new store building next door. In 1910 Margret Ballou was the proprietor of a restaurant at 617 S. Eighth Street and her neighbor Adda Cruise worked as her waitress.<sup>119</sup> Frances Cooper owned a restaurant in 1920 and employed her cousin Bessie Posten as a waitress; they lived together at 603 S. Third Street. The location may have been opportune to attract business from railroad workers. Similarly, Charity Gibson kept a rooming house at 316 S. Sixth Street while neighbors Emma Dawson and Rhoda Brown worked as cooks at a boarding house, location unknown. It may or may not have been the one owned by Ida Martin at 826 Yuma Street. Nearby, Harry J. Wilson operated his own barber shop, Billy I. Fox had a cobbler shop at 1003 Yuma, and Charles S. Gordon was a merchant of groceries at 914 Pottawatomie.<sup>120</sup> Another black-owned grocery store was located on the northwest corner of 9<sup>th</sup> and Yuma streets; this was the site of the later U.S.O. building. Mrs. M. E. Smith opened the Smith Café

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<sup>117</sup> Lori Goodson, "WWII: During and After," *The Manhattan Mercury*, 17 June 1999, C1. "Douglass Community Center," *Parks and Recreation, City of Manhattan, Kansas*. [http://www.ci.manhattan.ks.us/Parks\\_rec/Douglass.asp](http://www.ci.manhattan.ks.us/Parks_rec/Douglass.asp) Accessed 10 June 2003, in Vertical File, City of Manhattan African-American Community, Kansas State University Archives, Manhattan, Kansas.

<sup>118</sup> "Manhattan Kansas," *The Kansas City, Kansas Advocate*, 1 June 1917. Accessed 18 March 2011 <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>

<sup>119</sup> "Thirteenth U.S. Census", Manhattan, Kansas (1910). Electronic resource, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com). Accessed February 2011.

<sup>120</sup> "Fourteenth U.S. Census", Manhattan, Kansas (1920) Electronic resource [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com). Accessed February 2011.

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around 1915 on S. Fourth Street, and offered the “squarest meals one can buy for 25 cents anywhere.”<sup>121</sup> George Giles’ grandmother and mother owned a restaurant at 615 S. Ninth Street, while at the same time working as cooks at the mess halls at Fort Riley.<sup>122</sup>

Second only to the churches in importance, and for the black youth of Manhattan, possibly equal in importance, was the Douglass School located at the corner of Ninth and Yuma Streets. In the late nineteenth century, black students in Manhattan attended elementary school with white students: at first, in the same classrooms, but later in the same building in separate rooms. The 1879 Kansas law that granted permission for school districts to maintain separate elementary schools for black and white students applied only to first class cities, which Manhattan was not. Nonetheless, in other Kansas towns during the late nineteenth century, separate schools were either being established, or their residents were exploring the possibility. In 1890, residents of Independence requested segregated schools, but a Kansas court ruled that the city, which had second-class status, did not have the authority to maintain separate facilities. In 1905 the State of Kansas provided justification for separate schools when the State Superintendent of Public Instruction released a lengthy argument defending segregation of the races.

In Manhattan, the earliest discussion of separate schools occurred in 1879, coinciding with the influx of refugees during the Great Exodus. Although there were various dialogues on the subject noted in the newspapers over the years, the school board did not take up the matter again until 1901, when a survey was commissioned to ascertain the feelings of the city’s black residents. The next discussion of the subject at a school board meeting occurred on July 6, 1903, when two black men representing the Americus Club, Eli C. Freeman and Elis Cruise, presented the views of that club regarding separate schools. At the same time, they also presented a petition requesting free use of the room for a night school for African Americans. The next week, President Brock of the School Board called a special meeting to consider the matter of building a two-room building for black students of Manhattan. Several members of the Americus Club were present. The Board voted to circulate petitions among black residents “with a view to ascertaining their desire regarding the new building.”<sup>123</sup> Three days later, a delegation of residents came before the board and represented both sides of the issue, with many opposing the idea of separate schools. The board passed on the decision until the next meeting on August 3<sup>rd</sup>. At that time, the motion to build a separate school lost on the first vote, but won on the second. Randall Keele, the only African American on the school board, voted to approve the measure on both calls.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> “Manhattan Kansas, Among the Churches,” *The Kansas City, Kansas Advocate*, 25 May 1917, p.3. Accessed 18 March 2011  
<<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>>

<sup>122</sup> Chaudhuri, 288.

<sup>123</sup> “Douglass Grade School Reunion, June 17-18, 1994,” in Vertical File, City of Manhattan African-American Community, Kansas State University Archives, Manhattan, Kansas.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

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As a member of the Americus Club and formerly the teacher at the Grammar Department of the existing school, Eli C. Freeman was clearly in favor of the new school. He wrote a column in the July 23, 1903 *Manhattan Nationalist* "Regarding a Colored School."

. . . the board of education has held its extra meeting to consider the question of erecting on a suitable location a neat two room school building with all modern conveniences, for the accommodation of colored children below certain grades. I was told by the president of the board that a kindergarten for colored children was one of the special features that could be added in the near future. The sentiment of the majority of the colored people is in favor of this project. They see no evil omen in the plan or tendency to go backward. . . I am in favor of the proposition and it is hard for me to understand how any colored person can, consistently, oppose a measure out of which is bound to come so much good for his race.<sup>125</sup>

The remainder of the article seems to imply that the primary benefit of such a school would be to provide jobs for young black graduates, leading to a belief by some long-term residents that the establishment of the school benefited Eli Freeman more than the students.<sup>126</sup>

Scores of colored young men and women graduate, every year, from the various institutions of learning in this state (two such young ladies whose homes are here in Manhattan). By far the majority of these who wish to follow an educational pursuit must go out of the state to find such work to do, when by a different and wiser plan they could be given employment at home, thus making more certain their continuance to the state's population. There being no other source from which our negro educators can expect such work save among their own people, every measure should be considered favoring this idea.<sup>127</sup>

On September 7, 1903, a committee of local African Americans presented a formal protest against the construction of a separate school building. Nonetheless, the Board of Education met in a special session a week later and approved the building "according to specifications," and awarded the contract to Smith and Correll. The speed in which the plans, bids and contracts were awarded gives credence to the possibility that discussions may have been underway for some time. Eli C. Freeman was chosen as teacher of the new school at a salary of \$50.00 per month.<sup>128</sup> In spite of the disagreement among the black community over establishing a separate school, local residents went before the Board again on November 2, 1903 and requested that the school be named after Frederick Douglass. The Board agreed, but unfortunately misspelled the name as "Douglas" for several years. School opened in January 1904, and selected Miss Jones as a teacher; Freeman served as principal.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> "Regarding a Colored School," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 23 July 1903.

<sup>126</sup> Chaudhuri, 284.

<sup>127</sup> "Regarding a Colored School."

<sup>128</sup> "Douglass Grade School Reunion," 1.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

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Increasing enrollment at Douglass School through the 1920s and into 1930 led to discussions of enlarging the building, particularly after the kindergarten class was organized in 1930-31. The total enrollment was forty-five pupils during the 1924-25 school year; fifty-five in 1929-30; seventy in 1930-31, and eighty in 1931-32. When the number increased to ninety-two pupils in 1933-34, the building's resources were seriously strained. As a result, two classes were taught at the junior high school building.<sup>130</sup> However, the increase in enrollment occurred just as the nation and Kansas were suffering from the effects of the Depression, and the city's school district could not raise the funds necessary for new construction. Thus on September 2, 1935 the Board of Education decided to submit plans with the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Two days later they changed their minds, and decided instead to apply to the Public Works Administration (PWA). In the spring of 1936, the Board heard that their application was not granted, so they went back to the WPA. On August 19, 1936, the WPA approved the grant, and a large addition was ready by the time school opened in September 1937. The addition was built in native stone to match the original (both the addition and original school are extant). The building now contained four classrooms, separate toilets, a library, kitchen, cloak rooms and principal's office. The two west rooms had a partition and one featured a stage, so they could be combined into an auditorium. In 1939, the cement building in the back of the school was used for a Nursery School, a WPA funded program. The property for the nursery school was obtained through a quitclaim deed from Randall Keele, "as long as he lives there or moves from there."<sup>131</sup>

A lengthy article in a local Manhattan newspaper in 1942 provides insight into the school's daily operations during this period. The principal, Fred Wilhoite, Jr., also taught fifth and sixth grades, and was joined by Naola Warren, kindergarten teacher; Emma Kennedy, first and second grade teacher; and Hattie Bell Woods, third and fourth grade teacher. Fourth through sixth graders participated in the school band, and the P.T.A. sponsored a penny carnival each year to raise money for various projects, including new playground equipment. The school sponsored extra-curricular activities as well, including the Brownies, Intermediate Brownies, and the Junior Red Cross. Every six weeks, a room (i.e. one of the combined grades classrooms) put on an assembly. Programs for parents included the yearly Christmas program, and alternating every other year, either physical education demonstrations or operettas. Promoting racial identity, the school taught a course in "Negro history" for fifth and sixth graders, where they read books and poetry by black authors, and studied the contributions to science, art and education made by African Americans. In order to prepare students for the abrupt change from segregation in sixth grade to an integrated junior high, there were joint activities among the elementary schools. Sports events, such as track meets and softball and baseball games, as well as exchange assemblies were planned by the school district. In 1942, the newspaper noted that keeping separate schools was costlier in some areas, such as maintenance. Furthermore, the Douglass school teachers had to prepare lesson plans for more than one grade.<sup>132</sup> Although residents may have felt something was wrong about the segregation in Manhattan's elementary level, graduates still recall the school fondly.

<sup>130</sup> "Start Douglas Work at Once," *Manhattan Chronicle*, 12 August 1936.

<sup>131</sup> "Douglass Grade School Reunion."

<sup>132</sup> Roving Reporter, "65 Children of Douglas School Enjoy Classwork, Art and Music," *The Tribune News* (6 May 1942): 11.

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As Geraldine Walton stated, it was part of the larger black community, where teachers lived in the neighborhood, attended church with them, and played cards with their parents.<sup>133</sup>

As Douglass School neared its fiftieth anniversary, the United States Supreme Court was hearing a case from nearby Topeka regarding the constitutionality of separate schools for blacks and whites. Discussing the possible outcome of the case supporting integration, the newspaper noted that “probably the vast majority of Negro pupils would continue to go there. There are some white pupils within the area who would logically attend Douglass School if the building were integrated into the system.” The article further asserts that:

There is no special Douglass district—the school handbook merely says that all Negro pupils from kindergarten to and including sixth graders, shall attend Douglass School.<sup>134</sup>

Although separation of the races in Manhattan’s public school system would not end immediately after the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, there were other small changes that were signaling a new era. A few businesses were now allowing African American patrons. For the first half of the twentieth century, white-owned and operated businesses were off limits to Manhattan’s black residents. By 1952, though, a report of the Manhattan Civil Rights Committee noted that “within the last three years, all theatres have offered all seats open to everyone . . .” and “an increase during the last year in the number of restaurants in Aggieville and downtown which serve Negroes.”<sup>135</sup> Even though the 1950s did not immediately usher in equal rights for all Manhattan’s citizens, it was beginning of a time of change.

### III. “Maybe someday . . . “ Change comes slowly to Manhattan: 1954 – 1972

As a child growing up in Manhattan in the 1950s, Linnetta Hill recalls asking her mother if they could go to a certain restaurant. “Maybe someday” was her mother’s answer. At the park, whenever she would get thirsty or need to use the restroom, her father would suddenly remark, “It’s time to go home.”<sup>136</sup> Thus as a child, she was largely shielded from the ugly truth of segregation and discrimination. Indeed, because of the close family-like atmosphere in the south side neighborhood where they grew up, many blacks in Manhattan were unaware of segregation until they began attending the only junior high school in town with white students. This abrupt change was difficult for many black youth, according to Manhattan native Rosa Hickman.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Leah Fliter “Pre-Brown School Days,” *The Manhattan Mercury*, 14 May 2004, 3.

<sup>134</sup> “Douglass 50 Years Old Soon: 82 at Negro School Here,” *Manhattan Nationalist*, 8 December 1953.

<sup>135</sup> “City Progresses in Civil Rights,” 9 March 1952, in Black History Files, Riley County Historical Museum, Manhattan, Kansas.

<sup>136</sup> Billy D. and Linnetta Hill.

<sup>137</sup> Hickman, interview by Davis.

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The disparity between Kansas' early history as a free state, and the discrimination experienced by Manhattan's black citizens every day, must have been hard to reconcile. In the 1870s, Kansas was one of only three states in the country that had passed legislation on civil rights. When the Kansas Legislature enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1874, it prohibited "any distinction on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Violation of this was a misdemeanor and would result in a substantial fine. Although this established a guarantee to legal freedom, historian James Leiker notes the state's contradictory position throughout its history with a lack of commitment to political and social equality for blacks.<sup>138</sup> This lack of commitment was seen from the very beginning, as the 1870s anti-discrimination law was weak and never enforced. It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that the state finally passed legislation that truly addressed discrimination. In 1953, the state legislature passed a bill enacting fair employment legislation.<sup>139</sup> Another bill was introduced in 1959 that amended the Kansas Anti-Discrimination Act, expanding it to include hotels, motels, and other public places. A version of this bill did not pass until 1963, though, two years after the state passed the Kansas Act against Discrimination in May 1961. Finally, the new Kansas Act Against Discrimination created a Kansas Commission on Civil Rights (KCCR) that had enforcement powers.

Also contradictory to the state's early history was the 1879 act that legalized education segregation at the elementary level in cities of the first class. Nonetheless, it may have been the more tolerant attitude of white Kansans towards blacks, where they rejected racial inferiority and actually believed the "separate-but-equal" doctrine that led the plaintiffs in the Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* to believe they had a chance of success.<sup>140</sup> A few years after the Supreme Court's decision, the nation's first sustained successful sit-ins were organized in 1958 in Wichita at Dockum's lunch counter by the youth chapter of the NAACP of Wichita. Again, part of reason for the significant achievements in civil rights by Kansas African Americans may lie in state's location on the central plains of the United States, away from the violence associated with the movement in the South.

The period of significance for this context extends from 1954, the year of the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, to 1972, when urban renewal projects were started in the neighborhood, changing its historic character and resulting in the demolition of several resources.

**A. *Civil rights movement in Manhattan***

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<sup>138</sup> James N. Leiker, "Race Relations in the Sunflower State: A Review Essay," *Kansas History*. Vol. 25 (Autumn 2002): 221.

<sup>139</sup> Joseph P. Doherty, *Civil Rights in Kansas: Past, Present, and Future* (Topeka: Kansas Commission on Civil Rights, 1972), 8-10, 13-14.

<sup>140</sup> Leiker, 225-226.

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It is possible that Manhattan was ready for change in the 1950s for a number of reasons not associated with the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Returning World War II veterans stationed at nearby Fort Riley were not prepared to go back to the pre-war days of segregation. After experiencing newly integrated U.S. military forces, and then fighting and dying for the rights of all American citizens, many returned home with a renewed sense of purpose. Change was also slowly occurring at Kansas State University, and in some instances, civil rights activities initiated at the university extended into the larger community. One incident in particular is frequently noted. In 1964, a black assistant engineering professor, Dr. Delon Hampton, was refused service at a barber shop in Aggieville, a small commercial area located on the edge of the campus. This event sent shockwaves through much of the community, as University President McCain noted the incident was an “inexcusable indignity” and “un-American behavior.”<sup>141</sup>

As a direct result of this incident, a local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.) was formed in the spring of 1964. The organization’s goal was to eliminate racial inequality throughout the city by negotiation rather than by direct confrontation. Deciding to first focus on barber shops, a C.O.R.E. survey found that out of fifteen shops in the city, seven would not serve African Americans. The group next trained their members in picketing and how to cope with hecklers without violence.<sup>142</sup> In May 1964, however, while picketing two barber shops, their demonstration was interrupted by the burning of a cross in the front yard of Rev. Warren Rempel, a C.O.R.E. member.<sup>143</sup>

Following this, the city passed an ordinance creating a Human Relations Board. In a newspaper article about the new board, although then Mayor Richard D. Rogers questioned whether picketing was helpful to the cause, he noted that “Fort Riley and Kansas State University bring diverse nationalities to our community and we must measure up to the responsibilities of a truly international city even though we are 2,000 miles from seaports. . . Provincialism is a thing of the past . . .”<sup>144</sup>

Changing attitudes towards racial equality at Kansas State University were partly the result of the efforts of the university administration. Starting with university President Milton Eisenhower (serving from 1943 to 1950), but particularly with President James McCain (1950 to 1975), these administrators set the tone for easing Kansas State University out of its discriminatory segregation practices towards racial equality. Some of the discriminatory practices were halted due to their direct actions, but at other times, President McCain’s open attitude toward change and equality led him to accept initiatives led by students.

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<sup>141</sup> “Race Issue Shocks President McCain,” *Kansas State Collegian*, 17 February 1964.

<sup>142</sup> Jan Jernigan, “C.O.R.E. Negotiations Substitute for Sit-Ins,” *Kansas State Collegian*, 23 April 1964, 1, 3.

<sup>143</sup> “Cross Burning Incident Mars Otherwise Quiet Picketing,” *Kansas State Collegian*, 11 May 1964, 1.

<sup>144</sup> “Human Relations Board Sets Rules,” in Black History Files, Riley County Historical Museum, Manhattan, Kansas.

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During McCain's tenure, Kansas State determined that it would no longer support any off-campus housing listings from landlords that discriminated, requiring them in 1967 to sign a pledge.<sup>145</sup>

In 1968, the Kansas State student senate passed a bill requesting an increase in African American faculty.<sup>146</sup> That was followed by rules aimed at preventing fraternities and sororities from discrimination.<sup>147</sup> After Paula Blair was elected the first African American homecoming queen in 1968, a "racial disturbance" led to campus debates about the event and the administration's response. In response, the Black Student Union was formed a year later. In 1970, the group presented President McCain a list of grievances, primarily covering the racism they felt present at the University, but also concerns about the support for minority students.<sup>148</sup>

One key turning point for the university was bringing back alumnus Veryl Switzer in 1969, the same year that the recruitment phase for minorities began at Kansas State. Switzer would eventually serve as the Associate Dean and Assistant Vice-President for university minority affairs from 1973 to 1988. During his first year, minority student enrollment increased by forty-eight students (only ten were athletes) for a total of 175 minority students. By 1972, the number of minority students had almost doubled to 300.<sup>149</sup> Between Switzer's and McCain's efforts, most of the campus protests at Kansas State University were peaceful, particularly when contrasted with events on campuses around the nation. Even at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, often considered one of the more liberal cities in the state, racial tensions were much higher than in Manhattan. Lawrence saw a particularly violent riot by the Black Student Union after the Lawrence police killed a young black man.<sup>150</sup>

Not only was the African American student body growing at the university campus, the African American population of the city also finally began increasing after 1950. After holding steady with between 300 to 400 black residents for the first fifty years of the twentieth century, by 1950, there were now 539 African Americans in Manhattan. Although the percentages of blacks to whites remained about the same during the latter half of the twentieth century (around three to four percent), there were finally more voices when change was demanded. Table 4 shows that the city's black population also remained steady when compared to the overall percentage of Kansas residents.

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<sup>145</sup> John Chalmers, "K.S.U. During the Vietnam Years," (Speech, Manhattan Rotary Club, Manhattan, 17 July 1995) in Vertical File: Campus Unrest. University Archives, Kansas State University.

<sup>146</sup> Loren Kruse, "Senate Bill Asks Boost in K-State Negro Jobs," *Kansas State Collegian*, 21 February 1968.

<sup>147</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>148</sup> *Kansas State Collegian*, 26 February 1970.

<sup>149</sup> JEM, Office of University news, Manhattan Kansas (September 1 1972), in Vertical File: Alumni, Minority, University Archives, Kansas State University.

<sup>150</sup> Craig Miner, *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State, 1854-2000*, (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 346.

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**Table 4: African American Population 1950 – 2010<sup>151</sup>**

Date	Manhattan			Kansas		
	Total population	African American population	Percent of Manhattan population	Total population	African American population	Percent of Kansas population
1950	19,056	539	3%	1,905,299	73,158	4%
1960	22,993	814 <sup>152</sup>	4%	2,178,611	91,445	4%
1970	27,575	731	3%	2,246,578	106,977	5%
2010	52,281	2,179	4%	2,853,118	154,198	5%

Just as the students at Kansas State University started to question the status quo in regards to racial discrimination, local citizens were changing their attitudes, leading some to turn to political activism in order to alter long held traditions and customs regarding the separation of races in Manhattan. James Butler is an example of an African American that decided to make changes in Manhattan. Butler moved to the community from Kansas City, Kansas in 1928. Although he felt that the discrimination he experienced in Kansas City was “bad,” that city was larger (possibly inferring more opportunities) and “at least it had paved streets.”<sup>153</sup> Ironically, it was the issue of unpaved streets in the traditional black neighborhood, long a sore point with local residents that would be used as the springboard for civil rights activism in Manhattan. It was a seemingly small issue – a street lighting project along Juliette Street proposed to end at the intersection of Colorado Street (i.e., the traditional black neighborhood) – that finally forced black residents to realize the inequities in most aspects of their lives. Later Butler would compare this issue to Rosa Parks experiencing what others might consider a small indignity.<sup>154</sup>

The street lighting project was the spark that led a group of activists to turn their attention to the general conditions of the neighborhood. Butler, Madaline Sullinger, and others petitioned the city to clean up the neighborhood and to finally pave the streets, or as Butler called the efforts – “Round 1 – unpaved streets issue.” Although they were successful in getting Yuma Street paved, there were no other substantial improvements until Murt Hanks Jr. was elected to the city commission in the late 1960s.<sup>155</sup> His election came about with a realization that no substantial improvements or action in the housing and infrastructure situation would take place unless African Americans directly participated in local politics. Thus in 1968, a group of six African Americans, including Hanks, James Butler, and Jesse Baker, Jr., decided to enter the political arena. With a coalition that included church groups, black and white citizens, Kansas State University faculty, and university student Human Relations teams, they succeeded

<sup>151</sup>All population data presented in this chart was obtained from electronic sources at [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov), the official website of the U.S. Census Bureau unless otherwise referenced by footnote. Accessed May 2011.

<sup>152</sup>In 1960, African Americans were grouped with “Non-Whites”. Oblinger-Smith determined that 71.8% of Manhattan’s non- white population was African American, which is the number shown in this chart.

<sup>153</sup>“Panel Recalls Manhattan’s Early Civil Rights Movement,” 1.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid., 8.

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in electing Hanks in 1969.<sup>156</sup> Hanks was re-elected in 1973, and served as mayor in 1973 and 1975. James Butler went on to serve key positions statewide, including president of the Kansas chapter of the NAACP as well as chairman of the Kansas Civil Rights Commission.

In addition to segregatory housing practices, there was also racial discrimination at public facilities and private establishments. In some instances, practices that were unwritten but in place for over half a century were quietly abolished when questioned. In the summer of 1956, Robert Robinson was a graduate student in bacteriology. When he tried to swim in the city pool with student friends, he was told he would not be admitted, and that there was "another pool free of charge for him to swim in." Upon questioning the city about this practice, he found that "Colored foreign students have full access to the pool but the pool attendants had been instructed to direct American Negroes to the Douglas Center pool." Robinson then wrote to the City Commission for clarification. The city decided that Robinson could swim in the city pool, if he presented the letter with this decision to the pool manager.<sup>157</sup> This certainly was not a clear victory, but it was drastically reversed the policy experienced for decades by black residents; the only time they had been allowed to use the pool in the past was during the Emancipation Day celebration, and the city disgracefully emptied the pool the day after their use. A panel later recalling the civil rights movement in Manhattan noted that the several changes at the university was even less controversial. At one point, someone called the University administration to complain that "blacks are swimming in our pool." The administrator's response was, "So what?"<sup>158</sup>

The events in Manhattan contrasted with those in other parts of the nation, where the civil rights movement was met with increasing violence in the mid-1960s, especially as it moved into the deep South. Malcolm X, the Muslim spokesperson, was assassinated February 21, 1968. A black veteran was murdered by a state trooper in Selma at the end of the month, and on March 7, 1965 – "Bloody Sunday" – white police officers violently beat black marchers there. However, the 1960s also brought federal legislation that provided a legal basis for equal rights. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 requiring government contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." The order established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. This committee would later become the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1964 after the Civil Rights Act was passed. That landmark legislation outlawed racial segregation in schools, at work, and public accommodations, and also prohibited the unequal application of voter registration requirements.

An important event in this era was the speech given by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at Kansas State University on January 19, 1968 as part of the convocation lecture series. Although it was not without controversy, the lecture was attended by over 7,000 students and led to many discussions on campus. After the speech and a lunch with university administration, Dr. King asked to visit the traditional black

<sup>156</sup> Although Hanks is credited as the first black elected to public office, J. M. T. Howell served sometime prior to his death in 1897.

<sup>157</sup> George Vohs, "Unwritten City Policy Prohibits Negro Use of Play Facilities," *Kansas State Collegian*, 19 July 1956, 2.

<sup>158</sup> "Panel Recalls Manhattan's Early Civil Rights Movement," 8.

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neighborhood in Manhattan. While there, he gave an impromptu speech at Pilgrim Baptist Church.<sup>159</sup> This visit would be Dr. King's last speech on a college campus, occurring only two and a half months before his assassination. At the time of his death, he still had notes from his KSU visit in his pocket. A few days after his death, a peaceful march was organized in Manhattan, starting at City Park and ending at Pilgrim Baptist Church where a memorial service was held.

Besides the obvious significance of hosting Dr. King, the city's black churches played crucial roles in Manhattan's civil rights activities, not only by providing locations for meetings but by sponsoring or participating in race relations studies or civil rights committees in Manhattan. A Civil Rights Panel noted that local civil rights action groups started in Manhattan's churches. Individual Social Concern Boards within each of the churches organized a multi-church Council on Human Relations. These boards possibly had their start in the regular fellowship and study meetings of the Manhattan Ministerial Association, a group where pastors and reverends from most of the area churches would get together. It was here that some pastors, such as Rev. Ben Duerfeldt of the First Christian Church (white) and Rev. L.E. Madison of the Pilgrim Baptist Church (black) became friends. These two ministers often met outside of the Ministerial Alliance and decided to start exchanges between the two churches. Their first exchange was in 1970, and the churches met annually (or even more frequently) for a few years.<sup>160</sup>

As both the nation and Manhattan progressed into the 1970s, the character of the civil rights movement changed. Richard Nixon was reelected president of the United States in 1972, and he began eliminating Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty programs as a concession to southern states. Attention within the movement shifted away from enacting new legislation which enabled basic rights and more towards enforcing those rights that were established in the previous decade.

### ***B. The South Side neighborhood***

Even though there were no formal ordinances restricting housing, unwritten custom and real estate practices restricted blacks in Manhattan to a very small area of town, generally located between South Third Street on the east and South Thirteenth Street on the west. The north/south boundaries were Colorado on the north and Pottawatomie on the south; however on Colorado, blacks generally resided in the 900 and 1000 blocks. From around 1900 and later, Yuma was generally considered the northern limit. African Americans lived primarily between South Fourth Street on the east and South Thirteenth Street on the west (see map in Appendix A). While African Americans were restricted to this neighborhood, however, there were also white and Hispanic families living within the boundaries of the traditional black neighborhood from the beginning.

The great flood of 1951 temporarily changed the landscape in the northeast and southeast quadrants of Manhattan, flooded over two hundred city blocks, and resulted in six to eight feet of water running in the

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<sup>159</sup> Billy D. and Linnetta Hill, interview with Deon Wolfenbarger, Manhattan, Kansas, 25 July 2011.

<sup>160</sup> Rev. Ben Duerfeldt, interview with Kerry Davis, Manhattan, Kansas, 19 September 2011.

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streets downtown.<sup>161</sup> The flood caused twenty million dollars in damage to the city, including many properties on Yuma, El Paso, Riley, and Pottawatomie streets. During the flood, all Manhattan residents who were affected and needed housing were evacuated to temporary shelter in the Field House and West Stadium at Kansas State University. Most residents in the black neighborhood were able to repair their houses after the flood, though, even adding indoor plumbing for those south of Yuma who had not previously had water and sewer connections.<sup>162</sup>

Other conditions in the neighborhood had not changed noticeably as area moved into the early 1960s. The southern portion of the area on El Paso, Riley, and Pottawatomie streets still flanked the rail yards and tracks. Due to the nature of businesses that needed access to rail transportation, the area contained grain elevators, cold storage warehouses, lumber and coal yards, assorted machinery storage, a gas generating plant, Kansas Power and Light Company, aluminum products manufacturing company and bulk oil storage plants, and the city zoning on these streets was “Heavy Industrial.”<sup>163, 164</sup> Living conditions were somewhat better on Yuma Street between 5th and 11th Streets, which was zoned “Second Dwelling House” (Two-family Residential),” while west of 11th Street on Yuma was zoned “First Dwelling House” (Single Family Residential).<sup>165</sup>

African American families wishing to move out of the south side neighborhood had few choices in the 1950s and 1960s, as real estate agents (in a practice known as “steering”) would not show properties to blacks looking to settle in another part of town. Furthermore, as in other parts of the country, some properties or developments in Manhattan promoted segregation with restrictions, deed covenants, and even group pressure on white residents to practice racial exclusions – practices that were common through the United States.<sup>166</sup> The unwritten practices, sometimes referred to as “gentlemen’s agreements,” were prevalent throughout the country for decades. As early as 1924, the National Association of Real Estate Boards established a “code of ethics,” which prohibited realtors from introducing members of any race to a neighborhood that would threaten property values; this code remained until the late 1950s. Finally, the federal government itself reinforced segregation beginning with the Home Owners Loan Corporation in 1933 and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in 1934. The former started an appraisal system for loans by rating neighborhoods using a racially-determined ranking as one of its key criteria. Nationwide, black and other minority neighborhoods were assigned to the lowest or “red” ratings, originating the term “redlining.” This appraisal system was subsequently adopted by the FHA.

In spite of the restrictions placed on housing choices, many older African Americans had a fondness for the historic neighborhood. By the 1960s, though, they were tired of the poor condition of the streets

<sup>161</sup> Kansas Water Science Center, US Geological Survey online database <http://ks.water.usgs.gov>. Accessed 2 May 2011.

<sup>162</sup> Don Slater, interview by Barbara Hammond, Manhattan, Kansas, 10 February 2011.

<sup>163</sup> Sanborn Maps 1923, 1930, 1947

<sup>164</sup> City of Manhattan. *The Planning Process: Long Range Objectives*. 1954:zoning map

<sup>165</sup> Oblinger-Smith, *Neighborhood Analysis, Manhattan Kansas* (1968):19

<sup>166</sup> Arnold R. Hirsch, "With or Without Jim Crow: Black Residential Segregation in the United States," in *Urban Policy in Twentieth Century America*, by Arnold R. and Raymond A. Mohl Hirschs (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993).

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and public utilities in their neighborhood. When the Manhattan Council on Human Relations was organized in 1961, it worked on several projects from small to large, with several focusing on neighborhood conditions, such as petitions to pave streets, enclose the junk yard, and fair housing. A few successful African American families began moving out of the neighborhood during this period. Wallace Kidd and his family were some of the first to move into a traditionally white neighborhood of Manhattan. Kidd was the first black graduate in Entomology at Kansas State University, and continued his graduate study in the same field. He founded a successful pest control business that eventually expanded beyond Manhattan and even into other states. In addition to his success in business, he was the first African American to be elected Commissioner of Riley County. In 1969, he co-signed a loan to secure a house for the Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity at Kansas State University, providing support for young black men on campus.<sup>167</sup>

After being generally ignored by the City of Manhattan for decades in the area of public improvements, the southeast section of the city was finally a focus of planning efforts by the city beginning in the 1950s. By this time, the City of Manhattan was initiating city-wide planning, and as a result, housing conditions in the southeast neighborhood of Manhattan were well documented between 1954 and 1981, either by the city or by graduate students at Kansas State University.<sup>168</sup> Although each study used slightly different boundaries, they focused on an area that lay between Poyntz Avenue and Pottawatomie Street on the north and south, and South Third Street and South Seventeenth Street on the east and west [note: the traditional African American neighborhood was a smaller area within these study areas as seen on the map in Appendix A].

A 1968 report highlighted the segregated housing practices by relaying statistics that showing that, in 1960, nearly all of the black population (797 out of 814) resided in the study area. Furthermore, the report found that the neighborhood contained 234 dilapidated, uninhabitable housing units; although this was only three percent of the total housing units in the city, because they were so concentrated, they represented nearly one-fourth of the houses within a small area. Combined with the number of houses rated "Poor", a good two-thirds of housing inhabited by African Americans in Manhattan was considered by the authors to be substandard in quality.<sup>169</sup> Although the facts gathered for the numerous studies were important, the changes were still slow in coming for the residents of Manhattan's African American neighborhood. As a result, when a 1973 study of southeast Manhattan attempted to interview residents, the authors were rebuffed; residents refused to participate in the survey because they felt that

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<sup>167</sup> "Wallace Kidd Award," College of Agriculture, Kansas State University. Accessed online 14 November 2011 <http://www.ag.ksu.edu/p.aspx?tabid=974>; James Butler, "Wallace Kidd," *Narratives of Ebony: Manhattan, Kansas: 1988 Calendar*. N.P., 1988.

<sup>168</sup> Oblinger-Smith, 1968. Oblinger-Smith. *Housing and Population Data Handbook for City of Manhattan*. 1977. Wilbur Smith & Associates. *Transit Development Program for City of Manhattan, Kansas*. 1976. Kansas College of Agriculture and Applied Science. *The Planning Process – Long Range Objectives of the City of Manhattan, Kansas*. 1954. William A. Porter, Jr. *Analysis of the Residential Structure of Underprivileged Black Neighborhoods: A Case Study in Manhattan, Kansas*. Thesis for Master of Arts, Kansas State University. 1973. Gary M. Lane. *An Advisory Report and Evaluation for the Development of the Community of South Manhattan*. Non-Thesis Project for Master of Science. Kansas State University, 1973.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

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nothing had come of many other such surveys, and they were tired of just talking about what needed to be done. In the end, three community leaders came forward to take part in the discussion: Murt Hanks, then current Mayor of Manhattan, Tommy Starnes, a graduate student at Kansas State University and Assistant Director of the Douglass Community Center, and Marvin Butler, a graduate student at the university and Assistant Director of Manhattan Urban Renewal Agency.<sup>170</sup>

Although residents expressed a desire to stay in the community and preserve it, they emphasized its need for improvement. Residents were still discouraged after years of requests to the City for public improvements. As of 1973, three streets in Southeast Manhattan were still not paved and portions of South Ninth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Streets were still in need of improvement. Yuma Street had become a heavily-traveled truck route.<sup>171</sup> The neighborhood would eventually become part of various urban renewal projects in Manhattan. Urban renewal as first set in motion with the Title One of the Housing Act of 1949, although the phase "Urban renewal" was later popularized with the passage of the 1954 Housing Act. This latter legislation hoped that, through massive demolition, slum clearance, and rehabilitation, that neighborhoods would again become viable. The Housing Act also provided federally-subsidized home mortgages for veterans, which in turn produced "white flight" to the suburbs. This migration, in addition to prohibitive "redlining" practices, left low-income African Americans and Hispanics to be relocated to inner city public housing projects in bigger population centers. Ultimately such comprehensive, aggressive programs proved controversial around the country because they often destroyed the social cohesion and quality of life of residential neighborhoods. The large-scale destruction that occurred, especially in large urban areas, eventually resulted in preservation legislation found in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.<sup>172</sup>

Manhattan's Urban Renewal Agency proposed public improvements in the African American neighborhood in the form of new sidewalks, additional street lighting, and realignment of Pottawatomie Street. Manhattan completed projects using acquisition, demolition, rehabilitation, and relocation to carry out improvements in housing for residents despite the fact that affordable living conditions for displaced residents, particularly those with large families, were scarce. Urban Renewal was a two-part program: 1971 and 1972 were spent on survey and planning, and 1972 through 1975 was the execution phase. The Community Development Program followed in 1976.<sup>173</sup>

The demographics of the study area in 1970 revealed a heavy concentration of elderly persons, female-headed households, young, low-income two-parent families, and a minority population, predominately black. These groups coincidentally demonstrated the greatest need for low-cost housing in Manhattan.<sup>174</sup> During the second phase of projects from 1972 to 1975, Urban Renewal funded construction of new units for public and elderly housing. Nearly 150 single-family and multi-family

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<sup>170</sup> Lane, 1.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>172</sup> David Rusk, *Inside Game Outside Game* (Brookings Institution, 1999), 90.

<sup>173</sup> Juanette L. Foster, "An Impact Analysis of Housing Programs for the Southeast Quadrant: Manhattan, Kansas," Thesis for Master of Arts, Kansas State University (1981): 22.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., citing Oblinger-Smith, 1977.

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units were demolished and new construction resulted in 273 living units within thirty-five new structures.<sup>175</sup> Several of the buildings demolished, and the subsequent new construction, occurred within the traditional African American neighborhood. Community resident Don Slater owns a house that was built as part of these government programs. In 1975 Slater's mother's house on Yuma Street was demolished and his present house replaced it on the site.<sup>176</sup> Federal funding during this period also developed public areas in the traditional black neighborhood, such as Sojourner Truth Park. The Urban Renewal Agency purchased the land in 1972 for community improvements.<sup>177</sup> Now equipped with a shelter and picnic areas, the park is located in the southwest corner of the neighborhood on Pottawatomie between South Manhattan and South Eleventh Streets

### *C. Douglass School – end of an era*

Although the United States Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954 made it unconstitutional to establish separate schools for black and white students, in Kansas cities that already had separate schools, most boards of education simply changed their policies and opened schools to all children based on their places of residence. In practice, with most cities having concentrations of blacks in segregated neighborhoods, African American students continued to attend the same largely segregated school.<sup>178</sup> In the 1950s, however, while the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case was under consideration before the Supreme Court, the Manhattan Board of Education began to move away from its previous segregation policy – in words, that is. Immediately after the ruling by the Supreme Court, the school board was ready with a response. According to board president Harvey Langford and Superintendent F. V. Bergman, there was never any legal segregation in Manhattan. “No white child has ever been refused permission to attend Douglas [*sic*] school, and no colored child ever applied to be admitted to another school,” according to Bergman. Langford noted at this time that Manhattan's situation was “different” in that African Americans were concentrated in the Douglass School area. They did not think if they lived in another area of town, they would have been refused entrance. As a matter of policy, the board had been considering for some time making a statement “on the record that segregation does not exist in Manhattan,” but action had been deferred until a new superintendent arrived. Bergman finally concluded by stating that “members of the colored community had asked for their own school.”<sup>179</sup>

These statements were contradicted by the fact that although there were white and Hispanic residents in the neighborhood, and other white elementary schools nearby, Douglass School alone had an all black student enrollment. Even after the school board's public statement, nothing changed for a few years. Douglass School saw one of its highest enrollments in 1957-58, with 131 pupils. There continued to be

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>176</sup> Slater, interview with Hammond.

<sup>177</sup> Oblinger-Smith, 14, 40,44.

<sup>178</sup> Bright, 369-370.

<sup>179</sup> “Small Effect on Schools in City,” *Manhattan Republic*, 19 May 1954.

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four teachers, including the principal who also taught grades five and six for many years. However, knowing that the school would soon be closing, Geraldine Walton decided to send her daughter to kindergarten at Theodore Roosevelt in 1960.<sup>180</sup> By 1961-62, there were only thirty-eight students enrolled, and just two teachers remaining – Mrs. Marjorie Johnson and Mrs. DeGrate.<sup>181</sup> The drop in enrollment indicates that other parents may have followed Walton's lead, by enrolling their younger children as they came of age at the formerly white elementary schools, while the black students that were already enrolled at Douglass after 1954 likely remained there.

Douglass School was closed after the end of the 1961-62 school year. After the school closure, the school district continued to use the building for the Maintenance Department, and a shop was added south of the school in 1962.<sup>182</sup> The Douglass School building was purchased by the city in 1974. Initial plans for its use in conjunction with the Douglass Center (former U.S.O. building) began in 1970 when Marvin Butler was in charge of the center. When federal revenue sharing funds were made available to the city, approximately \$40,000 was set aside.<sup>183</sup> Although the original intent was to turn it into a museum of black culture, today it is part of the Douglass Community Center within Manhattan's Parks and Recreation Department. The school building was renamed the Douglass Center Annex in 1981, and contains the administrative offices for the Center.<sup>184</sup> The rear of the property is currently used by Flinthills Breadbasket. Across the street, the former U.S.O. building serves as the main building for the Douglass Community Center, containing a gym and several rooms for athletic and meetings; the local NAACP held meetings in the building for several years.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Fliter, 3.

<sup>181</sup> Claire Crumbaker, Clerk of Board of Education of USD #383, May 3, 1973. Taken from Official Board of Education minutes filed at the Education Center, 2031 Poyntz, 3.

<sup>182</sup> "150 Years of Education in Manhattan."

<sup>183</sup> "Douglass School Building Sale Okayed," *Manhattan Mercury*, 20 January 1974.

<sup>184</sup> "Douglass Grade School Reunion," preface.

<sup>185</sup> Charle Sioux Charleton, "Douglass Centers around Community," in Vertical File: City of Manhattan African American Community, University Archives, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas.

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### ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The property type related to the historic contexts covered in *African American Resources in Manhattan, Kansas* include buildings, structures, objects, sites or districts associated with African Americans in Manhattan, Kansas. The period of significance extends from the first records of blacks in Manhattan in 1865 through 1972, when urban renewal projects began changing the physical character of the neighborhood. This project was based in part on previous reconnaissance-level historic and architectural surveys, as well as windshield surveys of areas not yet inventoried in order to determine the types of resources that one might expect to find in future surveys. As such, information about historic resources was limited. Future surveys in Manhattan may add to or alter what is known about the property types that follow, or may reveal information about new property types.

Due to the extremely limited number of extant historic resources associated with African Americans in Manhattan, only two property types based on historic association were developed – residences and community institutions. While there may remain fifty to one hundred residences associated with one of the contexts, there are less than ten extant examples of the other property type, which includes churches, businesses, and a school.<sup>186</sup> However, when evaluating African American resources in Manhattan, it is preferable to first determine if there is a potential historic district. As Manhattan's history includes a long period of housing segregation, the vast majority of historic resources are located within a specific area of Manhattan. Due to demolition, urban renewal and transportation projects, as well as alterations to extant buildings, the likelihood of a large district is low. There may, however, be small concentrations of buildings that could be considered as a district. Sometimes, buildings within a potential district may not possess individual significance or they may exhibit a slightly lesser degree of integrity, yet they may still contribute to a larger concentration of resources that convey significant aspects of Manhattan's African American history. Under Criterion A in the area of *ethnic heritage*, African American districts represent the conditions and places where Manhattan blacks lived and worked during the period of significance. These districts provide important information of the settlement patterns of Manhattan's African American population, and where they were, and were not, able to move to as their population grew. The districts may thus also be significant in the area of *community planning and development*. Even after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against restrictive housing covenants in 1948, it would take longer for blacks to be free to move out of the south side neighborhood; even today, a large number of black residents remain in this neighborhood

While representatives of each separate property type will vary in physical appearance from another property type, all of the resources share at least a few common attributes, particularly in the areas of significance and, in some instances, registration requirements. In the interest of preventing repetition, the common attributes are discussed first.

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<sup>186</sup> An intensive level historic resource survey has not been conducted in Manhattan's historic black neighborhood. A survey may reveal more, or less, resources.

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### Significance – General

The resources are significant under Criterion A in the area of *ethnic heritage* for their association with historic African American activities and development in Manhattan. These resources may have been built for or by African Americans, or they may have originally been built for another ethnic group. If African Americans leased or owned the property during the period of significance, the property has the potential to be eligible. The property types may represent some aspect of racial discrimination, such as segregation in housing or education, or an achievement of an individual African American, such as in the establishment of a successful business. They may be associated with community or social organizations, where the welfare of the African American community was provided for in the absence of opportunities found in other parts of Manhattan. In some instances, there are very few extant or intact representatives of these property types left in Manhattan. The relative scarcity of a particular property type should be taken into account when evaluating its significance in ethnic heritage, particularly if the scarcity itself is a result of racial barriers.

Manhattan's African American resources may also be significant in other areas, such as *exploration/settlement, community planning and development, commerce, education, or social history*. The only school built for African Americans is still extant, and is significant in the area of *ethnic heritage* as well as *education*. It stands as a physical reminder of decades of segregation, yet also demonstrates the importance of education to blacks in Manhattan. Since the construction of the school, as well as virtually every other building associated with African Americans, was built within the boundaries of Manhattan's historic black neighborhood, examples of this property type may also be significant in the context of *community planning and development*. Most of these other areas of historic associations will generally require evaluation on an individual basis.

African American resources in Manhattan may also be eligible under Criterion C in the area of *architecture*. In the area of *architecture*, African American resources may be significant for a distinctive design, form, or construction characteristics that are associated with the building's original use. The resources may possess high artistic values or may be good examples of typical types or styles of popular architecture of the period. The resources, craftsmanship, materials, construction methods may sometimes reflect the ethnic background or socio-economic status of the owners, designers, or craftsmen who were African American. The involvement of African American craftsmen in the construction of a building, whether general contractors, carpenters, or masons, in the construction of a resource contributes to their significance no matter the stylistic influence. Some of these buildings may have been constructed for white clients, or were public projects funded by the city or the University.

African American resources may also be eligible under Criterion B if associated with significant individuals. In these instances, the resource must be associated with African Americans who provided leadership within the community or in the civil rights movement, or who excelled in some area such as education, sports, commerce, politics or entertainment. The accomplishments of these individuals should have occurred during the period of significance, as well as be associated with the property being considered, which may vary from residences, commercial buildings or churches, depending upon the

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area of significance. If there are no other extant properties associated with a significant individual, their childhood home may be eligible. Properties of citizens of other races may also be eligible if they were associated with African Americans, such as those who were involved in civil rights activities. The property should retain integrity from the period when the significant individual either lived or worked there.

A few properties may also be significant under Criterion D if they have the potential to yield important information that contributes to the understanding of African American history in Manhattan. While Criterion D is often applied to archeological sites, it can also be applied to buildings or structures if they are the principal source of the important information which is being sought, such as the dating of certain property types, construction expertise which affected the evolution of a local building technique, local availability of materials, use or ethnic associations. The areas of association might be *exploration/settlement, education, architecture, commerce, ethnic heritage, or social history*.

### **Registration Requirements – General**

To be eligible under Criterion A in the area of *ethnic heritage*, the resources must have been used or built for or by African Americans in Manhattan during the period of significance. Exceptions to this association are those properties that are significant for the role they played in the civil rights movement. In rare instances, a property may not generally be associated with African Americans throughout its history, but was the site of a significant civil rights event. Those resources with a strong association to African Americans in Manhattan may be eligible under Criterion A if they retain sufficient integrity, particularly in the areas of location, setting, feeling and association. Original location is important, although setting is less critical for those properties where it may have been altered in some respect due to encroachment of commercial or industrial uses or loss of buildings through demolition. Therefore, some degree of integrity loss in this area is acceptable, as long as the feeling and association with ethnic heritage and the period of significance can be ascertained. While integrity of feeling and association are more intangible and difficult to measure, they are generally present when other areas of integrity are high, such as location and setting. Design is an important aspect of integrity, to the extent that the form of the resource nearly always indicates the historic function, although some alterations are acceptable under Criterion A as long as the original use of the building is indicated. Integrity of workmanship may not be as critical, at least for those resources eligible under Criterion A. For those eligible under Criterion C, however, workmanship would likely reveal important aspects of construction for those built by African Americans.

To be eligible under Criterion B in the area of *ethnic heritage*, the resources must have a close association with individuals who made significant contributions in Manhattan's African American heritage, as well as being associated with that person during the time of their contribution. For ethnic heritage, the person must have played an important leadership role within Manhattan's African American community, or have made a significant local contribution to the betterment of the race, as in the area of civil rights. The residences that were purchased by families or individuals that broke the racial barrier by purchasing homes in white neighborhoods may be additional examples of a property

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with significance in civil rights, as they were located on what was the “other side” of the invisible boundaries separating neighborhoods. The properties may also be associated with another area of significance, depending upon the contribution or area of specialty of the individual.

Under Criterion C, all eligible resources must retain integrity of key character-defining elements in order to convey integrity of design. Typical key elements include: mass, form, plan and structural elements. Mass and form may be affected by additions to a building or changes to the roof shape. The latter would significantly reduce integrity of original design, but other additions may not seriously lessen integrity if they are not on the primary elevation, are set back from the primary elevation on a side, or are located to the rear. Furthermore, some resources typically underwent alterations, particularly since Manhattan’s African Americans were restricted to a relatively small area of the town. As their choices for “moving up or moving out” were so limited, African Americans often made changes or built additions to their residences or business buildings. These alterations may have achieved “significance over time” when they are evaluated in this context, as they not only represent phases of a property’s history, but the cultural limitations of Manhattan’s African Americans. Later additions outside the period of significance should not overwhelm the resource’s massing from the period of significance. This is generally interpreted as the additions being smaller in mass and height, or being situated in such a manner as not to be noticeable from the public right-of-way. While wall cladding materials also reflect the historic design intent, these too have often changed over time, particularly on the main residence. Changes in wall material should be considered on a case-by-case basis, if the non-original material can be placed and evaluated in a historic context. Any other features that are considered character-defining or that indicate the building’s historic function should be reasonably intact. If a residence is an example of a Craftsman bungalow, it should retain its character-defining porch, porch supports, overhanging eaves and roof brackets – any elements which help define that particular architectural style. The design elements that distinguish the building’s historic use are especially critical, even if the function no longer exists. For example, if a building served as a residence during its period of significance, it should still be distinguishable as a residence.

In evaluating integrity for individual buildings, particularly when the economic ability of property owners may be restricted as far as upkeep and maintenance is concerned, it is important to understand the difference between integrity and existing physical conditions. While integrity is the authenticity of a resource’s historic identity, existing conditions can be defined as the current physical state of its features. For example, the integrity of an abandoned building is based on its extant form, features, and materials – i.e., it retains its original floor plan, fenestration, and roof – but the existing conditions of the actual materials and features may be deteriorated due to neglect or deferred maintenance. A deteriorated building may therefore still retain integrity even if its present condition is poor.

While moved buildings are generally not considered eligible for the National Register unless they meet Criterion Consideration B, if moved to other sites within the historic black neighborhood during the period of significance, would be contributing to a potential historic district if they retain other areas of

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integrity, as they reflect not only the history of development in the neighborhood, but the financial means of their owners.

Under Criterion D, the assessment of integrity (and therefore, the registration requirements) will depend upon the data that is required for the information sought. Thus a property eligible under D does not need to visually represent the historic period, but must sufficiently contain the information in a manner that can yield the expected information. Examples of this in Manhattan are unlikely, however.

### **NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE:** *African American Residences*

#### **Description**

Although African American residences in Manhattan resemble other houses built in the south side neighborhood during the period of significance, as the name implies, they served as the residence for either African American owners or renters. In addition to serving as domiciles, these buildings may also have functioned as places of work for those who washed clothes or operated small restaurants or other businesses. Some of the residences do not necessarily possess stylistic elements or even quality workmanship or materials. Many were simply built, with function dictating the form.

Generally one-story and frame construction, this property type represents forms and styles which reflect the popular or vernacular trends of the period in which they were constructed. Those constructed in the late nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century were generally examples of *National Folk* forms.<sup>187</sup> Most of the *pyramidal family* houses are one-story, such as the house at 816 Yuma with original siding and a three-quarter width porch with simple square columns. There are a few two-story examples, however, which in appearance are more commonly categorized as *Foursquares*. There are several examples of *gable-front* residences, including one- and two-story examples. Some, like the house at 822 Yuma, feature Craftsman-influenced features, such as the typical 3/1 double-hung windows and the 7/8's width gable-front porch with wide, square paneled columns. *Gable-front-and-wing* residences are either one-story, one-and-a-half, or two-story examples. Many of these have additions or alterations, such as enclosed front porches within the ell. 929 Yuma is a one-story example that retains a high degree of integrity. Its late Victorian details, such as fishscale shingles and gable end returns on the gable-front wing, and slender turned porch columns, are indicative of its turn-of-the nineteenth century construction. There are very few houses in the historic neighborhood that date from the post-World War II era; most are small, simple *Minimal Traditional* houses.

The vast majority of African American residences in Manhattan are located in the south side neighborhood (see Appendix A), although a few residences are located in historically white neighborhoods, and were among the first purchased by African Americans outside of the traditional

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<sup>187</sup>A term popularized by Virginia & Lee McAlester in *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 89.

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black neighborhood. Some of these may be associated with black professors at K-State, or a prominent entrepreneur such as Wallace Kidd, founder of the Anti-Pest Company.

### Significance

In addition to the significance in *ethnic heritage* under Criterion A noted in the general requirements, these residences may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of *architecture*. They may be good examples of a type or method of construction that reflect the conditions of the period, or may be typical representatives of popular residential architecture. The vast majority of extant African American residences are examples of *National Folk* housing, and are typical of other modest residences built across the country during this period. In many instances, the buildings lack architectural embellishment. Residences reflected nationwide trends, and appear similar to those found throughout Manhattan in other neighborhoods of similar income level. The involvement of African American craftsmen in the construction of a building in the construction of these buildings contributes to their significance no matter the stylistic influence. Most of the known black craftsmen in Manhattan were stone masons, however, while the majority of houses owned by African Americans were frame. The relatively few stylistic references tend to reflect twentieth century architectural trends, such as stylistic features from *Twentieth-Century Revival* and *American Movement Houses*, with some examples from the *Prairie* and *Craftsman* styles.

Due to the limited opportunities for professional jobs in Manhattan and the reduced economic opportunities for African Americans, it was common within the black community to update the appearance of their existing residences instead of “moving up” to a larger house. Furthermore, Manhattan’s African Americans could not move out the traditional black neighborhood due to the unwritten real estate restrictions that existed in the community. For much of the period of significance, it was virtually impossible to obtain financing to purchase a new home. Alterations to an earlier existing home, if present during the historic period of significance and associated with African American residents, should be reviewed on a case-by-case basis as they may have achieved their own significance over time. In part because of the small African American population during the historic period of significance, but also due to periodic damage from flooding and demolition during urban renewal projects, there are few unchanged African American. Therefore, the rare intact examples that are a good representation of a particular style or type may be significant under Criterion C.

Under Criterion A, several residences built as single-family houses were used by black students at Kansas State University. Denied on-campus housing and refused rooms at other rental units throughout the city, the students were forced to rent in the traditional black neighborhood and had to walk greater distances to class than their white counterparts. Most of these rental units were rooms within a single-family house, but in a few very rare instances, students or organizations banded together to rent or purchase an entire building. The Delta Chapter of Phi Beta Sigma used at least three different buildings as their chapter building from 1917 through the 1930s. Another off-campus housing arrangement during the 1930s was the residence for a group of African American women who were enrolled in the Home Economics program at the college; the housemother was Geraldine Hurd, who was working on her

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Master's degree. While the rare extant examples of these group homes are especially significant, the other residences that rented rooms to African American students are also significant as examples of the discriminatory housing practices that existed at the university up to the 1950s.

As noted in the general registration requirements, single-family residences may also be eligible under Criterion B for their association with historically significant African Americans. The residence may have housed one of the few professionally trained individuals, such as a teacher or principal at Douglass School, a minister, or one of the first African American professors at Kansas State University. Other residences of African Americans that achieved "firsts" would be Randall Keele, the first black member of the school board; individuals that were elected to local public offices such as Murt Hanks, Jr.; or those who worked in civil rights or neighborhood issues, such as James Butler or Madaline Sullinger. Finally, some of the individuals whose residences may be eligible under Criterion B may be better recognized for their service within the African American community rather than through city-wide accomplishments.

### Registration Requirements

In addition to the previously noted general registration requirements for associations with ethnic heritage, a residence may also be eligible under Criterion C in the area of *architecture*. In these instances, the building must retain integrity in the areas of design, materials and often workmanship. For those originally modest buildings, facade alterations or loss of key character-defining features would have a negative impact on integrity. The historic floor plan should be evident, although small additions to the rear do not seriously lessen integrity. Historic fenestration, facade symmetry (or asymmetry) and exterior finishes should also be intact. The historic plan and mass of the front porch should also be intact. However, it is an African American house in Manhattan to have survived to the present time without alteration. Replacement of window or roof materials is common. It is also common to find houses with additions made over the years, particularly to the rear. In some instances, alterations and additions may have drastically altered the historic appearance of the house, rendering it incapable of conveying its original architectural significance; these examples would not be eligible under Criterion C.

### NAME OF PROPERTY TYPE: *African American Community Institutions*

#### Description

This property type includes churches, the school and community buildings, buildings housing fraternal, social or civic groups, and businesses. This is a broad category or sub-type, but in general it represents those resources that provided a space for social, cultural, recreational, political or religious functions within Manhattan's African American community. They may be buildings or sites that provided either public or private meeting places for a variety of reasons. If buildings, they were generally larger and more substantial than residences, such as churches or the school. One or two stories high, several were brick or masonry. These buildings were all located in the historic south side neighborhood. Due to the limited means of most of the organizations, they may be modestly designed.

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Churches were likely the first buildings in Manhattan to provide a private meeting place for African Americans. The historic examples are brick or stone; all are located in Manhattan's traditional black neighborhood, and share associations of setting and location. Other community buildings include the Douglass School and U.S.O. building (later a recreation center).

African American commercial buildings are extremely rare in Manhattan. They were generally simpler in design and materials than other commercial buildings in Manhattan, representing the means of their owners. Many were located in the homes of the owners, and therefore are residential in appearance. The only African American school is a simple one-story building, constructed of native stone that is found on many buildings in Manhattan.

### **Significance**

Community institution buildings represent the supportive community environment developed by Manhattan's African Americans in the face of racial discrimination. They were the places where African Americans could safely associate with friends, celebrate milestones, worship, receive an education, or plan for civic engagement. They were critical to the development of community character. Barred from much of the rest of Manhattan's society, examples of this property type allowed African Americans to work within their own society and thus have some measure of control over their lives. These buildings and sites were important training grounds for future leaders in the black community and the city at large. Since there were so few commercial buildings in Manhattan during the historic period of significance, and even fewer extant examples, the remaining buildings take on a greater significance.

No other community institution was more important to the African American community than the church. The earliest churches in Manhattan gave African Americans their first leadership and organizational experience. In addition to meeting the religious needs of their congregation, they were also centers of cultural, social and political activities. Most churches had welfare committees for their members in need. Manhattan's black churches were also the site of the first organized efforts for civil rights in the community. Finally, most churches played a significant role in the education of African Americans, holding both secular and Sabbath school classes.

Commercial buildings owned or operated by African Americans provided entrepreneurial opportunities that were otherwise denied to them in Manhattan. These black-owned businesses also provided important services to the African American community, where they could be served or entertained in an environment free of racial discrimination. African Americans were either excluded from restaurants, or restricted to certain areas in theaters, or treated as second-class citizens in stores. Businesses that were owned by African Americans filled an important need in the community. As African Americans generally made less than their white counterparts, many blacks in Manhattan opened a small business as a secondary source of income. George Giles' mother and grandmother were both cooks at Fort Riley, but also operated a restaurant catering to the Hispanics working on the railroads.

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**Registration requirements**

For church buildings to be eligible, they need to first satisfy National Register Criteria Consideration A which states that religious properties must derive their primary significance from architectural distinction or historic importance. A religious property must also meet either Criterion A or C, or both. To meet Criterion A, religious properties should be associated with other secular activities, or have played a role in the social, cultural or political history of the African American community.

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**GEOGRAPHICAL DATA**

The geographical area covered by this MPDF encompasses all of the current incorporated city of Manhattan, Riley County, Kansas. A majority of the known and potential historic resources associated with African Americans are located primarily in south side neighborhood bounded by Colorado Street on the north and Pottawatomie Street on the south; South Third Street on the east and South Twelfth Street on the west.

However, there are a few historical instances where an African American family broke the color barrier in Manhattan and moved into a previously white neighborhood. When the significant date for these buildings has reached at least fifty years of age, these may also be eligible.

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### **SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS**

The Multiple Property Documentation Form for *African American Resources in Manhattan, Kansas* was developed to provide a broad context for evaluating the extant built resources associated with African American activities in Manhattan, Kansas. The geographic area covers the 2011 incorporated city limits.

The project began with archival research about African Americans in Manhattan and Kansas. This information, used to develop the historic contexts and property types, was based on a study of both primary and secondary sources. These sources include census records, Sanborn maps, previous surveys, city and county histories, historic newspapers, city government records, private publications and resources, and historic photographs. These sources were found at local libraries, local museums or historical societies, and local governments. After preliminary background research, existing reconnaissance-level surveys of the neighborhood were reviewed. Next, a windshield survey was conducted in the historic African American neighborhood. Past historic surveys in Manhattan were reconnaissance-level only, and beyond noting the general area where blacks lived, did not note which properties were associated with African Americans.

Based on the background information gathered through both archival and field research, the historic contexts represent the major temporal periods of African American development in Manhattan. Due to the small African American population during the period of significance established for the temporal-based contexts, the associated historic resources are extremely rare. Nonetheless, it is recommended that an intensive-level survey be conducted, in order to determine the eligibility of the extant resources. The single property type and registration requirements were based on the low number of extant resources that were reviewed during the reconnaissance windshield survey. Such a survey may result in revised recommendations for registration requirements, but it is unlikely that the historic contexts will require major revisions.

The MPDF was partially funded by Federal funds from the Historic Preservation Fund administered by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior and for the Kansas State Historical Society. Deon Wolfenbarger, historic preservation consultant for Three Gables Preservation, prepared the document. Research team members were Barbara Hammond, and Kerry Davis of Preservation Solutions LLC. Project coordinators for City of Manhattan were Lance Evans and Cameron Moeller. Certified Local Government Coordinator for Kansas was Katrina Ringler, and project coordinator for the Kansas State Historic Preservation Office was Sarah Martin, National Register Coordinator. Donna Rae Pearson of the Kansas Historical Society reviewed Section E. All meet federal standards 36 CFR-61 for historic preservation consultants, with the areas of landscape architecture, history, and historic preservation represented.

Local residents (past and present) shared their stories in oral interviews and provided access to personal documents. These included: Don Slater, Rosa Hickman, Pat Patton, Mrs. Arlene Cole, James Boyer,

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Billy D. and Linnetta Hill, Geraldine Walton, Rev. Ben Duerfeldt, Dr. Tracy DeWitt, Sr., Rev. Rachel Williams-Glenn, and Nancy and Page Twiss. Kansas State University professors James and Bonnie Sherow also provided access to student papers on local history conducted over the years. Some of these students conducted oral interviews with local residents, now deceased. Significant assistance with research at various local repositories was provided by Linda Glasgow, Riley County Museum; Pat Patton, Kansas State University Archives; and Susan Withee, Manhattan Public Library

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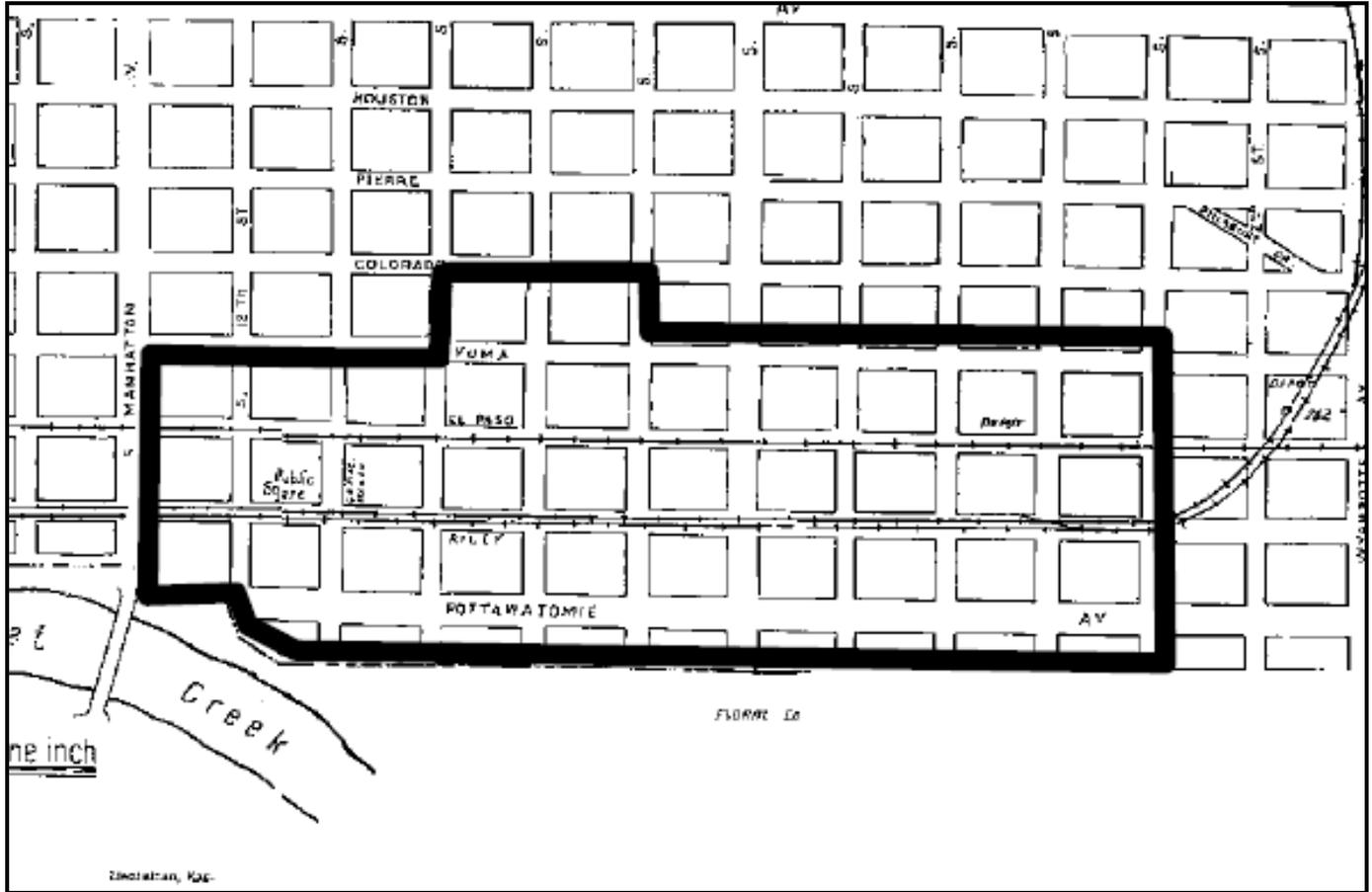
***Mapping credits:***

Barbara Hammond

### Appendix A

#### Manhattan's African American Neighborhood, ca. 1930

*The heavy black line delineates the general boundaries of the historic African American neighborhood.*



Although African Americans were mostly confined to renting and owning homes in this neighborhood, historically there were also white and Hispanic families living within these boundaries.

## Appendix B

Citations, Table 2: African American Population 1860 – 1900

Date	Manhattan			Kansas		
	Total population	African American population	Percent of Manhattan population	Total population	African American population	Percent of Kansas population
1860	unknown	unknown		107,206 <sup>a</sup>	627 <sup>b</sup>	.06%
1865	381 <sup>c</sup>	10 <sup>d</sup>	3%			
1870	1,173 <sup>e</sup>	65 <sup>f</sup>	6%	364,399 <sup>g</sup>	17,108 <sup>h</sup>	5%
1880	2,105 <sup>i</sup>	289 <sup>j</sup>	14%	996,096 <sup>k</sup>	43,107 <sup>l</sup>	4%
1890	3004 <sup>m</sup>	307 <sup>n</sup>	10%	1,428,108 <sup>o</sup>	49,710 <sup>p</sup>	3%
1900	3,438 <sup>q</sup>	301 <sup>r</sup>	9%	1,470,495 <sup>s</sup>	54,176 <sup>t</sup>	4%

<sup>a</sup> *Ninth Census, Volume I*, "Population by States and Territories 1790-1870, Table I". Washington. Government Printing Office, 1872, pg 3. [www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1870a-03.pdf](http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1870a-03.pdf). Accessed 3 February 2011.

<sup>b</sup> *Ninth Census, Volume I*, Table I. 1872. xi. Accessed 3 February 2011.

<sup>c</sup> Patricia J. O'Brien, "The First Blacks in Manhattan-Riley County, Kansas." Unpublished, n.d. Data mentioned in text, no source cited.

<sup>d</sup> Kansas State Census Collection, 1855-1925. Data derived from keyword search (Manhattan, black, 1865)

[http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=KSstatecen&rank=1&new=1&so=3&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=ms\\_r\\_db&msrpn\\_\\_ftp=Manhattan%2C+Riley%2C+Kansas%2C+USA&msrpn=72753&msrpn\\_PInfo=8%7C0%7C1652393%7C0%7C2%7C3249%7C19%7C0%7C2522%7C72753%7C0%7C&gskw=Manhattan&dbOnly=\\_F0003988%7C\\_F0003988\\_x&dbOnly=\\_83004005%7C\\_83004005\\_x&dbOnly=\\_83004006%7C\\_83004006\\_x&\\_83004002=black&rg\\_81004041\\_\\_date=1865&uidh=if2&=b&=r&=y&=0](http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=KSstatecen&rank=1&new=1&so=3&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=ms_r_db&msrpn__ftp=Manhattan%2C+Riley%2C+Kansas%2C+USA&msrpn=72753&msrpn_PInfo=8%7C0%7C1652393%7C0%7C2%7C3249%7C19%7C0%7C2522%7C72753%7C0%7C&gskw=Manhattan&dbOnly=_F0003988%7C_F0003988_x&dbOnly=_83004005%7C_83004005_x&dbOnly=_83004006%7C_83004006_x&_83004002=black&rg_81004041__date=1865&uidh=if2&=b&=r&=y&=0) Accessed 7 February 2011.

<sup>e</sup> William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, "Riley County, Part I, Population by Federal Census." Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1883.

[http://www.kancoll.org/books/cutler/riley/riley-co-p1.html#MAP\\_AND\\_POPULATION](http://www.kancoll.org/books/cutler/riley/riley-co-p1.html#MAP_AND_POPULATION). Accessed 19 March 2011.

<sup>f</sup> Ninth Federal Census (1870). Data derived from keyword search (*black; Riley County*); transcription and hand-count of names.

<http://persi.heritagequestonline.com.proxy.kumc.edu:2048/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/hitlist?series=9&state=25&county=riley&race=1&countyid=1559&countyid=1559&hitcount=29>

<sup>g</sup> *Ninth Census, Volume I*, Table I. 1872. 3. Accessed 3 February 2011.

<sup>h</sup> *Ninth Census, Volume I*, Table I. 1872. xi. Accessed 3 February 2011.

<sup>i</sup> Cutler, *History of the state of Kansas*, "Riley County Part I, Population by Federal Census."

<sup>j</sup> *Tenth Federal Census* (1880). Data derived from keyword search (*black; mulatto; Manhattan City*); transcription and hand-count of names.

[http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1880usfedcen&rank=1&new=1&so=3&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=ms\\_db&msrpn\\_\\_ftp=Manhattan%2C+Riley%2C+Kansas%2C+USA&msrpn=72753&msrpn\\_PInfo=8%7C0%7C1652393%7C0%7C2%7C3249%7C19%7C0%7C2522%7C72753%7C0%7C&dbOnly=\\_83004045%7C\\_83004045\\_x&dbOnly=\\_83004006%7C\\_83004006\\_x&dbOnly=\\_F000279A%7C\\_F000279A\\_x&\\_83004002=black%2C+negro%2C+mulatto&uidh=if2&=b&=r&=y&=0](http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1880usfedcen&rank=1&new=1&so=3&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=ms_db&msrpn__ftp=Manhattan%2C+Riley%2C+Kansas%2C+USA&msrpn=72753&msrpn_PInfo=8%7C0%7C1652393%7C0%7C2%7C3249%7C19%7C0%7C2522%7C72753%7C0%7C&dbOnly=_83004045%7C_83004045_x&dbOnly=_83004006%7C_83004006_x&dbOnly=_F000279A%7C_F000279A_x&_83004002=black%2C+negro%2C+mulatto&uidh=if2&=b&=r&=y&=0) Accessed 5 Feb 2011.

<sup>k</sup> *Statistics on the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census*, "Population Classified by Race, Table XVI." Washington. Government Printing Office, 1882, p. XXXIV. <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1880.html>. Accessed 22 February 2011.

<sup>l</sup> *Statistics on the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census*, Table XX", p. XXXVII. Accessed 22 February 2011.

<sup>m</sup> *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, Part I*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office. 1895, p. 385.

<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1890.html> Accessed 15 February 2011.

<sup>n</sup> Peter Haxton, State Data Center Coordinator, State Library of Kansas, 300 SW 10<sup>th</sup> Avenue, Topeka, KS 66612. Manhattan population figures from state census files via email to Barbara Hammond. 24 February 2011.

<sup>o</sup> *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, Part I*. 1895, p. xiv.

<sup>p</sup> *Ibid.* p. xciii.

<sup>q</sup> *Population of Cities in Kansas, 1900-2010*. <http://www.ipsr.ku.edu/ksdata/ksah/population>. Accessed 9 February 2011.

<sup>r</sup> Haxton, State Data Center, State Library of Kansas.

<sup>s</sup> *1990 Census of Population and Housing*, Table 16: "Population 1790 – 1990." Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1990.

<http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html>. Accessed 15 February 2011.

<sup>t</sup> *Population of Cities in Kansas, 1900-2010*.

### **Appendix C**

The following Manhattan properties may be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under the registration requirements listed in this MDPF:

**Douglass Elementary School**

901 Yuma Street

**Shepard Chapel**

928 Yuma Street

**U.S.O. Building (*Douglass Community Center*)**

900 Yuma Street

**George Giles residence**

826 Yuma Street

In addition to serving as the residence of the Giles family, several famous African Americans stayed here while passing through, including Jackie Robinson, Satchel Paige, Buck O'Neil, Lena Horne, Marian Anderson, Duke Ellington, and others who played at the Douglass U.S.O. in the 1940s.

**George Giles Motel**

605 S. 9<sup>th</sup> Street

**Minnie Howell Champs residence**

618 Yuma Street

**Phi Beta Sigma House**

1020 Colorado Street

**Miles Woods residence**

1015 Yuma Street

**Dawson residence**

1010 Yuma Street