

School of Architecture



Visibilizing African American Heritage in Fayetteville, Arkansas: The Spout Spring Neighborhood (1837-Present)

Project Title: Visibilizing African American Heritage in Fayetteville, Arkansas: The Spout Spring Neighborhood (1837-Present)

Month/Year Completed: June 2024

Role of Nominee: Studio Instructor

Collaborators & Funding Sources Expenses: National Endowment for the Arts grant

2 Design Center Project Designers/Architects funded by School & grant

1 Design Center Administrative Assistant funded by School

2 Collaborating Landscape Architects at 10 hours each funded by grant

1 Archeologist in remote sensing and GIS research at 15 hours funded by State

1 Municipal Planner at 20 hours funded by City

1 Co-Founder and Artist of a Black heritage organization at 50 hours funded by multiple grants

2 Regional Historians at 30 hours and 10 hours funded by State

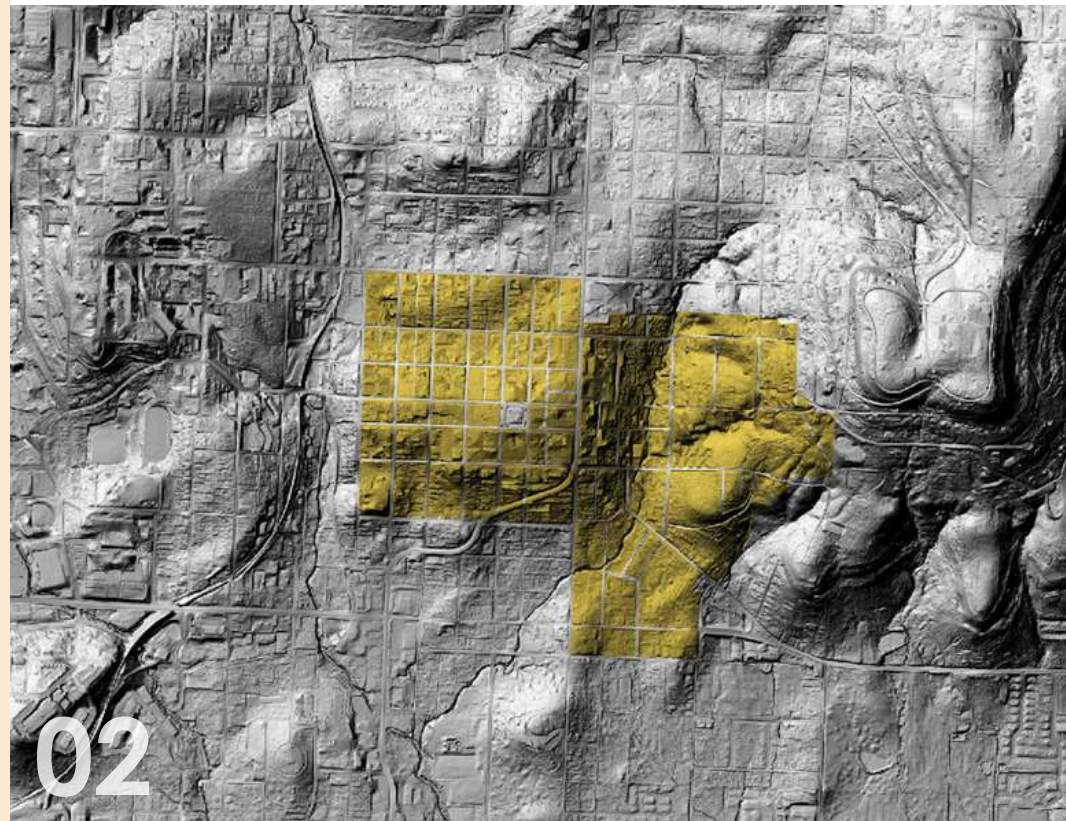
1 Museum Curator at 8 hours funded by museum

3 State, City, and University Archivists at 5 hours each funded by State

Spout Spring Residents interviews at 25 hours total

Student Compensation: 4 Students for a 6-credit Spring 2024 studio course

2 Students working as paid Research Assistants at 100 hours each funded by grant



"It is time to expand the use of African American or Black urban history as a richer way of understanding the rise and development of U.S. cities in general and of U.S. urban planning in particular. . . . In fact, one cannot fully understand the history of U.S. urban planning without understanding something about the Black urban experience, including the initiatives of community organizations, activists, planners, and politicians on behalf of their own communities."

June Manning Thomas and Marsha Ritzdorf, *Urban Planning and the African American Community; In the Shadows*

the spout spring neighborhood: segregation by design and Black citymakers
cultural mapping
Blacks once one-third of fayetteville's population
african american population in fayetteville



segregation by design Instruments of Segregation

- Black spatial segregation in the united states
- urban planning in hypersegregation
- spout spring and downtown street networks: the rural extension of town 1838
- spout spring and downtown street networks: farmsteads 1908
- spout spring subdivisioning: speculation and gentrification threats 1910
- spout spring and downtown street networks: proximate but separate 1930s
- spout spring street network: nelson hackett boulevard and peak housing 1952
- spout spring housing removal 1960; exit from the neighborhood
- public education systems in hypersegregation
- fayetteville, "athens of the ozarks"; antebellum and reconstruction schools
- fayetteville public schools: "separate but equal" facilities
- secondary education: Blacks had to leave fayetteville
- the university of arkansas was a reconstruction era school
- the "six pioneers": Blacks enter the university of arkansas but had to live in spout spring
- urban renewal in hypersegregation
- master city plan and public works program (1945): Black neighborhood removal
- master city plan and public works program (1945)—"a city of homes; a place where people live"
- program for community renewal: fayetteville, arkansas (1968) neighborhood removal, again
- program for community renewal: fayetteville, arkansas (1968) spout spring
- zoning laws in hypersegregation
- zoning: early efforts to remake spout spring
- 1951 zoning map: fayetteville's first zoning map
- 1966 zoning map: turning spout spring into tenement (low-income) housing?
- 1970 crayon map: creating dual housing markets
- public housing in hypersegregation
- spout spring public housing: willow heights 1971
- willow heights public housing: attempted gentrification 2018
- fayetteville public housing 1970s
- public works in hypersegregation
- public works: fayetteville confederate cemetery
- public works: oaks cemetery, Black historic cemetery
- public works: street pavement and improvement
- public works: spout spring sewer lines
- public works: spout spring water supply lines
- public works: fayetteville filter plant and reservoir 1894
- public works: fire hydrants 1965
- public works: privies 1965
- public works: streetlights 1965

the spout spring neighborhood

the landscapes, social geographies, and stories of a segregated community

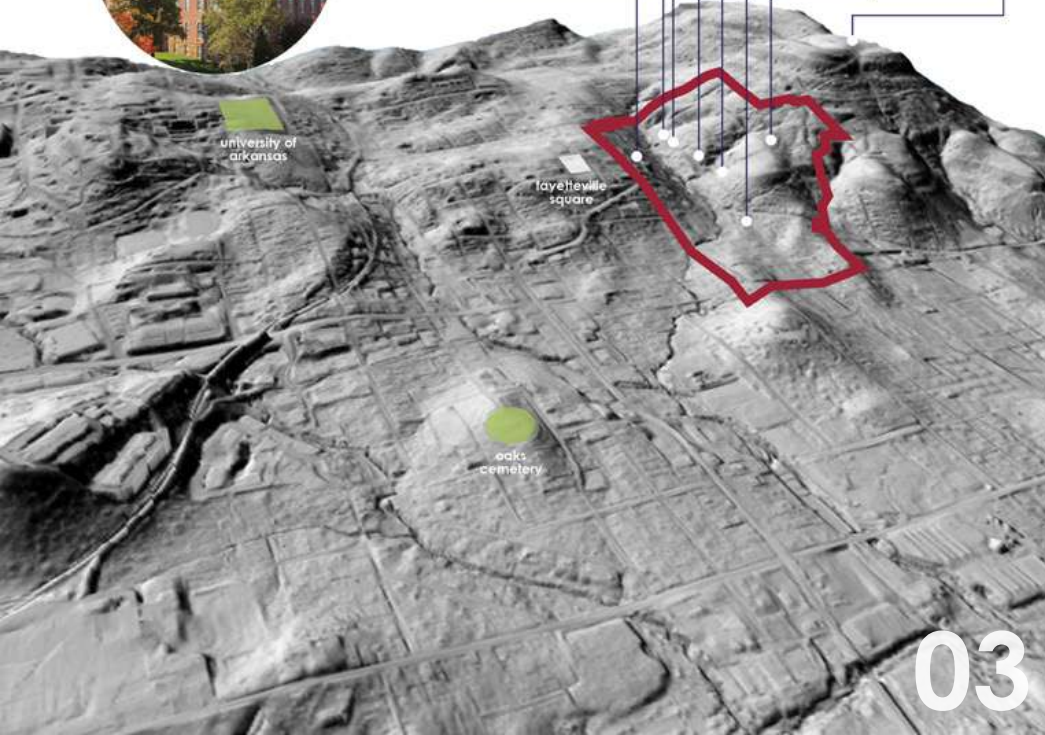


a subaltern urbanism Black Agency in Placemaking

- Black spatial segregation in arkansas
- mission school for negro only (1866-1936)
- lincoln elementary school (1936-1965): from the hill to the hollow
- st. james missionary baptist church (1865-1940)
- st. james missionary baptist church (1940-present)
- st. james methodist episcopal church (1861-1900)
- st. james methodist episcopal church (1900-present)
- combs street church of christ (1957-present)
- the "six pioneers" after the university of arkansas and spout spring
- fayetteville public school district: the first in the south to integrate
- figures of spout spring
- green book accommodations 1939-1966 during jim crow era
- sherman morgan and sherman's tavern
- sherman's tavern: where Whites and Blacks met
- yvonne richardson community center: the city's youth hub
- the webb house: informal neighborhood economies

"thick descriptions" of everyday life Black Lifeworlds in Structuring Community

- Black spatial segregation in fayetteville
- spout spring: a Black community by peter kunkel and sara sue kennard
- occupations of african americans in fayetteville 1900-1950
- nelson hackett: fayetteville slave prompts a trans-atlantic abolitionist initiative
- reverend squire jehagen: church founder and pioneer homeowner
- willis pettigrew: builder and pioneer homeowner
- henry harold sutton: northwest arkansas' first Black educator
- susan "mama susie" marshbank manuel: green book innkeeper
- george ballard: ozark folk poet
- the Black diamond serenaders: spout spring ragtime band
- ralph "buddy" hayes: jazz musician
- belty hayes davis: local historian
- otis j. parker: ozark horseman and skilled horse-breaker
- james c. hoover: from hospital janitor to medical assistant
- lodene deffenbaugh: civil rights activist
- jessie bryant: community organizer justice and health
- christopher c. mercer: from law student to civil rights activist and judge
- george w.b. haley: from law student to u.s. ambassador
- george w.b. haley: the haley family and the book and tv miniseries roots
- wiley a. branton sr.: from law student to civil rights attorney and activist
- george howard jr.: from law student to pioneering federal judge
- theresa hoover: global ministries executive in the united methodist church
- loydis "sarge" and shirley west: america's first Black country music duo 1969
- bobby l. morgan: observing neighborhood diffusion
- gordon morgan, sociologist: first Black professor at the university of arkansas
- izola preston: co-author, *the edge of campus*
- lunani mutasa nyajeki: first female minister
- bad times: university of arkansas Black student newspaper
- the modern priscillas club 1930





all 100 maps



Note on the capitalization of White: Following historian Nell Irvin Painter on why Whiteness needs to be visible as a racial category alongside Black, and Brown: "White Americans have had the choice of being something vague, something unracial and separate from race," she writes in *The Washington Post*. "A capitalized 'White' challenges that freedom . . . The capital W stresses 'White' as a powerful racial category whose privileges should be embedded in its definition" (Painter).

the spout spring neighborhood: segregation by design and Black citymakers

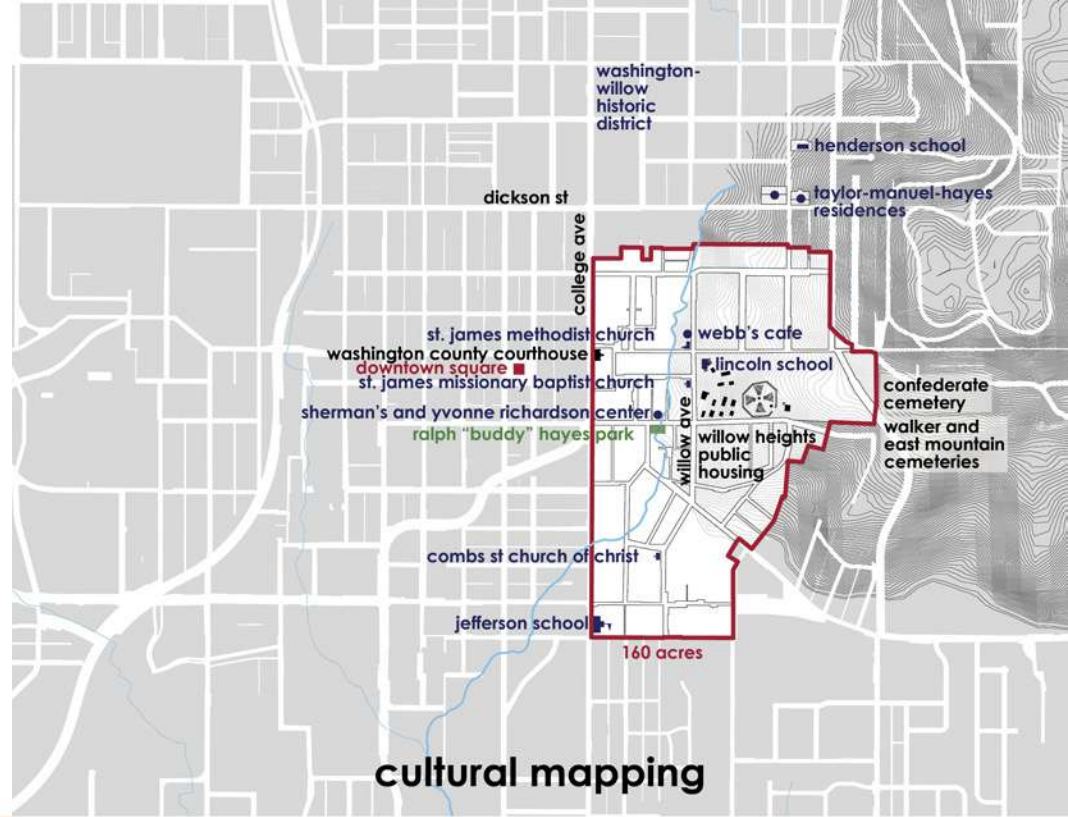
Racial segregation didn't happen by natural preference or by accident. The Spout Spring neighborhood in the hollow east of the downtown square has been Fayetteville's Black neighborhood for nearly 200 years. The neighborhood is a product of racial segregation structured by laws and policies enacted at all levels of government; laws which reinforced discriminatory business practices and prejudiced social behavior. Contrary to the myth of *de facto* segregation—the belief that segregation was freely chosen by African Americans who opted to live exclusively with one another—segregation has been systematically constructed since the end of Reconstruction in the 1870s. Accordingly, *de jure* segregation—segregation intentionally sanctioned and enforced by the state—generated racially divided geographies. Richard Rothstein chronicled the history of *de jure* segregation in his landmark book *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*.

Through the 19th century, racial segregation occurred at the level of buildings and city blocks, and by the early 20th century became more systematized at the scale of neighborhoods and then cities. Once segregation became systematized through neighborhoods at the beginning of Jim Crow, further concentration, centralization, and isolation of African Americans led to "hypersegregation". Hypersegregation was reinforced by the "separate but equal" doctrine that came out of the 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (overturned by a later Supreme Court). The early Court ruled that state-mandated Jim Crow laws did not violate equal protection guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Backed by federal and state segregation laws, municipalities,

including Fayetteville, employed zoning laws and planning as tools of racial exclusion. Planning tools like zoning laws, master plans, urban renewal (condemnation), new highway construction, redlining, public housing, and inadequate public works were used to disinvest in Black communities. Local policies and real estate markets everywhere colluded to deny African Americans access to credit markets to purchase homes or to freely select homes in White neighborhoods until the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Many subdivisions employed deed restrictions prohibiting the sale of homes to Blacks. Private capital and access to good jobs were denied to African Americans. Blacks were prohibited from using schools, libraries, recreation facilities, churches, stores, restaurants, hotels, and hospitals reserved for Whites until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Separate was not equal: cities underinvested in public infrastructure and public goods for Black neighborhoods, including allocations for public health, schools, street improvements, sewer, water, garbage collection, and flood control. Increased financial and health precarity among Black households is consistently transferred to its next generation, institutionalizing poverty among residents who live in Black neighborhoods.

Nonetheless, as Marcus Hunter Anthony observes in *Black Citymakers*: "Urban black neighborhoods and their residents are not just impacted by external forces of change, but also forces of urban change known as citymakers." Arkansas' first public school was built in 1866 for Black school children in Spout Spring. While the Spout Spring neighborhood lacked a professional middle class, its residents were a proud source of civil rights activism leading to the quickest school integration in the South. The Spout Spring neighborhood served as a boarding place and social refuge for the first Black students admitted during the Jim Crow era to the University of Arkansas, launching their careers as nationally acclaimed judges, politicians, civil rights activists, presidential advisors, and a U.S. ambassador. Spout Spring's working-class solidarity was powerful and instructive. Despite being underserved due to prejudice, Spout Spring activists, authors, musicians, religious leaders, community organizers, and businesspeople turned adversity into an outsized productive force shaping Fayetteville's history.

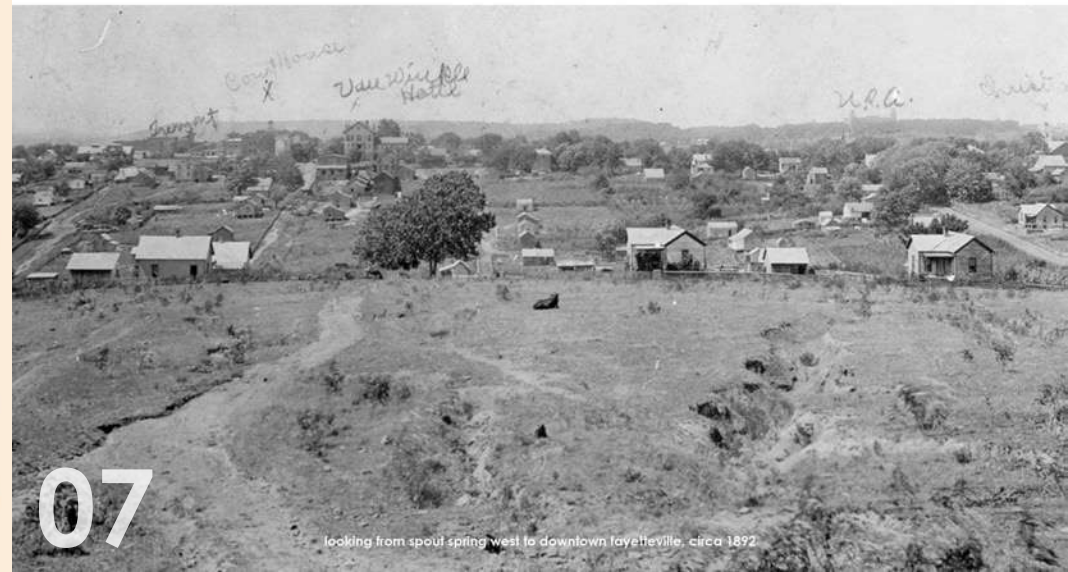


cultural mapping

Cultural mapping connects us to place, despite the erasure of physical evidence. Cultural maps are not plans. We move beyond the map as an object to mapping as a process. Cultural mapping as defined by communications expert Nancy Duxbury "aims to make visible the ways that local cultural assets, stories, practices, relationships, memories, and rituals constitute places as meaningful locations, and thus can serve as a point of entry into theoretical debates about the nature of spatial knowledge and spatial representations."

We employ three narratives to rediscover Fayetteville's traditional Black community, which is undergoing erasure:

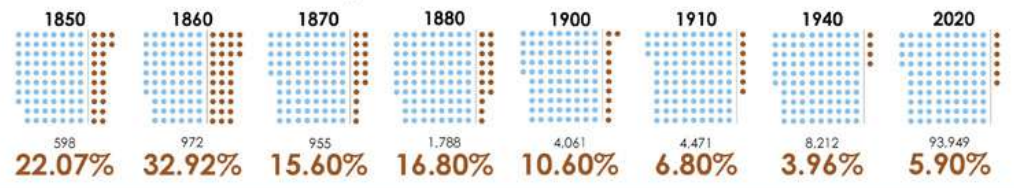
- **segregation by design** and its effects on housing, education, health, public services, and commerce
- **a subaltern urbanism** within the White city including appreciation of Black agency in city making
- **"thick descriptions" of everyday life** illuminating community and environmental structure



looking from spout spring west to downtown fayetteville, circa 1892

Blacks once one-third of fayetteville's population

Arkansas Act 151 of 1859 banned the residency of freedmen within the State and—along with the Civil War—led to the exodus of African Americans out of Fayetteville.



- 1843** state law prohibited further immigration of free Blacks into Arkansas.
- 1857** the U.S. constitution did not extend citizenship to African Americans.
- 1859** act 151 banned the residency of free African Americans within the state of Arkansas.
- 1860** 25 percent of the Arkansas population was enslaved.
- 1865** the 13th amendment was ratified, abolishing slavery in the U.S.
- 1868** the 14th amendment was ratified, granting citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the U.S.
- 1870** the 15th amendment was ratified, granting voting rights to Black men.
- 1873** the height of Black participation in the Arkansas legislature.
- 1873** Arkansas civil rights act of 1873 determined that "separate but equal" facilities for the races legal.
- 1877** reconstruction as a political arrangement was ended nationwide (1874 in Arkansas).
- 1884** the Arkansas general assembly passed an anti-miscegenation law declaring all marriages between Blacks and Whites illegal.
- 1891** the general assembly passed the separate coach law, requiring separate travel compartments on railroads for the races.
- 1903** the general assembly passed the streetcar legislation, requiring separate accommodations for the races.
- 1896** the U.S. supreme court in Plessy v. Ferguson ruled that "separate but equal" facilities for the races is constitutional.
- 1919** red summer following WWI marked a period of violence against Blacks, much of it directed toward African American veterans returning from Europe.
- 1921** the general assembly declared interracial co-habitation a felony and defined "negro" as anyone with any Black ancestry.
- 1964** the U.S. civil rights act of 1964 ended all forms of segregation in public accommodations, and later private accommodations.



looking from spout spring north to downtown fayetteville (west)

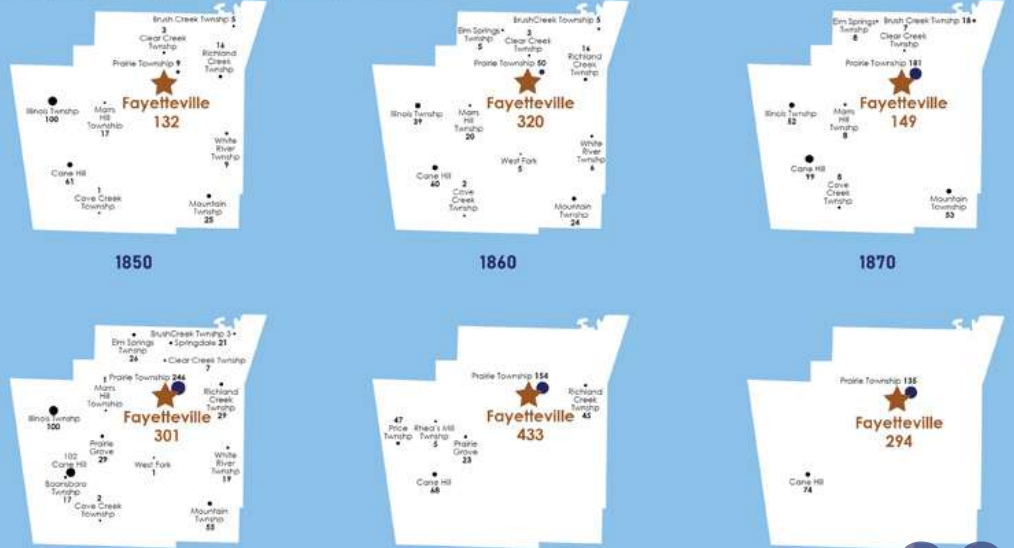


segregation by design Instruments of Segregation

looking from spout spring west to downtown square, circa 1892, courtesy of Charlie Allison

african american households in early washington county

Spout Spring neighborhood was formed from the migration of rural Black families to Fayetteville. Urban Blacks already lived close to their work on slaver homesites in backyard shacks or along alleys throughout the city's neighborhoods.



Adapted from Charlie Allison

Hypers segregation: The Superstructure of Inequality

Since emancipation in 1863, African Americans in the U.S. have experienced ever escalating segregation and serial displacement eventually reaching levels of hypers segregation by the mid-twentieth century. Theorized by sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton in American Apartheid, hypers segregation processes forced the consolidation of Black communities apart from mainstream culture after WWI. Here, structural forms of discrimination were institutionalized through federal, state, and local governmental policies, real estate market segmentation, and social behavior. Race-based spatial hypers segregation—measured by measuring four of the five dimensions of segregation: unevenness, isolation, clustering, concentration, and centralization—pushed Black lives outside the formal economy governing law, finance, and property (Massey and Denton, 2015). Famed American novelist and essayist Richard Wright (who grew up in Elaine, Arkansas) observed in 12 Million Black Voices: A Folk History of the Negro in the United States that Blacks were forced to "live by folk tradition rather than property and state."

"Local politics is above all the politics of land use."

Jessica Troustine, Segregation by Design: Local Politics and Inequality in American Cities

"... the municipalization of racial segregation constrained the amount and quality of public goods and services that flowed into Black neighborhoods ..."

"But it is more difficult to call attention to the more invisible and slower forms of structural violence that have been unleashed against Black communities. ... the sophistication of structural violence deployed in city ordinances, real estate practices, mortgage lending, code enforcement, municipal budgets, zoning laws, urban planning, urban renewal, and urban redevelopment."

Lawrence T. Brown, The Black Butterfly: The Harmful Politics of Race and Space in America

scale of neighborhoods. The Great Depression in the 1930s inaugurated federal-level legislation and funding that hardened neighborhood segregation through policies such as "redlining" and other systematic divestiture from Black neighborhoods. Retreat from investment in downtown cores where African American neighborhoods were located culminated with urban renewal and the establishment of public housing before passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Northern cities typically had Black enclaves within an otherwise continuous city, while in the South a hardened color line separated Black and White towns. Spout Spring was more an enclave within Fayetteville, with engineered discontinuities in street connections to the downtown and north to the affluent historic Washington-Willow neighborhood. Antebellum Black settlements preceding development of this White neighborhood were displaced south to the Spout Spring hollow—an early example of gentrification.

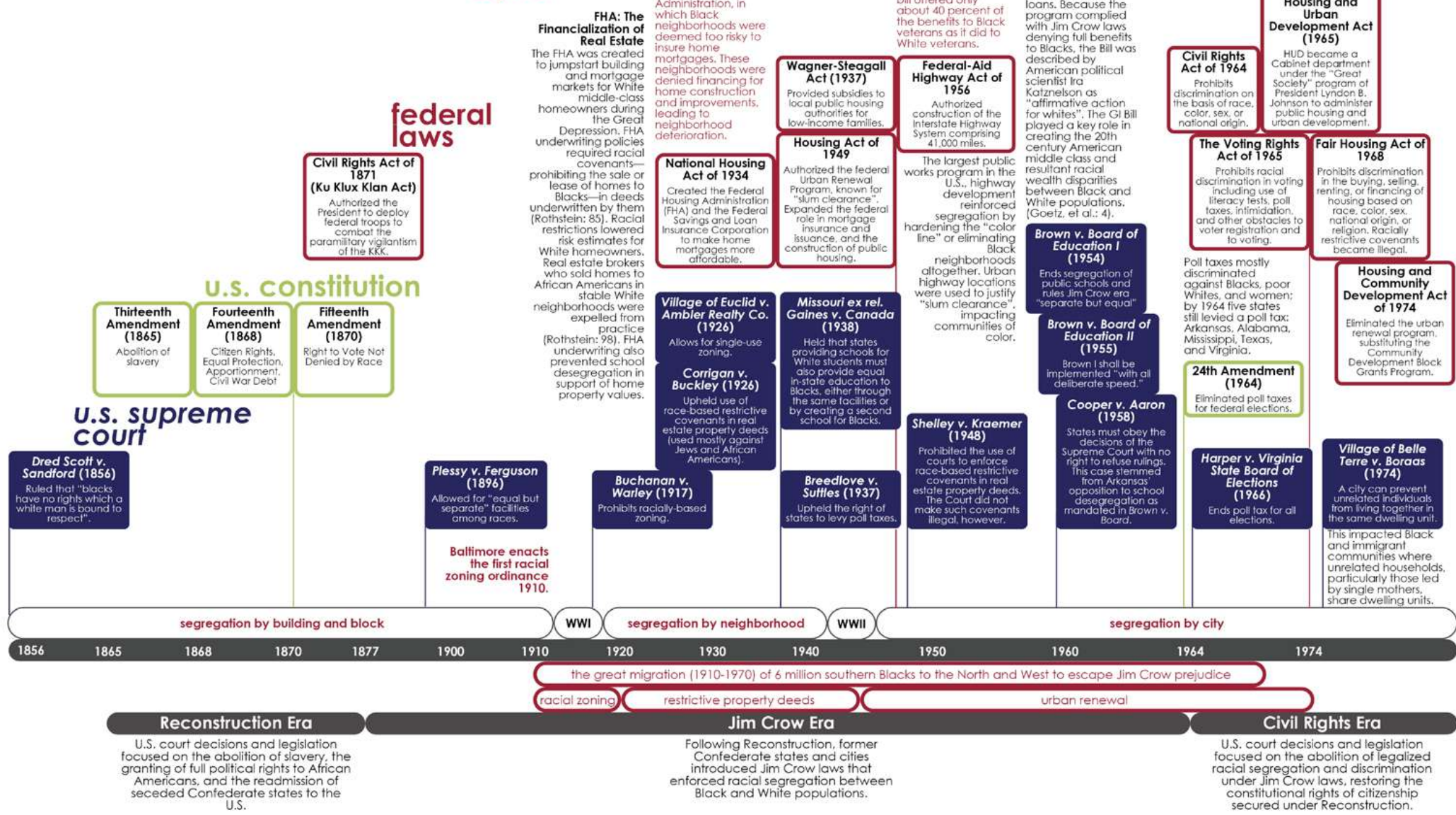
Black urban neighborhoods, techniques of segregation grew far more totalizing with decreased access to capital, jobs, and education—the triumvirate of social mobility. Life expectancy, mental health, and other social determinants of health in Black populations plummeted. Declines in opportunity and health were intergenerationally transferred to the more than 50 percent of metropolitan African American families who did not escape their neighborhoods, resulting in systemic precarity (Massey and Denton, 2015). Hypers segregation gave rise to the reality that one's health and well-being are statistically determined more by their neighborhood than by individual behavior.

The lack of social mobility among Fayetteville's Black residents throughout the Jim Crow era was aggravated by the "municipalization of segregation". Fayetteville employed (not always successfully) zoning, planning, urban renewal, public housing, gentrification, and the withdrawal of adequate public services to manage its geography of segregation. This cultural mapping highlights the convergence of segregation techniques across local, state, and national scales in creating Black landscapes. Mapping here is offered in the same spirit of solutionism as Lawrence Brown's observation that there can be "no racial equity without spatial equity" (Brown: 12).

Modern technologies of racial hypers segregation included city planning, zoning laws, urban renewal, new highway construction, redlining, public housing, and rationing public goods, in the serial displacement of Black populations.

Black spatial segregation in the United States

Civil War Reconstruction "Separate but Equal"





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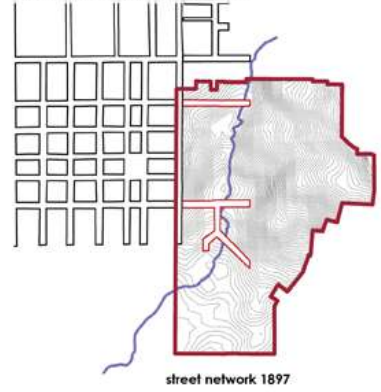


spout spring and downtown street networks: the rural extension of town 1838

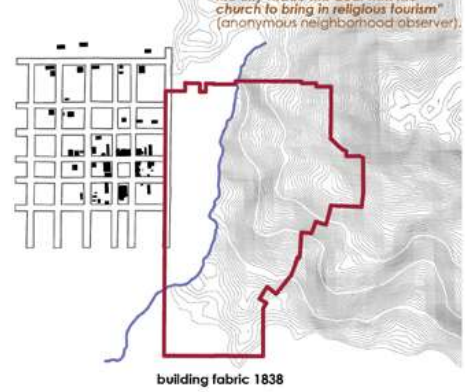
Originally founded at the source of Spout Spring in the hollow, Fayetteville was platted atop a hill nearby seven years later in 1835.

The George McGarrah family first established a homestead near Big Spring (Spout Spring) in 1828 at what is now the corner of Spring Street and Willow Avenue. The location became commonly known as "Tin Cup" among White people—then a common pejorative used to describe mostly poor Black communities everywhere. Before the centralization of the municipal water supply in the 20th century, clean water was retrieved through wells or springs. Spout Spring was an important source of water in Fayetteville during the 19th century.

"At emancipation many freed people ran to the hills of East Mountain to dodge bullets and escape from harm. Though slavers owned property in the city of Fayetteville along with their slave camps on the outskirts at riverbanks, the people weren't necessarily encouraged to show up into town or to reconnect with the families from which they were severed and live within miles of. I'm sure it was chaotic. Nevertheless, we also lived on what is called Mt. Sequoyah until the early 1920's when the city made the deal with the church to bring in religious tourism" (anonymous neighborhood observer).



street network 1897



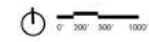
building fabric 1838

urban planning in hypersegregation

Despite Fayetteville's well-connected grid, Spout Spring's street network lacks good connectivity to surrounding neighborhoods. Segregation grew more structured as it evolved in scale from that of the building and block to the neighborhood, and eventually to the city via the suburb. Street layout—unwittingly or deliberately—centralized, clustered, and isolated Black households in securing the color line.

12

13



spout spring and downtown street networks: farmsteads 1908

Like subsistence farmers, Black families homesteaded the spring corridor where they could raise crops and animals to be self-sufficient as well as to provide for the community.

Streets remained unpaved in Spout Spring through the first half of the 20th century, as African Americans built housing in informal settlement patterns across the west side of Mount Sequoyah.



street network



building fabric

While African Americans built homes on the west side of, and atop, Mount Sequoyah before the construction of the 32-acre Western Methodist Assembly (now Mt. Sequoyah Retreat & Conference Center) in 1922, the houses are not shown because there is no record of them. The homes represented on our maps are taken from Sanborn Maps and historical maps, and corroborated from photographs of Fayetteville.

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(from Sanborn Map 1908)

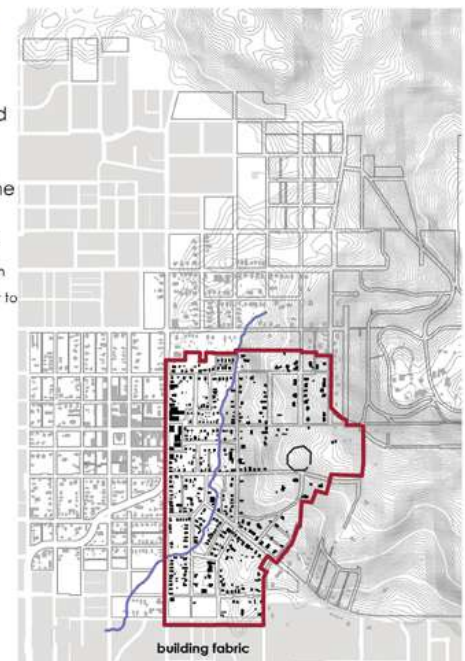
spout spring street network: nelson hackett boulevard and peak housing 1952

In 2022, Archibald Yell Boulevard (Yell, a former governor and one of 1,800 U.S. congressmen who once enslaved Blacks) was renamed to honor an enslaved man (see map below: **nelson hackett; fayetteville slave prompts a trans-atlantic abolitionist initiative**). Installed in 1952, the street intensified the separation between downtown and Spout Spring.

The four-lane street, designed for high speed (few travel below the posted limit of 35 mph), divides neighborhoods rather than connects them. The street lacks adequate amenities that reward walking or biking, and, ironically, all the landscape features necessary in defining a boulevard (a street shaded and lined with trees at edges or in its median). While the recent street retrofit improves intersections at South and Rock Streets, the initial outcome does little to create a street that serves as a destination or to reconnect neighborhoods.

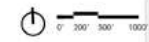


street network



building fabric

15





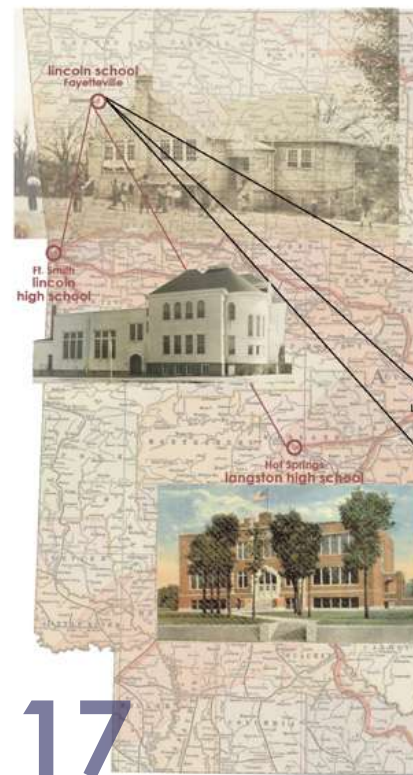
public education systems in hypersegregation

The Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) ruled that racial segregation was not illegal if "separate but equal" facilities were provided for Blacks, including schools. Separate grade schools for Blacks were underfunded, understaffed, and in cities like Fayetteville, secondary education was not available to African Americans. Higher education opportunities were limited to Black college.

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secondary education: Blacks had to leave fayetteville

After finishing 9th grade at the Lincoln School, Spout Spring students had to leave Fayetteville to attend high school, since there were no separate facilities for Blacks.



Between 1939 and 1954, the Fayetteville School District paid for Black students' school attendance in other cities that had African American high schools. At the time of integration in 1954, nine Black students from Fayetteville were attending high school in Ft. Smith, while in previous years students had attended schools in Hot Springs, Little Rock, Pine Bluff, as well as boarding schools in Missouri and Texas. This expense was one factor leading to quick integration. The district superintendent noted that segregation "was a luxury" that the district "could no longer afford" (Gatewood: 8).

philander smith college
Little Rock
Born out of the Reconstruction-era Freedman's Bureau in 1877, the school started as the Walden Seminary. Chartered as a formal four-year institute for Black students in 1881, the school moved locations in 1882 and was renamed the Philander Smith College. The school is still in operation.



southland college and normal institute
Helena
Built by the 56th Colored Infantry during Reconstruction, Southland College became the first institution of higher education for African Americans west of the Mississippi River. The Quaker-based school closed in 1925.



arkansas am&n college
Pine Bluff
Originally known as the Branch Normal College, the school was incorporated as an official branch of the Arkansas Industrial University in 1875. Today, the school carries on as the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff.

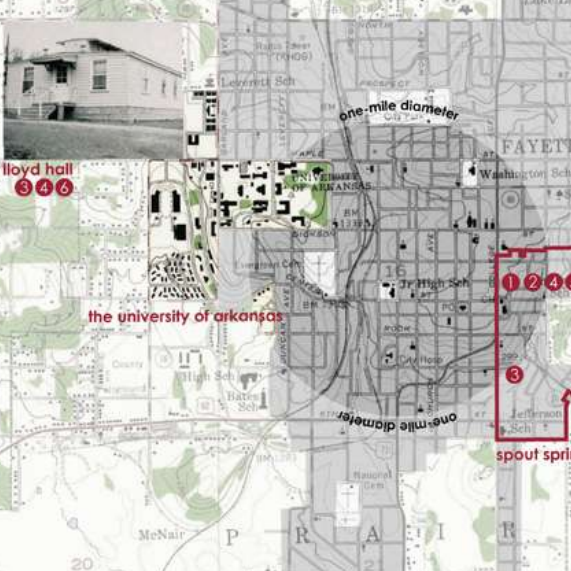


(see Encyclopedia of Arkansas)

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the "six pioneers": Blacks enter the university of arkansas but had to live in spout spring

While six students made history by winning admission to the University of Arkansas Law School from 1948-1954, they were denied access to public restrooms, libraries, and on-campus housing. Despite George Howard's integration into graduate student housing at Lloyd Hall in 1951, Black students were forced to live with Black families in Spout Spring into the 1960s.



- 1 silas hunt**
The first African American student to enroll in a White southern university since Reconstruction, Hunt attended the UA from 1948-1949. Hunt resided with the Joiner family in Spout Spring. Hunt was separated from the rest of the class and received instruction in the school's basement office. He died from tuberculosis in his second year of law school.
- 2 jackie shropshire**
Attended the UA from 1948-1951 while staying with the Joiner family in Spout Spring. Shropshire offered some classes alone with a professor, while separated from other students by a low wooden barrier in another class. After graduation, Shropshire moved to Gary, Indiana where he played a leading role in city government and public policy affairs.
- 3 george w.b. haley**
Attended the UA from 1949-1952 while staying with the Funkehouse family in Spout Spring. George Haley and Christopher Mercer were assigned classroom seats and forced to use a separate study room. After graduation, Haley practiced law in Kansas, later working in government agencies at both the state and federal levels, including as the U.S. Ambassador to The Gambia.
- 4 christopher c. mercer**
Sporadically attended the UA from 1949-1955 while staying with the Joiner family. Following graduation, Mercer was active in the civil rights movement including service as a field secretary for the NAACP, helping with the Little Rock Nine during the integration of Central High School in Little Rock in 1957.
- 5 wiley a. branton sr.**
Attended the UA from 1950-1953 and bought a home on part of the original McGarrath Farm in Spout Spring. After graduation, Branton practiced law, working closely with the NAACP and Thurgood Marshall, later a Supreme Court Justice. Branton served as advisor to U.S. presidential administrations on civil rights implementation. He later became dean of the Howard University of Law School.
- 6 george howard jr.**
Attended the UA from 1950-1954. After one semester of boarding with a family in Spout Spring, he became the first Black student to live in campus housing. He became the president of Lloyd Hall, temporary housing reserved for returning WWII veterans. After graduation, he served as a civil rights activist, and the first Black appointee to a judicial position law role including the Supreme Court of Arkansas.

the university of arkansas was a reconstruction era school

In 1948, the University of Arkansas was the first public university in the South to voluntarily accept African American law students, six years before the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 requiring all public schools to integrate. These students were the first since UA briefly accepted Black students when it opened in 1872.

"The University of Arkansas was chartered as a land-grant institution in 1871 at Fayetteville. As a Reconstruction school, it was pledged to admit students without respect to race, religion, or previous condition. . . . Although the University was chartered over the signature of a Black man who was state superintendent of instruction and the ranking educator in the state, there were people who sought to disqualify Blacks from attending the institution" (Morgan and Preston: 3).

- 1867** Scipio Africanus Jones was the first Black applicant to the UA Law School but denied entry.
- 1927** Summer extension courses offered to Black educators taught by the dean of the College of Education.
- 1948** John Hay was the first African American student admitted to the University of Arkansas Medical School.
- 1951** Benjamin Franklin Lever became the first Black student to live in a graduate residence hall.
- 1958** Arkansas General Assembly passed Act 10 and Act 115 requiring educators at state funded institutions to sign a "loyalty oath" and banned affiliation with the NAACP.



1871 1877 1900 1920 1930 1940 1948 1950 1954 1960 1964 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2023

reconstruction jim crow laws

1944 Carolyn Funkehouse was the first Black Fayetteville student to attend the University.

1948 Suit filed by two UA students demanded the integration of housing, athletics, student recruitment, faculty placement, and social activities. The suit was successful on all counts.

1949 Valene Coleman received a PhD in English, the first Black student to have received an academic doctoral degree.

1974 The first Black sorority and Black fraternity were founded.

1980 Lencola Sullivan became the first Black Miss Arkansas.

1982 Merike Morley was named the first Black Homecoming Queen.

1968 Black Association for Democratic Action (BADA) was formed on campus, and the Black student newspaper founded.

1965 Robert Brown became the first Black Razorback football player.

nolan richardson
Richardson became the first Black head sports coach of the UA in 1985 and coached the Razorbacks to their first ever national championship in basketball in 1994, using his "Forty Minutes of Hell" play style.

charles robinson
After serving as faculty and in various administrative roles at the University, Robinson was appointed the first Black chancellor of the UA in 2023.

1954 *Times* of Little Rock carried the headline: "Bishop Views Minority Status".

1964 Martin Luther King Jr. associated with the UA.

1967 Brown v. Board of Education ruled that Black undergraduates admitted to the UA.

1970 Jim Crow laws.

1980 Civil rights.

(see Robinson and Wilfong)

18



urban renewal in hypersegregation

A post-WWII federal urban redevelopment program known as "urban renewal" (1945-1970) was adopted by professional planners to "modernize" traditional American cities, mostly targeting urban Black communities. The program dislocated over one million residents of color in more than 1,600 Black neighborhoods, according to Mindy Fullilove in *Root Shock*. Urban renewal became widely synonymous with "negro removal", as coined by writer James Baldwin.

20

master city plan and public works program (1945) for fayetteville: Black neighborhood removal

A common urban renewal strategy involved the insertion of new highways into urban neighborhoods labeled as blighted. This accelerated the hypersegregation of Black populations, as they were displaced from their homes and concentrated into isolated public housing.

A Master City Plan and Public Works Program for Fayetteville, Arkansas, prepared in 1945, targeted "renewal" of the Spout Spring neighborhood, coined by outsiders as "Vaughan's Valley", "Tin Cup", the "Can", "the Hollow", and "East Fayetteville". Urban renewal entailed redevelopment of urban areas for economic development and aesthetic reasons rather than reasons related to livability improvements in the lives of residents. Since the report expected the city to grow to the north, new federally-funded public housing for African Americans was planned for one location south of town.



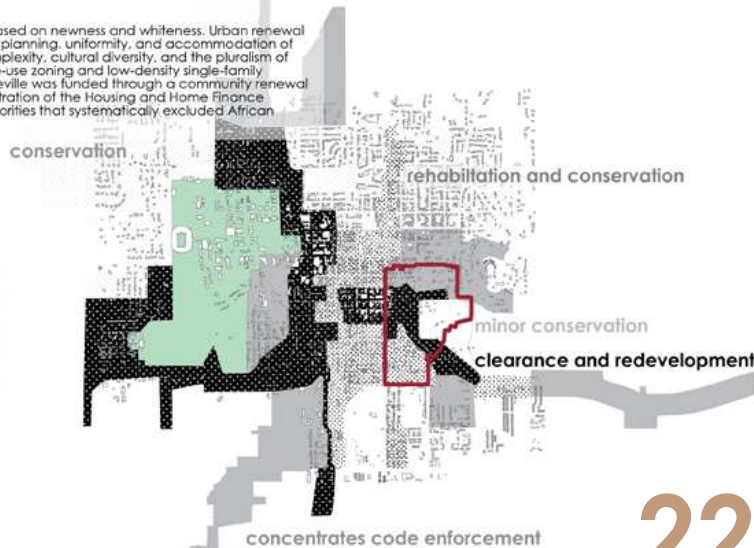
21

Adapted from Master City Plan and Public Works Program

program for community renewal: fayetteville, arkansas (1968): neighborhood removal, again

Before the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, postwar urban renewal proposals offered crude planning prescriptions based on the wholesale erasure of old neighborhoods. In this plan, Spout Spring and all downtown Fayetteville were labeled for "Clearance and Redevelopment"!

Midcentury notions of progress were based on newness and whiteness. Urban renewal policy and planning favored suburban planning, uniformity, and accommodation of the burgeoning car culture. Social complexity, cultural diversity, and the pluralism of city life were to be replaced with single-use zoning and low-density single-family housing. This planning report for Fayetteville was funded through a community renewal grant from the Urban Renewal Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, expressing new investment priorities that systematically excluded African Americans.



Total urban renewal costs including new community facilities were estimated to be \$47 million in 1968—a shocking \$425 million in 2024 dollars! At that time, Fayetteville's population was 26,000 residents. (Vizzier: 334)

Adapted from Program for Community Renewal: Fayetteville, Arkansas by James Vizzier

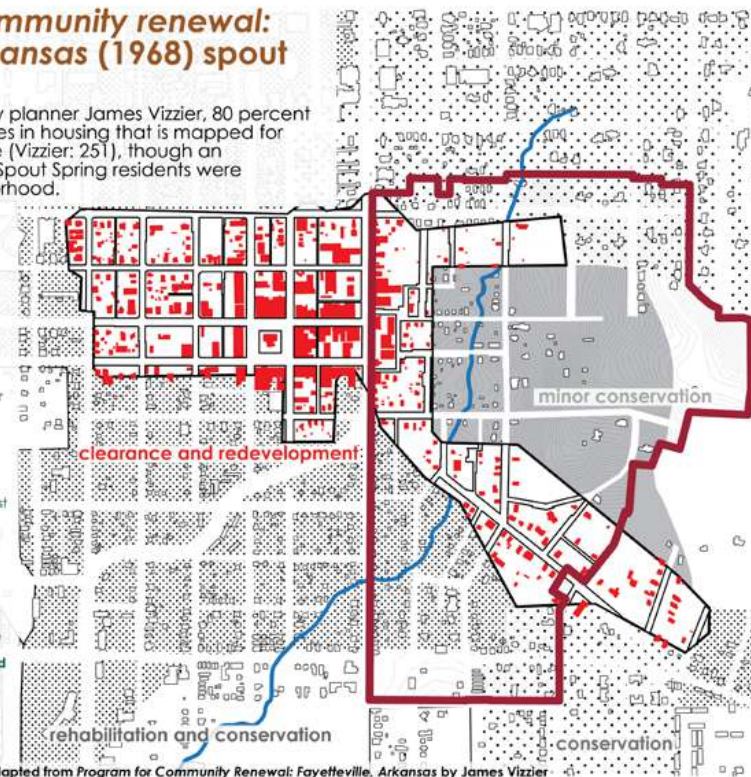
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program for community renewal: fayetteville, arkansas (1968) spout spring

According to the report by planner James Vizzier, 80 percent of the Black population lives in housing that is mapped for rehabilitation or clearance (Vizzier: 251), though an overwhelming majority of Spout Spring residents were satisfied with their neighborhood.

The report advocated that urban renewal become a primary function of city government. The following excerpts pertain to Spout Spring residents, a particular target of the report:

- Of the 221 Spout Spring households responding to the 1968 plan survey, eight indicated that their homes were beyond repair (33).
- Of the 221 Spout Spring households surveyed, 12 definitely planned to move from the neighborhood (38).
- Only 5 percent of Spout Spring residents polled indicated the neighborhood grew worse, while most said that adequacy of city services was the worst problem (48, 52).
- The report predicted the displacement of 1,327 dwelling units citywide, out of 8,326 dwelling units—16 percent of the city's population (44).
- Only 80 subsidized public housing units were being planned (322).
- Shockingly, nearly one-half of the city's businesses, industries, and public agencies were to be relocated to modern quarters over the next 10-15 years (321).



Adapted from Program for Community Renewal: Fayetteville, Arkansas by James Vizzier

23



zoning laws in hypersegregation

State and local laws segregated Black populations beginning in the 19th century. In 1926, Euclidean zoning was legalized, limiting land development to single uses, creating the conditions for hypersegregation. Municipalities in collusion with the mortgage and real estate industries used exclusionary zoning to prohibit Blacks from moving to suburban neighborhoods, while blocking investment in Black neighborhoods, known as redlining.

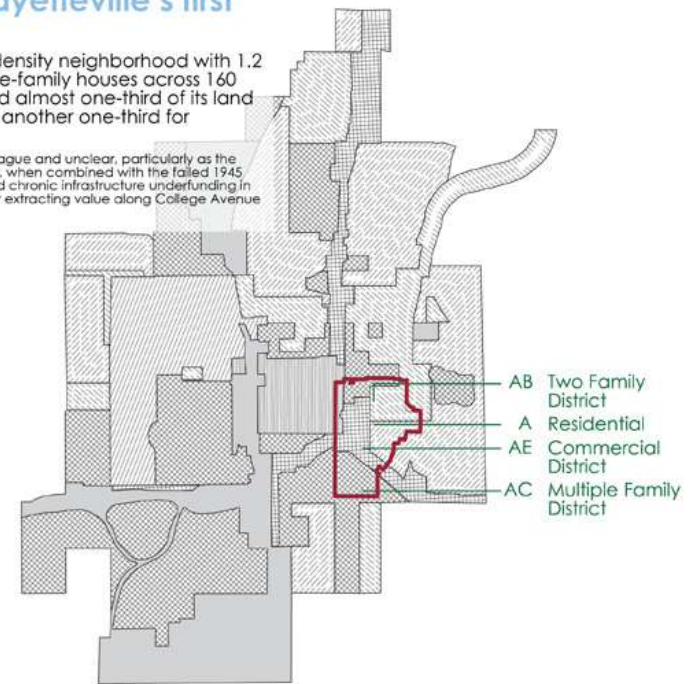
24

1951 zoning map: fayetteville's first zoning map

By 1951, Spout Spring was a low-density neighborhood with 1.2 dwelling units/acre mostly of single-family houses across 160 acres. This zoning map designated almost one-third of its land area for commercial zoning, and another one-third for multifamily housing.

The objectives behind this zoning code were vague and unclear, particularly as the ordinance pertained to Spout Spring. However, when combined with the failed 1945 Master City Plan and Public Works Program and chronic infrastructure underfunding in Spout Spring, zoning became a mechanism for extracting value along College Avenue and controlling Black residential change.

Zoning was another planning tool historically used by cities to control Black residential space and landscapes, especially when used for social reform rather than simply land use regulation. Indeed, the first use of zoning in the U.S. was the City of Baltimore's implementation of racial zoning in 1910—deemed unconstitutional seven years later—but not before hundreds of other cities adopted similar codes to manage social change. (Silver 1997: 24-25)



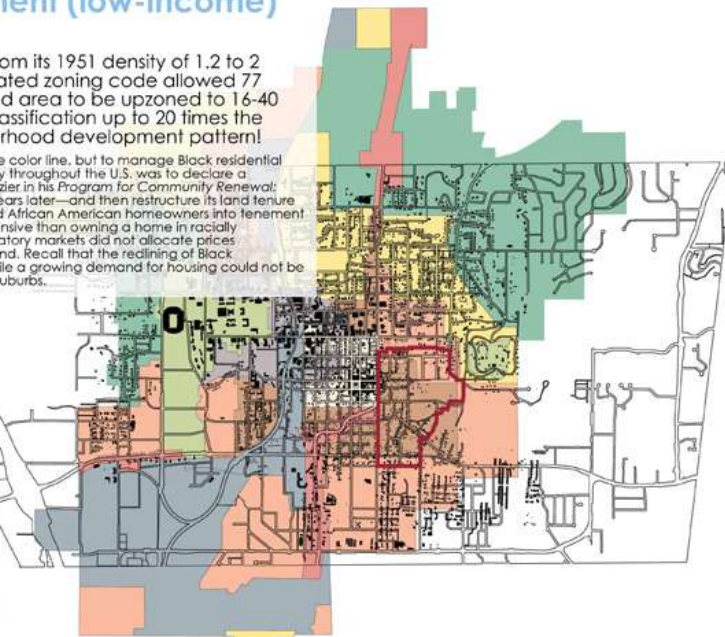
25

- AE - Commercial District
- AF - Business District
- AG - Industrial District
- AH - Residential
- AB - Two Family Residence District
- AC - Multiple Family Residence District
- AD - Multiple Family District (Fraternities, Sororities, Dormitories)

1966 zoning map: turning spout spring into tenement (low-income) housing?

By 1966, Spout Spring grew from its 1951 density of 1.2 to 2 dwelling units/acre. This updated zoning code allowed 77 percent of Spout Spring's land area to be upzoned to 16-40 units/acre—a high-density classification up to 20 times the density from its then neighborhood development pattern!

Zoning was used not only to maintain the color line, but to manage Black residential change. A common midcentury strategy throughout the U.S. was to declare a neighborhood "blighted"—as James Vizzier in his Program for Community Renewal: Fayetteville, Arkansas (1968) does two years later—and then restructure its land tenure patterns. Urban renewal schemas turned African American homeowners into tenement renters. Renting was typically more expensive than owning a home in racially segregated neighborhoods where predatory markets did not allocate prices according to organic supply-and-demand. Recall that the realigning of Black neighborhoods froze housing supply, while a growing demand for housing could not be satisfied by moving to White residential suburbs.



- Agriculture Residential
- Low Density Residential
- Medium Density Residential
- High Density Residential
- Neighborhood Residential
- Commercial
- Central Business Commercial
- Heavy Industrial
- Institutional

How does a redlined neighborhood, where its property owners have no access to credit and construction financing, build at 16-40 units/acre (mid-rise buildings up to 8-story buildings, depending on buildable area coverage and parking strategies)?

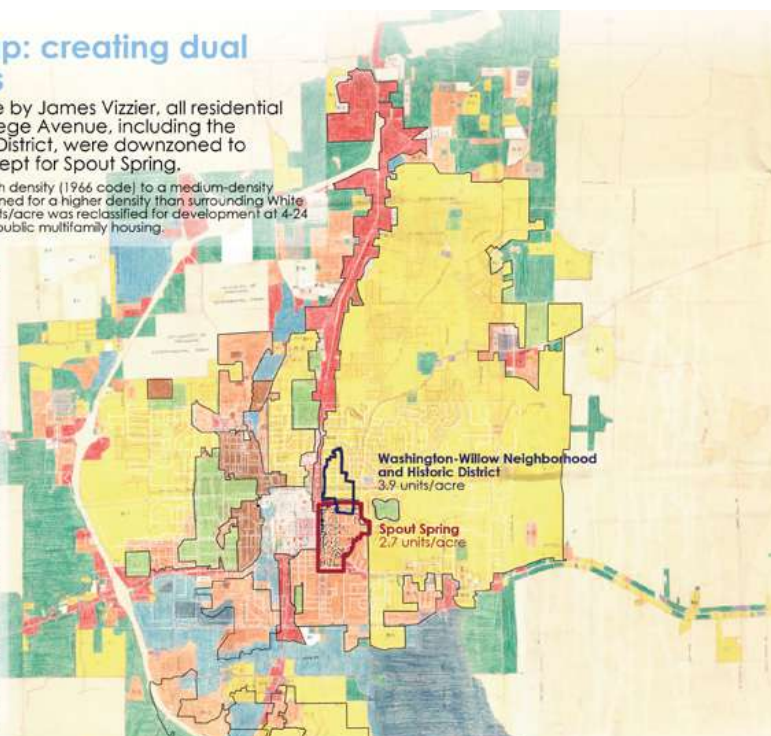
26

1970 crayon map: creating dual housing markets

In this updated zoning code by James Vizzier, all residential neighborhoods east of College Avenue, including the Washington-Willow Historic District, were downzoned to preserve low densities—except for Spout Spring.

Spout Spring was downzoned from high density (1966 code) to a medium-density classification in the 1970 version. Still zoned for a higher density than surrounding White neighborhoods, Spout Spring at 2.7 units/acre was reclassified for development at 4.24 units/acre—enough to accommodate public multifamily housing.

Zoning proposed the creation of two housing markets: one preserved low density single-family housing for Whites; the other replaced single-family housing with large apartment complexes for the Black population. As planning expert Edward Goetz and colleagues caution us: "When race is a construct applied only to people of color, attention to problems of racial segregation means scrutiny of the settlement patterns of people of color and not those of Whites" (Goetz, et al., 6). We cannot downplay the role of advantaged neighborhoods in shaping racial geographies.



- Agriculture Residential
- Low Density Residential
- Medium Density Residential
- High Density Residential
- Heavy Industrial
- Institutional
- Downtown Commercial
- Neighborhood Residential
- Central Business Commercial
- Office and Professional
- Commercial
- Light Industrial

27



public housing in hypersegregation

Federally subsidized public housing was initiated in the 1930s primarily for White working and middle-class families, but by the 1950s it became a destination for African American families. Nationwide, Black families, whose housing was taken by eminent domain under midcentury urban renewal programs, were relocated to public housing. Before the Civil Rights Act in 1964, Blacks did not have the option of moving to White neighborhoods.

28

fayetteville public housing 1970s

Two additional public housing projects preceded construction of Willow Heights, outside of downtown on greenfield sites in low-income areas away from White suburban subdivisions.

While the Fayetteville Housing Authority's first constructed project was the Hillcrest Towers for senior adults downtown on School Avenue, multifamily housing projects primarily for African Americans were built outside of town. Project design adhered to auto-oriented site planning, a dull repetition of apartment buildings, and a complete lack of definition in open space design and relationship to the surrounding context.

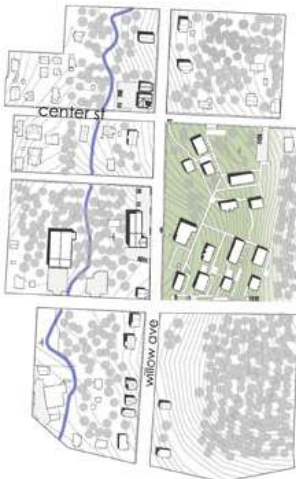


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spout spring public housing: willow heights 1971

Willow Heights was Fayetteville's flagship public housing project built on the Lincoln School grounds in 1971 by the Fayetteville Housing Authority. The development housed low-income Black residents, some who lost their homes in Spout Spring through eminent domain.

Postwar public housing was federally funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) favoring isolated superblock housing development over good neighborhood form. Public housing projects were characteristically modern multifamily projects that lacked both fit with their neighborhoods and the site planning features necessary to foster a sense of care and belonging. Likewise, Willow Heights has been plagued by chronic severe flooding, deferred maintenance, and other inadequacies in public services common in Black spatial hypersegregation.



Weak Relationship to Street
Streets are the lifeblood of a neighborhood. The internal orientation of public housing projects fails to address the street as a place-based asset.

Confusing Building Frontality
FedEx and UPS packages are left at both the fronts and backs of units, as building elevations fail to fully signal the location of the front door.

Weak Definition of Shared Spaces
Despite its campus plan, planning fails to define a shared open space network with courtyards, patios, lawns, plazas, groves, etc. connected to building interiors.

Chronic Flooding of Units
Despite its hillside site plan, planning fails to address stormwater discharge resulting in chronic flooding of units.



30

willow heights public housing: attempted gentrification 2018

The Fayetteville Housing Authority planned to sell the land supporting this public housing project to a developer of premium condominiums. While gentrification is inevitable in Spout Spring, it does not necessitate population dislocations. How do we plan for livability improvements without dislocating residents?

In this alternative scenario illustrated, the University of Arkansas Community Design Center's Livability Improvement Plan for Willow Heights Housing proposed a blended income neighborhood incorporating the existing public housing with market rate housing. The proposal addressed healthy neighborhood design, value capture (positioning the public sector to profitably manage its assets), and social return on investment (enhancing neighborhood and household health (see <https://uacdc.uark.edu/work/willow-heights-livability-improvement-plan>).



31



walker and east mountain cemeteries

public works in hypersegregation

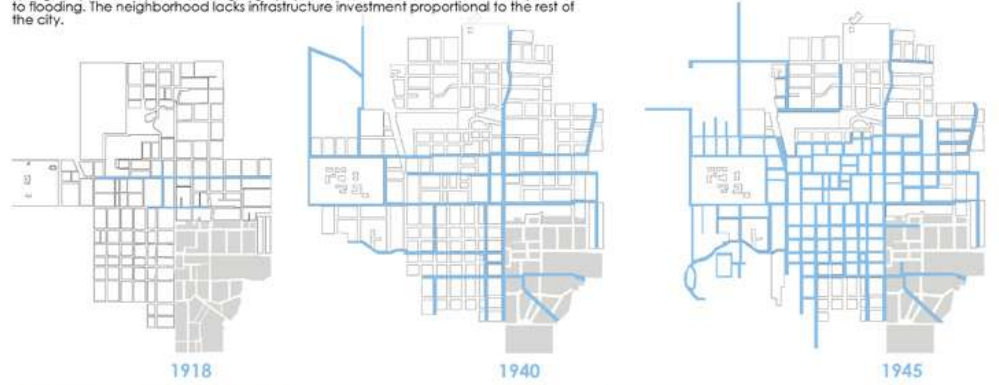
The segregation of Black neighborhoods—holding the color line—accelerated discriminatory practices like redlining by banks. Cities too withheld adequate levels of public services related to street improvements, lighting, water, sewer, garbage collection, and flood control. Inequitable investments in public works undermined Black property values and the ability to secure adequate housing, let alone build wealth.

33

public works: street pavement and improvement

Street improvements came to Spout Spring quite late, as Morgan and Preston observed. "Community streets were blacktopped and sidewalks installed by the early 1990s" (Morgan and Preston: 170).

Street improvements not only include surface pavement, but important stormwater runoff management infrastructure like bioswales, curbs, gutters, catchment basins, and underground pipes to diffuse, capture, and discharge peak flows after rainfall. Spout Spring is a particularly vulnerable geography due to its hillside location, which is prone to flooding. The neighborhood lacks infrastructure investment proportional to the rest of the city.



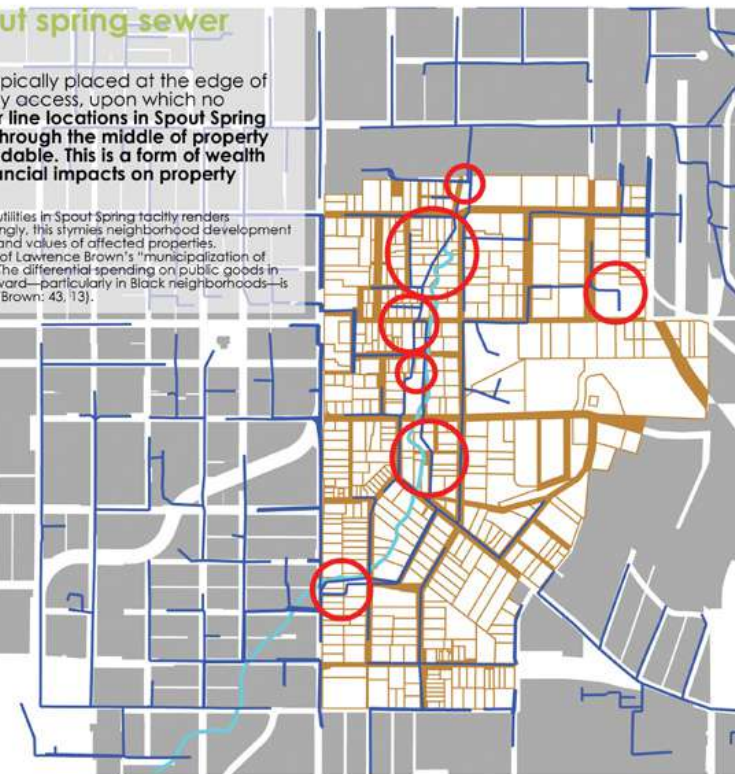
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public works: spout spring sewer lines

Underground utility lines are typically placed at the edge of the public right-of-way for easy access, upon which no buildings are permitted. **Sewer line locations in Spout Spring are unorthodox, as pipes run through the middle of property parcels rendering them unbuildable. This is a form of wealth destruction with long-term financial impacts on property owners.**

The configuration of underground public utilities in Spout Spring tacitly renders properties unbuildable. Wittingly or unwittingly, this stymies neighborhood development and places an artificially low cap on the land values of affected properties. Inadequate public utilities is another form of Lawrence Brown's "municipalization of racial segregation". Brown qualifies that "The differential spending on public goods in segregated cities from the early 1900s onward—particularly in Black neighborhoods—is an often unrecognized form of redlining" (Brown: 43, 13).

"The differential spending on public goods in segregated cities from the early 1900s onward—particularly in Black neighborhoods—is an often unrecognized form of redlining." Lawrence Brown, *The Black Butterfly: The Harmful Politics of Race and Space in America*

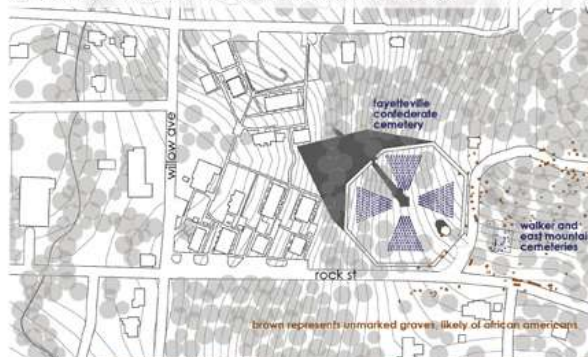


35

public works: fayetteville confederate cemetery

Fayetteville's only Confederate monument is built in the Spout Spring neighborhood where slave quarters once stood.

The Southern Memorial Association (SMA) of Washington County was formed in 1872 to establish a Confederate burying ground beside the Walker Family Cemetery (and recently discovered graveyards of assumed Black residents) on the southern edge of Mount Sequoyah. The SMA gathered over 600 Confederate soldiers buried across Northwest Arkansas for reinterment in the Fayetteville Confederate Cemetery. In 1897, more than a full generation after the Civil War, a monument was dedicated to Southern casualties in local Civil War battles with the following inscription: **THESE WERE MEN WHOM POWER COULD NOT CORRUPT / WHOM DEATH COULD NOT TERRIFY / WHOM DEFEAT COULD NOT DISHONOR.** In 1947, the SMA attempted to transfer care of the cemetery to the U.S. government, but the War Department declined.



In his discussion of a dual-heritage thesis describing contending civil rights and confederate memorials—"between Black emancipation and Confederate defeat"—architectural historian Dell Upton chronicles the peculiar role of commemoration among Confederate sympathizers in *What Can and Can't Be Said*.

"... Southern apologists worked strenuously to deny that the Civil War was about slavery, or indeed had anything to do with black people... The erasure of African Americans from history went hand in hand with their elimination from the political arena."

(Upton: 29)

The Lost Cause of the Confederacy asserts that "The War Between the States" was a heroic battle for local governance and state's rights rather than one over slavery. Valor became a form of distraction as "ex-Confederates retained their old loyalties to secession by treating memorialization as a feminine tribute to apolitical valor... If valor alone was a criterion for honor, then there was no need to look too closely at the causes the valor served."

(Upton: 30-31)



graveyard locations adapted from a 2021 lidar study conducted by the arkansas archeological survey

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a subaltern urbanism Black Agency in Placemaking

looking east to spout spring from top of courthouse, undated, courtesy of Charlie Alsen

Religion and Education in Building Community

Despite lack of access to capital, cultural institutions, and job opportunities, African American communities across the U.S. created economically vibrant and culturally rich places during the Jim Crow era. Spout Spring was small compared to the larger and more celebrated Black enclaves like those centered around Ninth Street in Little Rock, Malvern Avenue in Hot Springs, and the prosperous Greenwood District—"Black Wall Street"—in Tulsa, Oklahoma. According to one account, by the 1920s as many as 1,000 people may have been living in Spout Spring (Johnson: 3). Despite its small size, the cooperative economy underlying Spout Spring's social and cultural networks created a haven for travelers, residents seeking entertainment, the university's first Black students since Reconstruction, and interracial groups citywide advancing integration—all before the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

Church and school were the two most influential institutions in Fayetteville's Black community, in Black communities everywhere, they provided autonomy and refuge (Gordon: 86). As Gordon Morgan, the University of Arkansas' first Black professor observes in *The Edge of Campus*: "Religion and education have gone together, traditionally, there has been little ideological conflict over religion and education in the black community" (Morgan and Preston: 78). Indeed, as Morgan points out, the philosophy of non-violent protest during the civil rights movement emerged from the church rather than from political or educational contexts. Two church congregations, organized before the end of the Civil War, became key centers of social life over the next century in Spout Spring: St. James Baptist Church and St. James Methodist Episcopal Church. Social

agency emerged from within these churches, mostly led by women, particularly in the efforts to integrate public schools and to provide health services lacking for the Black community.

Since no Black professional middle class existed in Fayetteville, according to Morgan and Preston the church provided "opportunities for members to exhibit talent and achievement which would otherwise be difficult to show" (Morgan and Preston: 78). The St. James Methodist Episcopal Church served as the first home for the community's Head Start program as well as the Fayetteville Free Health Clinic. Since 1893, the Webb House, built by Reverend James Webb and his wife Emma at the St. James Missionary Baptist Church, has served as a neighborhood center. Over the years, the Webb House was a major service and lodging stop for Green Book travelers in Northwest Arkansas. The Webb House in Spout Spring housed Black students enrolled at the University of Arkansas (prohibited from living in campus dormitories and private housing near campus) until the integration of dormitories in 1965. The Sunday church services, fellowship gatherings, and boarding with working class families in Spout Spring were cited by middle-class university students as respite from an unwelcoming environment at the university (see accounts in Robinson and Williams). Indeed, the neighborhood played a nurturing role in launching the careers of its surrogate sons and daughters, some who later played formative roles in advancing civil rights nationally.

Civic improvement associations grew out of church leadership led by women. Church-based associations were more trusted by Spout Spring residents than city-sponsored improvement associations, despite sharing similar goals. A key accomplishment of a church-based social agency involved the

extended effort during the 1950s and 1960s to integrate public schools through coalition building across race, class, and gender. A network of Spout Spring activists, who likened themselves to "warriors," worked with Black and White school leadership, as well as university faculty and the business community, to streamline integration beginning with the high school. Public school integration was one of several race relations issues (e.g., sit-ins at lunch counters, integration of commercial establishments and public facilities, and improvement of employment opportunities) on which this Fayetteville coalition collaborated, all before the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 (see Adams and DeBlack).

The Webb House in Spout Spring housed Black students enrolled at the University of Arkansas prohibited from living in campus dormitories until the integration of dormitories in 1965. The Sunday church services, fellowship gatherings, and boarding with working class families in Spout Spring were cited by middle-class university students as respite from an unwelcoming environment at the university. Indeed, the neighborhood played a nurturing role in launching the careers of its surrogate sons and daughters, some who later played formative roles in advancing civil rights nationally.

mission school for negro only (1866-1936)

Later named the Henderson School, the Mission School just north of Spout Spring was Arkansas' first public school and initiated the establishment of the Fayetteville School District. The school's founder, Ebenezer Enskia Henderson came to Fayetteville in 1866 to organize the school district.



ebenezer enskia henderson henderson school class 1926 henderson school circa 1934 now a private residence 2024

1866 Founded by the American Missionary Association was a Protestant abolitionist group. Following the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, the AMA worked to establish anti-slavery churches and schools throughout the South. With the formation of the federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (aka Freedmen's Bureau) in 1865, the AMA continued to establish schools under the oversight of the Freedmen's Bureau. While these early attempts were hindered by the inability of most former slaves to pay for their education, several schools were established including the Mission School for Negro Only in Fayetteville. In total, the AMA started over 500 schools in the South, investing more money doing so than the federally-backed Freedmen's Bureau (Bardwin).

1866 Founded by the American Missionary Society, Arkansas' first public school known as the Mission School for Negro Only was opened in Fayetteville. Land for the school was purchased for two dollars from Judge Lafayette and Mary Gregg, and construction of a two-room schoolhouse was completed in 1868.

1867 An act passed by the General Assembly declared: "No Negro or mulatto shall be permitted to attend any public school in this State, except such schools as may be established exclusively for colored persons." Though the first teachers at Henderson were White, tensions arose between them and the community, likely due to wage disparities and lingering prejudice against teachers from the North. Teachers at Henderson were paid in

legal currency, while teachers in other public schools were paid in scrip—a local currency discounted up to 30 percent.

1871 The City of Fayetteville assumes joint financial responsibility and later purchases the Mission School in 1894 for \$500.

1885 The school district listed 139 students attending the Mission School, but this count drops precipitously by 1900 as Fayetteville had only 44 African American students attending school.

1889 More rooms were added to accommodate larger class sizes. Fayetteville School Board renames the school to Henderson School in honor of district superintendent E. E. Henderson.

1920s-1930s The Parent-Teacher Association became active in programming special events and projects, including development of a health program for Negro Health Week, and installation of the George Ballard Memorial Library during National Library Week. The latter was celebrated with poetry readings and performances by local artists.

1936 Lincoln school opened on Willow Avenue in Spout Spring replacing Henderson School, which was briefly used as a theater and later sold for use as a private residence.

36

(see Alison: 68-70)

lincoln elementary school (1936-1965): from the hill to the hollow

Lincoln School replaced Henderson School as Fayetteville's only school for Black students moving the center of school life, in paraphrasing historian Betty Davis Hayes, "from the hill to the hollow" (Alison: 71). The move reflected the geographic concentration of Blacks into Spout Spring and away from Fayetteville neighborhoods. Lincoln School housed grades 1-9 until integration, briefly serving as a community center before its demolition.



1936 Using bricks disassembled by ten African American men from the demolished South Side School, the Lincoln School was established by the newly founded Works Progress Administration as a project of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration during the Great Depression. The school was built to educate Black students through the 9th grade.

1939 The Fayetteville School District began the practice of compensating Black graduates of the Lincoln School to attend Black high schools in Ft. Smith and Hot

Springs since Fayetteville lacked such facilities.

1946-1959 Minnie Dawkins was principal during this time and instrumental in preparing African American students academically and emotionally for integration at White schools. Dawkins outreach with churches, civic organizations, and her counterpart at the high school laid the groundwork for successful integration despite that she was not the principal during the time of integration in 1965 (see testimonials in Adams and DeBlack).

1957 Fayetteville had successfully integrated its high school and junior high school levels, though much of that momentum slowed because of the desegregation crisis at Little Rock's Central High School due to the actions of Governor Orval Faubus.

1964 A group of community members, led by Spout Spring resident and activist Luciana DeFebaugh, met with the Fayetteville School District Board to request the closure of Lincoln School. They advocated for the integration of Black students at the nearby Washington and Jefferson Schools

for the fall term of 1964.

1965 Fayetteville elementary schools integrated, and the segregated Lincoln Elementary School closed. Like many Black teachers employed in segregated schools, both Black teachers at Lincoln were laid off, though its principal was reassigned to another school. The Lincoln School thereafter served Spout Spring as a community center.

Post-1965 The Lincoln School building was sold to the Fayetteville Housing Authority and later razed for the construction of the Willow Heights public housing development.

(see Alison: 70-72)

37 38

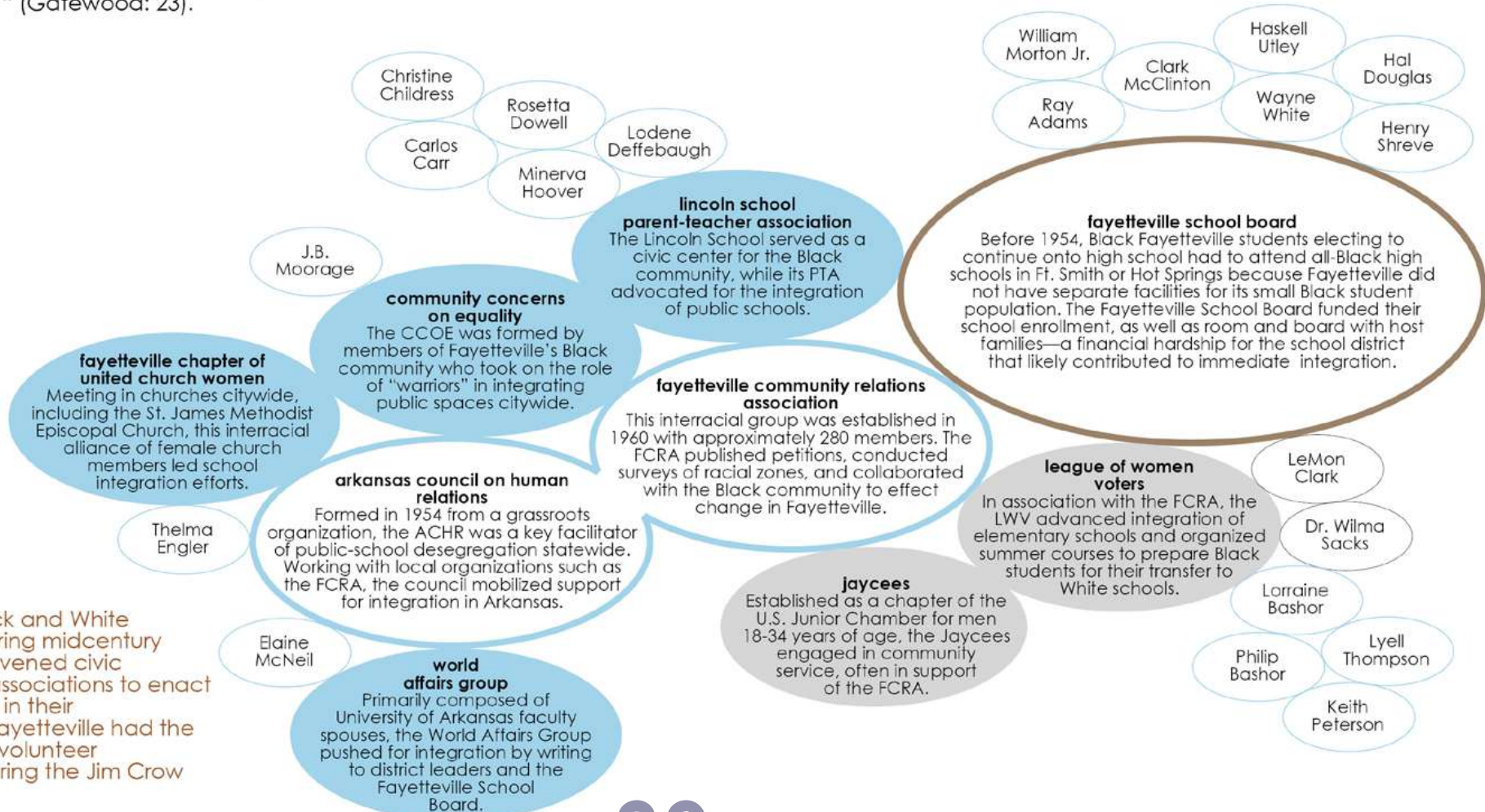
fayetteville public school district: the first in the south to integrate*

Local civic organizations, led by women, paved the way toward school integration despite disastrous outcomes throughout Arkansas and the South. The Fayetteville School District authorized integration of the high school just four days after the Supreme Court's Brown decision on May 17, 1954.

* UA historian and author, Willard Gatewood writes that Charleston, Arkansas integrated its schools at the opening of its 1954 fall term following its school board's vote to integrate in the summer. The school board in Sheridan, Arkansas voted to integrate its schools on May 21, 1954 (the same day as Fayetteville's vote to integrate) but rescinded the decision the following day in response to local protests. Accordingly, Fayetteville "would be 'the Confederacy's first' school district to institute successful desegregation'" (Gatewood: 23).

"The Arkansas State Press, a black weekly published in Little Rock by L.C. and Daisy Bates, observed that the board's actions could lead to the assumption 'that all the brains and law-abiding white people of Arkansas live in Fayetteville.'"

(Gatewood: 7)



While both Black and White populations during midcentury commonly convened civic improvement associations to enact social changes in their communities, Fayetteville had the rare interracial volunteer associations during the Jim Crow era.

st. james missionary baptist church (1865-1940)

Founded by Squire Jehagen, a freed slave from Africa, St. James Missionary Baptist was the first church in Fayetteville founded by Blacks without White sponsorship. Jehagen wanted a safe place for the Black community to congregate and worship.



1865 Squire Jehagen and Founding of Church

St. James Baptist Church was founded by African Americans as the first Black church in Fayetteville. It originated through the efforts of Reverend Squire Jehagen, a freed slave who wanted a safe place for the Black community to congregate and worship. Safe places for worship were established in the homes of Spout Spring residents for approximately 35 years before they were able to construct a church. It is estimated that 40 members met weekly.

"We would spend our church money to send one of our church members to Africa to be a missionary to provide medical care and to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, but we didn't let black people attend our church. They had to have a separate church, which was about four blocks away" (Adams and DeBlack: 119).

1890s Land Given to the Church

After 20 years of meeting in congregants' homes, the church was given a small plot of land. The identity of the White donor was not clear other than that his name was James—hence, the namesake of the church. The congregation erected a small wood frame building to serve as the church.

1921 New Church is Built

Reverend J. W. Webb saw the need to construct a larger home for his congregation in 1920. He sought funding assistance from local community members and businesses and raised \$75, enough to construct the church.

1920s & 1940s The Church is Burned

In retaliation for St. James Missionary Baptist Church's strong political activism on civil rights, the church was twice burned down in acts of arson. Through the resiliency of its members and the strong community commitment from businesses and other churches in Fayetteville, St. James was rebuilt both times.

1930s The Community Rebuilds the Church

J. W. Webb campaigned to rebuild the church with help not just from its own members but the entire community, including other churches in Fayetteville, wanting to show solidarity. Having secured business assistance for the first reconstruction, Webb sought aid from other churches for the second reconstruction of the church.

1940s Housing for the Pioneer Six

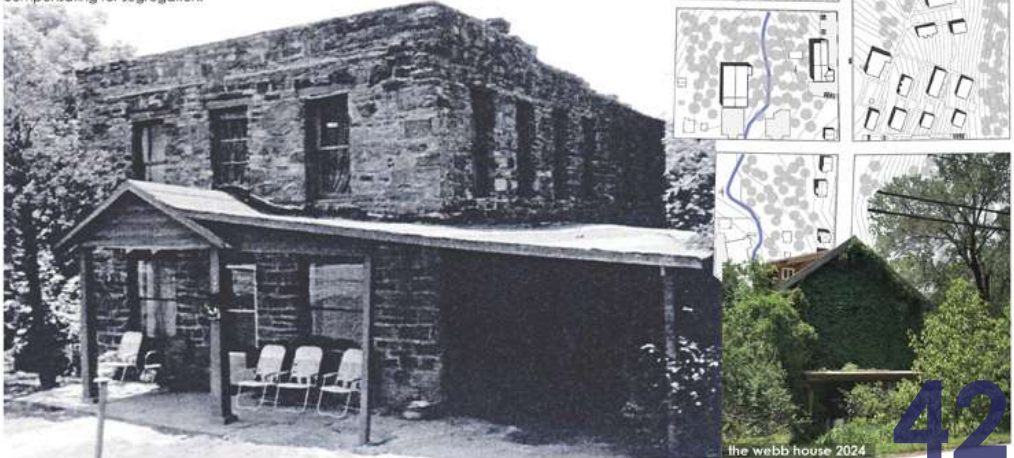
During the Jim Crow era, St. James Missionary Baptist opened its doors to the first Black students attending the University of Arkansas who were prohibited from living on campus and could not find area landlords willing to rent to them. The church assisted them in finding housing with families in Spout Spring (Adams and DeBlack; Kunkel and Kennard).

40

the webb house: informal neighborhood economies

Built in 1893 by Reverend James W. Webb, pastor of the St. James Missionary Baptist Church, the three-story house served multiple functions as a residence, cafe, lodging for Black travelers, boarding for Black university students, and a community center.

Like other homes in Spout Spring, the Webb House at 105 North Willow Avenue served multiple purposes where residents conducted businesses and social functions from their homes. This kind of informal neighborhood economy was common among early 20th century urban American neighborhoods, especially among immigrant, low-income, and Black communities that did not have access to capital markets or abide by the regulatory strictures governing formal markets. Studies of informal economies show that they not only have an entrepreneurial rate higher than neighboring formal economies, but their productivity is based on cooperation and resource sharing rather than competition. The gradual application of single-use zoning codes prohibited mixed land uses in older neighborhoods, undermining the neighborhood's economic resilience in compensating for segregation.

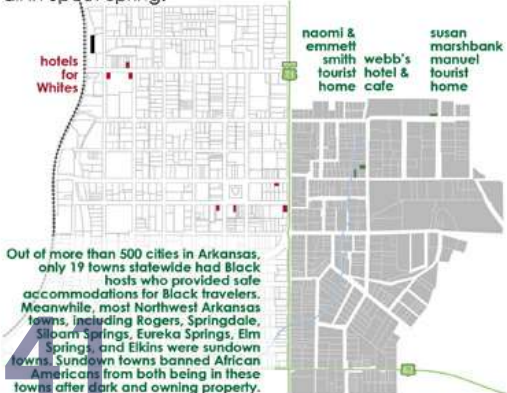


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green book accommodations 1939-1966 during jim crow era

The *Negro Travelers' Green Book* travel guide—published during the Jim Crow era segregation of Blacks and White businesses—identified hotels, restaurants, and stores that served Black travelers. Only three lodging venues in Northwest Arkansas accommodated African Americans, and they were all in Spout Spring.



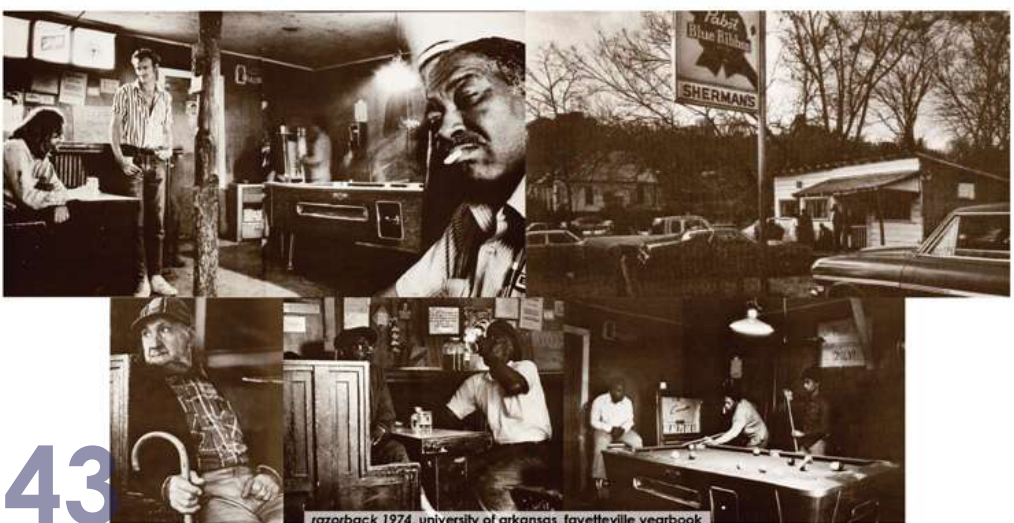
Out of more than 500 cities in Arkansas, only 19 towns statewide had Black hosts who provided safe accommodations for Black travelers. Meanwhile, most Northwest Arkansas towns, including Rogers, Springdale, Silbarn Springs, Eureka Springs, Elm Springs, and Elkins were sundown towns. Sundown towns banned African Americans from both being in these towns after dark and owning property.



sherman's tavern: where Whites and Blacks met

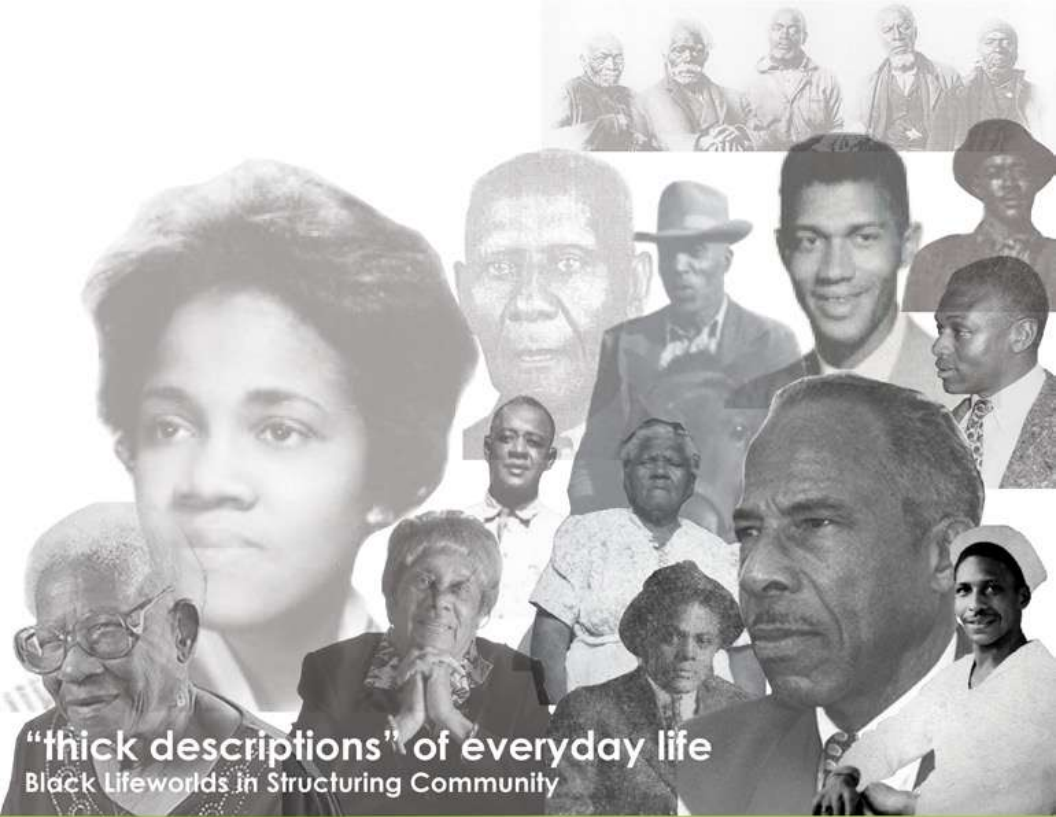
Sherman's was a true "third place" (neither work nor home) and perhaps the only local place where Blacks and Whites freely mingled during the late Jim Crow era.

Coined by the sociologist, Ray Oldenburg in his book, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*, third places are important social spaces—neither home nor work—characterized by openness, accessibility, conviviality, discursivity, and the shedding of social hierarchies. Taverns, salons, coffee shops, community gardens, and libraries are classic examples of third places. A school of sociologists claims that the social health of a community can be gauged by the vitality of its third places.



43

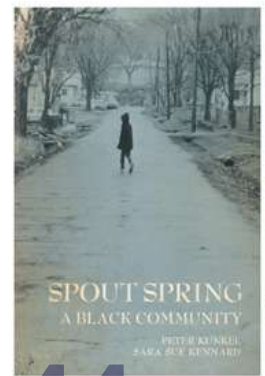
razorback 1974, university of arkansas, fayetteville yearbook



spout spring: a Black community by peter kunkel and sara sue kennard

Published in 1971 as part of the Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology series, the book thrust Spout Spring into the national spotlight and likely provided the neighborhood its name.

Though marketed as an "ethnographic description of a Black neighborhood in a small American city in the Ozarks," the place is Fayetteville, Arkansas where Dr. Kunkel was a professor of anthropology at the University of Arkansas. Kunkel and Kennard, an anthropologist and a "natural ethnographer", respectively, embedded themselves in the community and based their empirical research on observations and interviews conducted between 1965 and 1968. A key insight regards the level of cooperation extended among residents to create productive neighborhood economies and civic capital.



44

"thick descriptions" of everyday life Black Lifeworlds in Structuring Community

"Tracing the roots of the Black working class, I found again and again that Black folk's sense of self was supported not by their jobs they held but by their place within their own communities... Within such havens, Black people created the collective power that would drive their political engagement with the world. As they organized mutual aid societies, played card games, shot pool, worshipped in Black churches, and went to segregated schools, they maintained their own vision of what it meant to be Black and what they could hope to gain through their labors. They debated politics and formed strategies grounded in who they were and where they came from. It would be in these spaces that they learned to resist and organize, and, drawing on their knowledge of the past and building visions of the future."

Blair LM Kelley, *Black Folk: The Roots of the Black Working Class*

"As interworked systems of constructable signs (what, ignoring provincial urges, would be called symbols), culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly—that is, thickly—described."

Clifford Geertz, "Thick Descriptions: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture"

Thinking Like a Community: What Black Space Can Teach Us

The Spout Spring neighborhood spawned an uncommonly high level of human resourcefulness gauged by its social capital, political achievement, and cultural expression, notwithstanding the structural discrimination faced by this low-income, working-class community. Marginalized populations often adopt cooperatively-based (vs. competition-based) economics with high-functioning social networks to survive. In some instances, such community cooperatively yields higher forms of social, cultural, and economic productivity compared to mainstream populations. This comports with philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy's definition of community as only ever a provisional resource used to resist permanent power. Community is fleeting and disappears once new gains are secured among a critical majority; community does not exist amidst affluence. Nor does proximity, simply being beside one another, constitute community. This contradicts Western notions of community as a stable social good forged from work (i.e., it can be produced) and a reliable register of social health (it is ultimately healthy). As Nancy observes in *The Inoperative Community*, community rarely exists. Community is a product of struggle and is sometimes successfully forged among the marginalized. Indeed, Spout Spring beamed under Jim Crow era segregation; its vitality was imbued with deep agency in politics, education, and the arts. For Spout Spring residents, obstacles became stepping stones, as they worked to effectively shape the anti-poverty movement at local, state, and federal levels. These comports into the dints and fleeting moments of profound community in all its deep cooperativity and outsized social impacts—political and the ever-present underflow of poverty—is what Black space can teach the United States.

Contrary to historical narratives that tend toward sweeping arcs of understanding (e.g., histories focused on great men, military victories, and symbolic events), the thick description begins with details, the microscopic or small facts surrounding an event or thing, or the individual in context. Anthropologists invented the thick description, the notion that an understanding of cultural topics can become known through fragments and the examination of individual actions in constituting a place. Thus, our cultural mapping reflects anthropologist Clifford Geertz's assertion that culture cannot be interpreted, but rather only described—here it "only thickens" (Geertz: 26). Indeed, an entire school of urbanist thinkers who favor a more concrete than abstract understanding of space contends that "social order are so crucial to the construction of spaces that... the material, political, and ideological conditions of those who produce space are its most important constitutive elements" (Ben and Saverim: 3). Community is tied to social action and the individual's embodiment in space, thus, thick descriptions are fundamental to mapping the soul of a neighborhood.

While the descriptions of neighborhood figures are by no means exhaustive, they do sketch an instructive evolution of political and social activism that actively migrated from the neighborhood's families, networks, and churches into wider public sector institutions and media. African American voices compelled racial integration (and women's rights) through work, theology, education, cultural expression, social protest, civic improvement, association, and media. While the neighborhood's older institutions in the early twentieth century were described as institutional (Kunkel and Kennard: vi) and the university as incremental or procedural in approaching desegregation

(Robinson and Williams: 2)—local initiatives grew more reformative in enacting earnest integration of local schools and the university during the civil rights movement. Despite its working class roots and the lack of iconic buildings and commercial streets associated with Arkansas' most celebrated Black districts in Little Rock, Hot Springs, and Helena, the Spout Spring neighborhood was a great host to visiting students, ministers, and residents that moved away only to find themselves return. The level of human capital that both passed through and was raised in the small working-class neighborhood was remarkable.

For Spout Spring residents, obstacles became stepping stones, as they worked to effectively shape the civil rights movement at local, state, and federal levels. These glimpses into the dints and fleeting moments of profound community in all its deep cooperativity and outsized social impacts—notwithstanding the ever-present underflow of poverty—is what Black space can teach the United States.

45

nelson hackett: fayetteville slave prompts a trans-atlantic abolitionist initiative

Hackett's escape from a Fayetteville slaveholder to Canada ignited an international debate on sovereignty, extradition, and sanctuary that would position Canada (via British Parliament) to be a refuge for those escaping slavery (see The Nelson Hackett Project).

Believed to be born in 1817, Hackett first entered the historical record in June 1840, when he was sold at age twenty four to Alfred Wallace, a wealthy plantation owner in Fayetteville, Arkansas. Despite Hackett's unknowns before and after his escape, Hackett's escape from slavery "set off an international dispute that eventually helped ensure Canada would remain a safe haven for people who were fleeing enslavement in the U.S." In July 1841, a little over a year after arriving in Fayetteville, Hackett fled to Canada where he assumed that British law made him a free man. However, a provincial governor turned Hackett over to Wallace making him the "first and only fugitive slave that Canada returned to gibeay... U.S. and British abolitionists, intent on preventing future extraditions of slaves from Canada, cited the Hackett case to secure policies among foreign ministries that would make Canada a sanctuary for fugitive slaves.



Hackett escaped with nothing but a stolen horse, beaver coat, and gold watch, all of which belonged to his enslaver. Hackett traveled primarily at night, hiding in woods during the day. Upon arriving in Marion City, he located a Mississippi River ferry tended by an African American. After crossing the river and entering free territory, Hackett traveled by day procuring food and advice from sympathizers during his six-week journey to Canada.



Nearly a week after arriving in what Hackett believed was a safe haven, his captors arrived to forcibly return him to Fayetteville. Despite Canadian protest, the items stolen by Hackett gave reason for his extradition back to the United States. Hackett spent several months in the Sandwich jail from where he was gagged, bound, and secretly transported across the border to Detroit. The extradition party traveled (with Hackett in chains) through Chicago to St. Louis where Hackett was briefly jailed. Upon arriving in Fayetteville Hackett was publicly whipped, beaten, and sold to a farmer in Texas.

The Nelson Hackett Project at the University of Arkansas presents Hackett's story "not only to document a single man's incredible struggle but also to explore how that one man activated a trans-Atlantic and biracial network of activists working to undermine the institution of slavery."

General Ethnographic-Based Insights about Spout Spring:

- Sixty percent of Spout Spring households owned their homes (4), near the national average at that time of 63.3 percent.
- "Most Black adults in Sequoyah (fictive name for Fayetteville) are wage-earners in service occupations or of an unskilled or semi-skilled type... there is an implicit barrier dividing jobs that have been traditionally considered Negro jobs from other occupations." Except for some aspects of food preparation, Blacks were barred from semi-skilled and skilled jobs (28-29). Blacks were not employed in civil service jobs, including those at the university.
- Many Black women in Spout Spring have far higher aspirations for economic and social change for all Blacks than Spout Spring men focused more on pay raises and job promotions (34).
- "...matrilateral ties are so strong that they form the basis for extended families, which link different households with different last names in systems of close cooperation" (39).
- "...a majority of Spout Spring marriages take place between members of the community" (50).
- Formal groups—churches and civic clubs—tended to be "accommodationist in character; that is, they implicitly or explicitly recognize racial segregation in a White-dominated society, and they represent institutionalized methods of accommodation to such a society" (51).
- In contrast to formal organizations, secular groups, especially those committed to integration, were "assimilationist" and interracial, recruiting membership widely from Fayetteville (52).

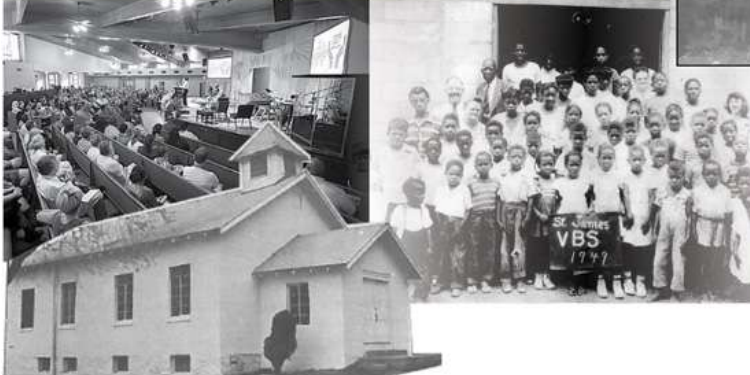
reverend squire jehagen: church founder and pioneer homeowner

A former slave from Africa, Jehagen was a pioneering figure in Spout Spring, the founder of the St. James Missionary Baptist Church and one of the first homeowners.

Jehagen was one of 300 men sold to Matthew Leeper, a local slaveholder. Despite the prohibition against slaves attending worship services, Jehagen's devotion to the Scriptures led him to sit outside the window where Leeper attended church. Fueled by his profound passion for the Bible, Jehagen established Fayetteville's first African American church in 1865 with the goal of spreading the gospel while uplifting the spirits of freedmen. Established in the aftermath of the Civil War, the church as Jehagen saw it was both a spiritual and social refuge (Joekns).



ST. JAMES BAPTIST (Colored)
South Willow Street



"He envisioned a sanctuary and saw it fit for an entirely new life for Negroes . . . As they were rebuked and scorned, they came to the church, where they were renewed in the spirit and fortified in the mind. It was a place of refuge, hope, love, compassion, dreams, peace and strength."

St. James Missionary Baptist Church

47 48

wiley a. branton sr.: from law student to civil rights attorney and activist

Raised in an upper middle-class family in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, Branton was the fifth black student to attend the University of Arkansas Law School and bought a house in Spout Spring. Despite being arrested in 1948 for promoting voter education, Branton continued the fight for justice, becoming one of the most renowned civil rights lawyers in the South.

Branton (1923-1988) served as chief counsel for the Black plaintiffs in the 1957 Little Rock desegregation case forcing integration; a case ultimately argued before the U.S. Supreme Court as Cooper v. Aaron in 1958. Branton's civil rights work with prominent attorneys, including Vernon Jordan and Thurgood Marshall (later a U.S. Supreme Court Justice) placed him in a national spotlight. Branton's leadership in civil rights led to federal appointments, including Executive Secretary to President Lyndon B. Johnson's council on equal opportunity, and later as the President's personal representative in the Department of Justice to implement the landmark Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act of 1965. Among other civil rights activities, Branton worked with renowned union leader Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union, to implement social service programs nationwide in 1969. Branton later returned to private practice, and in 1977 assumed the deanship of the Howard University School of Law, where he restored the school's prominence and focus on civil rights issues (Arkansas Black Hall of Fame; Arkansas Black Lawyers).



49 50

george ballard: ozark folk poet

A resident of Spout Springs, Ballard was a working-class man who wrote poetry. His poetry and devotion to Woodrow Wilson and Fayetteville earned him local and national notoriety. He received two letters of appreciation from the White House for his work.

Born in the farming community of Cincinnati in Washington County, George Ballard (1882-1951) grew up in an area removed from the educational opportunities available to Black students in Fayetteville. Ballard moved to Spout Spring in 1902 and worked as shoeshiner, mechanic, jail janitor, and at other miscellaneous jobs. Ballard's work was published as Ozark "Ballards" in 1928 by Lessie Stringfellow Read, then editor of the Fayetteville Daily Democrat (Hogan: 159-171).



lessie stringfellow read
Editor of the Fayetteville Daily Democrat and publisher of Ozark "Ballards"

On the Death of Woodrow Wilson

Each human heart is touched with grief;
The nation bows its head;
For over the wire the news is flashed
"Woodrow Wilson is dead".

No greater man has ever lived,
No hero half so brave,
No statesman ever tried so hard
The nation's rights to save.

Ten thousand miles he traveled
Across the north and east;
In vain he tried until he died
To reach a lasting peace.

His peaceful soul is resting now,
His mind is not bereft,
Like a warrior taking his rest
He sleeps the sleep of death.

He has no need of worldly peace,
He leaves the League behind,
He has signed his name where angels sing
"bles" be the lie that binds".



Invitation
Come to the Ozark hills and play
And romp with us over state's highway.
Come glide with us over hill and plain
And help us reap the golden grain.
There's a smile in every shady nook
A fish in every babbling brook:
There're apples on the apple trees
Sweet fragrance on the midnight breeze.
We are happy, one and all
In the springtime and the fall
When we hear the whip-poor-will
From the summit of the hill.
Perhaps we hear the lamb's soft bleat
Or bob-white calling to his mate:
Come live with us and get the thrills
Of life amid the Ozark hills.

A follow-up poem:
I always feel proud of the work that do,
It's a kind that the people like,
I can not spoil my complexion like you
For I am a dark-complexion.

Although I've no hopes of becoming a clerk,
Or to dress like the boss of a bank,
Still in labor and skill it was always my will
To stand at the head of my rank.

Such men as you are with your talent and taste
Should get them a job on the screen,
And not come in contact with paint or ink
If you really would like to keep clean.

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

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



theressa hoover: global ministries executive in the united methodist church

Theressa Hoover (1925-2013), daughter of James C. Hoover was raised in Spout Spring but moved to establish a career in church administration. She was a church executive and author focused on the promotion of women's leadership. Hoover engineered a secure future for women's role in the national organization of the United Methodist Church (UMC).



<p>1925</p> <p>1939 At 14, Hoover held her first leadership position with the St. James Methodist Episcopal Church, teaching Sunday school.</p>	<p>1947</p> <p>1946 - 1948 Working at the Little Rock Methodist Council, Hoover helped secure a \$225,000 grant to start Camp Aldersgate attended by both Blacks and Whites in support of interracial church fellowship.</p>	<p>1965</p> <p>1965 - 1968 Promoted to Assistant General Secretary, Hoover was responsible for the section on program and education at the UMC's Christian Mission, Women's Division.</p>	<p>1967</p> <p>1967 Hoover was hired to be the Secretary of the Department of Christian Life Relations, the first African American to work in an executive position of the national office of the UMC in New York.</p>	<p>1968 - 1990</p> <p>1968 Hoover earned her Master of Arts in Human Relations and Social Policy from the Steinhardt School at NYU.</p>	<p>1975</p> <p>1975 While in New York, Hoover worked her Master of Arts in Human Relations and Social Policy from the Steinhardt School at NYU.</p>	<p>1990 - 2000</p> <p>1990 In 1990, the Women's Division of the UMC established the \$100,000 Theressa Hoover Community Service and Global Citizenship fund in Hoover's honor. She retired in 1990 and spent the next ten years traveling and advocating for women's rights.</p>	<p>2000</p> <p>2000 Hoover and the UMC built 70 new homes, and supported projects for women, children, and young adults, including a certified faith-based licensed substance-abuse program.</p>	<p>2013</p> <p>2013 Hoover was listed on Ebony magazine's list of the 100 most influential African-American women in the U.S.</p>
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1968 - 1990
When Hoover was promoted to CEO of the Women's Division at the UMC, a newspaper headline read: "Fayetteville girl named to top Methodist position". Hoover wrote "Black Women and the Churches: Triple Jeopardy" included in Social Religion and Women in the Church; the No More Silence in the Church; and Unveiled Faces: Centennial Reflections on Women and Men in the Community of the Church in 1988. She also wrote regular columns for Response magazine, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the National Council of Negro Women, and the board of the Bossey Ecumenical Institute in Caligny, Switzerland.

2000
Hoover and the UMC built 70 new homes, and supported projects for women, children, and young adults, including a certified faith-based licensed substance-abuse program.

2013
Hoover was listed on Ebony magazine's list of the 100 most influential African-American women in the U.S.

jessie bryant: community organizer justice and health

A Justice of the Peace, and a member of the Washington County Quorum Court for 17 years, Bryant was founder of the Free Health Clinic originally located in the St. James Methodist Church.

A Fayetteville resident, Jessie Bryant (b. 1926) attended high school in Pine Bluff since Fayetteville could not accommodate Black students before 1954. She focused on improving social and environmental conditions in Spout Spring through her activities at LifeSource International, an anti-poverty nonprofit, as well as associations with the Southeast Fayetteville Community Action Group that assisted residents with home improvements ("Walker Park Mural"). Bryant recalled growing up in the 1930s during the Depression that only one doctor and dentist would make house calls in the African American community. "They would allow you to pay them, or take what you had to offer, their price was not that expensive because they knew that you didn't have anything in the first place" (Demirel).

"Instead of shunning the town that treated her differently because of her skin color, Bryant returned to Fayetteville determined to help others and unite people. 'I was taught as a child that there's only one race, and it's the human race.'" (Wood)



"You never worried about kids getting into trouble. . . . there was the community, the church, and the youth center. Something was always going on."
Jessie Bryant

51 52

loydis "sarge" and shirley west: america's first Black country music duo 1969

Arkansas natives, Sarge and Shirley West, blazed new trails as the first Black country-western music duet to tour the United States, touring with country music legends Tom T. Hall and Merle Haggard. Settling at the edge of Spout Spring following Loydis' service in the U.S. Air Force, the Wests lived and worked in Fayetteville while touring the southern U.S.

In 1969, after writing and recording two songs in Nashville—"We're Gonna Have A Good Time Tonight" and "Ain't It A Shame"—the Wests were signed by talent agent Vista International Productions to launch their touring careers. They opted not to tour the country full-time, but rather settled to raise a family, performing country, Americana, and gospel music throughout the region while holding local jobs in Fayetteville (Campbell, 2020: 142-143). Living across the street from the Economic Opportunity Agency's Head Start program on Wood Avenue, Shirley West became one of the program's first administrators, working to educate youth in the South Fayetteville community. Loydis (1932-2014), having learned martial arts during his military service, taught "tactical martial arts" to the Fayetteville Police Department and often hosted community parties/potlucks at his auto-mechanic shop ("Sarge and Shirley West—Songs and Stories from Fayetteville's South Side").

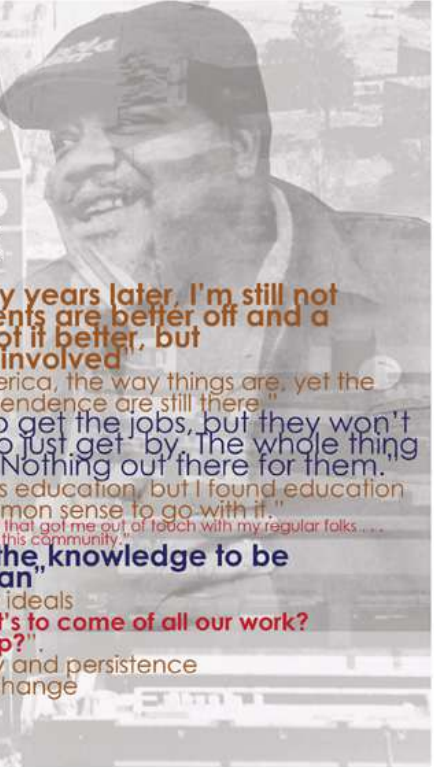


"Whoa! Look at all them white folks out there. Does any black people live in this town?"
Loydis "Sarge" West on opening a country music performance (A Song Can Change a Life)

bobby l. morgan: observing neighborhood diffusion

Son of Sherman Morgan, Bobby Morgan (1937-1996) was a VISTA (Volunteer in Service of America) program leader for rural voter education in Arkansas. Morgan was also a grant writer for the Economic Opportunity Agency of Washington County and continued his father's tradition of neighborhood youth counseling through the nonprofit sector.

The advent of civil rights led to the diffusion of middle-class residents from Black enclaves nationwide as African Americans moved to the suburbs. Recall Nancy's observation in *The Inoperative Community* that community rarely exists. Community is a product of struggle against immanent power and disappears once new gains are secured among a critical majority. More than a generation after passage of civil rights, Morgan observed the splintering of Spout Spring where low-income residents stayed, while those who could afford to left. The neighborhood's days as the locus of Black citymaking were behind it, despite the persistence of remaining churches and families loyal to place.



"Twenty years later, I'm still not satisfied . . . The parents are better off and a generation of kids got it better, but no one wants to get involved"

"They think that's part of America, the way things are, yet the attitudes of poverty and dependence are still there."
"They'll want to go to school to get the jobs, but they won't get the loans, so they'll settle to just get by. The whole thing will be starting over. No hope. Nothing out there for them."

"Back then they thought the problem was education, but I found education wasn't worth a damn unless you got common sense to go with it."
"I was the only black man working there (manufacturing plant), and that got me out of touch with my regular folks . . . that had to change if I was to bring up my kids in this community."

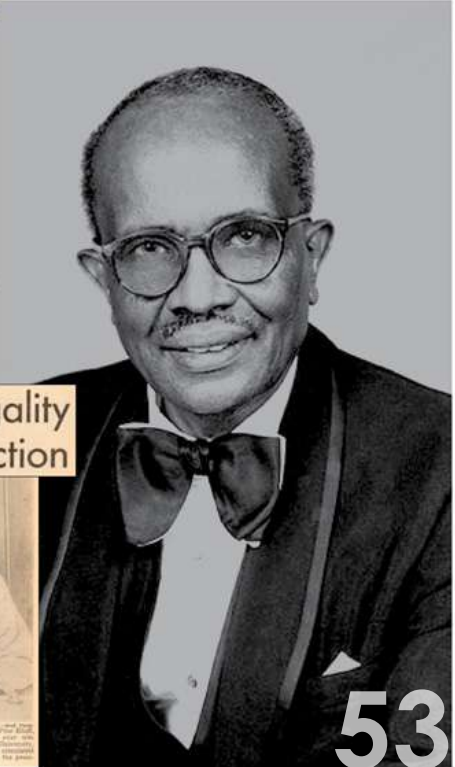
"The kids don't have a place to acquire the knowledge to be wholesome, so they pick up what they can"
"The system has a way of turning around your ideals and making you seem the trouble maker . . . What's to come of all our work? Who are you going to select to develop leadership?"
". . . you have to have some of that young energy and persistence to get into someone's house or heart to make a change . . . Once you have that energy, the knowledge will come."

(Schwartz: 161-169)

george howard jr.: from law student to pioneering federal judge

The last member of the "Six Pioneers," Howard, a Pine Bluff native, initially lived with the Hoover family in Spout Spring. Howard became the first African American statewide to be appointed to judicial positions on the Arkansas Supreme Court and the federal court in Arkansas.

Howard (1924-2007) arrived at the University of Arkansas in 1950 and initiated the integration of on-campus housing in 1951. Howard's accidental admittance to on-campus housing in the Lloyd Hall dormitory was an exception to regulations that forced Black students to seek housing with Black families. Howard went on to successfully represent two students in a 1964 lawsuit to integrate the dormitories of the UA (see "Safer Spaces for UARK Students: Integration at the University of Arkansas"). Howard's law practice focused on civil rights throughout Arkansas where he initiated suits to desegregate school systems as well as public spaces, especially theaters. His legal activism addressed inequalities in both jury composition and death penalty application. Howard received judicial appointments by three governors, including seats on the Arkansas Supreme Court, and the Arkansas Court of Appeals. In 1980, President Jimmy Carter named Howard a federal district court judge for the Eastern and Western Districts of Arkansas. The U.S. Congress later named the federal building and courthouse in Pine Bluff after George Howard (Arkansas Black Hall of Fame).



Petition Doubts Legality Of Lloyd Halls Election



Lloyd hall dormitory: a group of six barracks-style buildings served as temporary dormitories for world war II veterans at the university until 1955.



No Thirst for Votes

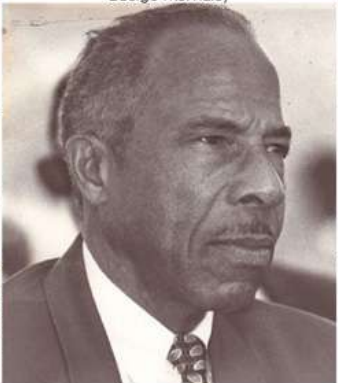
53 54

george w.b. haley: from law student to u.s. ambassador

Raised in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, Haley was the second Black student to graduate from the University of Arkansas Law School in 1952. During his enrollment in law school, Haley lived with the Funkhouser family and socialized in Spout Spring.

Despite being segregated from his classmates for instruction in substandard conditions of the Law School's basement (known as the Noose Room), Haley (1925-2015) distinguished himself by becoming an award-winning editorial staff of the esteemed Arkansas Law Review. After graduation in 1952, Haley opened a law practice in Kansas City, Kansas, and later became a senator in the Kansas State Legislature. His commitment to social justice led him to alignment with the Kansas law firm of Stevens Jackson, a pivotal player in providing crucial support for the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. In 1969, Haley moved to Washington D.C., where he held appointments in the administrations of President Nixon, Ford, Bush, Carter, Reagan, Clinton, and Bush. President Clinton appointed Haley as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Gambia (Robinson and Williams: 293-294; "George Haley", The History Makers).

"And I use in my own philosophy the words from the Bible: 'When a man say he loved God and hated his brother, he is a liar. So how can he love God whom he has not seen and hated his brother who he has seen?'"
George W.B. Haley



55 56

george w.b. haley: the haley family and the book and tv miniseries roots

Alex Haley—famed author of *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, the epic book and miniseries that opened new discussions on race in 1976—was the brother of George Haley. Alex wrote a powerful 1963 article, "The Man Who Wouldn't Quit", chronicling the forms of discrimination navigated by George while attending the UA School of Law in Fayetteville.

The work and success of the Haley brothers in pushing boundaries and championing civil rights remains recognized today and continues to serve as inspiration for many. Alex Haley's love of writing led to the publication of his Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Roots*—a gift to America. Haley's novel traces his family's roots to Gambia where the 17-year-old Kunta Kinte (became a household name after 1976 in the U.S.) was captured by slave-traders in 1767 and brought to North America in bondage. George and Alex Haley are the great-great-great-great grandsons of Kunta Kinte. *Roots* encompassed twelve years of genealogical research and aided in discussions of race relations across the nation. In an arc of cosmic thinking, President Clinton appointed George Haley as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Gambia from 1998-2001.

The Haley family story began in Ithaca, New York, where eldest son Alex Haley was born to Simon and Bertha Haley. After the passing of Bertha Haley in 1931, the family moved to Pine Bluff, Arkansas. From a young age the Haley's placed a strong importance on education, as Simon Haley was a professor of agriculture with a graduate degree from Cornell University. George Haley was a classmate and contemporary of Martin Luther King, Jr. during his undergraduate days at Morehouse College in Atlanta. The support Haley received from Spout Spring residents played a role in his becoming a top law student and later a significant figure in securing civil rights, despite his exposure to constant indignity.



"In low tones, the dean was explaining to a prospective law student the conduct expected of him. 'We have fixed up a room in the basement for you to stay in between classes. You are not to wander about the campus. Books will be sent down to you from the law library. Bring sandwiches and eat lunch in your room. Always enter and leave the university by the back route I have traced on this map.'

The dean felt no hostility toward this young man; along with the majority of the faculty and the trustees, he had approved the admission of 24-year-old George Haley to the University of Arkansas School of Law. But it was 1949, and this young Army Air Forces veteran was a Negro. The dean stressed that the key to avoiding violence in this Southern school was maximum isolation."
Alex Haley, "The Man Who Wouldn't Quit"